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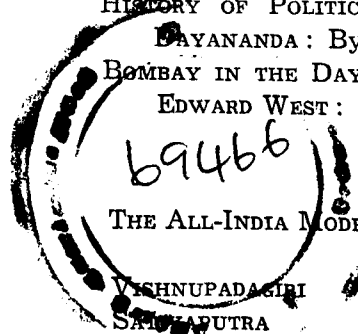
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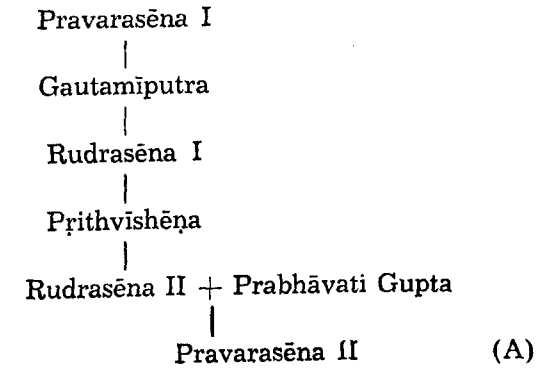
Journal of Indian History

Genealogy and Chronology of the Vakatakas

By

MR. M. GOVIND PAI.

FROM the Chammak plates¹ of the 18th regnal year of *Mahārāja* Pravarasēna II, we have the following Vākāṭaka genealogy:—



and this genealogy is repeated in his Siwani plates² of the same regnal year, as well as in the Dudia plates³ of his 23rd regnal year. In all these records *Mahārāja* Pravarasēna I is spoken of as *Samrāt* i.e., an emperor, who had celebrated four horse-sacrifices, and his son Gautamīputra's son Rudrasēna I is said to be the daughter's son of *Mahārāja* Bhavanāga of the Bhāraśiva family, the kings of which had performed ten *Aśvamēdhas*. Accordingly, Gautamīputra's wife was the daughter of king Bhavanāga of the Bhāraśiva dynasty. But Gautamīputra himself has not been spoken of with any title whatsoever, while the royal title *Mahārāja* is coupled with everyone of the subsequent names; nor does he bear any *Abhishēka-nāma* (coronation-name) as his predecessor as well

1. Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions (F.G.I.), No. 55.

2. Ibid., No. 56.

3. Epigraphia Indica (E.I.), III, pp. 260-62.

as everyone of his successors does, but is simply known by the name Gautamīputra, which, as is self-evident, is merely a metonymic. The conclusion is thus unavoidable that, if Gautamīputra was the eldest son of Pravarasēna I, he must have predeceased his father; or that, if he was not the eldest son, his elder brother must have come to the throne on their father's death, and perhaps having been himself issueless and, Gautamīputra having predeceased him, he must have been succeeded by Gautamīputra's son Rudrasēna I. At any rate Gautamīputra cannot have ruled as king. Next we are told in all these records that the donor-king's mother Prabhāvatī Guptā was the daughter of Mahārājādhirāja Dēvagupta. Now from the first Poona plates⁴ of Prabhāvatī Guptā, we know that she was the daughter of Chandragupta, the son of Samudragupta, and the grandson of Chandragupta, whence it is perfectly clear that she was the daughter of Chandragupta II. Thus then Dēvagupta, by which name her father has been called in the aforesaid three records of her son Pravarasēna II, would be none else than the Gupta monarch Chandragupta II himself, who, as is apparent from his Sāñchi inscription⁵ of G. S. (Gupta Samvat) 93, was also familiarly known as Dēvarāja. From the said Poona plates we also know that Prabhāvatī Guptā was the senior Queen (अग्रमहिषी) of Mahārāja Rudrasēna II, who therefore must have necessarily ruled as king; for not only is he spoken of as Mahārāja in these plates as well as in all the aforesaid charters of his son Pravarasēna II, as every one of the Vākātaka kings, that ruled before or after him, has duly been called in his son's records, but in these plates his wife further styles herself the Senior Queen (अग्रमहिषी) and it may be said once for all that it is only that wife of an actual king, who has also been crowned along with him, that is called माहिषी.⁶ In the same plates, she is further said to be the mother of Yuvarāja (crown-prince) Divākarasēna, and the said grant is moreover dated in the 13th year (संवत्सरे त्रयोदशमे), but whose 13th year, it is not stated. In her other grant, which is recorded in the second Poona plates i.e., the Riddha-

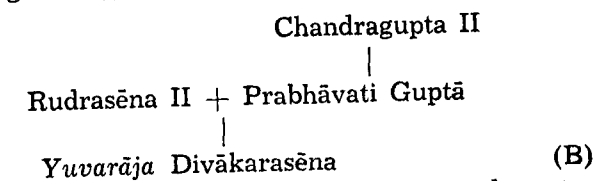
4. E. I. XV, (pp. 41-42).

5. F. G. I. No. 5. The lacunae in ll. 7-8 of this inscription may well be filled up by reading—'Dēvarāja iti priya-nām (nā suvikh)y(ā)tasya.'

6. 'कृताभिषेका महिषी' (Amarakōśa: v. 544; Hēmachandr

pur plates,⁷ it is clearly stated that the said charter was issued in the 19th regnal year of her son, king Pravarasēna II, who is also mentioned by the double-name Dāmōdarasēna-Pravarasēna, where evidently the former name is his personal name (i.e., the pre-coronation name) or the pet name by which he was called by his mother, and the latter is his *Abhishēka-nāma*, given to him or assumed by him after his great ancestor Pravarasēna I. Had therefore her husband been living and ruling when his queen Prabhāvatī issued her (first) Poona plates, the year 13 of that grant would have been clearly specified as his 13th regnal year, exactly as in her next Riddhapur plates the year 19 has been definitely stated to have been the 19th regnal year of her son Pravarasēna II, who was the then reigning king; nor could her son Yuvarāja Divākarasēna, who of course would be her eldest son inasmuch as he was the Yuvarāja (crown-prince), and therefore the elder brother of her other son Dāmōdarasēna-Pravarasēna, have any independent reign, nor any separate reckoning of the years of his Yuvarāja-ship, so long as he did not actually rule as king. The only possible explanation is that Prabhāvatī Guptā lost her husband Rudrasēna II, while their two sons Divākarasēna and Pravarasēna were yet very young and that thereupon she took the administration of the Vākātaka kingdom into her own hands as their natural guardian, and ruled as regent on behalf of her eldest son Divākarasēna, when she issued her (first) Poona plates, which would therefore be naturally dated in the years of her regency.⁸

The Vākātaka genealogy given in the Poona plates is:

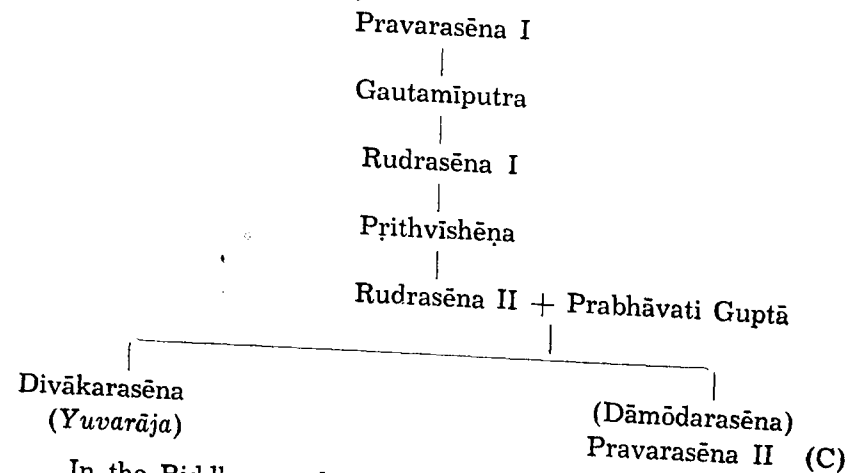


The table (A) therefore has to be extended in its last step with the additional name of prince Divākarasēna, who, as we have

7. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (JASB), Vol. XX, pp. 58-60. In his *History of India: 150 A.D. to 350 A.D.* (Jy.), Mr. Jayaswal rightly says (p. 74, f.n. 1) that this charter should be called the Riddhapur plates; and we shall call it as such in order also to avoid confusion.

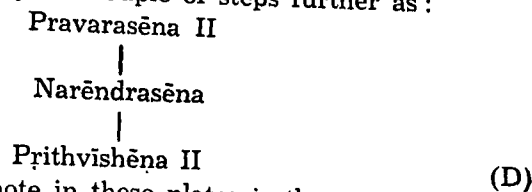
8. Mr. Jayaswal, however, holds (Jy. p. 63) that Yuvarāja Divākarasēna was in his 13th year, when the Poona plates were issued by his mother. This is hardly possible, as there is no instance of any grant having been dated in the years of the life of the donor or his (or her) ward.

seen, was the elder brother of Dāmōdarasēna-Pravarasēna i.e., king Pravarasēna II of that table. Then we shall have :



In the Riddhapur plates, we have this same genealogy in its first five steps, but in the sixth, however, the name of Divākarasēna has been omitted. The omission is due perhaps to Divākarasēna having died before he attained majority and therefore never ruled as king. In that case, when his younger brother Dāmōdarasēna had attained majority, he would naturally be enthroned as king (Pravarasēna II) by his mother, who would till then act as regent. It is also possible that, if Divākarasēna did rule at all, he may have ruled for some very short while, and died issueless, when as a matter of course, the crown passed on to his younger brother; and in either case, the name of Divākarasēna, not being in the regular line of succession, would naturally be left out.

Next there are the Bālāghāt plates⁹ of Prithvishēna II, which carry on this genealogy yet a couple of steps further as :



The first point to note in these plates is that, whereas in all the records of Pravarasēna II¹⁰ his great-grand-father Rudra-

9. E. I., IX (pp. 270-71).

10. i.e., his Chammak, Siwani and Dudia plates.

sēna I has been described as '.....भारशिवानां महाराज श्रीभवनाग दौहित्रस्य गौतमीपुत्रस्य पुत्रस्य वाकाटकानां महाराज श्री रुद्रसेन...' ('the illustrious Rudrasēna, who was the *Mahārāja* of the Vākāṭakas and the daughter's son of the illustrious Bhavanāga, the *Mahārāja* of the Bhāraśivas, and the son of Gautamīputra') in this grant, however, he is spoken of as— 'भारशिवानां महाराज श्री रुद्रसेन' ('the illustrious Rudrasēna, who was the *Mahārāja* of the Bhāraśivas') so much so that Mr. Jayaswal has laboured the point insisting on treating Rudrasēna I as the maternal grandson of the Bhāraśiva first, and then as a Vākāṭaka.¹¹ So far as we can judge, nothing of the sort seems to have been specifically intended; and especially as this singular statement (if at all it can be treated as such) occurs in such a late Vākāṭaka document of several generations after the said Rudrasēna I himself, and considering too that all the anterior records, viz., those of Pravarasēna II, are simply silent on it, we believe it to be clearly a slip of the engraver, who, no doubt inadvertently, left out the whole passage महाराज श्री भवनाग दौहित्रस्य गौतमीपुत्रस्य पुत्रस्य वाकाटकानाम्, which, in all the records of Pravarasēna II, is duly engraved between भारशिवानाम् on the one hand and महाराज श्रीरुद्रसेन on the other.

Further on in the said Bālāghāt plates, Narēndrasēna has been described in such peculiar terms as— पूर्वधिगत गुणविश्वासादपहत वंशश्रियः (genitive)—which Prof. Kielhorn has rendered as—Narēndrasēna, who 'from confidence in the excellent qualities previously acquired by him, took away (or appropriated) the family's fortunes.' In other words this would plainly mean that he took by force (अपहत) the family's fortunes from some other king, perhaps his elder brother, who was at that time on the Vākāṭaka throne. Here then there is a clear contradiction in terms inasmuch as confidence would naturally be placed in any person for his good qualities, and as taking by force and appropriating what, as a matter of fact or right, belongs to another, cannot be accounted a moral act prompted by any good quality, Narēndrasēna would manifestly seem to have abused the confidence placed in him by his father, or his brother, or the people; and if such was the case, his son would be the last person to extol him in such terms as clearly import that his father was guilty of what easily amounts

11. Jy. (p. 17).

to perfidy. Or does it mean that the confidence was placed in Narēndrasēna not by any others, but by himself? *i.e.*, to say, he was self-confident of achieving that end? In that case, however, we should have had **बलविश्वासात्** instead of **गुणविश्वासात्**; for he, who would resort to force in order to gain his object, would inevitably rely on his strength (**बल**) and not on his good qualities (**गुण**), as the latter would naturally prevent him from taking such a step. If that is admitted, the passage would mean—Narēndrasēna, who 'from the confidence (he had) in (his own) strength, previously acquired (by him), took away (or appropriated) the family's fortunes'—and as might is right, he would seem to have trained himself for the purpose, the accomplishment of which would naturally be looked upon by his son as a glorious deed achieved by his father. But unfortunately we have neither the word **बल** in the inscription, nor any word else which might express the same idea or approximate it in sense. Nor can we bring ourselves to believe that the word **गुण**, especially as it stands in the context, could be strained to do duty for such other words as convey the idea of strength or power. Prof. Kielhorn's interpretation will have therefore to be given up as inadmissible, and therewith also the theory of disputed succession, which is the legitimate issue of that interpretation.

Mr. Jayaswal,¹² on the other hand, holds that the expression like **गुणविश्वासात्** is meaningless in Samskrit, and therefore changing it into **गुणविशेषात्**, he reads the passage in question as—**पूर्वाधिगत गुणविशेषादपहत वंशश्रियः** which he translates as—Narēndrasēna, who 'took upon himself (the responsibility of) the dynastic majesty, on account of the special qualities he had acquired by his previous training.' He further explains that the word **अपहत** also means 'taking upon oneself without using force,' and has illustrated it with a quotation from the drama '*Vikramōrvaśīyam*' of Kālidāsa (Act III v. 1)¹³—

12. Jy. (p. 100; and f.n. 2).

13. In this passage, the chamberlain, who is the speaker, says:—

**सर्वः कल्ये वयसि यतते लब्धुमर्थान् कुटुम्बी
पश्चात्पुत्रैरपहतभरः कल्पते विश्रमाय ।**

which means—Every house-holder, in his healthy period of life (*i.e.*, youth), strives to obtain wealth; when, later on, (in his old age) he is relieved of the burden (of family cares) by his sons, he becomes fit for (enjoying) rest.

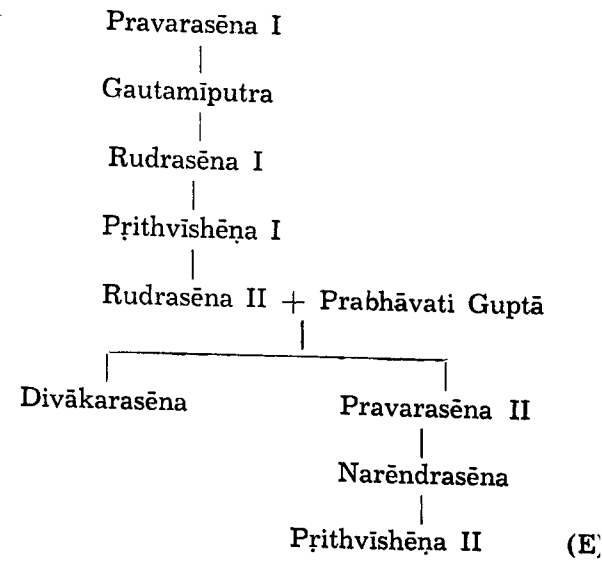
पश्चात्पुत्रैरपहतभरः— where the word can hardly mean 'taking by force.' But Mr. Jayaswal seems to have just missed the right import of the word **अपहत** and its proper application in this quotation; for it clearly applies here to the person who was relieved of his burden by his sons, and not to the sons who took it upon themselves from him, whereas in the passage in the Bālāghāt plates, it obviously refers to the person Narēndrasēna, who took upon himself the responsibility, and not to his predecessor, whom Narēndrasēna relieved of it. Mr. Jayaswal's quotation would not thus seem to be apposite, nor would the meaning he has proposed on its basis seem to have improved away the general sense (of taking by force) which the word '**अपहत**' seems to convey as it stands in the inscription. Accordingly the interpretation of the passage, as proposed by him, fails to carry conviction.

The word **अपहत** in the passage in question has been evidently misengraved or misread as such. We believe that it ought to be **उपहत** (*upahrīta*) meaning *bestowed, presented, offered*, etc. It may be further pointed out that it is on the word **गुणविश्वासात्** that the stress seems to have been laid, and that expression is the ablative form of quite a correct and sensible Samskrit compound meaning ' (on account of) the confidence in the good qualities.' There seems to be no need to change it for **गुणविशेषात्**, as Mr. Jayaswal has done¹⁴: it may well be retained intact. The whole passage would then read as—**पूर्वाधिगत गुणविश्वासादुपहत वंशश्रियः**, which is readily rendered as—Narēndrasēna, who 'was presented with the family's fortunes (or dynastic majesty) on account of the confidence placed in the good qualities, which he had previously acquired (or which had been acquired by his previous training)'. In that case it would clearly mean that

14. If, however, this change also is made, the passage would read as—**पूर्वाधिगत गुणविशेषादुपहत वंशश्रियः**, meaning—Narēndrasēna, who 'was presented with the family's fortunes (or dynastic majesty) on account of the special qualities he had previously acquired (or acquired by his previous special qualities he had previously acquired (or acquired by his previous training)'. In this case the stress would clearly be on the *special nature of his qualities*, whereas in the other case, it is exactly on the *confidence which his predecessor placed in him on account of his good qualities*; and that is just why we would prefer to retain the original reading **विश्वासात्**.

an elder brother of Narēndrasēna, who as such was the nearest claimant to the throne of their father Pravarasēna II, had been passed over in favour of Narēndrasēna, when the latter was preferred on account of the greater confidence placed in him, no doubt by their father, as the fitter of the two brothers for the next kingship.¹⁵ Narēndrasēna would thus seem to have been the immediate successor of his father Pravarasēna II.

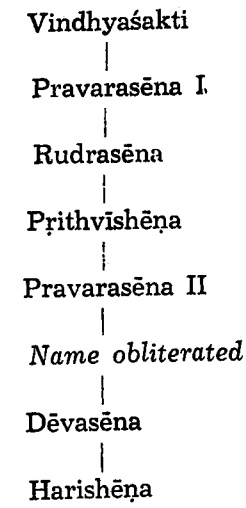
Consolidating C and D, we have—



Then there is the stone-inscription in the Ajanta cave No. XVI,¹⁶ which gives the following genealogy of the Vākāṭakas—

15. That some such custom of selection was in vogue is clearly evidenced by F. G. I. Nos. 1 (ll. 7-8), 4 (ll. 9-10), 12 (l. 19) and 13 (l. 4). See also F. G. I. p. 12, f.n. 1.

16. Report of the Archaeological Survey of West India (A. S. W. I.), IV p. 124. Note that the verses 6-10 of this inscription are in the same peculiar metre as that of the verses 1-24 of the Tālagunda Inscription (Epigraphic Carnatica, VII, SK. 176), as well as of the first verse of the Tūsam Inscription (F.G.I., No. 67).



A comparison of these two tables E and F shows

(1) that the name of Vindhyaśakti, which stands at the head of the latter list, has been omitted in the former;

(2) that the two names, viz., that of Gautamīputra, who in the former list has been mentioned as the son of Pravarasēna I, as well as that of Rudrasēna II, who in the same list has been said to be the son of Prithvishēna I and the father of Pravarasēna II, have been omitted in the latter; and

(3) that perhaps from Pravarasēna II onwards these two lists disclose the genealogies of two different branches of the Vākāṭaka dynasty.

In the Ajanta inscription, Vindhyaśakti is expressly described as *विजयप्रकाश* i.e. an illustrious Brāhmaṇa,¹⁷ whence it is evident that he was a Brāhmaṇa by birth, exactly as his contemporary, king Mayūraśarma, the founder of the Kadamba dynasty was. He is further said to be *वाकाटकवंशकेतु* i.e., the banner or the glory of the Vākāṭaka race, which is an evident metaphor meaning *the upraiser or uplifter* of that dynasty. This description therefore would not lend itself to postulate that

17. Though no doubt Kshatriyas as well as Vaiśyas are also known as *विजय* (twice-born), they are rarely spoken of as such, as this word is mostly applied to Brāhmaṇas.

Vindhyaśakti was the founder of the Vākāṭaka dynasty, as perhaps has been so far believed by scholars,¹⁸ whereas it clearly indicates that it was already a family of rulers, and Vindhyaśakti was the greatest of all those that had ruled till then: perhaps he was the first to found an independent kingdom and thus elevate the position of his family. This would become perfectly clear if we would just compare it with a similar description— **मनुवंशकेतु**— of king Dilipa,¹⁹ who, as is well-known, was never the founder of the Manu's race, but was, no doubt, a very great king among the kings of that race. Naturally then Vindhyaśakti's ought to be the first name in the subsequent genealogy of the family. But it is conspicuous by absence in the records of Pravarasēna II (i.e., his Chammak, Siwani and Dudia plates), which are no doubt much earlier than the Ajanta inscription. The reason seems to be that because Vindhyaśakti had neither performed any *Aśvamēdha* nor was he an emperor (**सम्राट्**) like his son and successor Pravarasēna I, his name was omitted apparently to start the dynasty from his much greater son, who had celebrated four horse-sacrifices, and was also the greatest king, nay perhaps the only emperor in the family; but when at a much later date the Ajanta inscription came to be engraved, all such formalities were perhaps overlooked, and the pedigree of the family was recorded from its first great king, the founder of its paramountcy, just as it was preserved in the family archives or the traditions of the house.

Then there is the omission of the names of Gautamīputra and Rudrasēna II in the Ajanta inscription. We have already seen that Gautamīputra could not have ruled as king, and as such in a genealogy, where it is the actual succession that matters and not the regular descent, his name would naturally be omitted. The omission of the name of Rudrasēna II, however, does not admit of this explanation, since, he must have ruled as king, as we have just seen. It will have therefore to be explained as due to the carelessness of the transcriber from the written draft to the stone,

18. e.g. Jy. (p. 70).

19. Kālidāsa's *Raghuvamśa* (II. 33). See also *Indian Antiquary*, XIV, p. 98, where Śivadēva I, king of Nepal, is described as **लिच्छविकुलकेतु**, the banner or the glory of the Licchavi race, and the Skt. poem, *Nava-sāhasāṅka-charitam* (III, 26), where the Paramāra king Sindhurāja is called **परमारवंशकेतु**, the glory of the Paramāra dynasty.

as the result of which the verse, which must have been duly inscribed between the 8th verse describing Prithvishēṇa I and the 9th verse describing Pravarasēna II and thus served as a natural link between the two, and in which the intermediate king Rudrasēna II must have been likewise described, was entirely left out, as not seldom happens in such transferrings. This is confirmed by the statement **प्रवरसेनस्तस्य पुत्रोऽभूत्** (9th verse), which coming directly after the description given (in the very previous verse) of Prithvishēṇa I, would make it appear that Pravarasēna II was the son of Prithvishēṇa I, whereas from the records of Pravarasēna II himself (i.e., the Chammak, Siwani and Dudia plates) we know for certain that he was the grandson, and never the son, of Prithvishēṇa I.

The omission of the names of Gautamīputra and Rudrasēna II in the Ajanta inscription, and that of Vindhyaśakti in the other Vākāṭaka records having been thus explained, the genealogy from Vindhyaśakti to Pravarasēna II may be held to be in substantial agreement in all the Vākāṭaka documents that have come down to us whether on copper-plates or on stone.

After Pravarasēna II the Ajanta inscription contained the name of a son, which is now unfortunately quite obliterated. The description given of him has been read as—**अष्टाब्दको यः प्रशशास सम्यक्**, which means 'one who came to the throne in his 8th year and ruled well.' This reading, however, cannot be correct; for even supposing this prince was in his 8th year, when on the death of his father he was proclaimed king, the administration of the kingdom would naturally be in the hands of a regent, so long as he had not attained majority, and if in the meanwhile the kingdom was governed well, it is the regent, and not the prince, that would have the credit of it. Accordingly this peculiar description, which as is manifest is intended to bring out the pointed antithesis between the fact of his having begun to rule while he was yet a child of 8 years and that of his having nevertheless ruled well (or in other words the people having been happy under his rule) would be simply pointless. If however it is meant that he was proclaimed king while yet 8 years of age, and that he ruled well after he attained majority and became a *de facto* king, the adversative sense, which the attribute **अष्टाब्दक** readily expresses, when read along with the next statement that he ruled well, would hardly be *apropos*, as during his minority he would be naturally brought up in the various arts of government and by

all means qualified for good governance, and it is no wonder that he would acquit himself well as a good king, as any good king, who came to the throne with such training, would as a matter of course do. It is thus certain that the king in question did not ascend the throne when he was 8 years old; nor would there be any grace in saying that this particular king ruled well for 8 years, especially in view of the non-mention of the regnal years of any other kings, unless it be to effect a contrast between his reign having been so short and the people all the same having been so happy during the period. Apparently therefore the word **अष्टाब्दक** which cannot well mean otherwise than that he was 8 years old, has been evidently misengraved or misread as such. The correct reading would seem to be either

- (1) **अष्टाब्दिको यः प्रशशास सम्यक्**, or
 (2) **अष्टाब्दकं यः प्रशशास सम्यक्**,²⁰

both of which alike mean that he ruled well for eight years, and fully bring out the obvious contrast intended between the fact of the shortness of his reign of merely 8 years and that of his having nevertheless ruled well. In other words, it means that though within such a short space of barely 8 years many other kings might not be able to do all they would or could to render their

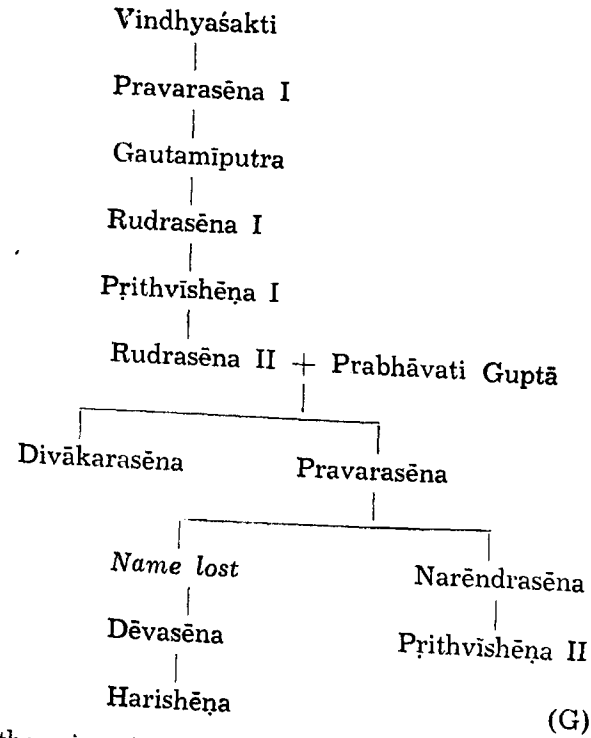
20. Of these two words, **अष्टाब्दिकः** and **अष्टाब्दकम्**, the former is explained by Pāṇini IV. 3. 11, and also cf. *Manusmṛiti* III. 1 **षट्त्रिंशदाब्दिकं चयं गुरौ त्रैविदिकं व्रतम्** !, and *Dakṣaśmṛiti* (*Anandāśrama* Series, No. 48, p. 84) VII, 43 (f.n. 6) **संचितं यद्गृहस्थेन पापमात्मानं आब्दिकम्**; and the latter which is an adverbial accusative, is explained by Pāṇini, II, 3, 5, and also cf. *Manu*, VIII, 30—**प्रणष्टस्वामिकं रिक्तं राजा व्यब्दं निधापयेत्** ! In the latter word, however, **अब्दक**, which is the same as **अब्द** (according to the rule—**स्वार्थे कन्**), both alike meaning 'year', has been used in the inscription, evidently under metrical necessity. Now of these two different forms, **अष्टाब्दिको (कः)** and **अष्टाब्दकं (कम्)**, as they would appear in the context, the former has the greater probability of being the exact word used in the concerned verse by the composer of that inscription, inasmuch as it ends with the *akshara* **का**, exactly as the reading **अष्टाब्दको** occurring in the published text of the inscription does, if of course the said reading is correct so far at least as that final *akshara* is concerned.

subjects happy, he on the other hand ruled well and made the people happy. In that case he must have known the world long enough to be able not only to eschew all the evil that is generally associated with the life and rule of a king, but also to use every moment as it were of his short reign for the benefit of his people. On this assumption he would seem to have come to the throne when already well-nigh advanced in age, and that is why, we believe, his reign was necessarily short.

This anonymous king was a son of Pravarasēna II, and so also was Narēndrasēna. Could they be identical? Mr. Jayaswal however has equated them, but he has not assigned any reasons.²¹ Other scholars have taken them as brothers, and have naturally made the anonymous king, whom they believe to have been proclaimed king when 8 years old, the elder of the two. Now Narēndrasēna is spoken of, in the Bālāghāt plates of his son, as **कोसला मेकला मालवाधि-पतिभिरभ्यर्चित शासनः** i.e., he whose orders were obeyed by the lords of Kōsalā, Mēkalā and Mālava, which description readily suggests that he must have been a strong ruler, if not actually a conqueror; whereas the other son of Pravarasēna II i.e., the anonymous king, is simply said to have ruled well (**प्रशशास सम्यक्**), or in other words, he was neither more nor less than merely a good ruler. The ideas contained in these two descriptions are quite dissimilar and would not therefore conform to each other. Consequently Narēndrasēna and the anonymous king do not seem to be identical: they were two brothers and it is very likely that the anonymous king was that elder brother of Narēndrasēna, who as we have seen, was passed over when their father preferred the latter to succeed him. In that case since it was Narēndrasēna, who was the immediate successor of Pravarasēna II it is not inconceivable that the anonymous king must have worn the crown not directly after the death of his younger brother Narēndrasēna, but presumably in succession to his nephew Prithvishēna II, who would thus be the immediate successor of his father Narēndrasēna, and that is evidently why the reign of the anonymous king was of such a short duration.

21. Jy. (pp. 76, 100).

Consolidating the lists E and F in the light of the foregoing arguments, we have—



In addition to these inscriptions, there is also the testimony of the *Purāṇas*, where the first 2 or 3 steps of this dynasty are re-counted as follows—

विन्ध्यशक्तिसुतश्चापि प्रवीरो नाम वीर्यवान् ।
 भोज्यते च समाः षष्टिं पुरीं काञ्चनकां च वै ॥
 यक्ष्यते वाजिमेधैश्च समाप्त वरदक्षिणैः ।
 तस्य पुत्रास्तु चत्वारो भविष्यन्ति नराधिपाः ॥ ²²

—Vindhyasakti's valiant son named Pravira will enjoy the city of Kāñchankā for 60 years, and will sacrifice with *Āśvamēdha* sacrifices replete with choice largesse. His four sons will be kings.

22. Pargiter's *Dynasties of the Kali Age* (pp. 50, 73). Some texts have वाजपेयैः instead of वाजिमेधैः. Mr. Jayaswal proposes to read the last quarter of the first of the above verses as पुरिकां चनकां च वै (Jy. p. 16, f.n. 3) and identifies the city of Chanakā with the modern Nachnā, where Vākātaka inscriptions and monuments have been found. This explanation seems to be quite convincing.

Two or three outstanding features of this dictum, which are noteworthy, are as follows—

(1) Vindhyasakti is spoken of as an already well-known king, wherefore he must have belonged to a family of rulers, who were perhaps of a feudatory rank until when he asserted independence and carved out a new kingdom for himself;

(2) his son and successor called Pravira is said to have performed horse-sacrifices (plural), and from the inscriptions of the dynasty, we know that Pravarasēna I, the son of Vindhyasakti was the performer of four horse-sacrifices (चतुरश्वमेधयाजिनः)²³ thus then Pravira and Pravarasēna I would readily be identical;

(3) this Pravira or Pravarasēna I, who ruled for 60 years, is said to have had four sons, all of whom are said to have ruled as kings; but then none of them has been mentioned by name, nor are their respective regnal years specified. This may mean either that one of them, perhaps the eldest, succeeded his father on their family throne, while the rest of his brothers ruled as sub-kings or governors of the different provinces under him; or that all of them ruled as kings in succession one after another. But as their father Pravarasēna I is said to have ruled for 60 years, when every one of them would naturally be sufficiently advanced in age, it is scarcely possible that all of them could have ruled in succession. The reason, why none of these four sons of Pravarasēna I has been mentioned by name in the *Purāṇas*, seems to be that those verses must have been composed evidently when those *Purāṇas* were perhaps finally redacted just after the death of Pravarasēna I, whose regnal period they seem to have so faithfully recorded, and as such the kings who were on their thrones (the central as well as the provincial) at the time of the final recension have not been mentioned by name in the *Purāṇas*. If therefore all the sons of Pravarasēna I had ruled as kings in succession, the *Purāṇas*, which clearly seem to have been redacted after the death of Pravarasēna I, would certainly have mentioned such of them as had already ruled and died by that time. It is thus certain that Pravarasēna I was succeeded by one of his sons, probably the eldest, while the rest of them ruled as sub-kings or viceroys under him. Who then were the sons of Pravarasēna I?

23. Chammak, Siwani, Dudia and Balaghat plates.

If they have not been named in the Purāṇas nor in any of the historical documents of the later Vākāṭakas, some of the seals dug out at Bhiṭā and so satisfactorily identified by Mr. Jayaswal as those of the earlier Vākāṭakas,²⁴ help us a good deal to unravel the mystery. They are as follows :

(1) (Vākā-)ṭaka Mahārājādhirāja : dated the year 37 (seal No. 29);

(2) Śrī Vindhya-*vardhana* Mahārājasya Mahēśvara-Mahā-sēnātīśriṣṭa-rājyasya Vṛishadhvajasya²⁵ Gautamīputrasya : undated (seal No. 25);

(3) Mahārāja Gautamīputrasya Śrī Śivamāghasya : undated (seal No. 26);

(4) Rājñō Vāsishṭhīputrasya Śrī Bhīmasēnasya : undated (seal No. 27).

The first seal is undoubtedly that of king Pravarasēna I himself, and was struck in commemoration of his accession, as we shall presently see. He would thus seem to have succeeded his father Vindhyaśakti as a Mahārājādhirāja, the great king of kings, which title, however, later on, perhaps on completion of all the four *Āsvamēdhas* which he had celebrated, naturally expanded into the still higher title सम्राट्, emperor. The next seal is obviously that of his eldest son, who has been rightly named Vindhya-*vardhana* after his grandfather Vindhya-śakti in strict accordance with the time-honoured custom, still prevalent in India, of naming the eldest male child after its paternal grandfather.²⁶ Vindhya-*vardhana* calls himself Gautamīputra, whence it is manifest that his mother, who, as the mother of the heir-apparent, would necessarily be the chief queen of Pravarasēna I, belonged to the Gau-

24. Jy. (pp. 226-31).

25. The Vākāṭakas were Vṛishadhvajasya i.e., their crest was God Śiva's bull Nandi. (Jy. pp. 227-30).

26. Mr. Jayaswal takes 'Vindhya-*vardhana*' as meaning (Jy. p. 228) 'the increaser (of the family) of Vindhya' (i.e., of the family of king Vindhya-śakti), as it readily does. We would, however, prefer to take the former part Vindhya as the personal name given to him after his grandfather Vindhya (i.e., Vindhya-śakti), and the latter part *vardhana* as an honorific suffix, which is so conspicuous in several royal names such as Haṁsha-*vardhana*, Viṣṇu-*vardhana*, etc.

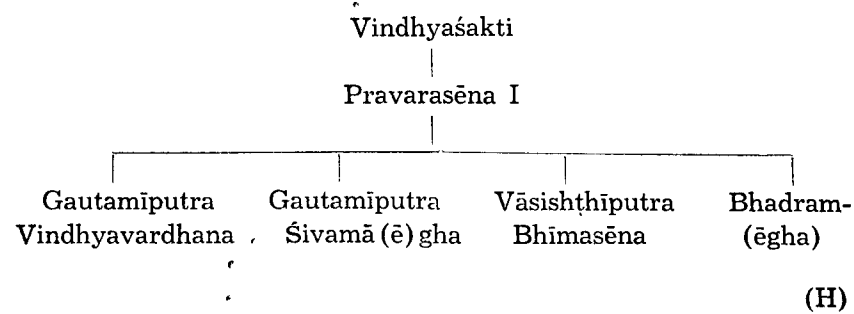
tama *gōtra*. The third seal is that of Śivamāgha, who also was a Gautamīputra i.e., another son of Pravarasēna I by the same queen, perhaps her second son. There is a stone inscription of this Śivamāgha (or Śivamēgha, as he is there called) at Kōsam,²⁷ whence it would appear that he must have been the governor, under his father, of that part of the Vākāṭaka empire, which had its headquarters at Kauśāmbī (Kōsam). From another inscription at the same place²⁸ dated in the year 88 or 86 (which, as we shall soon see, falls towards the end of the reign of Pravarasēna I), we learn that Mahārāja Śrī Bhādrām(ēgha) was ruling at Kauśāmbī, whence Gautamīputra Śivamā(ē)gha would appear to have been dead by that time, and Bhādrām(ēgha), perhaps another son of Pravarasēna I by some other wife, and in all probability his last son, who held no office till then, was appointed instead as governor of that province. Gautamīputra Śivamā(ē)gha would thus appear to have predeceased his father, and we have already seen that the Gautamīputra, who, according to the historical records of the dynasty, was the son of Pravarasēna I and the father of Rudrasēna I, predeceased his father and never came to the throne. Verily therefore the Gautamīputra Śivamā(ē)gha of the Bhiṭā seal as well as of the Kōsam inscription is the same as the Gautamīputra who was the father of Rudrasēna I. The last seal is that of Bhīmasēna, the son of Vāsishṭhī i.e., a princess of the Vāsishṭha *gōtra*. This Bhīmasēna is perhaps identical with the Mahārāja Bhīmasēna of the Giñja inscription²⁹ dated in the year 52, which also, as we shall presently see, falls in the reign of Pravarasēna I. As the Giñja inscription of Bhīmasēna is much earlier than Bhādrām(ēgha)'s Kōsam inscription (of the year 86 or 88), we believe that the former prince was the elder of the two, and, as is quite likely, his mother, Queen Vāsishṭhī, though not the chief queen of Pravarasēna I, was senior in rank to the mother of Bhādrām(ēgha). Thus then we have the

27. E. I., XVIII (No. II, p. 159).

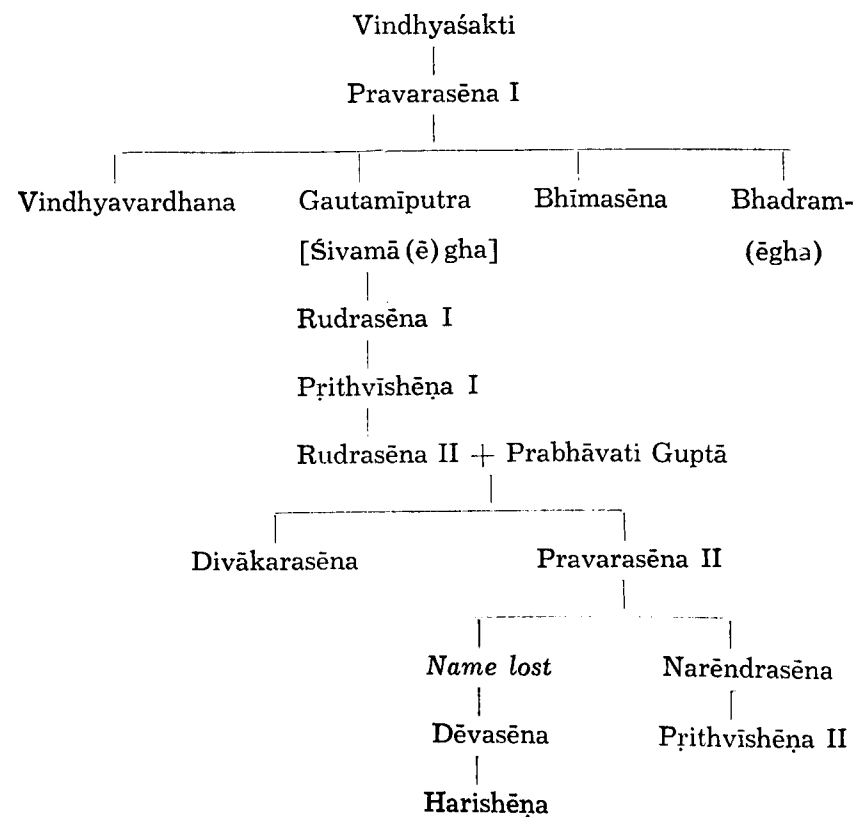
28. Ibid., (No. III, p. 160), where the year has been read as 88, while Mr. Jayaswal gives it as 86 (Jy. p. 230).

29. E. I. (III. p. 302); Lüders' List No. 906.

names of all the four sons of Pravarasēna I; and the earliest steps in the Vākāṭaka genealogy would thus be :



Consolidating the lists (G) and (H), the final genealogy of the Vākāṭaka dynasty would stand as follows :



THE VĀKĀṬAKA ERA.

Before passing on to the discussion of the Vākāṭaka chronology, we shall have to say a few words with respect to the era in

GENEALOGY AND CHRONOLOGY OF VAKĀṬAKAS 19

which the records of the princes of Uchchakalpa³⁰ are dated. Elsewhere³¹ we presumed that the very fact that the Parivrājaka prince Hasti and the Uchchakalpa prince Śarvanātha, 'both of whom were feudatory princes, settled a boundary question between themselves without referring the same to their respective sovereigns, as recorded in their Bhūmarā pillar inscription (F. G. I. No. 24), suffices to prove that they were the co-ordinate feudatories of the same paramount sovereign, as otherwise that political question should have been referred to their respective suzerains, who alone had the right to settle it whether in peace or by war'; and inasmuch as Hasti was unquestionably a feudatory of the Guptas, we then concluded that the princes of Uchchakalpa too were likewise feudatories of the Guptas, and that accordingly the years, in which their records are dated, will have to be referred to the Gupta era. But then it would now appear that we considered only a single aspect of the question, and that perhaps not the right one; for there are yet other aspects, such as :

(1) While all the Parivrājaka records³² speak of the era in which they are dated as *गुप्तनृपराज्यभुक्ति* i.e., (the period of) the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta kings, why is there no such specific reference to the said era in any of the Uchchakalpa records ?

(2) If the era, in which the Uchchakalpa records are dated, is identical with that in which the Parivrājaka records are dated, why is the Bhūmarā pillar inscription, put up conjointly by the Uchchakalpa prince Śarvanātha and the Parivrājaka prince Hasti, not dated in the years of that era ?

(3) Nay, why is it the only inscription, whether of the Parivrājaka princes or of those of Uchchakalpa, which is not dated in any era whatsoever ?

(4) Why on the other hand is it so specifically dated in the astronomical year of an outright neutral reckoning, the *Mahāmāgha Samvatsara* of the 12-year cycle of Jupiter, the use of

30. F. G. I. Nos. 26-28, 30-31; and E. I. XIX. (pp. 129-130).

31. *Journal of Indian History* (J.I.H.) XI. p. 189.

32. F. G. I. Nos. 21-23, 25; and E. I. XXI. (p. 126).

which (though no doubt found in the Parivrājaka records), it may be said once for all, was neither restricted to any particular area, nor was it the prerogative of any particular dynasty? and

(5) Is it likely that the quasi-feudatories like the Parivrājaka as well as the Ucchakalpa princes, who like all the rest of their class in those times, were almost independent, or at least semi-dependent, (as would be clear enough from the fact that none of the inscriptions of either of those houses mentions their paramount sovereigns by name) could not settle even a boundary question between themselves, but were obliged to refer it to their respective suzerains?

and as these questions cannot be lightly passed by, we are finally driven to the inevitable conclusion that Hasti and Śarvanātha could not be the feudatories of one and the same paramount sovereign, as we then believed, and since there is not the slightest doubt that Hasti was a Gupta feudatory, it is now quite certain that neither was Śarvanātha a feudatory of the Guptas, nor are the Ucchakalpa records therefore dated in the Gupta era. This will be further confirmed when we should presently verify the date of the Sōhāwal plates³³ of Śarvanātha, which unfortunately we were then not aware of.

From the Bhūmarā pillar inscription, which is a joint record of Hasti and Śarvanātha, it is perfectly clear that they were contemporaries; and the dates we have for Hasti in the Gupta era are G. S. 156, 163, 191 (F. G. I Nos. 21, 22, 23) and 198 (E. I. XXI p. 126). Now the Sōhāwal plates of Śarvanātha, which are dated in the year 191, record a grant made on the 10th solar day of the second month of Āshāḍha— संवत्सर शते एकनवत्युत्तरे द्विराषाढमासे दिवसे दशमे— wherefore there ought to be an intercalation of the said lunar month in that year. If now the Ucchakalpa records are dated in the Gupta era, there ought to be an intercalation of Āshāḍha in G. S. (Gupta Saṁvat) 191 i.e., $191 + 272 - 73 = 463 - 64$ A.C. according to our equivalent 272-73 A.C. for the epoch of the Gupta era.³⁴ But Āshāḍha was never intercalary in 463-64

33. E. I. (XIX, p. 130).

34. J.I.H. (XI. pp. 174-89; XII. pp. 215-40).

A.C. nor ever between the years 456 and 475 A.C., whether according to the true system of intercalations or the mean.³⁵

The earliest record we have of the Parivrājaka prince Hasti is dated G. S. 156 (F. G. I No. 21), and the earliest record of his successor prince Śaṁkshōbha, i.e., his Bētul plates (E. I. VIII pp. 288f.), is dated G. S. 199. Assigning the rule of Hasti to the extreme dates of G. S. 150 and 199, he would seem to have ruled from $150 + 272 - 73 = 422 - 23$ A.C. to $199 + 272 - 73 = 471 - 72$ A.C.³⁶ In those 50 years, Āshāḍha was intercalary in only these three years,— (1) 437 A.C., (2) 456 A.C. and (3) 475 A.C. according to the true as well as the mean systems, and one of these 3 years must therefore be the 191st year of the era in which Śarvanātha's Sōhāwal plates are dated. In other words the year 1 of the said era must be one of these 3 years—(1) 247-48 A.C.; (2) 266-67 A.C. or (3) 285-86 A.C. As however no era is known to have been started either in 266-67 A.C. or in 285-86 A.C., the said plates must unquestionably be referred to the era, which began in the year 247-48 A.C.

35. Sewell and Dikshit's *Indian Calender*: Table I (pp. x-xii). These Sōhāwal plates can neither be referred to the Gupta era of 319-20 A.C. (even if that equivalent for the epoch of that era be correct) in that there was no intercalation of Āshāḍha between 502 and 513 A.C. (*Indian Calender*: Table I. p. xiv) according to the true system, nor between 494 and 559 A.C. (*Ibid.*, pp. xiv-xvii) according to the mean system (vide also E. I. XX, Appendix: *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, p. 159, f.n. 5, No. 1196); and therefore Mr. K. N. Dikshit's theory that it is very probable that because there was an intercalation of Śrāvaṇa by the true system (but an intercalary Āśvina by the mean) in 510-11 A.C., these plates may have been ante-dated by a month according to some siddhānta (?) followed in that locality (E. I. XXI. p. 125), fails to carry conviction.

36. Between these years 422 and 472 A.C. there occurred four *Mahāmāgha Saṁvatsaras*, viz. in (1) 425-26 A.C., (2) 437-38 A.C., (3) 449-50 A.C. and (4) 461-62 A.C. But we know not whether Hasti had already begun to rule in 425 A.C. (for the earliest record of his is dated G.S. 156, i.e., 428-29 A.C.), nor whether Śarvanātha was still ruling in 462 A.C. (for his latest record, the Khōh plates, is dated the year 214 of the Chēdi era i.e., 460 A.C.), wherefore the only two *Mahāmāgha* years to be taken into account as having occurred when both of them were living and ruling in their respective provinces would be those of the years 437-38 A.C. and 449-50 A.C. Accordingly the corresponding English date of the Bhūmarā pillar inscription (F.G.I. No. 24) of the 19th (solar) day of Kārtika in the *Mahāmāgha* year would be either (1) Tuesday the 19th October 437 A.C., or (2) Friday the 7th October 449 A.C., where 437 A.C. is G.S. 165 and Chēdi year 191, and 449 A.C. is G.S. 177 and Chēdi year 203.

and in later times was known as the Chēdi era.^{36a} The equivalent English date of the Sōhāwal plates would accordingly be *Monday the 14th June 437 A.C.*

The most important things to note in respect of the Ucchakalpa records are—

(1) that they are thus referable not to the Gupta era. but certainly to the Chēdi era ;

(2) that therefore those princes who issued them were not the feudatories of the Guptas, as the Parivrājaka princes were, though no doubt they too were the feudatories of some other suzerain power; and

(3) that just as from the use of the Gupta era in the inscriptions of the Parivrājaka princes, it is patent that they were the

36a. The date of the Sōhāwal plates thus works out correctly for the year 437 A.C. with 247-48 A.C. as the year 1 of the era in which they are dated; and as Āshāḍha becomes intercalary usually once, and not more than twice, in a period of 19 years, the epoch of the era as deduced from such a decisive fact as that of an intercalation may well be looked upon as correct beyond doubt. Prof. Kielhorn, however, has determined (I. A. XVII, p. 215 ff) the year 248-49 A.C. as the epoch of the Chēdi era, wherefore the next year 249-50 A.C. would be its year 1, and consequently the correctness of our equivalent 247-48 A.C., which is thus 2 years earlier than his, may naturally be called in question. But it must be remembered that of the 14 inscriptions, on which his conclusion is based, two are dated in the 5th century of the Chēdi era, and the rest range between its 8th and 10th centuries, whereas the date of the Sōhāwal plates falls in a much earlier period i.e., at about the end of its 2nd century. Now a glance at Prof. D. B. Bhandarkar's list of inscriptions (E. I. XX. Appendix. pp. 159-170) dated in the Kalachuri era, which is only a much later name for the Chēdi era (Ibid. pp. 168-69, Nos. 1242 and 1249—*चेदि संवत्*) will suffice to show that the records of the Ucchakalpa princes (Nos. 1194—1198, and 1201) are the earliest ones to be dated in the Chēdi era, that the earliest of these Ucchakalpa records is the Kārītālāi plates of Jayanātha (No. 1194) of the year 174, which is thus the earliest recorded date we hitherto know of in that era, and that none of the Ucchakalpa records contains any verifiable details of date save only the Sōhāwal plates of the year 191, which mention the intercalation of Āshāḍha, as we know. Accordingly the equivalent date we have here found out for the year 1 of the Chēdi era from such an early record and from such a definite indication as that of an intercalation cannot well be wrong. Obviously therefore the epoch of the Chēdi era must have shifted a couple of years forwards between its 3rd and 5th centuries; and as any further comments on the subject fall quite beyond the scope of the present article, suffice it to say that the question may well be reserved for a future discussion.

feudatories of the Guptas, likewise the paramount sovereigns whose feudatories the Ucchakalpa princes were, will be readily known, if the dynasty, which was responsible for the establishment of the Chēdi era can be determined.

By whom then was the Chēdi era founded ?

It may be said here once for all that almost all the Indian eras were established to commemorate some one or other great victory achieved by their respective founders, or any other equally great event connected with their reign, and the assumption on that account of the imperial style by them: the Vikrama era was founded by the great Hindu king, the historical Vikramāditya, when he had conquered the Śakas, and the Śālivāhana era (i.e., the so-called Śaka era) by the great Sātavāhana king Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, when later on he too effected a similar conquest, as we shall show hereafter; the Gupta era was founded by Chandragupta I in 273-74 A.C., when he had put an end to the imperial sway of the Vākāṭakas, as we shall presently see; and the Chālukya Vikrama era was founded by the Western Chālukya king Tribhuvanamalla Vikramāditya VI, when he had defeated and dethroned his elder brother Sōmēśvara II and crowned himself king. Since thus the starting of an era is evidently a symbol of assumption of imperial position, it is manifest that no era could be associated with a line of subordinate rulers or feudatory princes. Consequently the Chēdi era could not owe its origin to the Ucchakalpa princes, though no doubt theirs are the earliest records dated in that era. Nor did the Traikūṭakas or the Kalachūris, with whom also the said era came later on to be so far associated as even to be sometimes known as the Traikūṭaka as well as the Kalachūri era,³⁷ belong to the imperial line. Neither of them have been mentioned in the Purāṇas, nor is there any distinct reference made to them in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta, which enumerates with such minuteness of detail the various independent kings, whom he overcame in the course of his world-conquest, whereas in perhaps the earliest reference to the Traikūṭakas, which is found in the Pardi grant³⁸ of the Chēdi year 207 (453-54 A.C.)

37. E. I. XX. Appendix: *Inscriptions of Northern India*—
कानां प्रवर्द्धमान राज्यसंवत्सर (p. 160, No. 1202); कलचुरि संवत्सर
(pp. 165-7, Nos. 1231-33 and 1239).
38. E. I. (X. p. 53).

the Traikūṭaka *Mahārāja* Dharasēna is spoken of with no higher title than *Mahārāja*, and in the Vaṇṇ plates³⁹ of the Chēdi year 360 (606-7 A.C.) none of the 3 Kalachūri rulers mentioned there, viz., Kṛishṇarāja, his son Śaṅkaragaṇa and the latter's son Buddharāja, would appear to have been a paramount sovereign. Nor from the fact that the Pardi grant mentions a single name and the Vaṇṇ grant only 3 names in their respective pedigrees, could it be maintained that either of these genealogies would admit of being carried so far back as 247-48 A.C. when the Chēdi era was founded, nor that the then rulers of either dynasty, if there were any then (i.e. in 247-48 A.C.) at all, could have any imperial power. The Chēdi era cannot therefore have been founded by either of these dynasties, the Traikūṭakas or the Kalachūris; and if nevertheless in later times it came to be known also as the Traikūṭaka as well as the Kalachūri era, it must be obviously because the princes of those dynasties took it up in their daily reckoning, and the Kalachūris further, as we shall soon see, kept it going on even long after the dynasty of its real founder had been extinct and the true origin of the era had long been forgotten. The Traikūṭakas and the Kalachūris would therefore seem to have started as the feudatories of the line of the real founder of the Chēdi era.

Now the Sātavāhana dynasty came to an end in about the first or second quarter of the 3rd Century A.C., and the Gupta era started in 273-74 A.C. marks the rise of the Guptas as an imperial power in about the last quarter of it. The Purāṇas register the rise of the line of Vindhyaśakti as the next great power of imperial rank after the Sātavāhanas,⁴⁰ and the Chēdi era of 247-48 A.C. would thus refer itself to the imperial Vākāṭakas themselves and to no other dynasty, as in fact between the Sātavāhanas and the Guptas, the only dynasty that could boast of a *Samrāt*, an emperor, and was therefore of imperial rank, was that of the Vākāṭakas, for we have already seen that its second king Pravarasēna I was *de facto* an emperor. His father Vindhyaśakti however was not a *Samrāt*, as is evident from the fact that the legend on the Bhiṭā Seal (No. 29)⁴¹ of the very first regnal year of Pravarasēna I (as we shall presently see) runs—

39. Ibid. (XII. pp. 33-35).

40. Jy. (p. 111).

41. Ibid. (pp. 226-27).

(Vākā-)ṭaka *Mahārājādhirāja*—which style he would seem to have evidently inherited from his father when he succeeded him on the Vākāṭaka throne. Inasmuch as the starting of an era connotes the assumption of imperial power, it is unavoidable to presume that the Chēdi era must have been founded *not by Vindhyaśakti, but by his son, the emperor Pravarasēna I*, when later on he assumed the right imperial style of *Samrāt*, exactly as, only a quarter of a century later, the Gupta era was established by Chandragupta I, when he became a paramount sovereign, and assumed the higher title *Mahārājādhirāja* i.e., the great king of kings, as against the much simpler and rudimentary title *Mahārāja*, which his father and grandfather bore.⁴² (F.G. I. No. 1, l. 28; No. 4, ll. 5-7).

The name Chēdi era, which perhaps was the earliest name which the era came to be known by, must have accrued to it evidently from its provenance in the Chēdi country i.e., Bundēlkhāṇḍ, which was then undoubtedly included in the Vākāṭaka kingdom, as is manifest from the fact that the lithic records (which as such are not liable to any change of place) of the feudatory prince Vyāghradēva at Nachnā in Bundēlkhāṇḍ⁴³ speak of his paramount sovereign Pṛithvīshēṇa, who is assuredly one of the two Vākāṭaka kings of that name. Mr. Jayaswal has rightly identified Uchchakalpa, the capital of the princes Jayanātha and Sarvanātha, with the modern Uchahara in Nagaudh state,⁴⁴ and the fact, that it stands within a few miles of Nachnā, leads to the inevitable conclusion that the Uchchakalpa princes were the feudatories of the Vākāṭakas, and that therefore the Vākāṭaka feudatory Vyāghradēva of the Nachnā stone inscriptions must in all likelihood be the *Mahārāja* Vyāghra, who is spoken of as the father of Jayanātha in all the aforesaid Uchchakalpa records.⁴⁵ If however all the Uchchakalpa records are dated in the *Pūrṇimānta* months and on the solar days thereof (exactly as the Parivrājaka records are),

42. Mr. Jayaswal has put it beyond doubt (Jy. pp. 108-111) that the Chēdi era is merely a local name of what should rightly be called the Vākāṭaka era. It is to him that I am indebted for the first clue that suggested this line of my enquiry. But as regards his further hypotheses, that Pravarasēna I counted the Vākāṭaka era from the coronation of his father Vindhyaśakti, and that Samudragupta also did the same, i.e., having himself founded the Gupta era, he counted it from the coronation of his father Chandragupta I, I must confess that these are hardly convincing.

43. F. G. I. Nos. 53-54 (pp. 233-4).

44. Jy. (p. 111).

45. F. G. I. Nos. 26-29, 31; and E. I. (XIX, pp. 129-30).

whereas, of the dated Vākāṭaka grants themselves, all but one are dated in the *Amānta* (or *Pūrṇimānta*?) months and on their *lunār* days (the Poona and the Riddhapur plates of Prabhāvatī Guptā, and the Chammak and Siwani plates of her son Pravarasēna II) while that other (the Dudia plates of Pravarasēna II) is dated on the solar day of the fortnights of the seasonal year with three seasons of four months each, it simply means that the calendar followed in each case was different from that followed in others, and not that the Uchakalpa princes, on merely that account, were not the feudatories of the Vākāṭakas; for while every one of the inscriptions of the Parivrājaka princes,⁴⁶ who were beyond doubt the feudatories of the Guptas, is so conspicuously dated in also the astronomical years of the duodenary cycle of Jupiter, that system of reckoning is conspicuous by absence in the records, so far available to us, of their suzerains, the Guptas themselves.

Though thus it would appear that the Chēdi era should in fact be called the Vākāṭaka era (or better still, the Vākāṭaka era of Chēdi, as it has been so happily designated by Mr. Jayaswal)⁴⁷ as having originated in that dynasty, it may be said once for all that there is hardly an instance of any Vākāṭaka record having been explicitly dated in it, except perhaps that of a very vague reference to it, which will be duly noticed later on. Exactly similar is the case with the Sātavāhana inscriptions, which also disclose at most one or two instances of a more or less indistinctive reference to their own era; and that neither of the pillar inscriptions of Samudragupta⁴⁸ is dated in the Gupta era, established not long since by his own father, is no less a case in point.

(to be continued)

46. F. G. I. Nos. 21-23, 25; E. I. VIII. (pp. 288 ff.).

47. Jy. (p. 111).

48. F. G. I. Nos. 1-2.

On the Eran Inscription of about 350 A.D.

(See Text of this record on 18 ff. of Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions :
Vol. III Corpus Inscriptionem Indicarum.)

By

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ALL the verses in the above inscription are almost unanimously believed to refer to the second Gupta ruler, Samudragupta. Fleet alone had some doubts about verse 7. He remarked that the lacunae therein made it impossible to say whether स्व in the words स्ववभोगनगरे and स्वयशसः referred to Samudragupta or to some feudatory of his. But Mr. K. P. Jayaswal entertains no such doubts. He finds a clear reference to Samudragupta in every verse, and interprets स्वभोगनगर as a town that had, since his victory at Eran, 'become a direct personal possession of the Gupta emperor.'¹ We agree with him as regards the interpretation of verses 2 and 3. But concerning the rest of the inscription, we should like to make the following observations :

1. In verse 4², it is words in the instrumental, and not those in the nominative case, that refer to Samudragupta. He, alone, could be described by the words भक्तिनयविक्रमतोषितेन and परमतुष्टिपुरस्कृतेन, the deciding words here being भक्ति 'devotion', and परमतुष्टि 'supreme satisfaction'. It is easy to think of Samudragupta getting pleased by the devotion and valour of some feudatory and granting him the title of Rājan or even Mahārāja³. But how could he, who was a king already and

1. History of India, 150 A.D.—350 A.D., p. 141.

2. (- -) न भक्तिनयविक्रमतोषितेन
यो राजशब्दविभवेरमिषेचनाद्यैः ।
(- -) नितः परमतुष्टिपुरस्कृतेन
(- - -) वीरपतिरप्रतिवार्यवीर्यः ॥

3. For instances of feudatories being appointed by their overlords see the Malīya Copper Plate Inscription of Mahārāja Dharasena II, the Gangā inscriptions, and Talagūṇḍa inscription of the Kadambas.

perhaps a *Mahārājādhirāja*, (for he had, according to Mr. Jayaswal, made himself the master of the Gangetic valley and defeated the southern kings before the battle of Eran), be described as being consecrated as a mere *rājan* by one, who being referred to by the words **भक्तिनयविक्रमतोषित** and **परममुष्टिपुरस्कृत** must be regarded as his superior. That Samudragupta had none stronger than himself at the time is well-known. If, however, the old interpretation, adhered to by Mr. Jayaswal and others, be accepted, Samudragupta must be regarded as not merely devoted to this unnamed person, but as one who had fought for him on the field with conspicuous bravery, and pleased him by his diplomatic skill.

2. Verse 5 cannot refer to Samudragupta's wife. Mr. Jayaswal thinks that it does so. He writes, 'Wife was never so honoured, as Samudragupta honoured Dattā Devī. In the greatest moment of his triumph at Eran, the Emperor of All-India proudly remembered his life-partner and the day of his marriage when her dowry consisted of only the manliness of her lord, and whose grandeur now consisted in being the ideal Hindu woman, the *kula-vadhū* and the Hindu mother surrounded by sons and grandsons'. But as pointed out years ago by Fleet, the metre prevents Dattādevī being mentioned by name in this verse. Further, if she were the woman referred to here, she would not have been described as surrounded by sons and grandsons. Kumāragupta, the son of Chandragupta II, was begotten on Dhruvadevī, and was therefore born after Chandragupta's seizure of the Gupta throne about 380 A.D. Chandragupta's brother too had, most probably, no son. At least the extant extracts from the *Dēvi-Chandraguptam* do not refer to any. These, on the other hand, lead us to infer that both Chandragupta and his brother were young men about 380 A.D., and therefore mere infants and not fathers of children about 348 A.D. when the Eran inscription is believed to have been incised. The year of Chandragupta's death too leads us to the same conclusion. If he died at the ripe age of seventy, he would have been four years old in 348 A.D. It may, therefore, be concluded that verse 5 refers, not to Dattādevī, but to the wife of the feudatory chief, who is described in verse 4, and who was according to it, and as proved above, given the title of *Rājan* by Samudragupta. It was this feudatory, and not his overlord who had the record

set up. His proper or family name ended in **व** and lies concealed in the lines (. . .) **वो नृपतिरप्रतिवार्यवीर्यः** (verse 4), and (. . .) **वो नृपतिराह यदा** (verse 8). It can be श्रीराघव, श्रीपौरव or any similar name, but surely not Samudragupta. Let some scholar try to discover it.

A NOTE ON THE WORD स्वभोग

The word **स्वभोग** occurs in the seventh verse of the inscription, and has been translated by Fleet as 'the city of his own enjoyment'. It has, however, a technical meaning in the Indian *Silpaśāstra*, and is, we believe, identical with the word **स्वभोग** which the *Mānasāra* defines as follows:—

विप्रैरथान्यैर्वर्णैर्वा भोग्यो ग्राम उदाहृतः
एको ग्रामणिको यत्र सभृत्यपरिवारकः ।
कुटिकं तद्विजानीयादेकभोगः स एव तु
जनैः परिवृतं द्रव्यक्रयविक्रयकारिभिः ॥

Thus **एकभोग** is a town or village ruled over by a single landholder, and inhabited by himself and his servants and other dependents. It is **स्वभोग** for the master and **एकभोग** for others. The town described in the Eran inscription is the **स्वभोग** of the feudatory who lived therein with his family and dependents, and on whom Samudragupta, pleased by his 'devotion, policy, and valour', had been pleased to confer the title of *Rājan*, and the accompanying glories of consecration, etc., described in verse 4.

Editor's note.—Of the two terms, *Ekabhoga* and *Svabhoga* under discussion in the note above, the first is still in active use in the Kaveri delta districts, meaning villages which are the sole property of one owner, indicating thereby nothing more than villages under single ownership, instead of as normally being distributed among a number of land holders. *Svabhoga* by analogy would have to be for the enjoyment of oneself. In the actual case under discussion, the city of Eran (*Arikina*) is described as a *Svabhoga*. In the distribution of villages for purposes of administration, they are grouped into units of ten and more, and for the government of these is allotted the revenues accruing from one village or a certain number of villages, etc. For a certain large division, the administrator is given as his salary the revenues of a *nagara*. Any body therefore who governed a division in which Eran was an important city or even the capital city, with the revenues of which was allotted to him as assignment instead of salary, would be entitled to describe it by the term as *Svabhoga*. So the passage here must be held to imply a grant, or a something like it by the governor of the province, who had for his own salary the revenues of the city of *Arikina* allotted to him. It is matter for regret that the precise reference is not forthcoming, but will be noted when it actually does.

The Location of Kartṛpura and Connected Problems

By

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KARTṚPURA is one of the five frontier kingdoms mentioned in Samudragupta's Allahabad inscriptions whose kings did homage and paid tribute to the Gupta emperor. According to Dr. V. A. Smith, this kingdom 'occupied the lower ranges of the Himalayas, including probably Kumaon, Garhwal, and Kangra'.¹ Dr. Fleet suggests that the name perhaps survives in Kartārpur in the Jalandhar district. For various reasons Indian scholars are inclined to agree with Dr. V. A. Smith's opinion. But when one finds three frontier kingdoms to the east, and one to the north, is it not better to leave aside both the northern and eastern sides of the empire, and to look for Kartṛpura somewhere to the west of the Gupta dominions? Such a quest does not go fruitless, for in Karor or Karūr, as transliterated by Dr. Sachau, we find a good equivalent for Kartṛpura. When Puruṣapura changes to Peshawar or Pashaur, and Lābhapura to Lahore, Kartṛpura should as naturally be, in due course, either Karūr or Karor.² Or or ūr would stand here for pura and Kara for Karṛ. Karūr, again, should be preferred to the other alternatives on account of its associations with the Gupta period of Indian History. According to Alberuni, an eastern king, called Vikramāditya, put to flight and killed a Śaka ruler in the region of Karūr, between Multan and Loni.³ This Vikramāditya was, I believe, none other than Chandragupta II, 'the enemy of the Śakas', who disguised as his brother's wife, Dhruvasvāmini, 'ripped open the belly of the Śaka ruler', and destroyed thereafter the Śaka army, most probably, in this very region of Kartṛpura or Karūr. This was the first encounter

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between the Śakas and Vikramāditya, and Karūr, Karor, or Kartṛpura had to form the theatre of war because of its intermediate position between the Śaka dominions and the Gupta empire.

The reasons for identifying Karūr or Kartṛpura with the region where Chandragupta's elder brother agreed to surrender his queen to the Śaka chief are simple in the extreme. As far as our knowledge goes, the Śakas assumed the offensive against the Gupta empire only once, that is, when they cut off the retreat of Kāchagupta and extorted from him the promise to surrender his queen. And it is clear that the Śakas formed the aggressive party in the fighting in Karūr, because the region was not merely the part of a non-Śaka territory, but also paid tribute to the Guptas, if we are right in identifying Karūr with Kartṛpura.

Secondly, this view avoids the difficulties created by laying the scene of the Gupta-Śaka encounter near Baijnath in the district of Almora. Knowing about the territories ruled over by the Guptas and the Śakas, we might easily expect an encounter between the two in Karūr, but surely not at or near Baijnath. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, however, thinks that he can get out of this quandary by regarding the war as one between the emperor Kāchagupta and some Śaka preceptor 'who could stay on a hill-top in subordination to a different king who ruled over the hills'.⁴ But the position, he takes, is hardly tenable. The extracts from the *Dēvī-Chandraguptam* do not bear him out. In these, the Śaka invader is styled *Śakapati* and not *Śakāchārya*. The *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* gives him the same title,⁵ the *Mujmalu-t-Tawarikh* does not mention a religious preceptor as the adversary of Rawwāl, and the interpretation of *Śaṅkarārya*, who equates शकपति with शकाचार्य, being opposed to the meanings assigned to the word पति by our Sanskrit lexicons, must be rejected in face of the cumulative evidence on the other side furnished by all the other books including the *Harṣacharitra* which states clearly that it was a Śaka ruler who was murdered, while courting another man's wife, by Chandragupta, disguised as a woman. *Śaṅkarārya* being right in explaining the word *para-kalatra*, without going against any Sanskrit

1. *Early History of India*, p. 285.

2. There is still a small town named Karor in the triangle formed by the rivers Chenab and Sutlej.

3. Sachau—*Alberuni's India*, ii, 6.

4. *Mālaviya Commemoration Volume*, p. 195.

5. *Strīveśaninutah Chandraguptah śatroḥ skandhāvaram Aṭipuram Śakapativadhāyāgamat*. Extract quoted in *Mālaviya Commemoration Volume*, p. 206.

lexicon, does not mean that he is necessarily as right when he assigns meanings to words leaving aside altogether the meanings given to them by Sanskrit lexicographers. Moreover, even if it be admitted that Śaṅkarārya⁶ was right in interpreting *Sakapati* as *Sakāchārya* who would expect this religious head, whose retreat was so far away from the domains of his co-religionists and disciples, to command an army that could not only hold its own against, but also reduce to sore straits the army of the most powerful ruler of northern India. Further, he must have been really a strange religious preceptor who asked the husbands to surrender their wives before he allowed them to go away unmolested.

Thirdly, both the *Harṣacharitra* and the *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* name some place called अरिपुर or अलिपुर, which the latter makes out to be the *skandhāvāra* or military camp of the Śaka ruler.⁷ Should not paleographers try to see whether it is कर्तपुर that is changed into अरिपुर or अलिपुर by the hurried cursive hands of our scribes? Kārtikeyanagara does not resemble अरिपुर or अलिपुर but कर्तपुर does. Both the words have four letters, पुर is common to both, and कर्त could have been perhaps read as अरि or अलि

One might, however, quote in favour of Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar's view the verse,

दत्त्वा रुद्रगतिः खसाधिपतये देवीं भ्रुवस्वामिनीं
यस्मात् खण्डितसाहसो निवृत्ते श्रीशर्मगुप्तो नृपः ।
तस्मिन्नेव हिमालये गुरुगुहाकोणकणक्किन्नरे
गीयन्ते तव कार्तिकेयनगरस्त्रीणां गणैः कीर्तयः ॥⁸

Karūr lies in the plains, and the Gupta king was, according to this verse, defeated near Kārtikeyanagara in the Himalayas which Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar identifies with Kārtikeyapura or Baijnath in the Almora district of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.⁹ But is the verse itself not of very doubtful authority? In my opi-

6. *Sakānamācharyah Sakādhīpatih, Chandraguptabhṛtṛjāyam Dhruvadevīm prārthayamānaś-Chandraguptena Dhruvadevi-veśadhāriṇa stri-veshajana-parivṛtena vyāpādita iti*. Extract from Śaṅkarārya's commentary quoted in *Mālaviya Commemoration Volume*, p. 206.

7. Ari (U.L. Ali) *pure cha para-kalatra-kāmukam Kamini-veśa-guptaś-Chandraguptaḥ Sakapatimaśātayat*. Extract from the *Harṣacharita* quoted in *Mālaviya Commemoration Volume*, p. 206.

8. *Kāvya-mīmāṃsa*, (G. O. S.), p. 47.

9. *Mālaviya Commemoration Volume*, p. 195.

nion, it is probably not by a contemporary but by a later writer whose notion of Gupta history was rather hazy. He calls the ruler शर्मगुप्त (v.c. सेनगुप्त), where the actual name should be Kāchagupta. He sees no difference between the Śakas, a foreign tribe settled in western India and the Khasas, a hill tribe of north-eastern India, grouped with the Kirātas, the Bhallas, and similar other tribes by Varāhamihira in his *Samhitā*.¹⁰ Now, should we wonder, if such a writer transferred an event taking place in Karūr to the mountains, so that it might harmonize with the hilly character of the Khasa tribe, with whose habitat he was, perhaps, better acquainted than with that of the Śakas. Further, one cannot help finding fault with the poet's statement that the Gupta king turned back handing over the queen Dhruvasvāmīni to the Śaka ruler, while the facts are that the queen was never actually sent to the Śaka chief, and the king did not return without her to his capital in the Middle Country. The verse derives a part of its authoritative character by being believed to be addressed to Chandragupta II whose achievements, it is said to commemorate. But unfortunately those who share this opinion have not kept in view the character of the verb निवृत्ते, which being in the लिट् लकार¹¹ could not have been used in describing an event as recent as the defeat of Chandragupta's brother, if the verse were actually addressed to Chandragupta II. The verse, therefore, I believe, has been addressed to some conqueror of Kārtikeyanagara in the eighth or the ninth century. The poet wrongly thinking that one of the Gupta kings had been forced to give his queen to a Khasa chief, and knowing that Kārtikeyanagara was in the Khasa country, tried to glorify his patron by comparing his achievement with the supposed ignominious retreat of the Gupta king, whose name, it may be remarked in passing, he did not know correctly, from some place or other that was either situated very near, or regarded as identical with the town captured by his master.

Thus after considering all the reasons for and against the view propounded in the beginning of the article, we might identify the place of encounter between Kāchagupta and the Śakas with the region of Karūr, which, again, may, with some reason, be regarded as identical with Kartrupura, a frontier kingdom named in Samudragupta's Allahabad stone pillar inscription.

10. See Alberuni's *India*, p. 303.

11. परोक्षे लिट् Pāṇini, 3, 2, 115.

Yavana and Parasika

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In an interesting paper on the question of Zoroastrian influence on early Buddhism in *Dr. Modi Memorial Volume* (Bombay, 1930), Dr. E. J. Thomas has offered some suggestions regarding the interpretation of the term *yavana* in Indian inscriptions and literature. It is generally believed that *yavana* originally signified the Greeks, but later it was used to mean all foreigners. Dr. Thomas however thinks it to be "an unnecessary assumption that the term must have first meant 'Greek' to the Indians" (p. 282) and takes it to be unlikely "that Indians could have distinguished the Yavanas from the Persians as specially Greek." "It is more probable" he says, "that they learnt the name from the Yavana forces with whom they came in contact, and that they applied the name to all foreigners whose military power was represented by these Yavanas, that is, to the Persians generally" (pp. 282-283). As a sequel to these views of his, Dr. Thomas has been constrained to think that *Aṃtiyōka* (= Antiokhus II Theos of Syria) has been called *yōna-rāja* (i.e. Yavana king) in the second and thirteenth Rock Edicts of Aśoka, because he was "the chief ruler of what remained of the ancient Persian empire" (p. 282). Dr. Thomas thus seems to think that the word *yavana*, from the earliest times, meant "foreigner", and not "Greek" specially, and that the Indians never distinguished the Yavanas from the Persians. There is however evidence to show that neither of these two suggestions is justifiable.

As regards the first point, we must note that the Persian or any other foreign tribe is never known to have been called *yavana* in the early literature and records of India.¹ It is on the other hand

1. It may be argued that since Tuṣāspa, who was Aśoka's governor in Surāṣṭra, had a Persian name, but has been called *yavana-rāja* in the Junagadhi inscription of Rudradāman (circa A.D. 130-150), the word *yavana* in this case means a Persian. Names however can hardly be taken as proof

definitely known from a number of instances that the term *yavana* denoted the Greeks. *Aṃtiyōka*'s being called *yōna-rāja* may be explained away, as he was "the chief ruler of what remained of the ancient Persian empire". But that *yavana* meant "Greek" is perfectly established by the evidence furnished by the *Mahāvamsa*, *Milindapañho* and the Besnagar pillar inscription of Heliodorus.

Some *gāthās* of the *Mahāvamsa* (XXIX, verse 30 ff.) give a list of countries and cities among which we get *Yōnanagara-Alasanda* (i.e. Alexandria, the city of the Yavanas). *Alasanda* has been identified with Alexandria, founded by Alexander the Great near Kabul (*op. cit.*, Geiger's ed., p. 194). *Alasanda*=Alexandria, can hardly be a Persian town. According to the *Milindapañho*, *Milinda* who has been identified with the celebrated Indo-Greek king Menander was born at *Kalasigāma* in the *dipa* of *Alasanda*. This *Milinda* = Menander is said to have had his capital at *Sāgala*, modern Sialkot in the Punjab (*jambudīpe sāgalanagare milindo nāma rājā ahōsi*). Again, in another passage, this *Sāgalanagara* is said to have belonged to the Yavanas (*atthi yōnakānam nānāpuṭa-bhēdanam sāgalan = nāma nagaram*). Next we should note that the Besnagar pillar inscription mentions a *yōna-dūta* (i.e. Yavana envoy) named *Heliodora* (= Heliodorus), son of *Diya* (= Dion), who was an inhabitant of *Takhasila* (= Takṣaśilā, modern Taxila) and was sent by *Mahārāja Aṃtalikita* (= Antialkidas) to the court of the Śuṅga king *Kāśiputra Bhāgabhadra* (Rapson, *Ancient India*, p. 157) who ruled about the middle of the second century B.C. (Smith, *Early History of India*, 4th ed., p. 238, note). The Greek names of the *yōna-dūta* and his father as well as of the king who sent him leave no doubt that the word *yōna* (= *yavana*) was used to mean the Greeks. *Aṃtalikita* of the inscription is evidently the Indo-Greek king named Antialkidas whose coins, with both Greek and Indian legends, have been discovered in the Punjab (Smith, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, Vol. I, pp. 15-16). The possible reference to *Yavanarāja Dimita* and his identification with Demetrius may also be noticed (E. I. XX, p. 84, n. 31.)

There is moreover evidence to show that the term *yavana* was borrowed by the Indians directly from their Persian neighbours.

of nationality. *Vāsudēva*, the name assumed by a great Kuṣāṇa king about the end of the second century A.D., is an Indian name; but the Kuṣāṇa king's family was not certainly indigenous to India. Many early Indian inscriptions, moreover, mention Yavanas bearing Hindu names; e.g. *Yavana Caṃḍa* (= *Candra*) in Lüders' List, No. 1156.

The Persians became acquainted with the Greeks chiefly through the Ionian colonists whom they called *yauna* (= Ionian). This term occurs in the inscriptions of Darius in a wider sense to signify the Greeks or people of Greek origin generally. The Persian word *yauna* was borrowed by the Indians. The *Mahābhārata* (XII, 207, 43), as for example, has:

*uttarāpatha-janmānaḥ kīrtayiṣyāmi tān = api
yauna-kāmboja-gāndhārāḥ kirātā barbaraiḥ saha.*

Yavana is only a Sanskritised form of *yauna* of which the real Prakrit form is *yona*. If the Indians learnt the use of the word from the Persians, it is hardly reasonable to suppose that they used it in an entirely different sense. It is possible that from the time of the Persian occupation of North-Western India (i.e. the sixth century B.C.) and probably from still earlier times² the people of that part of India had commercial relation with Persia. It may therefore be suggested that Indian merchants who visited the bazaars of Persia for purposes of merchandise came into contact with Greek merchants and called them *yauna* in imitation of the people of that country.

As regards the second supposition of Dr. Thomas, it may be said that, in early Indian literature and records, the Yavanas are not only distinguished from other foreign tribes, but are mentioned side by side also with the Pārasikas i.e. the Persians. The Nasik inscription of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi's nineteenth year mentions the Yavanas along with the Śakas and the Palhavas who are said to have been routed by the Sātavāhana king Gautamīputra Śāta-karṇi (circa 106-131 A.D.). The *Rāmāyaṇa* (I, 54, 21) distinguishes the Yavanas from other foreign tribes in passages like *śakān = yavana-miśritān* (i.e., Śakas who had the Yavanas with them). In the *Purāṇas* (e.g., *Vāyu*, 46, 105-121; see also 88, 122), the

2. Arrian says (Chinnock's ed., p. 399) that "the district west of the river Indus as far as the river Cophen is inhabited by the Astaceni and the Assaceni, Indian tribes. These were in ancient times subject to the Assyrians, afterwards to the Medes, and finally they submitted to the Persians and paid tribute to Cyrus, the son of Cambyses, as ruler of their land." Scholars like Ludwig, Hillebrandt and Weber think that the Persians were known to the Indians as *Parśava* as early as the time of the *Rgveda*. See Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, I, pp. 504-505 (*parśu*) and pp. 521-522 (*pārthava*); see also *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I. p. 322 and notes.

following foreign tribes are said to have belonged to the Udīcya country: (1) Yavana, (2) Śaka, (3) Darada, (4) Tuṣāra and (5) Palhava. According to the *Mahābhārata* (V, 19), the Kāmboja king Sudakṣiṇa marshalled Yavana and Śaka forces at the great battle of Kurukṣetra. In works like the *Mahābhārata* (VI, 9) moreover the Yavanas (Greeks) and the Pārasikas (Persians) are separately mentioned as peoples living in the Udīcya-deśa. Cf.

*yavanās = cīna-kāmbojā dāruṇā mleccha-jātayaḥ
sakraḍgrahāḥ kulatthās = ca hūnāḥ pārasikāḥ saha.*

Rapson says (*Ancient India*, p. 86) that the word *yavana* denoted the Greeks "in the Indian literature and inscriptions of the last three centuries before and the first two centuries after the Christian era." The latest extremity however must be pushed at least upto the age of Kālidāsa who is generally supposed to have lived in the 4th century A.D. and to that of Viśākhadatta who lived still later. It is generally believed that, while describing Raghu's victorious campaign in the western countries, Kālidāsa identifies the Yavanas with the Pārasikas. This belief is based on a wrong interpretation of verses 60-64 of Kālidāsa's *Raghuvamśa*, Canto IV, where, as a matter of fact, the poet clearly distinguishes the country of the Pārasikas from that of the Yavanas. In verse 60, Raghu is said to have started from the Aparānta (Northern Koṅkan) and to have gone by the *sthala-vartma* (land-route) to conquer the Pārasikas. The king had a strong navy³ and could have easily sailed from the Aparānta coast to the Persian shore. Why, then, did he go by the land-route? The answer is to be found in the next verse where we are told that Raghu was jealous, as it were, of the merry-making of the Yavana girls. The host of Raghu's army is here very happily compared with *a-kāla-jalad-ōdaya*. Verse 61 thus clearly suggests that in going to Persia from the Northern Koṅkan, Raghu had to cross the country of the Yavanas with whom he had no mind to fight.⁴ Just as clouds temporarily prevent the lotuses from enjoying the sun, Raghu with his large army passed through the Yavana country frightening the Yavana girls and causing

3. Cf. verse 36, where is described Raghu's fight with the Vaṅgas.

4. Cf. verses 38 and 54, where we get Raghu's march through Utkala and Kēraḷa without fighting with the inhabitants of those countries. Possibly Raghu thought these peoples to be too insignificant.

temporary cessation of their merry-making.⁵ The case of the Yavana girls may be compared with that of the Kērala women who were running this way and that way in extreme fright when, starting from the Pāṇḍya country, Raghu was marching through Kērala with a view to conquering the Aparānta.

In the passage *asti tāvac-chaka-yavana-kirāta-Kāmbōja-pārasika-bāhlīka-prabhṛtiḥ* of the *Mudrārākṣasa*, Act II, Viśākhadatta also distinguishes the Yavanas from the Pārasikas.⁶

5. I am indebted for the suggestion to Dr. H. C. Ray Chaudhuri of the Calcutta University. Raghu did not fight the Yavanas, but was going through their country to fight with the Pārasikas who lived further west (cf. *pāścātyaiḥ* in verse 62). But the very appearance of his large army in the Yavana country was sufficient to cause terror in the minds of the inhabitants. The poet says that Raghu could have avoided this, but as he wanted jealously, as it were, to put a stop to the merry-making of the Yavaniś, he purposely preferred the land-route. In interpreting verses 59-65 of the *Raghuvamśa*, IV, V. Venkayya also separated the Yavanas from the Pārasikas. For his interpretation, see *Arch. Surv. Ind.*, A.R., 1906-7, p. 218, note 1.

6. I am indebted for this reference to Dr. Ray Chaudhuri.

Some Problems of the Reign of Rajadhiraja II

By

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WE cannot claim that even the approximate date of the accession of Rājādhiraṇja II to the Chola throne has been determined satisfactorily. Nor is the question of the precise relationship of Rājādhiraṇja II to his immediate predecessor definitely settled. An attempt is made in this paper to tackle these problems with a view to arriving at as near a solution as it is possible in the present state of research. In addition, the misconception as regards Pallavarāya and his probable connection with his contemporary Ediriliśōḷa Sāmbuvarāya is sought to be cleared here.

It is accepted on all hands that the reign of Rājādhiraṇja II commenced in A.D. 1163. Dr. Kielhorn has, after a careful examination of the astronomical data contained in five inscriptions of the reign, and after making due allowance for the possible errors in detail, arrived at the conclusion that his reign began between approximately the 28th February and 30th March, A.D., 1163.¹ Mr. Sewell adopts the identical date with the additional suggestion that Rājādhiraṇja II had abdicated the throne in 1163 A.D., upon which Rājādhiraṇja II occupied it.² This almost universally accepted date has apparently been confirmed by the discovery of an inscription of the ninth year of Rājādhiraṇja II which is equated with Saka 1095 = A. D. 1173.³ Accordingly, the reign ought to have begun in A. D. 1163-4.

Though the date looks so well founded there are still some obvious difficulties in accepting it. They may be enumerated hereunder.

1. Rājādhiraṇja II's inscriptions range between his first and the 26th years. There is at least one inscription which belongs to the

1. *Ep. Ind.*, ix, p. 211.

2. *Historical Inscriptions of Southern India*, p. 114.

3. *A. R. E.*, 1929-30, No. 134/1929-30; and p. 80.

27th year of that king.⁴ Dr. Kielhorn has shown that "the reign of Rājārāja II could not have commenced before (approximately) the 6th of April, A.D. 1146."⁵ In this case his 26th year would be A.D. 1172, which would be the earliest date for the accession of Rājādhirāja II.

2. A Conjeevaram inscription dated in the 8th year of the reign of Parakēsarivarman Rājādhirāja mentions the useful detail that the 8th year of the king is 15 years later than the 19th year of the reign of his predecessor Rājārāja II.⁶ The 19th year of the latter is A.D. 1165 and as such the 8th year of the former must be A.D. $1165 + 15 = 1180$ A.D. Thus we obtain A.D. 1172 as the date of the beginning of the reign of Rājādhirāja II.

3. The Pallavarāyanpēṭṭai inscription of the 8th year of Rājādhirāja II relates the circumstances under which he happened to succeed Rājārāja II on the throne of the Chōḷas.⁷ We are told that on the death of the latter without leaving a grown-up heir, the minister Pallavarāya brought about the coronation of Rājādhirāja II. As Rājārāja II's inscriptions extend upto his 26th year, he must have died only after that year, i.e., A.D. 1172. The elevation of Rājādhirāja, therefore, to the throne ought to have happened during this year.

4. The well-known Ārpākkam inscription of the 5th regnal year of Rājādhirāja II describes the part played by the Singhalese army in the Pāṇḍya war of succession which appears to have taken place sometime before this record was engraved.⁸ According to the generally accepted date for the beginning of the reign of Rājādhirāja II, it would fall between A.D. 1163 and 1168. Hultsch says, "According to the *Mahāvamsa* Laṅkāpura's expedition would have taken place after the 16th year of Parākramabāhu I i.e., after A.D. 1168-9."⁹ From a study of the *Mahāvamsa*'s description of the first phase of the war before the Chōḷas entered into it, one may feel that it might have taken at least a year or more for Laṅkāpura to fight a long series of battles, to reduce innumerable forts

4. A. R. E. 1913, No. 123/1912.

5. Ep. Ind. ix, p. 210

6. S. I. I. iii, p. 207 and A. R. E., 1904, p. 11.

7. A. R. E. 1924, p. 43.

8. A. R. E. 1899, p. 8 and S. I. I. VI, No. 456 for the text of the inscription

9. J. R. A. S. 1913, p. 519.

and buy off one by one the powerful vassals of Kulasēkhara Pāṇḍya who had put up a stout resistance.¹⁰ With the flight of Kulasēkhara to the Chōḷa capital after the crushing defeat of his supporters at Paḷamkōṭṭai, begins the second phase of the war which seems shorter than the first. The final ending of the war by Pallavarāya might have been brought about in A.D. 1170-1, some two years after the out-break. The date of the Ārpākkam inscription, therefore, cannot be A.D. 1168 in which year the war might not have broken out at all.

5. The Pallavarāyanpēṭṭai inscription mentioned above is, in a way, a memorial one recording as it does the death and retrospectively the services of the veteran minister and soldier Pallavarāya. As it is dated in the 8th regnal year, he might have died sometime before it. If we grant that Rājādhirāja's reign began in A.D. 1163, this event might have occurred about 1171-2 A.D. This date for the death of Pallavarāya is too near to the war, which he had brought to a triumphant end, to be possible, considering the fact that, according to the above inscription, he lived after the war, made effective arrangements for the firm government of the country, and then died.

6. These difficulties are real and can possibly be overcome by a critical examination of the Pallavarāyanpēṭṭai inscription referred to above. It is true that it is in a sadly mutilated state. However, it is not impossible to make sense out of it. It says that Periyadēvar (Rājārāja II) died when Pallavarāya was encamped at the fort of Āyirāṭṭaḷ. When the news reached him, he returned to Rājārājapuram, the then capital of the Chōḷas. Here the inscription runs as follows:—

"As there were no sons fit for anointment on the day that Periyadēvar passed away, (Pallavarāya) enquired into the practice in the past (under similar circumstances) and caused the bringing of the prince Edirilāpperumāl, the son of Neṟiyuḍaipperumāl and the grandson of Uḍaiyār Vikramasōḷadēva, from Gaṅgai-konḍasōḷapuram. As Edirilāpperumāl had a right to it, he was crowned and anointed as the king. Four years after he was again crowned under the name of Rājādhirāja dēva."¹¹

10. Geiger's *Culavamsa* II, pp. 65-97.

11. A free translation of lines 11 and 12 from an eye-copy of the inscription taken by me.

It is clear from the above extract that a sort of hasty and stop-gap coronation took place on the day of the death of Rājarāja II though a more formal ceremony of coronation occurred on the fourth anniversary when the royal title of Rājādhirāja was bestowed upon prince Edirilāpperumāl. What was the occasion for the second coronation? The postponement of the fuller coronation rites might have been due to the out-break of the war of Pāṇḍya succession. At such a critical juncture the Chōḷa kingdom could neither afford to be without a king, nor any elaborate preparation for coronation was thinkable. Hence the informal declaration of Rājādhirāja as king. As the war began about A.D. 1168, the death of Rājarāja II and the first coronation of Edirilāpperumāl might have taken place in that year. For the next four years, the latter might have ruled in the name of the former, as the name Rājādhirāja was conferred on him only after the expiry of the term. The actual rule of Rājādhirāja II ought to have commenced four years after the death of Rājarāja II i.e., about A.D., 1172.¹² In this case, all the difficulties cited above and Hultzsch's suggestion about the possibility of a slight chronological error in the Ārpākkam inscription vanish.¹³

RAJĀDHIRĀJA'S RELATION TO RAJARĀJA II.

The question how Rājādhirāja II was related to Rājarāja II, his immediate predecessor, has not been determined satisfactorily with any amount of certitude so far. In the Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1909, the Epigraphist suggested that the former might be the son of the latter.¹⁴ Later, the discovery of the Pallavarāyanpēṭṭai inscription has led to the abandonment of this view. The Epigraphist remarks, "The minister evidently had to place a member of a different family on the throne because the children of Rājarāja II were infants."¹⁵ This conclusion is sought to be strengthened by reading into the inscription mentioned above

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a reference to a "great opposition, both open and secret, to the coronation (of Rājādhirāja) from many quarters against which the minister carefully guarded the prince and his family, and established him on the throne after imprisoning all the suspected enemies."¹⁶

But, on a critical examination of the inscription itself there seems to be no such opposition or incarceration of the suspected enemies. With all its breaks and gaps, what one can make out is that Rājarāja died at a time of great danger to the state which demanded a quick settlement of the question of succession to the Chōḷa throne. The encampment of Pallavarāya in the fortress of Āyirattali may suggest some danger from enemies in the south and west. We know that about A.D. 1168-9 the Singhalese were making a tremendous advance on the Pāṇḍya Capital, Madura. The death of the Chōḷa king just at that inopportune moment when a powerful foreign foe was present in a neighbouring country naturally induced Pallavarāya, an officer next in importance to the king, to take the ordinary human precaution of removing the family of the deceased king to a safe place and to precipitate the arrangement for raising a prince to the vacant throne.

Who was this prince? The Pallavarāyanpēṭṭai inscription furnishes us with necessary details. He was one Edirilāpperumāl, son of Neṟiyuḍaipperumāl and the grandson of Uḍaiyār Vikramasōḷadēva.¹⁷ Vikramasōḷa of course was the grand-father of Rājarāja II through his father Kulōttuṅga II.¹⁸ The mention of Vikrama establishes Rājādhirāja's connection with the Chōḷa ruling family. However, until the identity of Neṟiyuḍaipperumāl is established it is impossible to affirm whether Rājādhirāja was the son's son of Vikrama or his daughter's son. The suffix 'Perumāl' in Neṟiyuḍaipperumāl means prince or a king.¹⁹ The word frequently occurs in the 'Kulōttuṅgasōḷan-ulā' in the same sense.

16. *ibid.* p. 44.

17. A. R. E., 1924, p. 43.

18. The "Rājarājasōḷanulā", a contemporary poem by the court poet of Rājarāja II states that the latter was the son of Kulōttuṅga II who is again said to be the son of Vikrama Chōḷa by the "Kulōttuṅgasōḷanulā" and the "Kulōttuṅgasōḷanpillaittamil".

19. "Kulōttuṅgasōḷanulā" l. 56, "Perumparani-kōṇḍa-perumāl"; "Kaliṅḡattupparani": v. 517: "Perumāṇ-ṟiruvaḍi-pāḍirē"; "Takayāgap-parani", p. 83, The commentator observes "Perumāl means here Sōḷan".

12. See Dr. S. K. Ayyangar's discussion of this question in a Special Note appended to the first chapter of his "South India and her Muhammadan Invaders."

13. Opus Cit. Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri remarks: "It is not easy to say whether the discrepancy is due to an error in the Mahāvamsa chronology or in that of Ārpākkam record," p. 128 of "The Pāṇḍya Kingdom."

14. A. R. E., 1909 p. 97.

15. A. R. E., 1924, p. 44.

Neriyuḍaipperumāl was certainly a prince if not a king. If this is a prince or king, with whom is he to be identified? Among the Vijayālaya line of Chōlas, Uttamasōla appears to have had the surname of Neriyuḍaisōla.²⁰ It was also the surname of Kulōttuṅga III.²¹ Between the reigns of these two kings the only ruler who deserves this name much more than any other kings was Kulōttuṅga II. He was piety itself. His surname Tirunīṟṟusōla is an eloquent evidence of the same. He caused the composition of "Tiruttonḍar-purāṇam" popularly known as "Periyapurāṇam." Kulōttuṅga II, therefore, possibly possessed the name Neriyuḍaipperumāl, in which case, the possession of the same name by his grandson Kulōttuṅga III is easily explained. An inscription from Kāmarasavalli may also be taken to support this conclusion.²² It mentions the construction of a mandapa by one Neriyuḍaisōla-p-Pallavarāya. The assumption of this title by an officer in the reign of Vikrama might have been made possible by the association of Kulōttuṅga II, with the Government of his father Vikrama. For, Vikrama did not own the surname in question.

The "Kulōttuṅgasōlaṇ-piḷḷaittamī", a poem, traditionally attributed to Oṭṭakkūttan, the *Kavichakravartin* of the Chōla court during the reigns of Vikrama, Kulōttuṅga II and Rājarāja II, furnishes us rather unexpectedly with another clue to this identification.²³ It mentions a hitherto unknown surname of Kulōttuṅga II. It is Edirilāpperumāl.²⁴ Epigraphy also confirms this. An inscription from Pennāgaḍam of the 3rd year of Rājakesarivarman Tribhuvanachakravartin Kulōttuṅgasōladēva (II) registers the royal order that the *brahmadēya* lands in Kūḍalūr should be constituted into a new village under the name of Edirilisōlanallur, obviously after one of the surnames of Kulōttuṅga II.²⁵ As

20. 165 of 1925.

21. Mention is made of his minister Neriyuḍaisōla-Mūvēndavēḷān in many inscriptions of Kulōttuṅga III; e.g. 301 of 1913, 284 of 1913, etc.

22. 88 of 1914.

23. This poem is published by Paṇḍit. Ulaganatha Pillai of the Tiruvaiyar Oriental College, in the 4th, 5th and the 6th volumes of the Tamil Literary journal "Tamil Poḷil" published by the Karanthai Tamil Saṅgam, Tanjore. It contains many interesting references to outstanding events of the Chōla rule.

24. Ibid. Vol. iv, pp. 365 and 366. All the four surviving verses of the Tālaparuvam end with the burden "Edirilāpperumālē-tāō-talēlō".

25. 255 of 1928-9. Other inscriptions which mention officers bearing his name in the reign of Rājarāja II are 128 of 1928-9, 46 of 1905.

Rājādhirāja's original name was Edirilāpperumāl and as he was the grandson of Vikramasōla, we are warranted in inferring that Edirilāpperumāl was most likely the son of Kulōttuṅga II. To name the son after the father was not rare in ancient dynasties. It is, perhaps, on account of this that a few of Rājādhirāja's inscriptions sometimes give him the surname Parakēsari²⁶ for his father Kulōttuṅga was a Rājakesari, though others, of course, give him the surname Rājakesari as his predecessor Rājarāja II was a Parakēsari. We may therefore conclude that Rājādhirāja II was not some non-descript relative of Rājarāja II but really his brother and a son of Kulōttuṅga II. The Pallavarāyanpēṭṭai inscription incidentally confirms this when it mentions that the prince (Edirilāpperumāl) had been living in Gaṅgaikoṇḍasōlapuram, the capital of his father.

PALLAVARĀYA AND SAMBUVARĀYA.

Tiruchchiṟṟambalamuḍaiyāṇ Perumāmbi²⁷ alias Piḷḷai Pallavarāya appears from a study of the inscriptions of the reigns of Rājādhirāja II and Rājarāja II as a dignitary of great eminence and authority in the state and of unbounded influence with the ruling family. Tonḍamaṇḍalam enjoyed an enviable reputation as the cradle of distinguished men²⁸ and Pallavarāya was born in Kārigai-kuḷattūr,²⁹ a village in that part of the country. He entered the service of the Chōlas early in the reign of Rājarāja II, who was not certainly stinting in his appreciation of his talents as is evident from his elevation to the highest office of the state, that of the confidential minister and trusted general. The king bestowed on him the title of 'Piḷḷai', the greatest honour that a Chōla king could confer on his servants.

26. S. I. I., vi, No. 456;

27. *Takkayāgapparaṇi*, v. 179, and the commentary thereon. This is not a personal name, but an interesting title of great importance bestowed by the king usually on the highest dignitary of his government. The commentator on "Takkayāgapparaṇi" says, "Short of wearing the crown they are entitled to all the honours of the State. As it is a princely title, the bearer of it is bound to do the commands of the king and the queen."

28. "Tonḍaimaṇḍalam-sāṇṇōr-uḍaittu."

29. The distinguishing attribute 'Kārigai' is, perhaps, reminiscent of the composition of the work on Tamil prosody called "Yāppēruṅgalakkārigai" by Amidasāgara under the patronage of a noble man of that village. Ep. Ind. XVIII.

The term 'Piḷlai' as prefixed to the names of Chōḷa officers and feudatories is sometimes misunderstood. In his scholarly treatment of the Ārpākkam inscription, Mr. Venkayya translates the passage, "இதுக்குப் பின்பு பிள்ளைபல்லவராயர் பாடுகின்ற மிகக்கு ஓலை கொண்டு தூதர் வந்தார்கள்" as "subsequently, messengers arrived from (my) son Pallavarāya bringing a letter to me."^{29a} It is clear from the text that there is no 'my' before 'Piḷlai'. The distinguished epigraphist, after having construed the word 'Piḷlai' as 'son', is naturally anxious to insert the word 'my' in order to establish a connection between Pallavarāya and the Sāmbuvarāya. The Ārpākkam inscription betrays the acute anxiety of the latter as regards the triumphal progress of the Singhalese forces under the daṇḍanāyakas Laṅkāpura and Jagat-Vijaya. Mr. Venkayya wonders why Sāmbuvarāya living "at such a safe distance from the scene of war (as Toṇḍamaṇḍalam was) should be disquieted about."³⁰ The wherefore of it was "his anxieties about his son, who seems to have been in command of the troops sent by the Chōḷa king."³¹

In fact, Pallavarāya was no kinsman of Sāmbuvarāya much less his son. For, the Sāmbuvarāyas were a powerful family of Chōḷa vassals belonging to Seṅgēṇi or Seṅgam near Tiruvanna-malai, whereas Pallavarāya is called "Kuḷattuḷān" or a native of Kuḷattūr. Sāmbuvarāya and Pallavarāya were hereditary family titles, and a son born in the Sāmbuvarāya family could not assume the title of Pallavarāya. The Ārpākkam inscription does not expressly say that the latter was the son of Edirilisōḷa Sāmbuvarāya, nor was the Sāmbuvarāya worried over the fate of his son in the war against the Singhalese. He was disturbed in his mind by the danger to religion from the Buddhist Singhalese and by the fear of possible repercussions of the fall of the Chōḷas on his fortunes and those of other Chōḷa feudatories.

As we have seen, the confusion was caused by the misconception of the word 'Piḷlai'. This word occurs in connection with the princes of the blood royal as well as with the highest nobles and

officers of the state. The tamīḷ title 'Piḷlai' is identical with 'Kumāra' in Sanskrit. Mr. Dey, in a note on the latter term, says "Although not of royal blood, by virtue of royal decree, the *āmātya* was titled Kumāra and became entitled to the status of a real prince of the blood in court etiquette."³² Pillai Pallavarāya, therefore, means Prince Pallavarāya, not the son of Sāmbuvarāya.

A NOTE ON THE PALLAVARĀYANPĒṬṬAI INSCRIPTION OF RĀJĀDHIRĀJA II.¹

Just after I completed this article and was on the point of sending it to the press, the latest issue of *Epigraphia Indica* (XXI, pt. iv) arrived which contained among others the text of the above inscription edited with a scholarly introduction and notes by Mr. V. Venkatasubba Iyer. As his conclusions on certain problems given rise to by that important inscription have not substantially affected my arguments in this paper, I have contented myself with appending this note on the latest contribution to the elucidation of this inscription.

The one strong ground on which I find it hardly possible to accept the date A.D. 1163 as that of Rājādhiraḷa II's accession is the definite and unequivocal statement of the inscription in question that Rājarāja II dying without leaving behind a grown up heir, Edirilāpperumāl alias Rājādhiraḷa II was chosen and crowned king on the day of Rājarāja's death. This is unquestionably an instance of the political maxim "The king is dead; long live the king." But the editor of the inscription seems to think that even long before his death Rājarāja II nominated Rājādhiraḷa II as his successor and thus the latter became the heir designate to the throne even in the lifetime of his predecessor. "From the inscription" he observes, "we are given to understand that the Chōḷa king Rājarāja II having had no male issue for a long time, the question as to who should succeed him came up for consideration and the king himself selected Edirili-Perumāl . . . and appointing him as his successor by investing him with the crown."²

29a. A. R. E., 1899, p. 9.

30. Ibid. p. 9.

31. Ibid. p. 9.

32. J. B. O. R. S., XVII, pt. ii, "Note on Kumārāmatya".

1. Ep. Ind. XXI, pt. 4, pp. 184-192.

2. Ibid., p. 185.

We shall place side by side with this, the textual passage relating to this subject.³ Here it is :

11. 5-6. "Tiruchchiṛṛambalam-uḍaiyān Perumāṇambiyār āna-Pallavarāyar,

1. 7. Periyadēvar tuñji-arūḷip=piḷḷaiga (lu) kku oṇṇum iraṇḍum tirunakshatram = ā,

1. 8. gaiyāl Āyirattaḷip-paḍaiviḍum viṭṭup = pōdavēṇḍip = pōdugira-iḍattu = tiruva-antapuramum

1. 10. parigarittu Periyadēvar eḷuntaru (li) nālilē tiruabhishēkattukku uriya piḷḷaigal iṇṇiyē . . . (rukki)

1. 11. rāpaḍiyai pārttu muṇ-nālilē kāriyam irundapaḍi seydu Gaṅgaikoṇḍasōḷapura . . . daruḷi irukkira piḷḷaigalai yāṇam paṇṇu ḍaiyar Vikkramasōḷadēvar-pēranār,

1. 12. Neriyuḍaipperumāl-tirumaganar Edirilipperumālaip Peri ji aruḷina nālilē maṇḍai kavippittu dār-ānavāre ivarait = tiru-ābhishēgam paṇṇuvikka = Kaḍavārāga . . . tu nālān-tirunakshattiratilē Rājādhirājadēvar e-

1. 13. ṇṇu tiru-abhishēgam paṇṇuvittu "

Its literal translation will be "As the Periyadēvar (Rājarāja II) died and the children were aged only one and two years, Tiruchchiṛṛambalam-uḍaiyan-Perumāṇambi *alias* Pallavarāya thought of leaving the fort Āyirattaḷi, and as he went, protected the royal family etc., and brought them safe to Rājarājapuram. As there were no sons fit for anointment on the day that Periyadēvar left (eḷundaruḷina), (Pallavarāya) considered this state of affairs, enquired into the practice of the past, caused the fetching of the prince who had been at Gaṅgaikoṇḍasōḷapuram and got (him) Edirilāpperumāl son of Neriyuḍaipperumāl and the grandson of Uḍaiyar Vikkramasōḷadēva, anointed and crowned by those who were entitled to it. On the fourth anniversary he was (again) anointed (king) under the name Rājādhirājadēva."

In attributing the choice of his successor to Rājarāja II, the editor seems to have missed the clear sequence of events from the death of Rājarāja to the coronation of Rājādhirāja, narrated in the inscription. The predicates 'viṭṭup', 'parigarittu', 'pārttu',

3. Op. cit. pp. 189-90.

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'seydu', (pirayāṇam) 'paṇṇuvittu', (mandai) 'kavippittu', (abhishēkam) 'paṇṇuvittu', all these qualify the subject Pallavarāyar, not Rājarāja. It may be pointed, however, that the phrase 'Periyadēvar-eḷundaruḷina nālilē' of 1. 10 may mean "in the presence of Periyadēvar," but, it may also mean "the day that Periyadēvar left." In fact in order to give the former meaning, the phrase must be "Periyadēvar-eḷund-arūḷi-irunda-nālilē". In the absence of 'irunda' it may not give that meaning. I, therefore, believe that there is not sufficient authority in the text itself to admit of the editor's interpretation of it to mean that Rājarāja himself chose Edirilipperumāl as his successor.

Again, in his anxiety to affirm A.D. 1163 as the date of Rājādhirāja's accession, he attempts in a foot note to explain away the chronological difficulty of a copper-plate grant of Rājarāja II dated in Saka 1091 (A.D. 1169) which is equal to the 23rd year of that king. The editor remarks, "we know *Rājarāja II was not alive in A.D. 1169* and the Chōḷa country was then ruled by Rājādhirāja II. The period of regency was probably denoted here as the continuation of Rājarāja's reign."⁴ But we do not know that Rājarāja II was not alive in his 23rd year. A copper-plate grant stands apart from stone inscriptions as a more authoritative document recording a grant made by a king (whose dynastic genealogy is usually elaborately traced) on a day (whose astronomical details are also given sometimes). No grant made after the death of a king in his name would be valid.

Before concluding, I may point out that it is unfortunate that the error as regards the identification of the father of Pallavarāya should still persist. The editor says, "From the Ārpākkam epigraph we learn that this father was Edirilisōḷa Sāmbuvarāyar."⁵ I have shown above that it is not so.

4. Op. cit. p. 188, fn. 1.

5. Op. cit. p. 188.

The Imperial Treasury of the Greater Mughals

By

MR. ABDUL AZIZ, BAR-AT-LAW.

[AUTHOR'S COPYRIGHT]

Part II : Jewel Treasury

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

ROCK-CRYSTAL

'ROCKCRYSTAL,' says Mr. Goodchild, 'is the ordinary colourless variety; it is always crystalline and often crystallised. The crystals are usually elongated, and of sizes varying from a small pin to several feet in length. Fresange records a crystal from Madagascar measuring 20 feet in circumference. Dauphiné (Bourg d'Oisans) is famous for its groups of Rock Crystal (Fig. 12). The Alps generally have afforded fine specimens, and a notable group in the Museum at Naples may be mentioned. In 1719 a cavity was found at Zinken, in the Bernese Oberland, from which crystals weighing altogether 50 tons were taken, and sold for some £60,000, some of the crystals weighing up to 8 hundredweight. In Upper Valais, crystals were found in a cavity which were of extraordinary size, up to over half a ton in weight. The Carrara marble quarries have also afforded good specimens. A specimen in Paris, taken by the French in Italy in 1797, weighs 8 hundredweight and is 3 feet in diameter. The Caucasus, Siberia, Brazil, and particularly Japan, have produced fine specimens. In North America, Moose Mountain, in New Hampshire, may be cited as a locality' (Goodchild, 149-50).

'The fashionable ladies of ancient Rome,' continues the same writer, 'used it to cool their delicate hands with, for this purpose carrying small spheres of Rockcrystal in hot weather.

In ancient times it was highly valued, especially perhaps by the Romans, for the production of vases and cups, some of which

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were of remarkable size, for it is recorded by Ben Mansur that at the capture of Ghasna in 1159 four vases made of Rock Crystal were found, each of which would hold two skinfuls of water. Pliny records that the material then used came from the Alps, and at that time it was believed to be water frozen so hard that it could not be thawed at ordinary temperature; this is said to have led the Romans to only use it for cold liquids. One of the most beautiful pieces of work in this material was a vase belonging to the French Kings; it was 9 inches high and 9½ inches in diameter, and was carved with figures illustrating the intoxication of Noah. It cost some £4,000.

The Indians seem to have had some secret method of *uniformly* staining Quartz' (Goodchild, 150-52).

Articles made of rock-crystal, both for use and decoration, were in great favour at the Mughal court. In Persian histories we are often coming up against mentions of pure, stainless crystals and articles of all kinds made of them. Cups and other things are of common occurrence. Occasionally we hear of 'looking-glasses' of Aleppo in gold and jewelled cases, and of Venetian crystal boxes and cups.

From a remark by Linschoten (II, 138) it appears that rock-crystal was not found in India nor in any other Oriental country.

But we are told in Watt, *Dictionary of the Economic Products of India* (II, 170) that rock-crystals are abundant in South India, and are found in the Bombay Presidency and all over the country.

Jahāngīr

On the Fifth New Year's Day, Mahābat KHān offered 'two European boxes, the sides of which were made with slabs of glass, so that whatever was placed inside could be seen from outside in a way that you might say there was nothing between them' (*Tūzuk*, 79; R. & B., I, 165).

Among the articles offered by Prince KHurram to his royal father on one occasion (early in X R. Y.) was, 'a little crystal box of Frank work, made with great taste' (*Tūzuk*, 140; R. & B., I, 286).

'When the merchant 'Abdu-l-Karīm left Iran for Hindustan, my exalted brother SHāh 'Abbās sent me by his hand a rosary of

cornelian from Yemen and a cup of Venetian workmanship, which was very fine and rare' (*Tūzuk*, 152; R. & B., I, 310). They were placed before the Emperor on the 9th *Bahman*, X R. Y.

'On the 21st [*Farwardīn*, XII R. Y.=1026 A.H.], says Jahāngīr, 'I gave leave to Muḥammad Rīzā, ambassador of the ruler of Irān, and bestowed on him 60,000 darbs, equal to 30,000 rupees, with a dress of honour. As an equivalent to the souvenir (*yād-būdi*) that my brother SHāh 'Abbās had sent to me, I forwarded with the aforesaid ambassador certain presents of jewelled things which the rulers of the Deccan had sent, with cloths and rare things of every kind fit for presentation, of the value of 100,000 rupees. Among these was a crystal cup that Chelebī had sent from Irāq. The SHāh had seen this cup and said to the ambassador that if his brother (Jahāngīr) would drink wine out of it and send it to him it would be a great mark of affection. When the ambassador represented this, having drunk wine several times out of the cup in his presence, I ordered them to make a lid and a saucer for it and sent it along with the presents. The lid was of enamel (*mīnā-kārī*). I ordered the Munshis of mercurial writing (*Uṭārid-raqm*) to write in due form an answer to the letter he had brought' (*Tūzuk*, 185; R. & B., I, 374).

'Lately,' writes Roe in a letter to the East India Company dated Ajmīr, 25 January, 1615 [-16], 'the King of Bisampore sent his ambassador with 36 elephants, two with all their chaines of wrought beaten gould, two of silver, the rest brasse, and 40 rich furnished horses, with jewells to the valew of 10 *lecks* of *rupias*; yet withall he sent China wares and one figure of christall, which the King accepted more then that masse of wealth' (Roe, 99).

On March 12, 1616, Roe was brought before Jahāngīr, to whom he delivered as a most welcome present 'a purse which cost in England 24s., containing "a little boxe of cristall, made by arte like a rubie, and cutt into the stone in curious workes, which was all inameld and inlayde with fine gould. Soe rare a peece was never seene in India, as can wittnes all your servants resident at Adsmere. I can sett noe price, because it was geven me; but I could have sould it for a thousand rupees, and was enformed that had it beene knowne how highlye the King esteemed it, I mought have had 5,000 rupees. The King the same night sent for all the Christians, and others his owne subjects, artificers in gould and stone, to demand if ever they sawe such woorke or howe it could be wrought; who generallie confessed they never sawe such arte,

nor could tell how to goe about it, whereat the King sent me woord he esteemed it above a diamonde geven him that day of 6,000*li.* price. * Within the boxe (which I presented to keepe the jewells in which others gave him) I putt a chain of gould of double lincks veary small, wheratt was hanged a whyte emerald cutt in the forme of a seale, and therein engraved, no bigger than a penny, a Cupid drawing his bowe, with his motto *Guardes*: being a curiositie not easilie matched, and esteemed by the King for excellent woorke. The stone was unsett, pendent and veary lardge, above halfe an inch in length. The gould wayed 46s. . . . There being noe man in London, much lesse here, that can enamell upon stone, and therefore I knowe not what it [the box] coste; and the seale stone uncutt, I bought in the West Indies, and had it polished and carved in London; it cost noe great matter rough" (Roe, P. 127, f.n. 1). This seems to be rather an overdrawn picture of an article of considerable beauty and workmanship. There is no mention of it in the *Tūzuk*, however.

Among the articles required by the John Company factors for presents, we have 'two or three Venice crystal boxes' (*Letters*, III, 88).

On Thursday, the 13th *Tīr*, XIV R. Y., Sayyid Ḥasan, the ambassador of SHāh 'Abbās of Persia, placed before Jahāngīr, with a letter from his master 'a crystal drinking-cup, on the cover of which was [set] a ruby' (*Tūzuk*, 273; R. & B., II, 93-94).

Aurangzeb

Tavernier once presented to Aurangzeb 'a battle mace [*gurz* or *shash-par*] of rock-crystal, all the sides of which were covered with rubies and emeralds inlaid in gold in the crystal. This piece cost 3,119 livres [£233 18s. 6d.] (Tavernier, I, 114).

'I remember seeing the Emperor drink upon three different occasions while seated on his throne,' says the same writer in another place. 'He had brought to him on a golden saucer, enriched with diamonds, rubies and emeralds, a large cup of rock-crystal, all round and smooth, the cover of which was of gold, with the same decoration as the saucer. As a rule no one sees the Emperor eat except his womenkind and eunuchs, and it is very

* There is, however, no mention of this stone in *Tūzuk*.

rarely that he goes to dine at the house of any of his subjects, whether it belongs to a Prince or to one of his own relatives' (I, 309-10).

'Vessels made of rock-crystal,' adds the editor, 'were much esteemed by the Emperors. Ball saw some very fine examples of large size which were found in the palace at the capture of Delhi after the Mutiny. Possibly some of the fine specimens preserved in the Green Vaults at Dresden came from India. See Watt, *Commercial Products*, 561: *Ency. Brit.*, xxiii. 433. Some splendid examples of modern work in rock-crystal are illustrated in *Country Life*, 16th April 1921, p. lxxii' (Tavernier, I, 309, f.n. 3).

The following story from the *Storia* is just worth quoting:

Prince SHāh 'Ālam once ordered Manucci 'to send at once to procure him some crystal vessels for drinking water from. I sent off a man to Bombay to bring some. This order he executed—nay, those he brought were very handsome. These I presented to the prince. He seemed to be astonished to see so many crystals at once—more than he had ever seen in all his life—for he imagined them to be of rock-crystal, which is extremely costly in the Mogul country. This is the reason of his asking me what the whole might be worth. Quite happy, I answered him that it was a present from me, and that Doctor Nicolas stated no prices to kings' (*Storia*, II, 401). Nor, apparently, did Doctor Nicolas scruple to play tricks on kings when opportunity served. SHāh 'Ālam then gave Manucci a valuable set of robes and a very nice horse.

Here is a report from the same source of a rather large crystal found in the Ganges near Patna: 'When Dā'ūd KHān was in charge of Patnah, as I have already said (II. 61), there was found one morning in the Ganges river, near the English Factory adjoining the city gate, a rock-crystal eight palms in length and thirty palms in circumference. As it was a rarity, it was sent to the king in a boat. I saw it myself, and measured it in the year one thousand six hundred and sixty-three (1663)' (*Storia*, III, 133).

Chapter III. Notices of Semi-precious Stones and other Substances.

We have been able to deal specifically only with the so-called precious stones. It is not to be inferred by any means that the treasury contained no other stones. Probably what are known as semi-precious stones went to make up a much larger quantity in the treasury.

One would think that exceptionally good and large specimens (some of which we have already incidentally noticed in a general way) were assiduously collected and jealously guarded.

We have no doubt the treasury contained specimens remarkable for beauty and colour, purity and size, of hyacinths amethysts, garnets, chrysolites, turquoises, agates, moss-agates, sphenes, jaspers, opals, cornelians, onyxes, sardonyxes, cat's-eyes, corals, chalcidony, lapis-lazuli, and vermillion.¹ And presumably there was no dearth of such curiosities as the bezoar-stones, the so-called snake-stones, the porcupine stones, and the *yadataash* or rain-stones. Nor is this cursory catalogue by any means exhaustive.

We may now take up some of these and string together a few interesting remarks about each made either by scientists who have specialized in the subject or by European travellers like Linschoten, Tavernier and Fryer, who comment on them with special regard to Indian conditions.

HYACINTH

Hyacinth or Jacinth is a variety of zircon, and is of a yellowish red colour. It is not a common mineral.

'The Hyacinth,' says Fryer, 'is a Stone Yellow and Transparent; it's of the hardness of the *Emerald*; these Stones are naturally foul, and full of little Sands like Gold; if they be in Perfection, and of a very good Colour, they bear a reasonable Price.' (Fryer II, 147).

AMETHYST

It is a species of quartz, and has beautiful violet, purple or blue shades.

The word is derived from the Greek and means non-intoxicant, testifying to the old belief that the wine drunk out of a cup of amethyst would not intoxicate.

On exposure to heat amethyst generally turns yellow.

1. These names are not chosen at random. I have taken most of them from Fryer's list of 'Precious Stones of the East' (II, 142) and Linschoten's accounts of stones found in various places in India. These I have supplemented with such others as have been actually mentioned by Persian and English historians and other European travellers.

'The amethyst was used as a gem-stone by the ancient Egyptians, and was largely employed in antiquity for intaglios. It is now used for episcopal rings' (*Ency. Brit.* I, 807).

This mineral is widely distributed, but good specimens of pure amethyst fit for ornamental purposes are comparatively rare.

'The Amethyst,' says Fryer, 'is a Stone of three several colours, some of them are of a Violet Colour, some are of a more Oriental Colour, therefore called (*Amethyst* Oriental) which bears a very good Price, few of these being to be found, but are the pleasantest Colour of all Stones. Another sort being Pale is called the White *Amethyst*, or *Amethyst* of *Carthagera*: This naturally is of a quick or sparkling Water, and very good Colour, having for the most part a Blush of Red, which Stones in Perfection bear a tolerable Price' (II, 148).

AGATE

'In India, Agate is abundantly found in the Deccan rocks in the Kathiawar Peninsula to the West of the Gulf of Cambay, and is largely cut at Cambay (Kanbayat). Also in Rajpipla, and in the Rajmahal Hills' (Goodchild, *Precious Stones*, 170).

The Royal Scottish Museum contains a fine collection of Agates from various places in Scotland.

'There are many purposes besides those of ornament to which this material is put; such are, its use for the knife-edges of chemical balances, for the pivots for marine compasses in the manufacture of pestles and mortars for grinding hard substances, for burrishing metals, rollers for use in textile industries, for moulding plumbago for lead pencils, etc. But by far the greater part produced is wrought into vases, bowls, paper-knives, trays, (p. 171) Signet rings, seals, brooches, beads, sleeve links, and other such articles' (*Ibid.* 170-71).

'Many very beautiful works of art have been produced in this material. France possesses a complete service in Agate, valued at one time at £20,000; and many fine examples of this work are to be seen in most of our larger museums' (p. 171).

The price of rough agate runs from £5 to £250 per hundred-weight according to quality.

Cat's eyes 'come out of Cambaia, but the best out of Seylon and Pegu: they are little brought into Portingall, for there they

are not esteemed, and likewise because they are worth more in India than in Portingall, for the Indians esteeme much of them, specially the Chinos, and thether they are caryed, better esteemed, and sold there than any other stones: the Indians say that this stone hath a certaine propertie and vertue to preserve and keepe a man in the riches which he hath, and that they shall not lessen, but stil increase' (Linschoten, II, 141-142).

The Surat factors say that they can supply Agate or *bābā-ghorī*² beads, and also speak of agate cups which the Ahamad-ābād factors have sent them (*E.F.I.* 1618-1621, p. 52).

Fryer says (II, 148) that agate is used for handles of knives, which is corroborated by a statement on p. 231 of *E.F.I.* 1637-1641, where we read of a case of knives with agate handles being presented to the king of Bijāpur.

It appears that agate pictures were imported into India and offered for sale both by the East India Company and by the Venetians, for we are told on p. 327 of *E.F.I.* 1618-1621, that 'the agatt pictures come farr shorte of your esteeme of them, by reason of quantities brought in by the Venetians; those that are already sould of the said agatt pictures doe produce but fifty per cent. proffitt, whereas in tymes past such yeilded three for one.'

On p. 99 of *E.F.I.* 1668-1669 we read of 'a small agate box containing three cornelian rings being presented to Lord Arlington.

Moss agates, which Fryer calls 'Tree-stones,' have, he says, a lively representation or form of a tree on them, and are esteemed (II, 147).

LOADSTONE OR MAGNETITE

Although Sir Thomas Roe categorically asserts that there are no loadstones in India (p. 91, bottom), Linschoten assures us that it is found in great quantity and in many places in India. 'The Indians say, that if a man use dayly to eate a little of that stone, it preserveth him and maketh him look yong, and that he shall never looke olde: wherefore the Kinges and great Lordes of India

2. 'The white agate of Cambay, so called from the patron saint of the district in which the mines are situated' (*Ibid.*, f.n.1).

use it in pottes and vesselles, therein to [eate and] seeth their meate, thereby as they beleeeve to preserve their youthes' (*Ibid.*).

CORAL

'Although coral does not rank among precious stones in Europe,' remarks Tavernier, 'it is nevertheless held in high esteem in the other quarters of the globe, and it is one of the most beautiful of nature's productions, so that there are some nations who prefer it to precious stones' (II, 104). The Japanese, who esteem neither pearls nor precious stones, value beautiful beads of coral. The Portuguese, who formerly did a large trade in Japan, could obtain for a coral as much as 20,000 écus or £4,500. 'The common people wear it and use it as an ornament for the neck and arms throughout Asia, but principally towards the north in the territories of the Great Mogul, and beyond them, in the mountains, of the Kingdoms of Assam and Bhutān' (*Ibid.*, II, 106-107).

Coral came chiefly from the Red Sea and the Mediterranean.³

The run of prices, the quality of the articles and the conditions of demand and supply in India may be gathered from scattered notices in the *E.F.I.* and *Letters Received*.

The best market for polished coral was Surat.⁴ But as regards actual consumption, while great quantities of coral beads were absorbed by Bengal⁵, the Deccan was the greatest buyer of red coral, which was much worn by the people and buried with them when they died.⁶

The superior coral known as the "Grezio" or "Gretzo" was in great request.⁷ We are also told that coral in round or long beads and branches sold best;⁸ likewise coral of deepest colour and in thickest pieces, though short.⁹

3. *E.F.I.* 1618-1621, p. 131 and *E.F.I.* 1624-29, p. XXXV.

4. *E.F.I.* 1618-1621, p. 326.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 259.

6. *Letters Received*, I, 307.

7. *E.F.I.* 1642-1645, p. 174.

8. *Letters Received*, III, 10.

9. *E.F.I.* 1618-1621, p. 326.

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Between 1622 and 1648 the price of good coral was 9 to 10 rupees a seer (of $\frac{3}{4}$ lb.)¹⁰; and in the years 1665-68 it ranged between 10 and 16 rupees per seer.¹¹ Coarse coral was, however, available at all prices from $\frac{3}{4}$ of a rupee to about 7 rupees a seer.¹²

Prices of coral beads in Bengal ran as follows:—

Beads of 12 beads to a t̄ānk at 6 t̄ānks for a rupee,					
"	6	"	"	2	"
"	4	"	"	1 $\frac{3}{4}$	"
"	3	"	"	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	"

(*E.F.I.* 1618-1621, p. 259).

Enclosing a copy of the custom-house valuation of the coral, the factors write to the Company, 'By this it will be seen that the sort called "recaduti" of 8s. or 9s. the lb., yields most benefit; the small sort now sent, called "tiraglia brutura," is not so much in demand. A hundred chests of coral will sell yearly, viz. fifty of from 2s. to 15s.' (*E.F.I.* 1630-33, p. 31). We are informed in a footnote that 'recaduti' means 'dead coral,' and that 'tiraglia brutura' signifies the rough growths and crusts that form on the plant.

A fine ornament of coral which Šāfi KHān meant to present to Jahāñgīr on his birthday is thus described in *E.F.I.* 1622-1623: 'The principall thinge in her [the junk belonging to Šāfi KHān, the Governor of Cambay] is a tree currall sett in gould by artt, made to distill watter from the topp unseene, rounde aboutt the branches. Itt is contayned in five chestes, and beinge by us vallued itt was thought to bee worth 2,000 l., itt beinge procured by the Governor Cambaya to bee made in Goa against the beirthe daye of the Greatte Mogull and to him to bee presented, for which intentt this juncke was purposely sentt' (p. 215).

We learn incidentally that the charge for polishing coral at a place in the Bijāpur kingdom was 10 pagodas, i.e., about 40 rupees, a *man*.¹³

10. *E.F.I.* 1622-1623, p. 8; *E.F.I.* 1634-1636, p. 24; *E.F.I.* 1637-1641, p. 204; *E.F.I.* 1642-1645, p. 210.

11. *E.F.I.* 1665-1667, p. 31; *E.F.I.* 1668-1669, p. 3.

12. *E.F.I.* 1630-1633, p. 31;

E.F.I. 1630-1633, p. 84;

E.F.I. 1634-1636, p. 23;

E.F.I. 1634-1636, p. 69;

13. *E.F.I.* 1618-1621, p. 265.

E.F.I. 1642-1645, p. 210;

E.F.I. 1665-1667, p. 31;

E.F.I. 1668-1669, p. 3.

LAPIS LAZULI

'Lapis Lazuli,' says Goodchild 'has been known from very remote times, being much used by the Egyptians, and to a lesser extent by the Assyrians. Epiphanius, Bishop of Salamis, says the Tables of the Law given to Moses were inscribed on Lapis Lazuli. The Romans used it to some extent as a material for engraving on' (P. 240).

'It is cut as a flat plaque, or *en cabochon*; more often it is worked into vases and other small ornamental objects, though now the solid material is not so often used as thin slices, which are veneered on. It is largely used, too, for mosaics and in the ornamentation of luxurious buildings such as the palaces of the Russian Czars. Formerly it was the sole source of the beautiful pigment ultramarine, which was greatly esteemed on account of the purity of its colour and permanence. Now, however, the pigment is made artificially, though the artificial product does not command nearly the same price' (*Ibid.*, 242-43). The columns of St. Isaac's Cathedral at Petrograd present a fine example of the use of lapis lazuli for architectural decoration.

The lapis lazuli mine in Badakhshān (Afghānistān) is mentioned by Tavernier and Marco Polo.

Soon after Aurangzeb had brought the war of succession to a successful issue, the ambassadors of the KHāns of Balkh and Samarkand waited on the Emperor, ostensibly to offer congratulations, really to conciliate his good will. Among the presents they brought were some boxes of lapis lazuli (Bernier, 118).

MOTHER-OF-PEARL

This is the substance which lines the interior of many species of molluscs, and is similar in nature to the pearl (*Encycl. Britan.*,¹⁴ XV, 852). It is cut out and used extensively for such purposes as making buttons, handles of cutlery, etc. It is also used in the inlaying of Japanese and Chinese lacquers, European lacquered papier-mâché work, and trays, etc., and as an ornamental inlay generally (*Ibid.*, XVII, 422).

'Its beautiful iridescence and lustre are due to that well-known optical phenomenon, the interference of light' (*Ibid.*, XV, 852).

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About the mother-of-pearl Linschoten has the following:—

The Indians know how to prepare and clean it. 'They bring many of them into Portingale to serve for to drinke in, and to keepe for an ornament, [and for pleasure] specially those that come out of China and Bengalen, some guilt and painted with colours [very faire some] wrought with branches and other figures, as we dayly see them brought thether [Orig. Dutch: 'hither']. In India they make divers thinges of them, as deskes, tables, cubbards, tables to play on [Backgammon boards], boxes, staves for women to beare in their hands, and a thousand such fine devises, which are all inlaid and covered with this Chanco or Mother of Pearle, very faire to beholde, and very workmanlike made, and are in India so common that there is almost no place in those countries but they have of them. It is likewise much caried abroad, both into Portingale, and elsewhere, but they are most used in India, for there the women, speciallie those of Bengala use to weare manillias, or bracelets of them about their armes, that is to say, those of most account, and they must not take a maidens maidenhead from her that is of any estate or degree, but she must have some of these mother of Pearle bracelets about her armes, which at this day is yet much used, [and observed,] whereby it is verie much worne' (II, 135-36).

Linschoten is apparently confusing mother-of-pearl with ivory in the latter part of this passage.

Perhaps the finest specimen in India of mother-of-pearl inlay on a large scale is the canopy of the mausoleum of Ḥazrat Salīm Chishtī at Fathpur Sikri, which is thus described by E. W. Smith:

'Salīm's cenotaph is of white marble surmounted by a wooden canopy inlaid with mother-of-pearl tesserae

The outside of the canopy is entirely encrusted with mother-of-pearl, laid in geometrical designs, bound at the corners and sides with copper. The cornice is worked with the favourite fish-scale ornament so common to the period in which the mausoleum was built. Running through it is an embattlemented pattern in ebony, which material is also freely used upon the four-armed bracket capitals the sub-caps and the bases of the columns. The capitals and brackets are very intricately and delicately carved, and, in order to protect the fine inlaying upon them, the *arrises* of the mouldings are bound with copper. To show clearly the nature of the inlaying, a portion of the eaves around the top of the canopy

has been omitted on the drawing. The brackets project in two tiers and beneath each is a circular pendant, tipped with copper; across the centre of the lower of the two brackets is a band of copper and one of ebony inlaid with quatrefoils in mother-of-pearl. The combination of the mother-of-pearl and ebony is very pleasing. The full effect of the treatment is seen upon the bases of the columns one of which is illustrated on Plate XLII. As it is impossible to reproduce the peculiar nacrous sheen of the mother-of-pearl upon a drawing, it has been shown in white upon the illustration; whilst the ebony is in black.

The same design, or nearly the same, appears on each of the bases, but that upon one side of the base is unlike that on the other. The inlaying is so intricate that it looks like damask-work, but in mother-of-pearl instead of gold or copper wire. Each little piece of mother-of-pearl is exactly shaped and fitted into the allotted position previously prepared for it, and then secured with minute brass pins and shellac. The minute strips of ebony between each piece of mother-of-pearl are secured in like manner and are perfectly flush with the face of the mother-of-pearl. It is impossible to describe the effect of the mother-of-pearl as seen in the dim light of the mortuary chamber. It is one of those things which defy description, and in order to realize its beauty it must be seen. The inlaying is most minutely and beautifully executed. There is nothing like it elsewhere in Northern India, and it is very doubtful whether such an elegant piece of like workmanship exists in any other part of India' (E. W. Smith, *The Moghul Architecture of Fathpur-Sikri*, Pt. III, 21-22).

CHINESE PORCELAIN

Porcelain is an important subject. Not only is it interesting in itself, but we know that the Imperial Treasury contained some 25 lakhs worth of 'most elegant vessels of every kind in porcelain and coloured glass.' We are, I think, justified, in according it a more extended treatment than to the majority of other articles.

In the passages selected here we have been at pains to avoid specialized treatment and technical terminology. It is hoped the reader, who requires an introduction to the subject, will find the following smooth and interesting reading:—

'Every connoisseur and every unprejudiced potter,' says Mr. Burton in his monograph on Porcelain, 'will admit, in his lucid

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moments, that the porcelain of the Chinese marks the very crowning point of the potter's achievements. We may single out the glazed work of the ancient Egyptians or Assyrians, the painted terra-cotta vases of the Greeks, the brilliantly-enamelled faience of the Persians, or the majolica of the Italians, as worthy of our high regard, yet Chinese porcelain surpasses all these as much in sheer beauty of colour as in technical skill and in the wide range of its accomplishment' (46).

'The idea that a cup of porcelain changed colour and flew into pieces directly a poisonous draught was poured into it, was implicitly believed for many centuries. This belief was current not only in Europe but in Persia, India, and other Asiatic countries where porcelain was not made, so that we should probably be justified in regarding these false notions as the fables invented by cunning dealers, whether Chinese or Arab, anxious to enhance the value of their wares' (*Ibid.* 47).

The chinaware in favour in the better Mughal days was chiefly that of the Ming period (1368-1644), though there may also have been pieces of the time of the Sung dynasty (960-1259). So in the account that follows we shall confine ourselves to the history and characteristics of the porcelain of the Ming period.

The famous chinaware of the Ming period (1368-1644) was manufactured in the imperial factory at Ching-tê Chên, near the Po-yang lake in Kiangse, rendered famous throughout the world by the fine white porcelain made there. 'As this ware lent itself peculiarly well to painted decoration,' says the *Encycl. Britan.* article, 'the vogue for painted porcelain rapidly replaced the old Sung taste for monochromes' (*Encycl. Britan.*,¹⁴ XVIII, p. 366).

Hitherto, says Mr. Burton, 'all the colour effects were in the nature of coloured glazes applied either on plain shapes or on vessels that had previously been decorated with incised or embossed ornament. The first new departure, and a most natural one, was to decorate the piece with ornamental schemes, either of conventional foliage or of figure subjects, in which the different patterns of the design, isolated by raised lines, could be filled in with different glazes so as to produce an effect roughly analogous to that of a design in cloisonné enamel' (W. Burton, *Porcelain*, 66).

'With the discovery and the extended use of the materials of true porcelain, kao-lin and pe-tun-tse, the possibility must soon

have presented itself to the delighted potter of preparing an absolutely white translucent porcelain, and when once this possibility had been realised there can be no doubt that everything else would give way before it. . . . We read at an early period of pure white porcelain made of the utmost thinness and delicacy, so that its translucence might be most apparent, and decorated only with delicate patterns, generally of dragons, waves or clouds, sharply engraved with a steel point in the dry clay before it was glazed and fired. Ware of this kind is said to have been produced at the famous factory of Ting-chou early in the twelfth century of our era. Occasionally the same ware was produced with a bright purple glaze having a tint like that of ripe grapes, and more rarely still with a beautiful clear black glaze. Dr. Bushell has translated a description of some of these early pieces left by a Chinese connoisseur of the sixteenth century, who, in describing a duck-headed vase of this Ting-chou porcelain, says: "I have seen hundreds of specimens of the white, scores of the purple-brown, but only this one of black in all my life" (*Porcelain*, 67-68).

'The Chinese esteem most highly the blue-and-white of the Hsüan-tê period (1426-1435), and of the period Ch'êng-hua (1465-1487), while they relegate to the third place the blue-and-white produced during the reign of Yung-lo (1403-1424)' (*Ibid.*, 68).

The cobalt used during these reigns is known as the Mohammedan blue, probably obtained from Baluchistan, where deposits of the purest cobalt ore, a mineral sometimes called cobalt bloom, has been found, which might be used without any other preparation than that of grinding and levigation.

Supply of the Mohammedan blue failed in the latter part of the fifteenth century, when the Chinese potter had to fall back upon his native ore. With this the character of the blue colour at once deteriorated. During the Chêng-tê period (1506-21), however, further supplies of the Mohammedan blue were arranged for at a cost of twice its weight in gold; and at this exorbitant price it remained available down to the middle of the sixteenth century. After this date the Chinese had to depend again on the cobalt pigment prepared by many refinings of their native ore. It must be said that nothing ever equalled in brilliance the Mohammedan blue, which is often spoken of as rivalling the blue of the sapphire (*Ibid.*, 68-69).

Again, an underglaze red, made from copper, was used by the Chinese at a very early date. When we remember how difficult it has proved, even for the most expert of modern scientific pot-

ters, to produce this underglaze red colour, we bow before the Chinese in respect and admiration (*Ibid.*, 69). 'This magnificent underglaze red appears to have been obtained in its utmost perfection during the early part of the Ming dynasty, for we find it especially mentioned in the Hsüan-tê period (1426-1435)' (70).

The wonderful eggshell porcelain pieces, which the Chinese called "Bodyless," first appeared during the early times of the Ming dynasty. 'The true eggshell porcelain must always have required the utmost skill and dexterity of manipulation, for its substance has been reduced to so thin a layer that in a fine specimen it almost seems as if there could be no clay left between the two layers of glaze. At all events, from the Yung-lo period (1403-1424) eggshell porcelains of varying degrees of delicacy, attesting the skill of different generations of potters, have been made practically without interruption. In spite of the extreme thinness of such pieces, the finest specimens had elaborate designs engraved, with a steel tool, in the paste before firing. The designs generally take the form of dragons in the midst of clouds or waves, the whole work being executed with such delicacy and precision as to leave us absolutely amazed at the audacity which could conceive, and the patient skill which could execute such marvels of technique. The finest early eggshell pieces, covered with incised patterns of this nature, were generally in pure white; so that the design is barely visible unless the vessel be held against the light or filled with a liquid. Considering that the difficulties of manufacturing such pieces must always have been formidable, it was only natural that a similar style of incised or engraved decoration should have been used on vessels of ordinary thickness, and these were often covered with delicately coloured glazes, of which a beautiful pale-yellow seems to have been most highly prized, especially in the Hung-Chih period (1488-1505), and the Chêng-tê period (1506-1521).

At the same early date, too, another delicate and difficult method of decorating white porcelain was invented. This is the decoration so often known among modern collectors as "grain of rice" pattern, where the design is actually cut out of the vessel while it is yet in the clay state, and then, when the glaze-coating is applied, the glaze fills up the perforations, which become like so many window-openings in the piece. This particularly charming method of decoration, which was also adopted by the Persian potters for their transparent ware, has excited the greatest interest among modern European porcelain-makers' (p. 71-72).

Some European manufacturers have in the nineteenth century made creditable attempts to imitate that kind of ware, but, in justice to the Chinese potter, it must be admitted that 'they can never rank for subtle beauty and delicacy with the dainty white Chinese pieces' (72).

Towards the close of the Ming dynasty the Chinese use of on-glaze colours in the decoration of porcelain comes in, thus foreshadowing the course which the decoration of pottery has practically taken in all the great pottery-centres of the world. This new manner of working, i.e., painting on the fired glaze, 'replaces the freedom and abandon as well as the rich depths of colour of the earlier work by finer, more delicately drawn, more precise, and, as an artist would say, "tighter" work, inevitable from the changed technical method' (72).

CHINAWARE IN MUGHAL INDIA

The Imperial Treasury, as we have said, had huge stores of Chinese porcelain of the most valuable kind; and in contemporary paintings we see chinaware of the Ming period reposing in niches in Mughal interiors. So we notice that China was used not only on the table but also for purely decorative purposes.

There must have been, among the rest, a considerable amount of the willow-green porcelain known as Céladon, which has been so popular among Muslim countries throughout the ages as actually to suggest a Muslim origin. This last view, however, is discredited by modern authorities, who hold that the old céladon, which must be regarded as one of the earliest forms of porcelain, originated in China (Burton, *Porcelain*, 64).

Colonel T. H. Hendley has the following on céladon ware in India: 'In old Mogul towns in India, until lately, a good many specimens of céladon plates or vases might be purchased. It is said that this ware was in great demand even so far back as the Sung Dynasty—that is, from the tenth to the thirteenth centuries. The want was most largely met with, however, in the days of the East India Company, by importation from China. It was thought that it possessed in common with rhinoceros horn, the quality of splitting or breaking when brought into contact with poisoned food; hence the value attributed to it by Mohammedans, and especially by the Moguls. Dr. Bushell informs us that the presence of poison was said to be revealed by the exudation of a

white humour from the cup or from the surface of a rod of rhinoceros horn put into the liquid to test it. The belief was prevalent from very early times in China and Sumatra. The ware is extremely heavy. The basis is red and the glaze, which is very thick, has a dark willow-green colour. The vases are generally crackled, and the plates or dishes are deep and sometimes have fluted or gad-rooned edges. Beneath the glaze there are usually bouquets of flowers (generally chrysanthemums), fishes and other designs. . . .

. The bright grass-green celadons of the Sung Dynasty (960-1280 A.D.) are certainly rare in India, but the greyish-green or sea-green of later dynasties, as the old Lung Ch'uan of the Ming period (1368-1644), which Dr. Bushell says are quite in the style of the antecedent Sung Dynasty, are common. Some of the dishes purchased at Delhi thirty years ago, of which one is illustrated (Plate 2), are exactly like that shewn in Plate II, Vol. II of his work, though they are generally more worn. As the Sung productions vary from pale sea-green to deep olive, and those of later periods are also of the latter colour, it is not easy to distinguish them, especially as both may exhibit plain and crackled surfaces. Most of the Delhi specimens are dark grey-green and crackled. The glaze is generally very thick and runs down at the foot or border. The paste is usually red or brown, and is very hard. The popular Mogul or Delhi name was Ghorī ware' ('Foreign Industrial Art Products imported into India' in *The Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, No. 129, for Jan., 1915).

We are not prepared to endorse the view that the *ghorīs*, as they are known in India, are all céladon ware.

We should have liked to have a description of the particular articles in favour and their prices. Unfortunately the material available is so scanty that we can only present the reader with the following odd notes:—

Sir Thomas Roe assures us that chinaware was in great request in India.¹⁴

He tells the East India Company in one place that 'faire China bedsteads' would be rich presents at the Mughal court (p. 99).

14. Roe, 445 and 459 (bottom).

We have already seen (under Rock-Crystal) that the King of Bisampore's ambassador brought to Jahāngir's court, among other very valuable things 'China wares and one figure of christall which the King accepted more then that masse of wealth' (Roe, 99).

Roe, it appears, wanted, when going home, to buy some china to take home with him. In a letter to Nicholas Bangham dated April 1, 1617, he says: 'I heare yow have fine and curious China ware. If yow will spare me some dozen fine cupps and dishes (such as yow will choose), I will give as much as any man. All these I desier yow will keepe for mee till wee meete; for I hope to pass downe by Brampoor toward England in October, and I would not trouble yow soe much but that I am resolved homeward, and would willingly carry somewhat. My stock will not reach to things of profitt and trade; therefore, seeing I shall not gett riches, I would yet pleasure my frends' (p. 360). So he wanted these for presentation at home.

Bangham apparently bought only two cups for him, and those dearly; for, says Roe, in a letter to Bangham written three months later, 'I thancke yow for the two China cupps, and doe extreamely like them for the curiositie. Their price I must bee content with, because the buyer cannot make yt; but they are dearer here at that rate by much then in England. I doe not desier any more of that sort so small; but if yow can fitt mee out of the rest with a parcell of fine dishes or cupps for use, or any peece, as a bottle or eywer, and of the best sorts . . . to make up this summe 100 or 80 rup., I desier yow to make your choyce for mee' (p. 367).

It appears that the cups bought by Bangham were for ornamental purposes, while Roe wanted some china for use. Still Roe appreciates the beauty of the articles bought. One of these two cups, we are informed in another place, cost eight rupees (400, f.n.1). We thus learn incidentally that Roe desired to get a dozen cups and dishes for 80 or 100 rupees, but could not.

On October 12, 1617, Roe saw Prince SHāh Jahān in his private room, where Āsaf KHān had taken him, and presented him with 'a small China gold-chaine, in a China cup' (400).

Under January 13, 1618, we have the following entry in Roe's diary: 'The Dutch came to court with a great present of China ware, sanders [i.e. sandalwood], parrots and cloaves' (427). This is supported by other reports to the effect that the Dutch were strong in the porcelain trade.¹⁵

15. See below.

Hawkins narrates the story of a 'faire China dish (which cost ninetie Rupias, or fortie five Rials of eight)' belonging to Jahāngir, which was broken by a mischance, when the Emperor was out in camp. The officer in charge, 'knowing how deerely the King loved this dish above the rest,' sent a trusty servant to 'China-machina'¹⁶ over land, hoping that the dish would come before the Emperor remembered it. After a lapse of two years, before the new dish had arrived, the Emperor thought of the old one. When told that the dish was broken, he very nearly flogged the life out of the nobleman, and was sending him to prison for life when, on the intercession of a prince, he was ordered not to come before him till he had procured a similar dish. The Emperor advanced him five thousand rupees towards his expenses of a journey to China, and a quarter of his *jāgīr* was restored to him. Hawkins says that he had been fourteen months travelling, and had not yet come back; but the King of Persia, it so happened, had a like dish, and on hearing this pitiful tale, had sent it to the officer, who, at the time of Hawkins' departure, was going home (Purchas III, 39-40).

The E. I. Company had no porcelain trade in India worth speaking of. Consequently very little information about this trade in India is available in the E. I. Company's correspondence (*E.F.I.* and *letters*). From the constant complaints of the factors that the china is bad and 'crazed' and broken and unvendible,¹⁷ we are led to infer that their packing was careless and their buying defective. On their own showing the Dutch enjoyed a prosperous trade in this commodity. We are told that, 'at present all their estate [at Masulipatam] is in chinaware, "which is as brittle as their harts to us are fickle."¹⁸ Again, 'the Chinaware which either Cartwright or Clark took in exchange for lead will not sell for a tenth of what it is rated at. No more should be sent, for the Dutch sup-

16. Māchīn, a popular corruption of Mahāchīn, is a very old Hindu name. It means Great China, and was vaguely used for the Chinese empire. With Persian writers Mahāchīn, strictly, is South China, while KHātā (English, Cathay) is North China; but Chīn Māchīn is often used in the vague sense of China. And that is how it is used here.

17. *E.F.I.* 1618-1621, pp. 47, 208 and 263;

E.F.I. 1624-1629, pp. 281, 284 and 297;

E.F.I. 1637-41, pp. 256 and 266.

Also *E.F.I.* 1642-1645, p. 284, which, however, is written from Basra.

18. *E.F.I.* 1637-41, p. 45.

ply this place [Masulipatam] at such cheap rates that it does not pay to bring such brittle ware.¹⁹

As for prices, the following quotation gives the cost price of each of the articles mentioned, at Bantam (in Java):—'From a note on the latter [the cargo list] we find that of the porcelain the prime cost was: saucer dishes, nearly 2*d.* apiece: flat sallet [salad] dishes, about 3½*d.*; sallet cups, 3½*d.*; posset dishes 4*d.*; small ("quarter") basins, 1*s.* 9*d.*; larger ("half") basins, 2*s.* 6*d.*; largest ("whole") basins, 5*s.*' (*Letters*, III, 324-25).

From the low run of prices detailed here, we gather that the E. I. Co. did not go in for higher lines in the porcelain business. No wonder that they derived small profit and lost heart.

The following is part of a letter, dated May 15, 1617 and written by the factors at Ispahan to Bantam. The requirements appertain no doubt to the Persian Court, but the social customs and domestic conditions in the two countries were so similar that we may presume the requisitions to apply quite as much to India as to the country to which it owed its civilization and culture: 'I have been entreated by the King's treasurer and favourite to procure him divers necessaries and toys for the King's use, according to a remembrance he hath given me. Part of them being what Suratt and India can furnish, I have to them written for. These hereunder specified in your Southern parts are only to be found; pleasing you to order their sending accordingly:

Cheney [China] dishes in sorts, 200 pieces to serve meat at table. Their dishes here are like our English, broad and not deep, and such ones he desireth.

Cheney dishes, 50 pieces of the largest and fairest can be gotten of the same making. These are intended when the King feasteth.

6 basins and ewers of Cheney.

100 small coffa dishes [coffee cups].

.....

We give you to understand that Cheney ware of all sorts is here a good commodity, being much in request; but we doubt in

19. *Ibid.*, p. 190. Also see *Ibid.*, p. 244.

no great quantity. Besides, the brittleness of the commodity is considerable' (*Letters* V, 246).

'In obedience to instructions from Sir Thomas Chamberlain to purchase rarities for presentation to King Charles, Buckeridge bought twelve China dishes: "a sort reported to breake if any poyson bee put into them, but I dare not affirme that as a truth"' (*E.F.I.* 1661-1664, p. 392).

IVORY

A term properly confined to the material which forms the tusk of the elephant, and, for commercial purposes, almost entirely to that of the male elephant, but often extended to a similar substance obtained from the walrus, hippopotamus, narwhal, cachalot or sperm-whale, etc., although only the first two of these are really important.

ELEPHANT IVORY

These tusks are sometimes of tremendous size, a single specimen occasionally weighing 200 lb. 'The ivory from the African elephants is the most esteemed on account of its superior density and whiteness, but a certain amount is also obtained from India, Ceylon, Burma, and the islands of the Eastern Archipelago. In African elephants both the males and females have tusks, although those of the males are larger, but in the Indian species the females are practically tuskless' (*Everyman's Encyclopædia*, VII, 718).

The quality of ivory varies according to the districts whence it is obtained, the soft variety of the eastern parts of Africa being the most esteemed.

The price varies with size and soundness of the tusks, ranging from £10 to £90 per cwt.

Special qualities of ivory, which have been recognised from the earliest times, are its beautiful texture and tints, its perfect elasticity and adaptability to the carver's tools.

As for modern industrial application, ivory is used at present in the manufacture of billiard-balls, cutlery handles, piano-keys, brushware and toilet articles, chessmen, carved figures, and other useful and ornamental articles.

Ivory carving is a highly interesting art. 'Since earliest times ivory has been used either alone or in conjunction with silver and bronze as a decorative material, and it has been both carved and engraved. Ivory has always been used considerably for the decoration of palaces, and the Romans sent an ivory throne to Porsena, while, in the nineteenth century, an Indian Prince sent one to Queen Victoria. Ivory has also been used a great deal for religious purposes in such things as crucifixes, the heads of pastoral staves, liturgical combs, and even altar-pieces. Secular works of art, in which ivory has been employed, include seals, hunting-horns, knick-knacks, snuff-boxes, toilet combs, mirror cases, chessmen, and draughts. Prehistoric man used pieces of bone, horn, and ivory for his sketch-book, and scratched on it drawings of animals. The ancient Egyptians and Assyrians used ivory for domestic purposes and for the decoration of furniture but Egyptian ivory statuettes have also been found. The Greeks used ivory for the decorations on the trappings of their horses and for the bosses of their shields and for small boxes and caskets, but we possess few examples of Greek ivories, especially of the early period. Of Roman ivories we have a great number of consular diptychs, often from writing tablets and plaques which are beautifully carved in relief. The subjects of these carvings were usually classical myths or pictures of Roman gods. The earliest Christian ivories in existence date from the time of Constantine and among these we have pyxes carved from ivory tusks, plaques, and book-covers. Byzantine ivories are very numerous and beautiful, and if the figure of Christ, so often portrayed, is inclined to be stereotyped, the decorative designs of these ivories are excellent. Up to the end of the fourteenth century, ivory carvings were usually of religious subjects, although often used for secular purposes, but after this date hunting scenes, deeds of chivalry, and pictures of tournaments were depicted, the sculptures being influenced by the romantic literature of the period. In India, ivory has been much used for caskets, many of which are extremely beautiful, and consist chiefly of elaborately carved balls and models of villas; in the latter, however, some very beautiful work is to be found. Japanese ivories are usually very small, but very well designed and finished. Most Japanese ivories are comparatively modern, and the Japanese have used ivory a great deal for "net-sukes," which are a kind of toggle used in connection with their smoking gear. In modern times ivory has been used for sculpture, either alone or in conjunction with bronze and jewels. One modern example of ivory sculpture that may be mentioned is the

"Lamia" by George Frampton. This piece is the bust of a woman. The face is life-size and carved out of ivory, while the head-dress and dress are of bronze (*Ibid.*, pp. 718-20).

The ivory throne sent by the Indian Prince to Queen Victoria (referred to in this passage) is a little more fully described in the following quotation from a monograph²⁰ published by The Government of India in 1883 :

'Some will no doubt remember the ivory throne and footstool exhibited in 1851, the gift of the Raja of Travancore to Her Majesty the Queen. It is a remarkable specimen of carved ivory, displaying skill in the design and execution. The ornament of the back and sides is very elaborate, and consists of bands and compartments of conventional foliage, human figures and animals, the style and arrangement of which derives its character from the carved architectural ornament of Dravidian art' (p. 5).

The rest of the note on Carved Ivory is not devoid of interest: 'India has always been famed for ivory carvings, which are applied to furniture and to all descriptions of useful and ornamental objects. The modern work is produced mostly at Murshedabad in Bengal, and at Shahpur, Amritsar and Delhi in the Punjab, at Bhurtpur, Jodhpur and Udaipur in Rajputana, in Bombay, in Assam, and in Burma, and at Vizagapatam and Travancore in Madras. Small statuettes, models of elephants and other animals, carved paper-cutters, chowris or fly whisks, sword and knife handles, chess-boards and chessmen, tankards, combs, and all descriptions of boxes, are among the most commonly produced articles. Carving in ivory produced in India is done for the most part by hand, and is much to be admired for elaboration of detail and for picturesque grouping of figures and animals. The geometrical and foliated ornament is always first-rate, and the production of carved ivory suitable for the application to furniture and to useful objects should be developed and encouraged' (*Ibid.*).

20. *Fifty-one Photographic Illustrations taken by order of the Government of India of some selected objects shown at the Third Exhibition of Native Fine and Industrial Art opened at Simla by His Excellency the Viceroy on the 24th September, 1881. London, 1883.*

Bengal Under Jahangir

PART III

BOOK SECOND

By

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(Continued from p. 343 of Vol. XIII, p. 3)

ZAFAR KHAN'S RETURN TO BIHAR.

ZAFAR KHAN left Bengal to Hoshang and returned to Bihar.¹ He was preparing to go on an expedition against Kokra Desh² when he got an attack of paralysis. But the Diwan and the Bakhshi of Bihar represented that this illness of the Khan was due to his fear of the imperial Wrath. Jahangir sent two of his own physicians to cure him with instructions to bring him to the capital if he did not get well.

IBRAHIM BEG'S APPOINTMENT AS GOVERNOR OF BIHAR

Zafar Khan had succeeded Afzal Khan in the province of Bihar.³ Afzal was now reappointed to Bihar. He died however at Agra.⁴ Ibrahim Beg was then appointed to succeed him and was

1. Hoshang was Islam Khan's son and it seems he was now left temporarily in charge of the province till the arrival of his uncle.

2. Khokhra of the Tuzak, p. 155. It was famous for its diamond mines.

3. Zafar Khan's appointment. He was appointed governor of Bihar on December 11, 1612 (Tuzak, 1114), long before Islam Khan's death.

4. Afzal Khan died on 22nd May, 1613 (Tuzak, 119). Islam Khan was still alive. Thus the statements in the text about the appointments are all wrong. As Afzal Khan predeceased Islam Khan there could have been no question whatever of his having been superseded by Zafar Khan and later on being reappointed to his office on account of Zafar Khan's illness. Afzal Khan had an audience of the Emperor on March 31, 1613. There is no indication in Tuzak that he went back to Bihar.

BENGAL UNDER JAHANGIR

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favoured with a flag and drums which were a necessary part of this appointment.⁵

KUCH PRESENTS TO THE EMPEROR.

From Bengal eunuchs and Elephants taken from the Raja of Kuch were sent to the court under Sh. Ain Yamin. On the way he fell out with Qasim Beg at Allahabad and when some elephants died he at once wrote to the emperor that Qasim Beg had murdered them. He was chained for leaving Bengal without orders and sent back thereto. Sh. Ain Yamin brought the elephants to the court where some were taken by the emperor for his own stable.

QUARREL BETWEEN HOSHANG AND QASIM KHAN.

Qasim Khan was Islam Khan's brother. Hoshang decided to leave Dacca before his uncle arrived there. He made out the accounts of the province, got receipts from the Bakhshi and the Diwan and prepared to set out. Qasim had heard of it and sent his own son from Raj Mahal to prevent his leaving Dacca. But Hoshang insisted on leaving and left Dacca. Qasim Khan thereupon took in his own custody Rs. 2,00,000 of Islam Khan and began to trouble the elephants and servants of the late Islam Khan at Raj Mahal. Meanwhile however orders came that Hoshang be allowed to come to court. He went there and was given robes of condolence on his gaining audience of the emperor.⁶

QASIM KHAN'S ASSUMPTION OF GOVERNMENT

Qasim Khan set out from Raj Mahal to Dacca. He reached Jatrapur in the neighbourhood of Dacca and asked his astrologers to fix an auspicious hour for his entering upon his charge. They told him that the last quarter of the same night, 27 Rabi-ul-Awwal,

5. Ibrahim Beg was appointed the governor of Bihar in succession to Zafar Khan who seems to have succeeded Afzal Khan in Bihar sometimes after March, 1613.

Thus when Islam Khan died Zafar Khan was the governor of Bihar. Ibrahim Beg succeeded him in 1615 on his recall to the capital. cf. Tuzak, 140-141.

6. Hoshang was granted Royal audience on 24th November, 1614. cf. Tuzak, p. 141. He was given the title of Ikram Khan sometimes after. (Tuzak, p. 146). He lived to render useful service to the Mughal Emperor. He became a commander of 2,000 horse in the 14th year of Jahangir's reign. cf. Tuzak, pp. 262, 264, 268; Badshah Nama, Vol. I, part II, 303, Vol. II, 725; Mu'asir-ul-Umra, I, 120. He died in the 24th year of Shah Jahan's reign.

(May, 7, 1614) was auspicious, and that if it passed away it would take long to find another hour equally auspicious. He took a fast boat and reached Dacca in time from the Chandri Ghat. It was raining hard but when it stopped the Amirs came and welcomed him. Raja Parichhat Narain with his sons was also presented to him. Soon however he requested the Amirs who had left their charges without permission to go back thereto. Mubaraz Khan and Mirak Bahadur retorted that they would go back if he paid the salary due to them for an increment in their grade. Qasim Khan reported their behaviour to the court. The emperor took away the title of Bahadur from Mirak and of Khan from Mubaraz and ordered that if by the time of the receipt of the order they should not have gone back to their command, their Jagirs should be changed and they should be sent to Bandasal. Fortunately they had left for their posts earlier and were thus saved. Their titles were also restored.

Abdul Aslam, Aslam Khan's brother had been left at Gila in Sylhet. After mourning for his brother for some days he indulged himself in merry making. Mirza Husain had been appointed the Bakhshi and Diwan in Sylhet. He set out to make a revenue settlement thereof. Parts were created Jagirs where however imperial Fojdars were appointed to help the Jagirdars. Some he gave to farmers taking from them the deed of acceptance. Some districts were kept khalsa. Mirza Usaf Barlas was appointed Karori⁷ in Dakhan Kaul. He toured the district and made arrangements for collecting revenues. Mirza Muhammad Zaman Tabraizi was appointed Karori in Khonta Ghat. He was a licentious fellow and would take beautiful daughters and simple boys of his people to him.

MAGICAL PRACTICES IN SYLHET.

Khonta Ghat is famous for magic.⁸ If a state servant takes by force a chicken from its owner and eats it and denies it when complained against to a Hakim, they come and make the cock crow

7. Karories. These revenue officers though originally appointed to hold charge of a tract of land bringing one crore of dams in land revenue seem to have been continued as revenue officers in charge of the sirkars after this artificial unit of administration was given up.

8. Cf. Haft Akalim MS., F. Also Price's edition of the Memoirs of Jahangir, pp. 168-83.

from his stomach. If an official messenger, gone to collect cesses in a village, in a fit of oppression demands fish at dead of night, they pluck leaves of mango and turn them into small fish. The messenger eats them and dies.

Muhd. Zaman's oppression brought on him an attack by magic. For two or three days he remained mewling like a cat and barking like a dog and died.

APPOINTMENTS IN SYLHET.

After making many experiments for the collection of revenue Raja Ram was appointed farmer here.

Abul Aslam appointed Janbaz Beg Kotwal at Gila. At once people began to complain about his predecessor Akaram. Even the mother of Parichhat complained of his having forcibly taken diamonds from her. On enquiry however the complaint was found to be false.

NATHAN'S HOUSE BURNT.

One day while Nathan, who was stationed at Gila, had gone out hunting in the jungle, his servants did not wish to lag behind. They found an easy corner in a garden and began to drink, when a fire broke out. Its horrors were increased by the stampede of horses in Nathan's stables and later by the blowing up of a magazine. Nathan returned to find himself penniless. Some gold and silver was salvaged from the wreck of his property but all else was lost. He spent the night under a tent and moved to the vacant house of the younger brother of Raja Paricchat's Purohita. His brothers complained to Abul Aslam and Mirza Husain. When their messenger came to remonstrate with Nathan on his seizure of the place, Nathan got upset and retorted that the Purohita had 20 places and that Abul Aslam had not cared to enquire into the incident when his house was burnt and had not helped him either and now he came to bother him. Nathan did not accept the many gifts forced on him except from two of his cronies. Raja Lachhmi Narain sent him 300 labourers who built his house in 3 months.

QUARREL BETWEEN THE DIWAN AND THE GOVERNOR.

There was a quarrel between Mirza Husain's followers and the Kotwals of Bazar's men in Dacca. Though the Mirza was present in the court of the governor, Qasim Khan sent men to bring his son to him. He resisted and the trouble spread till at last his

Haveli was razed to the ground by elephants, his two sons were seized, his property looted, his account books were destroyed at the instigation of Mirza Qasim, the treasurer, whose accounts he was investigating. The captives were paraded through the city and ordered to be executed. Mirak Bahadur and Mubaraz Khan however intervened and saved them asking the Khan to imprison them and ask for orders from the emperor, as no one had been executed for such offences before for long. Mirza Husain was also imprisoned. But other Mansibdars stood surety for him and he was, with his two sons, released.

The News Writer⁹ Na'im was very much perturbed. Qasim Khan was as strict as Islam Khan in his vigilance over correspondence with the capital and people going there and Na'im had no hope that he could send his report safely through regular channels. He disguised some of his men as jogis, smuggled them out of Dacca and sent them to a friend of his-Ani Rai Singh Dalan,¹⁰ brother of Raja Salbahan-at court telling him that he should get them presented as ordinary complaints to the emperor. When Jahangir received the news, as he sat in the Salutation Balcony witnessing an elephant fight, he appointed Sa'adat Khan to go to Dacca and inquire into the matter. The emperor told Sa'adat Khan that unless Qasim Khan was able to give satisfaction to Mirza Husain, he would be severely dealt with. When Sa'adat Khan came Qasim Khan was very much upset. He gave back to Mirza Husain all that had been recovered from the loot of his house. Besides he gave Rs. 1,00,000 to Mirza Husain and Pargana Mahad Pur Bhagwan from his own Jagir to the Mirza and his sons. Thereupon they compromised with the governor and Sa'adat Khan took the deed of compromise in which the incident was retailed with the seals of the Khans to the court.

9. Newswriters had been appointed by Akbar to every province as a part of the machinery he set up for the purpose of keeping the provincial administration under control. Though they had been primarily appointed to keep an eye on the governors, the incidents here related indicate the difficulties of their position. It was not always so easy to send news from the provinces especially when their reports happened to be unfavourable to the provincial authorities.

10. Ani Rai Singh Dalan saved the life of Jahangir by engaging a lion in single combat when Jahangir's shots failed to take effect. Cf. *Tuzak*, pp. 90-92, and *Muasar-i-Jahangiri*.

DETENTION OF RAJA LACHHMI NARAIN AND PARICHHAT NARAYAN.

Qasim Khan now sent Raja Raghu Nath to fetch Raja Lachhmi Narain of Kamrup promising him his own country in Jagir. Raghu Nath took Lachhmi Narain from Dulai giving him all assurances and allowing him to leave the country in the hands of his own agents. But Qasim Khan did not respect this undertaking and sent an officer of his own to Kamrup. He kept a part of the country for the emperor under Karoris and the rest was given to farmers. His oppressions however soon brought about trouble and he was transferred and Ali Beg was appointed in his place.

When Raja Lachhmi Narain reached the court at Dacca he was arrested and detained under Abdul Rahman. There was a quarrel between Mukarram Khan and Qasim Khan who wanted to detain Parichhat as well. Mukarram Khan and those with him who had given Lachhmi Narain their assurances for his safety when he submitted, protested that this was against the undertaking of Islam Khan. Qasim Khan summoned both to the court and when they were leaving, one of his men put his hands round Parichhat's waist and detained him.¹¹ Mukarram Khan, though boiling over with rage, thought it better not to move in the matter.

MUGHAL OCCUPATION OF KACHHAR.

Meanwhile Qasim Khan sent his own men to Kachhar to take possession thereof. There was a quarrel, as usual, between the new officers and Mirza Nathan, who along with other officers had been summoned to Dacca. Qasim Khan on receiving the complaint expelled Nathan's family from his house and sent them out

11. Lachhmi Narain's fate after his arrest and detention raises some interesting questions. He seems to have been sent later on to the Imperial Court. Jahangir gave him back his territories as he tells us in the memoirs. (*Tuzak*, 226). He was allowed to leave for Bengal in the beginning of the 13th year of Jahangir's reign.

Parichhat Narain's fate again is more a question of conjecture than historical fact. The Assamese chroniclers relate vague stories of his having been re-appointed the ruler of his dominions but nothing definite is known about his having exercised governing powers therein after his arrest. Cf. Gait, pp. 65-66.

Mukarram Khan was a son-in-law of Islam Khan. He left Bengal sometimes after this on account of his disagreement with Qasim Khan. In the year 21, he was appointed governor of Bengal. While coming to receive the farman of appointment he was drowned.

without a roof over their heads. Nathan got enraged and became almost mad. On reflection however he decided to wait for events.

PROMOTION FOR SERVICE IN KUCH.

The Kuch elephants that had been sent to the court were called one day by Jahangir who arranged an elephant fight and witnessed it from his Jharoka.¹² He then inquired for an account of the conquest of the country. When this was forthcoming, Kamal was given a Mansib of 500 and taken into imperial service. Nathan, Mukarram Khan, and Aman Quli received increments in their status and robes which were sent to them. Thus Nathan and Mukarram Khan were both placated.

AN IMPERIAL COMMISSIONER TO BENGAL.

News of Qasim Khan's misdeeds reached the court through the letters of the Diwan and the Bakshi and the news writer, who complained of his lack of organisation. Jahangir ordered that Ibrahim Kalal, Darogha of the court of justice, be sent to Bengal in order to give good counsel to Qasim Khan, his Diwan, Bakshi and news writer. He was also asked to recover from Qasim Khan the property of Islam Khan which he had misappropriated and credit the dues to the state treasury and entrust the rest to Hoshang and his family. About this time Jahangir decided to have his ears pierced. Then those of the princes were also pierced and ear rings put therein. It was decided to send pearls to the high servants of the state in different provinces. Seventy-two pairs of pearls were sent to Qasim and the Amirs of the provinces each to take a pair.¹³

12. On October 6, 1615, elephants sent by Qasim Khan, Governor of Bengal, were exhibited at Jahangir's court. He placed 90 elephants in the royal stable. (Tuzak, p. 148).

Baharistan probably refers to this occasion when grants may have been made to Bengal Officials. Jahangir had sent (Tuzak, p. 147) 5 chitas to Qasim Khan on 21st May, 1615.

13. In the 9th year on July 21, 1614, Jahangir fell ill. He vowed that when he got well he would put pearl-earrings in his ears in order to prove himself an humble devotee of the Khwaja at Ajmer (Tuzak, p. 132). This would place the appointment of Ibrahim Kalal as an Imperial Commissioner to Bengal about the middle of the year 1614. Jahangir seems to have taken prompt action against the governor of a far off province whom he had only recently appointed to that place.

Ibrahim reached Dacca and was received by the governor, the Diwan, the Bakhshi, and the news writer and other officers. The first day was spent in feasting. The second day Ibrahim came to the court and delivered his messages to the persons concerned.

He then asked Qasim Khan to disgorge the property of Islam Khan and the state dues. He gave him a week. Qasim Khan tried to tempt him by fair words but when Ibrahim was not taken in by that, he gave two lakhs worth in cash and property and a written deed for the rest promising that his vakil would pay it into the state treasury at Agra.

REBELLION IN KUCH AND THE MUGHAL MEASURES FOR ITS SUPPRESSION.

The divisions between the Amirs appointed in Kuch and the arrest of the Raja led to a rebellion in the country. The rebels expelled the Mughal officers from some of their garrisons. Abul Aslam sent Aslam Beg with 200 matchlockmen, 50 horses and ponies to Khonta Ghat. At Jaipur¹⁴ the enemy fell upon this body of the Mughals and defeated it. The Mughals ran away, crossed the river Karatya¹⁵ and lay almost undefended. Again the Kuch army fell upon the Mughals, some were killed, the rest made prisoners. Aslam Beg had sent a courtier to Abul Aslam who sent another reinforcement of 200 musketeers who were cut down at Bhasrol. The enemy now advanced further and captured Rangmatia.¹⁶ They wanted further to capture the mouth of the river Guja Dhar¹⁷ near Gilani so that they may cut the city off from the rest of Bengal. Abdur Razaq Shirazi was now sent with 500 horses and as many musketeers to take back Rangmatia from the enemy. Mirza Usaf sent word from Dakhan Kol,¹⁸ that unless reinforcement were sent to him at once he would be lost. Now he was on the other side of the Brahmaputra and Aslam could not discover a way of helping him. Nathan was sent with the war-boats

14. Jaipur, village in Lakhimpur district. (Imperial Gazetteer, Vol. 13, p. 402.)

15. River Karatia. Cf. Bengal Gazetteer, Vol. 8, pp. 135-139.

16. Ranga Matia, village in Goalpara district. (Imperial Gazetteer, Vol. 22, pp. 211-12.)

17. This river is now known as Gadadhar. It joins Brahmaputra in two branches. (Assam Gazetteer, Vol. II, p. 221).

18. Dakhan Kol. One of the three divisions into which Assam is divided by the river Brahmaputra. Cf. Talish MS., F.

and he transported Mirza Usaf to Gilani after he had been starving for four days. But the enemy now grew bolder and besieged Gilani itself. They entered the city by Kamkhya Dwar and created a panic. Eventually they were driven away. Still they kept the city surrounded and stray parties were often killed if they ventured out of the city. The contingent sent to Rangmatia was also being harassed daily by the enemy. The Mughal ranks were hopelessly divided in Gilani by unseemly attitude of Abdul Baqi, who not only would not serve under Nathan but prevented others as well. Qasim Khan now sent Mirza Amam Quli in order to check the enemy. In 18 days the Mirza reached Gilani and Nathan, who had been appointed by Abul Aslam to lead the relief expedition, tried to persuade Amam Quli Beg to let him go. But the Mirza insisted on taking the command himself. Nathan now went to Abdul Baqi, made peace with him and asserted that Abdul Aslam and none else should be the chief officer on this frontier. They decided to bide their time and wait for development.

Next morning, of 9th Shawal, Abdul Baqi left Gilani; Amam Quli also followed suit. Abdul Razaq was told off to hold the mouth of the river Gajadhar. Eight hundred horses under Abul Aslam remained to guard Gilani, the rest about 1500 horse, 1700 matchlockmen and 30 elephant left against the enemy through the passes of Kamrup and reached Dilgaon where the enemy was. Nathan led the imperial van and entrenched himself behind a ditch and a stockade. The enemy however attacked his position but Nathan beat them back. The use of poisoned arrows by the enemy created a good deal of consternation. However the Mughals succeeded and at night the enemy fled away. This led to the evacuation by the enemy of Rangmatia as well where Abdul Razaq had been sent. Nathan and Abdul Baqi wrote to Abul Aslam to send reinforcements.

Mirza Aman Quli wanted to go back to Gilani but Abdul Baqi and Nathan decided to attack Jaipur. As Abdul Baqi and Nathan beat their drums for march, all the army followed them out, and Amam Quli was obliged to accompany them. Mirza Usaf was left to occupy Koma¹⁹ with a force of 500 matchlockmen. The rest of the army reached Jaipur and occupied it. For a week they re-

19. Gumadoar, one of the eastern doars in Goalpara district. (Assam Gazetteer, Vol. II, p. 116.)

mained there, Nathan going out with parties of Mughals to frighten the country-side into submission. On the seventh day leaving Jaipur, they reached the bank of the river Sankosh.²⁰ Qasim Khan now appointed Abdul Baqi the commander-in-chief of the forces in Kuch as Nathan had been dinning his praise into his ears.

Nathan got an attack of . . . * and returned to Gilani. His condition was serious and a messenger was sent to bring the family Kaviraj from Alap Singh. The Kaviraj came and cured Nathan by giving him a dose of some poison with lemon juice.

THE MUGHAL EXPEDITION TO KACHHAR.

Mubaraz Khan and Mirak Bahadur had come to their charge at Bandasal when Qasim Khan came to Bengal. In order to please the new governor, they went on an expedition to Pratap Garh in Kachhar, where a rather untamed type of people lived. They spoke the language of Kachhar but were white coloured and wore high turbans and put ear rings weighing from ½ pao to a pao. They ate meat of all animals and vegetables of all type. Nathan declared them to be Mughals, descendants of Timur's companions. An annotator of his on the book is wiser, and rightly objects that Timur never passed Delhi and that in 250 years they could not have given up Islam. But he is as wise in his history as Nathan when he declares them Alexander's companions. They were conquered, some of them were sent to Qasim Khan as exhibits who sent them on to Jahangir who was much pleased thereat, and gave an increase in Mansib to Mubaraz Khan and Mirak Bahadur giving Mirak Bahadur Pratap Garh as Jagir.²¹ Mubaraz Khan now came to Dacca and received the necessary equipment for an expedition to Kachhar. He soon reached Asar Tekar, the stronghold of the Raja and stormed it. At last the Raja submitted, gave up his fort, sent 40 elephants, Rs. 1,00,000 cash and other presents of his country to the emperor, gave 5 elephants and Rs. 20,000 for Qasim Khan, an elephant and Rs. 10,000 each to Mirak Bahadur and Mubaraz Khan. He was to be excused presence in the imperial court. They wrote to Qasim Khan who accepted the terms.

20. The Sankosh divided Kamroop from Kuch Bihar. (Imperial Gazetteer, Vol. 22, p. 60.)

21. These must have been included in the elephants sent by Qasim Khan to the Court and exhibited there on 6th October, 1615. (Tuzak, 148). The expeditions here referred to must have taken place early in the year 1615.

* Not found in the MS.

The elephants and other gifts were sent to Dacca. Qasim Khan sent the elephants as presents to the emperor.²²

Mubaraz died at this time and Mirak Bahadur, discouraged thereat, evacuated Asar Tekar and came back to Sylhet. Mukarram Khan was now called from Bara Sandur and appointed to Sylhet Sarkar.

AFFAIRS IN BENGAL PROPER.

Qasim Khan sent Kamal to bring Shams Khan of Bir Bhum, Bir Hamir of Pachet, and Bahadur Khan of Hijili to Dacca. Qasim had a grudge against him as Kamal had refused to serve as his personal assistant. However after a good deal of time, he sent reinforcement and Kamal was successful. Mirza Muki was sent to Bardwan and asked to prevail upon Virbhan of Chandar Kota to come to Dacca.

Abdul Wahid Commander of Bhalva decided to take his share in the victories that seemed to be going round. He sent his army to overrun Tippera under his son and himself came to Dacca in order to equip himself for an expedition. Finding Bhalva deserted, Raja Magh of Arrakan²³ decided to invade it. Qasim Khan was informed by Abdul Wahid's agent at Bhalva and Thanadars of Pur and Vikram Pur.²⁴ He sent Abdul Wahid back to his command and himself decided to help him. He called back Abu Bakar from his expedition against Assam as also Mirza Maki and Shaikh Kamal. Abdul Wahid soon reached Bhalva and his son also came back from the expedition against Raja Patra.

ARRAKANESSE INVASION OF BENGAL

They heard the news that the Magh Raja was advancing on them with a large army, 300,000 foot and innumerable elephants and war boats. He had crossed the river Feni,²⁵ major and minor and was heading straight for Bhalva. Abdul Wahid evacuated Bhalva

22. This expedition to Kachar should be placed early in the year 1616. Mubaraz Khan seems to have received necessary equipments probably after the presentation of elephants at the Imperial Court in October 1615. The reigning raja of Kachar seems to have been Satrudaman. Cf. Gait, p. 253.

23. Probably Husain Shah (1612-1622). Cf. Hervey, pp. 142 and 16.

24. Cf. Talish in Sarkar, p. 127.

25. The Feni. Cf. Imp. Gaz., XII, 97.

and Islamabad²⁶ which he thought undergarrisoned. The enemy entered Bhalva and Islamabad and burnt them down. He followed Abdul Wahid to Dakatya Khal where Qasim Khan poured in reinforcements. Abdul Wahid would have left this place for Majwah Khal which is a very small rivulet and where large war boats could not enter but for his son's strong opposition. The enemy had just then defeated the Europeans in a naval engagement and made a treaty with them.²⁷ The Raja made, a cousin of their captain and certain other chiefs prisoners, taking them with his army. The Raja thought that a good security against the Europeans. The Europeans however treacherously fell upon his war boats when he was busy inland. All the treasury and artillery fell into their hands and they escaped into Sondip. One of the Europeans brought this welcome news to the Mughal camp and Abdul Wahid now decided to give battle the next morning. He crossed the Dakatya and attacked the fort in battle array. The enemy was taken by surprise and after a skirmish ran away. Abdul Wahid now followed him, crossed the river Feni in pursuit, took many elephants and 500 prisoners. Qasim Khan wrote to Agra ascribing this victory to his own son Farid.

DISTURBANCE IN KUCH

In Kuch as well there was some disturbance. The enemy appeared in Pata Mari²⁸ and attacked the merchants who had gone to Kaind Kodi and Badhantra to procure supplies for the army. Abdul Baqi was at the head of the river Sonkas. Gilani was almost deserted by the Mughal Chiefs. He hastened to Gilani to find Nathan still in bed. He now heard that Mirza Salih whom he had sent against the enemy had reached Pata Mari and occupied the fort. But the enemy cut off his supplies when they discovered his small numbers. He left the place and came to the fort of Badhantra where even supplies were scarce. He wrote to Aman Quli Beg and Mirza Mirak who refused to help him, so did Basho tan, son of Afzal Khan whom Abdul Baqi approached personally. He now approached Nathan who had shaken off his serious illness

26. Islamabad, a Purganah in Rangpur, Imp. Gaz., VII, 253, 258.

27. This must refer to the events of the year 1615, when Husain Shah is supposed to have been worsted by a combination of his enemies, the Raja of Tippera, Tibao, and the Portuguese.

28. Pata Mari is famous for its jute trade. Assam Gaz., II, 50.

only nine days ago. He however decided to march forth in that weak state and advised Abdul Baqi to remain in Gilani himself. Thus Abdul Baqi stationed himself in Gilani. Nathan left on an elephant on Friday, 28th Muharram and marched through the river Gajadhar. He reached Rangmatia 14 miles distant, where Abdul Razaq, its Thanedar, welcomed him. He borrowed a Sukhpal from the Mir and marched easily therein to the banks of river Sankos. Here he met merchants complaining about the depredations of the enemy at Kaing Kodi. Nathan sent a detachment thereto but Raja Nobar ran away to the mountains of Koar. Nathan left a detachment in order to keep his communications with Gilani open. He then advanced to Bhadhantra where Mirza Salih was. The Mirza advanced to meet him and paid him due honours. Soon news came that the enemy was at Pata Mari having left a small garrison at Raj Ghat on the river Janpur. The Mirza left the place the next morning and advanced on Pata Mari which he easily took. Nathan made some prisoners. Scouts were sent to bring news of the enemy's whereabouts. Soon it transpired that the enemy was at the fort of Takonia in the heart of the hills. Nathan sent Salih with 300 armoured horses and 500 matchlockmen with 5 elephants against the enemy. Mirza Salih railed his elephants against the gates of the fort and captured it. The enemy now passed into the territory of Manak Dev, Lachhmi Narain's uncle. The Mirza then wrote to Lachhmi Narain's son telling him that it might fare worse with his father who was in Qasim's hands if the enemy escaped from the territory of his uncle. Manak Dev sent Raja Nobar to Lachhmi Narain's son in a cage (was he surrendered to the Mughals?)

Nathan remained at Pata Mari for some time and then put up at Khurbuza Ghat. A military garrison was set up at Rangli Kahnna. Muhammad Amin was appointed Karori and Madho Das, Karkun, but the people knew their strength. When the rains were at their highest, they refused to pay revenue and once again there was disturbance. Nathan was ill and sent an expedition under Balbhanar Das to Kaing Kodi. The enemy opposed their progress midway between Kaing Kodi and Badhantra, but the imperialists were victorious. They marched on Badhantra which they took and then decided to attack Pata Mari. After 15 days' siege a night attack was made on the 18th Ramazan by the enemy 12000 strong, but the garrison stood out bravely and sallied forth. After some time reinforcements came under Nathan but the enemy was defeated just before Nathan reached Pata Mari.

MUGHAL EXPEDITION TO ASSAM.

When the Magh danger was almost over, Qasim Khan wrote to S. Abu Baqar and his colleagues at Bajra Pur²⁹ to start against Assam. They wrote back asking for war boats and the appointment of Karoris in Kamrup. They reached Badnagar, the capital of Kamrup, passing on to Haju, another important city in the centre of the country. Abu Baqar now stationed garrisons in different parts of the country, Jagdev, Todarmal's grandson, was appointed to Badnagar, and Allah Dad Khan to Damdama. Qasim Khan appointed Ibrahim, with Abdul Nabi as his Deputy, Kotwal of Ghora Ghat and Karori of Kamrup. He arranged for war boats to be sent and asked for reinforcements to be forwarded to Abu Baqar. He insisted that Abu Baqar should advance into Assam in the rains. Abu Baqar reached Koh Hatta midway between Kamrup and Assam. Here he stayed for some time and called the garrisons that he had left behind to his aid. Jagdev came, only to die. From Koh Hatta he moved on to the mouth of the river Kulang³⁰ where he set up a garrison. Here he remained ready to attack the capital of the Raja of Assam.

This naturally led to disturbance in Kamrup. Sonatan led the rebels and they pressed Ibrahim hard. He informed Qasim Khan that unless he was relieved in time all Kamrup would be lost. Qasim Khan asked Abdul Nabi to help him but Abdul Nabi would not at first obey his orders. At last Qasim Khan summoned Nathan and prevailed upon him to go to Assam promising him a rise in his Mansib. Nathan declared that he was much out of pocket on account of his constant appointments to active service. He recalled his detachments from Khurbuza Ghat. Abdul Baqi and his Afghans were to reach Kamrup by the river whereas Nathan was to travel by land. At Kaing Kodi he learnt that his progress was stopped by the enemy who had built a fort at the head of the pass. Nathan stormed the fort and after a great deal of trouble his elephants broke down the gate. The fort was taken. Passing Badhantra he reached the river Manas in six stages and waited for Abdul Baqi who had meanwhile, after getting the arrangements already made, reached Badnagar with difficulty where he was hard pressed by the enemy.

29. Probably Badrpur on the borders of Sylhet and Kachar.

30. An off shoot of the river Brahmaputra in Assam.

Nathan waited for two days and then, gathering together what boats he could take from the countryside, he decided to cross the Manas. The enemy fell upon the foremost party that crossed the river but was beaten back in the end. Nathan sent an advance party to the relief of Badnagar. When it reached Badnagar it was taken for the enemy and almost made a target for Abdul Baqi's fire. Nathan soon followed and made a junction with Abdul Baqi.

Nathan and Abdul Baqi now advanced to Ibrahim's help. Sonatan had taken Damdama and was using it as a base of operations. They advanced upon Damdama where Ibrahim was. He received them well. Nathan opened negotiations with Sonatan promising to get Ibrahim transferred elsewhere. Sonatan demanded that Ibrahim be adequately punished for his licentious behaviour, a years' revenue be remitted, the Mughal forces withdrawn to Gilani, the cost of the expeditionary force which had been realized, be remitted, and the money distributed among the people. Nathan would not accept these terms and the negotiations broke down. As usual the Mughal commanders were divided among themselves. Ibrahim insisted on their making an attempt on the fort at once whereas Nathan considered attacking from the south on Mondays and Tuesdays unfortunate and inauspicious. Ibrahim however attacked the fort and then asked for reinforcements. Abdul Baqi asked him to come back but he would not and they were obliged to attack the enemy next morning.

The fort was stoutly defended. The Mughal attempts to cross and fill the ditch were unavailing, their mines were rendered useless. Sonatan then raised another stockade in the rear and sent his men to occupy it. This gave the Mughals a chance. They stormed the stockade and cut off the supplies. The enemy was disheartened and ran away from Damdama at night to Jotia.³¹ Thus the place was taken after a siege of four months and a half.

The Mughals remained here for three days and then followed Sonatan to Jotia in the heart of the forest.

QASIM KHAN AND THE EMPEROR.

Meanwhile Qasim Khan had sent a despatch to the emperor ascribing the victory against Maghs to his own young son. Iftkhar Khan's son Maki had sent some elephants to Dacca to be forward-

31. Probably Chutia, a village in the Randhir district.

ed to the court. Qasim Khan was obliged to let them go. The emperor was enraged at Qasim Khan's false despatches. He sent a Farman through the post accusing Qasim Khan of sending false news. Abdul Wahid was given the title of Sarhad Khan and Maki became Maravat Khan. Not content with this Jahangir sent Ladla Khan with oral messages to Qasim Khan calling him to account for his falling out with his subordinates. Ladla saw him, delivered the messages and came back.

MUKHLIS KHAN'S APPOINTMENT TO BENGAL

This was the third time Jahangir had felt the need of warning Qasim Khan. He now decided to amalgamate the offices of Bakshi, Newswriter, and Diwan and send a man, equal in status to Qasim Khan.³² Mukhlis Khan³³ was appointed to fill the combined office. Jahangir told him to take an equal share in the work of the government, report on Qasim Khan's doings and if necessary to suggest his removal.

ARRAKANESSE INVASION AND DEFEAT.

The Raja of Arrakan first settled with the Burmese and then fell upon the unsuspecting Sarhad Khan³⁴ who once again abandoned Bhalva and went towards Dakatya Khal. Qasim Khan

32. When the empire was first divided into twelve provinces by Akbar, he took various measures for keeping the power of the provincial governors in check. The provincial Diwans were soon after made independent of the governor and placed directly under the supervision of the Imperial Diwan. The revenue administration was placed entirely under their control. Nathan's pages however reveal that even this did not always succeed. Here we find Jahangir trying rather an extreme remedy by combining the offices of the Diwan, the Bakshi and the Newswriter.

33. Mukhlis Khan. Husain Beg, Dewan of Bengal, had an audience of the emperor on 23—3—1617, and Tahar, Bakshi of Bengal, who had committed some mistakes was also admitted to the court the same day. He was, however soon refused audience though he was later on allowed that honour after orders for Qasim Khan's recall had been issued on April 7, 1617. From these entries it would appear as if Husain Beg and Tahar were still serving in Bengal. But we are told a few pages further that the grade of Mukhlis Khan who was the Dewan and Bakshi of Bengal was reduced by one thousand personal on July 27, 1617. He was Purvez's deputy in Patna when Shah Jahan rebelled and left Patna undefended. He was appointed a commander of 2,000 on Shah Jahan's accession and died in the tenth year as a commander of 3,000.

34. This probably refers to the period after Husain's expulsion of Tibao from Sardwip. 617. Cf. Hervey, 142.

hearing the news moved on to Khizar Pur³⁵ at the mouth of the river Dolai³⁶ where it joins the river Lakhya,³⁷ and at once sent large reinforcements under Abdul Nabi. The relieving force consisted of two thousand horse, 3,000 foot, 700 war boats, 300 elephants. Sarhad Khan was afraid of facing the enemy, but his son and other officers engaged the Raja and defeated him. Now he pursued the Raja who rather foolishly divided his armies into two, himself accompanying the war boats. The Mughals fell upon the land forces and almost destroyed them and then surrounded Raja Husain in the deep waters of the river. He submitted at last to Sarhad Khan. He was allowed to escape, though the rest of his army capitulated under Ali Manak, his nephew.

NEW APPOINTMENTS MADE BY MUKHLIS KHAN.

Meanwhile Mukhlis Khan, the new Dewan, arrived at Dacca. He appointed one of his sons to work as the Bakhshi, another as the Newswriter.³⁸ He began now to make appointments of his own. He appointed Mir Ghias-ud-din, Dewan, Mahmud, Bakhshi and Newswriter of Kuch and stationed them at Haju. He so organised the services in the province as to bring all matters under his own control.

MUGHAL EXPEDITION TO ASSAM AND ITS DISASTROUS END.

The army sent against Assam under Abu Baqar fared very badly. Abu Baqar defeated the Raja's flotilla at the mouth of the river Kalang where it joins the river Brahm Putra and advanced six stages to reach the banks of the river Ai Bahrai.³⁹ Here he set up a stockade of sand in the forest. The position was not tenable as it could be easily approached and stormed. The usual quarrel

35. Cf. Talish in Sarkar, 147.

36. In Tippera Hills. Imp. Gaz. XII, 117.

37. The Lakhmia, Bengal Gaz., V. 21, 22.

38. This custom of appointing one's own relatives and favourites to be one's deputies in some of the offices was the natural result of the system of conferring multiple offices on Imperial favourites. Here of course political expediency had dictated the original appointment of Mukhlis Khan. The offices of the Bakhshi and the Newswriter were usually held together and the appointment of two persons was therefore an improvement.

39. Bharali in Goalpara; Assam Gaz., II, 109.

among the Mughals marked the operations when the enemy appeared all at once with 700 elephants and 300,000 foot. This surprise attack rendered the artillery useless and the elephants of no avail. Abu Baqar was killed. The enemy's fleet engaged the Mughals on the river and defeated it. The enemy cut off the Mughals. More than 5,000 Mughals perished, 9,000 were made prisoners, 3,000 wounded tried to escape through the forest and the river. The Mughals surrendered their arms. Raja Rai and Narsingh Rai were among the prisoners. Raja Satarjit alone escaped to carry the news.

Nathan and Abdul Baqi had retired to Damdama when the news of the disaster came. Nathan prepared to help the fugitives at Haju. The first day he halted at Madho Pur, 36 miles distant, and from there made another rapid march of 44 miles. Again a third march and he was in Haju. The Mughals were very much encouraged by his arrival. Three days afterwards the rest of the troops under Abdul Baqi reached Haju.

Nathan now decided to advance and try to rescue some of the fugitives. He reached Koh Hatta next morning. The sound of the Imperial drums brought out 975 destitute soldiers from the forest whom Nathan clothed and fed. Another 730 men were brought together from the fugitives of Sangari which had suffered at the hands of Abu Baqar and had retaliated on his defeated soldiers. Nathan came back to Haju. Abdul Baqi now stationed garrisons at Badnagar, Damdama, and Pandu with a flying force under Ibrahim to look after the collection of land revenue.

MUGHAL-MAGH CONTESTS.

Qasim Khan now decided to send an expedition against the Raja of Arrakan and lead it himself. Mukhlis Khan suggested that it should be better organised than the expedition against Assam. He wrote to the emperor suggesting the appointment of some trustworthy man to settle affairs on the Kuch border. Qasim Khan, however, decided to proceed with his work. Leaving Dacca, he reached Khizar Pur on the Dulai. At last he decided to march on Bhalva. He sent an expeditionary force under Abdul Nabi with 5,000 horses, 5,000 musketeers, 40 elephants and 1,000 boats.

The Raja of Maghs on hearing the news, himself took station at Chatgaon with 10,000 horse, 300,000 foot, innumerable elephants and war boats, and sent his minister Koram Kari with 100,000 foot, 400 elephants and 1,000 boats to occupy Kankhar and set

up stockade defences there. Abdul Nabi tried to surprise the fort first. He left Sarhad Khan and Kamal to keep up the communications and arrange supplies and himself reached Kan-khar. The first day promised well for the Mughals, but the Maghs cut off Shaikh Kamal by putting up another stockade preventing Kamal from sending supplies. The Mughals were now in a tight corner. Fearing worse in the rainy season they returned to Qasim Khan at Bhalva. Nizam Pur near the scene of action had fallen in the Mughal hands but had to be restored. They destroyed their explosives for fear these should fall into the enemy's hands.

QUARREL BETWEEN THE GOVERNOR AND THE DEWAN.

The expedition cost Rs. 700,000 and Mukhlis Khan refused to give a single pie further without imperial orders. Qasim Khan and Mukhlis Khan naturally fell out. Qasim Khan imprisoned a follower of the Dewan. Mukhlis Khan sent an account of what had happened to the emperor.

DISTURBANCE IN KUCH.

In Kuch, Baldev, brother of Raja Parichhat, and his Minister, Ganesh, created disturbances particularly in Darang, in the village of Sahoran Bari. Shaikh Ibrahim, however, succeeded in quelling the disturbance with the help of Raja Satarjit. Sonatan, however, once again raised his head in Badnagar and an expedition had to be sent against him. Mirza Usaf and Raja Satarjit shut themselves up in Badnagar. When, however, the reinforcements arrived Sonatan was defeated and ran away.

THE EIGHTEEN RAJAS OF PANDU.

Mirza Abdur Razaq tried to make war upon Ram of Maidan Bodah, one of the eighteen Rajahs of Pandu, who had not as yet come to pay respects to him. His force, however, was set upon by the enemy and he was wounded. Many of his soldiers were wounded and killed and many were taken prisoners. It was now decided to send another force under Nathan to Pandu so that Abdul Ghafur (who had been given the lands of the 18 Rajahs as Jagir) may take possession of his lands.

Nathan came to Pandu of which he now became Thanadar. As usual there was bad blood between Nathan and Abdul Baqi at Haju. After all, however, Nathan set out against the eighteen Rajahs. After three days he reached Karal and heard that the

Rani Raja and eighteen Rajahs have put up a stockade at Hat Rani.⁴⁰ Nathan left Mirza Usaf at Karal and came back to Pandu. The same night the enemy delivered a night attack with 22,000 men and pressed the Mughals hard. Nathan, however, attacked the besieging forces from three sides and beat them back. Raja Kok, one of their leaders, was killed; Raja Dumaraya, their chief, was wounded.

Nathan remained here for some days and then came to Karal where he left another force. Then he resumed his march to Rani Hat. In order to facilitate the march they decided to open up a bank of the river Brahmaputra so that forces might be sent up that way. This took about a week. Leaving a garrison at Pandu he himself left for Rani Hat. The fort here was on a great height; on three sides it was surrounded by mountains. The Mughals approached it from the fourth side from under the waters under great opposition. Wangardey, son of Dumaraya, son-in-law of Parichhat, was leading the enemy on this side, he was defeated and ran away. When the Mughals were able to occupy this hill, the besieged ran away. The Mughals followed in pursuit, burnt and ravaged the villages and massacred and enslaved the inhabitants. Then they came back to Pandu.

RECALL OF QASIM KHAN.

Mukhlis Khan's letter to the court bore fruit. Qasim Khan was degraded and called to court.⁴¹ Ibrahim Khan was sent to Bengal from Orissa. He had been successful in conquering Raja Barasal of Kokradesh in Orissa and bringing a diamond mine under the Mughals. Parvez was transferred from Allahabad to Patna.

40. Rani Hat in Satgaon, Assam Gaz., I, 364.

41. Qasim Khan's recall. Qasim Khan was appointed a commander of one thousand personal and 500 Sawar in the third year of Jahangir's reign. About a year after his appointment as governor of Bengal he became commander of 4,000 personal and 4,000 Sawar. (Musa'sir, Vol. III, 355). On April 7, 1617, Jahangir ordered his recall from Bengal for incompetence. Ibrahim Khan, governor of Bihar, was appointed to succeed him being in his own return first relieved by Jahangir Quli Khan. (Tuzak, 186.) He returned from Bengal and was granted Imperial audience on September 30, 1618, at Ujjain. (Tuzak, 253.) He must have left Bengal early in 1618. He was appointed governor of Allahabad in 1621 and made a commander of 5,000. (Tuzak, 334.)

Mukhlis Khan was also degraded by 1,000 Zat and 1,000 Suwar for having suffered Qasim Khan's insolent behaviour.

QUARREL BETWEEN THE OUTGOING GOVERNOR AND HIS SUCCESSOR.

Ibrahim Khan set out from Patna before his successor Parvez's arrival. At the first stage he was joined by Qulich Khan who had been appointed to the command of Kuch. The two reached Dar Bandghari.

Qasim Khan set out from Dacca. He intended taking with him all the elephants, war boats and artillery of the province. He wrote to Abdul Baqi to bring the war boats and elephants from Haju leaving Nathan in command there. Nathan, however, foiled his attempt by forging letters from Mukhlis Khan and Ibrahim Khan. The boatmen had not been paid for the last 20 months. He won them over by giving them one month's pay and at their own suggestion imprisoned them giving out that they owed him money. Abdul Baqi tried his best to get the elephants, the artillery and the war boats but did not succeed. At last he begged Nathan to give him boats and elephants enough to join Qasim Khan. He was Qasim Khan's man. Now that Qasim Khan was going, Abdul Baqi was going out with him. Nathan made arrangements for his departure but appealing to the loyalty of the men he saved the artillery, elephants and war boats for the emperor. Abdul Baqi was, however, arrested by the Shaqdar of Shahzad Pur.

Qasim Khan divided his army into two parts. Elephants were sent by land and he himself, accompanied by the artillery and war boats, advanced by the river. Ibrahim Khan reached Alai Pur and Qasim Khan reached Chatak. Ibrahim Khan sent words to him that he should hand over elephants, war boats and artillery. If he was not agreeable, Ibrahim told him he would not allow him to proceed unless he had given accounts for his four years of stewardship. Qasim Khan refused compliance. For many days the two armies remained sitting facing each other behind their defences. Ibrahim intercepted all communications with Qasim Khan's camp and they suffered from want of provisions. He sent commanders to intercept the elephants that were coming by land. On the 10th, Ibrahim attacked Qasim Khan who was overpowered. Qasim Khan cut down two of his wives and many more perished by the hand of his brothers. All the artillery and elephants and

war boats fell into Ibrahim's hands who now left for Dacca while Qasim Khan went to the emperor.

Ibrahim had taken care to prevent the land forces of Qasim Khan from reaching him. Chand Bahadur, one of his men, had intercepted them in five days on the banks of the Jamna. Bahadur Khan was killed, and Jamal Khan and Musa Khan were wounded and imprisoned.

Organization of Central Government under the Turkish Sultans of Dihli

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A DETAILED study of the political institutions of the Turkish empire of Dihli has not yet been attempted. The task is most baffling. Contemporary historians have not treated the problem systematically, and a modern writer has to throw away book after book without feeling any the wiser on the subject. The king's personality, affairs of the court, stories of war and conquest, really matter to the medieval historian: little about society, almost nothing of governmental system, will be found in his work. Vague and disconnected remarks here and there are all that one has to build his structure upon, and very often one has to face disappointment on suddenly coming upon a statement, which dashes to the ground a theory built with the greatest care and diligence. Another difficulty is that it is impossible to generalise about a period extending over two centuries when so much depended upon the whims of the ruler. What was true of one reign might or might not be true of the others. Moreover, very often a person held more than one office at the same time, and it becomes difficult to judge in what capacity he performed a particular duty: Qiwām-ud-dīn, Kaikubād's minister of correspondence (Dabir), was also his 'Nāeb-i Vakīl-i Dar; Malik Qer-bak held fourteen offices in Mubārak Khalji's reign,² and the Qāzi-ul-Quzzāt also acted as the 'Uhdādār-i-Darhā, i.e., the officer in charge of the palace gates and keys. 'Sometimes the same office was called by different names. It is doubtful, therefore, if it is at all possible to construct an edifice finished and complete, that will satisfy a twentieth century scholar's sense of precision; some amount of confusion will always remain. The present article gives a skeleton of the central gov-

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ernment, on the careful management of which depended the safety of the empire.

The Sultan was the fountain of all authority. Divine qualities were ascribed to him and he was supposed to possess an 'inspired mind. Amīr Khusrau even calls him 'the 'Lord's Deputy' and often refers to Alāud-dīn as the Caliph of 'Islam. He was the supreme governor of the realm, the final court of appeal, the chief law-giver and the chief commander of forces. In theory, the Shariat was his guide; in practice, his word was law. While a great autocrat like Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī sacrificed religious law to political expediency, a sincere Musulmān like Firoz Tughluk never deviated from the path of religion. The King was elected by the nobles—the Khāns, Maliks, amīrs, ālims, Shaikhs and 'Sayids. But the election was a mere ceremony, as the King's nominee was almost always elected.

The King discussed all important State affairs, executive, legislative and financial, in a Council called the 'Majlis-i-khalwat (Privy Council) to which only the most trusted officials and 'friends were invited. The 'four ministers generally always attended; others enjoying this privilege were known as 'royal counsellors' (rāi-zan-i 'Dargāh). None, however, could attend as a matter of right. Firoz Shah used to hold meetings of this Council in a special palace called the 'Mehl-i-Chhajjā-i-Chobīn (the Palace of the Wooden Balcony). The councillors could express their views when their opinion was asked, and, although the decisions of the Council were not binding on the Sultan it exercised a fair degree of influence on his policy. Even Alā-ud-dīn had to give up his cherished dreams of world-conquest and religion-founding on the bold advice of the Kotwāl of Dihli. The ship of State could not move without the crew; the nobles were the props of the empire. "However wise and able a King might be," declares an early medieval Indian writer, "he cannot do without the minister and the advice of the wise, the learned, well-wishers and counsellors. Even the Prophet, the wisest of all men, took 'counsel."

1. B. 131.
2. B. 379.

3. B. 406.
4. B. 337.

5. Kh. 186.
6. Kh. 48.
7. Kh. 147.
8. T.M.S. 92.
9. B. 36.

10. 203.
11. B. 224, 282.
12. B. 153.
13. A. 278.
14. Ad. 72b.

The self-willed ¹⁵Muhammad Tughluk had to feel sorry for ignoring their counsels. When ¹⁶Balban appointed his son, Muhammad, heir, he advised him never to undertake an expedition without conferring with his councillors. Under a weak king the nobles had a free hand: they quarrelled for precedence, and very often the more powerful party deposed or killed the reigning prince and placed another on the throne. A strong and efficient Sultan was an absolute despot; none dared disobey his commands; men prostrated themselves before the "Shadow of God". After expressing his honest opinion a councillor always submitted: "What pleases the Sultan is best".

All courtiers, the khāns, maliks, amīrs and notables, were received in a court called the Bār-i-Khās. Firoz Shah held this Court in the ¹⁷Meshl-i-Sehn-i Gilin (Palace of the Clayey Court-yard).

In the Bār-i-Ām, which Firoz Shah held in the ¹⁸Mehl-i Sehn-i Miyānagi (Palace of the Central Courtyard), the Sultan sat as the supreme judge, decided cases, granted interviews, received envoys, heard complaints of his subjects, and transacted all State business. Learned doctors of law were present, and the King consulted them when necessary. The executioner was always ready to dispatch the culprit outside the Court, and the royal purse-bearer to reward the deserving and the favoured. Every subject could approach the Sultan in this Court; those whom the courtiers kept back could present their petitions when the King rode out. Firoz Tughluk always reined up his horse on seeing a petitioner and took immediate steps to redress his grievances. In the Bār-i Ām the King also indulged in seeing elephant-fights, falcon-flying, and even reviewed the Army. Arrangements for holding the Court and all royal ¹⁹festivities were supervised by the Master of Ceremonies, called the Amīr-i-Hājib, and styled the Bār-bak. He was assisted by a ²⁰Nāeb-i Amīr-i Hājib, and an army of the hājibs of various ranks. The hājibs received the applications of petitioners and handed them over to the Amīr-i Hājib who placed them before the King for ²¹orders. When the latter rose from the Court the Amīr-i Hājib conveyed the royal orders to secretaries for communication to the persons ²²concerned.

15. B. 463.
16. B. 78.
17. A. 278.
18. A. 278.

19. A. 361.
20. I.B. 101-2.
21. B. 578.
22. Q. Part XI.

He also directly communicated orders to those who were present in the ²³Court. People obtained permission to attend the Court through ²⁴him. The Keeper of the Seal ²⁵(Muhr-dār) put the royal seal and motto on the farmans.

Three ²⁶religious dignitaries were attached to the Court—the Shaikh-ul-Islām, who corresponded to the ²⁷Shaikh-ush-Shayukh of Egypt; the Sayid-i Ajjal or Sayid-i Dargāh, who was the head of the Sayids of the empire; and the Khatīb, who preached the sermon and led the ²⁸prayers.

The King directly administered all departments, the minister carrying out his master's instructions. The amount of royal interference in the details of a department depended on the minister's personality. A trusted officer was generally allowed a free hand, though questions of appointment, dismissal and promotion of higher officials were finally decided by the King.

A Nāeb-i Mulk or Regent was appointed on special occasions to carry on the Government on behalf of the King, his powers depending on the nature of the occasion. The nobles elected Muizzud-din Behrām Shah (1240 A.D.) on the condition that Ikhtiyār-ud-din Itigīn would act as Regent. ²⁹Ikhtiyār-ud-din assumed the direction of all affairs of State, and, with the acquiescence of the Vizier, the details of administration also passed under his control. He maintained great state and even caused music to be played before his door—an exclusive privilege of the King. The Regent had grown so powerful that the Sultan had him assassinated. When Nāsir-ud-din found himself incapable of the task of government he made Balban Regent. Balban ruled (Bādshāhi me rānd), while Nāsir-ud-din was a mere figure-head (namūnā). The former also used the insignia of ³⁰royalty. In Kaikubād's reign, ³¹Malik Nizam-ud-din the Dād-bak, assumed the powers of Regent and started administering the government. And when the Sultan fell seriously ill, the nobles placed on the throne his infant son,

23. Kh. 62.

24. I. B. 103.

25. B. 379.
26. B. 247.
27. This office was first created by the famous Sultan Salāh-ud-din Ayubī in order to settle the differences of the various sufi Shaikhs, the heads of different mystic orders (M. 579)—T. 275.

28. I.B. 212-13.

29. T.N. 192.

30. B. 26.

31. B. 131.

Shams-ud-dīn, and appointed a ³²Nāeb to govern the empire. This Nāeb, ³³Shāist Khan, later, imprisoned the boy-king and himself ascended the throne. After Jalāl-ud-dīn Khalji's murder, his wife crowned her minor son, Rūkn-ud-dīn, and herself assumed charge of government; she received petitions and passed ³⁴orders. On Alā-ud-dīn's death Malik Nāeb enthroned the five years old prince, Shahāb-ud-dīn, while he was himself the real ruler of the empire; he ordered the ministers to attend his court and receive orders from him as they had received from ³⁵Alā-ud-dīn. During the King's long absence from the capital the Regent ruled in his place with full powers ³⁶(amr-i Mutlaq), and even held charge of the Treasury and ³⁷palaces. When Balban went to Lakhnauti after his accession he conferred absolute powers over all departments on the Regent and empowered him to decide all matters without consulting ³⁸him. On one occasion, when Muhammad Tughluk proceeded against the rebels of Gujrāt, he appointed a Council of ³⁹Regency, consisting of Firoz Shāh, Malik Kabīr, and Ahmed Ayāz. When the Sultan was absent in Thattā, the Regent, Kabīr, lived in the royal palace and held Court like the King; people had to bow before him. When Malik Mujir was executed by the Regent's order for not paying him due respect, ⁴⁰Muhammad expressed his approval. The Malik really officiated ⁴¹(qāem Maqām) for the Sultan. Whenever Firoz Shah went on an expedition, he appointed Khān-i Jahān, the Vizier, to act as Regent. On some occasions the title of Nāeb was conferred on a high dignitary merely as a mark of honour. The Sayid-i Mulk Malik Qutab-ud-dīn Alavi enjoyed the title under ⁴²Jalāl-ud-dīn Khalji, and ⁴³Malik Kafur under Alā-ud-dīn. Firoz Shah wished to raise the dignity of Khān-i Jahān by offering him a seat on the golden carpet (nihālchā) adjoining the royal throne, which probably was the Nāeb's seat. The Sultan asked Khān-i Jahān to appoint Zafar Khan to occupy the Ministerial masnad on his behalf. But Khān-i Jahān declined the offer as he thought that the Sultan wanted to remove him from the Vizierate, for which he cared more than for

32. B. 171.
33. T.M.S. 61.
34. B. 238.
35. B. 374.
36. A. 453.
37. B. 259, 389.

38. B. 85.
39. B. 509.
40. B. 252-4.
41. B. 493.
42. B. 174, 202.
43. B. 241, 381.

a higher nominal ⁴⁴honour. Except in the case of a monarch's minority or weakness the Regent does not seem to have enjoyed very great powers. He shared the King's royalty—the highest civil officer was the ⁴⁵Vizier.

With necessary modifications, the administration of all Muslim states was modelled on the Abbaside lines.⁴⁶ The central government was divided into several departments, the heads of four or five of which generally enjoyed the status of ministers. Their powers and functions also slightly differed at different times. There were five principal departments under Mahmud of Ghazna—Diwān-i Vizārat or Finance Department; Diwān-i Arz or Military Department; Diwān-i Risālat or Correspondence Department; Diwān-i Shughl-i Ishrāf-i Mamlukat or Secret Service Department; and Diwān-i Vikālat or ⁴⁷Household Department.

The Sultān of Dihli was assisted in executive work by a cabinet of four ministers, who were considered to be the four pillars of the empire. But sometimes that tradition was not followed. For instance, when Baghrā Khān visited Sultān Muizzud-dīn Kaikubād, he found that the Vizier, Khwajā Khatir, had been dismissed⁴⁸ and the government was in the hands of Nizām-ud-dīn, the Dādbak, who had assumed the powers of Regent, though not the style, and Qiwām-ud-dīn, the Sar-i Dabir, who also performed the duties of ⁴⁹Nāeb-i Vakil-i Dar and later also of ⁵⁰Mushrif. The four ministers under the ⁵¹Slave and ⁵²Khalji Sultans were in charge, in order of preference, of the Diwān-i Vizārat or the Ministry; the Diwān-i Risālat or the Department of Appeals; the Diwān-i Arz or the Military Department; and the ⁵³Diwān-i Inshā or Correspondence Department. Early in Firoz Tughluk's reign the head of the Diwān-i Qazā-i Mamālik or the Department of Justice was given the rank of a ⁵⁴minister, while the Correspondence Department under the Dabir-i khās or the General Secretary, was reduced in status. Again, towards the ⁵⁵close of his reign the

44. A. 404.

45. Ad. 60 b.
46. The Saracens had, in their turn, borrowed from and improved upon the Persian and Byzantine systems.

47. "Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna" by Nāzim, p. 130.

48. B. 133.

52. B. 374.

49. B. 131.

53. B. 153.

50. B. 169.

54. A. 279, 364, B. 580.

51. B. 153.

55. A. 455.

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Diwān-i Bandagān or the Department of ⁵⁶Slaves, which was formerly under the Amīr-i ⁵⁷Ghilmān, was included among the four ministries, the Department of Justice being again pushed down to a less important position. The head of the Slaves' Department, who seems to have lost his high status after Firoz Shah's death, has been referred to as the Uhdā-dār-i Bandagān-i Khās under Nusrat Khān Tughluk. Each ministry was under a minister ⁵⁸(Sāhib-i Diwān) and a deputy minister ⁶⁰(Nāeb-i Diwān).

"The Abbaside Vizier was the Prime Minister, and he presided over the Caliph's government. There were two grades of Vizierate under the Abbasides: the unlimited or the Vizārat-ut-tafwiz and the limited or the Vizārat-ut-tanfiz. To the vizier of the first class the sovereign delegated all his powers; he could make any disposition and report it afterwards to his master. The vizier of the second class did not possess such wide powers; he could not act of his own initiative, but was authorised to carry out the sovereign's orders. The Vizier received the title of al-Sadr, al-aazam or al-Vizier-al-aazam. He was at the head of the administration, and all ministers were his ⁶¹subordinates." The Ghaznavide Vizier was personally in charge of the Finance Department, and, as deputy of the Sultan, exercised general supervision over all other ⁶²departments.

The Vizier of Dihli, too, was much more than a Minister of Finance. He was the chief minister of the empire, and occupied the highest post that a civilian (ahl-i qalam) could ⁶³hold. His office has been referred to as the Diwān-i Ālī-i Vizārat or the sublime Office of the ⁶⁴Ministry. Although the other ministers appear to have been directly responsible to the King, the Vizier enjoyed the highest ⁶⁵status. He was the chief adviser of the Sultan, who often held secret consultations with ⁶⁶him. Firoz Tughlak never addressed anybody in the Court except through the Vizier. Even if he wanted to send for someone or to rebuke an officer he turned to the ⁶⁷Vizier. Khan-i Jahān lived in great state and his

camp resembled that of the King: he had a red tent, and elephants stood before his ⁶⁸door. On many occasions Firoz Shah had remarked that Ā'zam-i Humayūn Khān-i Jahān was the king of ⁶⁹Dihli. He had given him full powers (Mutlaq-ul-i'nān) over the ⁷⁰Ministry. Towards the close of his reign, when Firoz Shah had grown too old and feeble,⁷¹ he transferred complete control of all affairs of government to the Vizier, Khān-i Jahān bin Khān-i ⁷²Jahān. Nominally the Vizier had powers of ⁷³appointment and dismissal over the officers under him, but he seldom exercised them. Khān-i Jahān did not remove the impertinent Mushrif, Āin-ul-mulk, until Firoz Shah had expressly authorised him to do ⁷⁴so, and when, on the Mushrif's dismissal, the courtiers protested that the Vizier had been allowed too much power the Sultan had to listen to ⁷⁵them.

Writers on medieval statesmanship have rightly stressed the importance of the Vizier. They have compared a kingdom without a Vizier with a body without life and have pointed out that even Prophet-kings had their ⁷⁶Viziers. Everything would depend upon the Vizier if the ruler was incompetent, a minor or a ⁷⁷woman; in normal cases he would point out a ruler's errors and omissions, and serve as his guide and ⁷⁸adviser. He must therefore be an ideal man, and should come of the family of Viziers. He should be capable, learned, experienced, God-fearing, a bold and sound counsellor, truthful, pious, orthodox, merciful, eloquent, expeditious, a disciplinarian, suave and courteous, resolute, associating with men of experience and sobriety, far-sighted, of keen understanding, true to his pledges, well versed in shariat, fiqh, tafsir, history, medicine and astronomy, a poet, patron of the learned, a ready wit, writing a neat hand, a good secretary, tall and handsome.⁷⁹ He must not be of bad reputation, unlearned, irascible, cruel and oppressive, irregular in prayers, sour-faced, obscene in his talk, unrestrained in his laughter, a debauch, heartless, liar, given to swearing, addicted to bribery, shameless, despiser of the

56. A. 271.

57. B. 38.

60. See Appendix A.

61. Amir Ali's "A short History of the Saracens", Page 412. T.I. Pages 156 and 158.

62. N. 132-134.

63. Ad. 60 b.

64. A. 279.

58. A. 477.

59. S. 72.

65. B. 153.

66. A. 191.

67. A. 282.

68. A. 411.

69. A. 400.

72. A. 427.

73. The Vizier appointed āmils or tax-collectors (Ad. 55b).

74. A. 413, 349.

75. A. 415.

76. Ad. 55 b.

70. B. 578.

71. T.M.S. 135.

77. Ad. 57 a.

78. Ad. 55 a, b.

79. Ad. 55 a, b; 56 b; 57 a.

holy and the learned, blind or one-eyed, deaf, lame, short or⁸⁰ugly. A king should treat the Vizier with every consideration. He should not get angry with him, grudge his wealth or reject his recommendations. He should be accessible to him at all hours, have no secrets with him, and pay no attention to his ⁸¹slanderers.

The Vizier held charge of the Finance Ministry. He collected revenue, checked the accounts of provincial governors and realised balances. Schedules of receipts and disbursements were submitted to him every day for ⁸²examination. All departments rendered their accounts to the Ministry, where they were regularly ⁸³audited. The Vizier paid the Army and all servants of the State, and gave allowances to holy persons, widows and ⁸⁴orphans.

The ⁸⁵Mint, the Buildings ⁸⁶Department, the Horse, Camel, and Elephant ⁸⁷Stables, Intelligence and Posts ⁸⁸Department, Department of Agriculture,⁸⁹ charitable ⁹⁰institutions, ⁹¹kārkhānās, were all under the Vizier. It appears that he was in charge of all departments of a similar status. Although it is difficult to draw the line to mark its limit, the Vizier exercised considerable jurisdiction even over the Army Department. As the head of all kārkhānās he was in charge of all stables, armoury, flag-stores, robe-house, tents and all other material required for the equipment of an army. Whenever an expedition had to be sent the Vizier equipped the ⁹²army. A writer in Iltutmish's reign advises the Vizier to devote himself to the collection of forces and, to keep alive the soldiers' interest in their duties, give and promise them rewards from time to ⁹³time. When Firoz Tughlak ordered his

80. Ad. 56 a, b.

81. Ad. 57 a.

82. A. 397.

83. A. 339.

89. It was one of the Vizier's duties to develop cultivation (Ad. 55 b).

90. The Vizier paid allowances to widows and orphans (Ad. 56 a.).

91. There were thirty-six such kārkhānās under Firoz Shah. Each kārkhānā was placed under the management of a high official, and all under a manager-general appointed by the king. Everything that the Sultan and his government required was manufactured and stored in these establishments, which included the stables, armoury, cloth factories, wine-house, hunting establishments and other stores (A. 337-8-9-442; Ad. 56 a.).

92. A. 442; Ad. 60 a.

84. Ad. 56 a.

85. A. 346, 7.

86. A. 333.

87. A. 337; Ad. 56 a.

93. Ad. 55 b, 60 a.

Vizier to make arrangements for the Thattā campaign, the latter even held a review of the ⁹⁴Army.

The Deputy Vizier or the Nāeb-i Vizier-i Mamālik does not seem to have enjoyed very great status, as he was not allowed to sit in the Sultan's Court; while the Vizier, the ministers, and some other courtiers enjoyed the privilege of sitting, the Deputy Vizier had to keep standing like all others. Firoz Shah extended that privilege to his trusted counsellor and brother-in-law, Nizām-ul-Mulk, on his appointment as Deputy Vizier, and permitted him to take his seat below the ⁹⁵Vizier. In Muhammad Tughluk's reign Khān-i-Jahān, the ⁹⁶Deputy Vizier, acted for the Vizier, Khwājā-i Jahān, when the latter rose from the Ministry. A capable Deputy Vizier like him wielded considerable ⁹⁷influence.

The Vizier was assisted by a number of high officials. When he occupied the Ministerial masnad the Deputy Vizier sat on his left; all other officers sat below them according to their respective ranks. Below the Nāeb-i Vizier sat the Mushrif-i Mamālik, and below him, the Barid-i Mamālik. The Mustaufi's traditional seat was below the Mushrif, but when in Firoz Shah's reign Aziz-ul-Mulk, maternal grandson of Sultan Muhammad, was appointed Mustaufi, the dignity of that office was raised and he was given a seat on the Vizier's right; when the Sultan held ⁹⁸Court, the Mustaufi stood above the Mushrif. Later in his reign, when Firoz Shah had begun to doubt the integrity of the officers of the Ministry he appointed Shams-ud-dīn Abū-rajā to the office of Mustaufi and allowed him to interfere in the affairs of all departments under the Vizier, who had to issue orders in accordance with the Mustaufi's advice. He had acquired such influence over the Sultan that the other three ministries also passed under his ⁹⁹control. The Majmu'dar was another high official of the Ministry. Somewhat lower in status were the Nāzir and the Wuqūf.

The duty of the Mustaufi-i Mamālik or the Auditor-General was to check the expenditure of the empire and to see that public money was not mis-appropriated. He had nothing to do with the accounts of income and ¹⁰⁰balance. He was assisted by the Nāeb-i

94. A. 193.

95. A. 282, 395.

96. B. 454.

97. A. 396.

98. A. 419.

99. A. 476.

100. A. 409, 458, 464, 469.

Mustaufi, the Wuqūf or the Examiner of Expenditure and the Nāeb-i Wuqūf. The two last named offices were created by Sultan ¹⁰¹Jalāl-ud-dīn Khaljī.

The ¹⁰²Mushrif-i Mamālik or the Accountant-General was in charge of the accounts of receipts. He was assisted by the Nāeb-i Mushrif, the Nāzir or the Examiner of Receipts, and the ¹⁰³Nāeb-i Nāzir.

The Majmu'dār kept the records of balances. The records of loans advanced to the people by Muhammad Tughluk and of the jewels distributed by Khwājā-i Jahān were kept in the registers of Khwājā-i Fakhr Shādī, ¹⁰⁴Majmu'dār. Thus the three branches of accounts—income (jamā'), expenditure (kharj), balance (bāqī)—were under three responsible officers. The treasurer was called the ¹⁰⁵Khāzīn.

An army of clerks and subordinate officers were employed in the various departments of the Ministry. Khān-i Jahān, Fīroz Shah's Vizier, sent the order of dismissal to the mushrif, Āin-ul-Mulk, through the ¹⁰⁶Shahna-i-Diwān-i Vizārat or the Superintendent of the Ministry. A guard was maintained at the Ministry under the ¹⁰⁷Sar-hang or the Chief Sergeant, and a ¹⁰⁸lock-up was also attached.

The head of the Diwān-i Risālat or the Ministry of Appeals received complaints from the subjects and granted them ¹⁰⁹redress in the capacity of the King's agent (rasūl). This ministry may be compared with the Diwān-ul-Mazālim (Board for the Redress of Grievances) of the Abbasides. Its duty was to attend to complaints of oppression against all government officers, ministers and even members of the royal house. If a man was dissatisfied with the Qāzi's judgment he could file an appeal in this board. It was presided over by the sovereign himself, but during the later Saracenic period the work was entrusted to one of the highest officials of the ¹¹⁰state. The Mughal emperor, Aurangzeb, appointed vakils in all provinces to receive complaints against the ¹¹¹state.

101. A. 420.
102. A. 409.
103. A. 420.
104. A. 92.
105. B. 424.
106. A. 413-14.

107. A. 229.
108. A. 346.
109. A. 512-13.
110. T. 254.
111. K. 249.

The Āriz-i Mamālik or Sar-i Lashkar-i Mulk, styled Imād-ul-mulk, was the Minister of the Army, charged with its ¹¹²management. In Balban's reign he was also called ¹¹³Rāwat-i Arz. He was not the Commander-in-Chief and had nothing to do with the direction of war operations and policy, which were controlled by the King. Whenever an expedition had to be sent, a ¹¹⁴commander (Sar-i-Lashkar) was specially appointed. The Āriz held reviews of the Army, ¹¹⁵recruited soldiers, and saw that they were fit to perform their duties and that their horses and arms were up to the required standard. The soldiers' ability to shoot arrows was especially ¹¹⁶tested. In war time the Minister arranged for provisions and transport. When Malik Kāfūr went to Deogir, Khwājā Hājī, the Nāeb-i Āriz, accompanied him to manage the army and to collect ¹¹⁷spoils. He counted horses and elephants and kept an account of all other goods received from the conquered prince as tribute or as a present or plundered from the invaded country. All negotiations with the enemy, however, were conducted by the commander of the army. Although the commander was responsible for all war operations and the Āriz only for the administration of the ¹¹⁸army, the latter was the most important member of the War-Council which advised the ¹¹⁹Commander. The duties of the Āriz were essentially of an executive nature, but he does not seem to have always enjoyed the right of dismissing or promoting his subordinates; he merely made recommendations to the King. When Malik Ishāq recommended the dismissal of old soldiers of the Army he received a snub from ¹²⁰Fīroz Shah. Balban had expressly conferred on his Āriz full authority (mutlaq-ul-i'nān) over the Army; when he saw a smart horseman at the review he increased his ¹²¹salary.

The Sāhib-i Diwān-i Inshā was the Minister of Correspondence. He was also called the Dabir-i Mamālik or Dabir-i Khān or Sar-i Dabir and was styled the U'mdat-ul-mulk. This Minister was in charge of the correspondence that passed between the King and provincial ¹²²Officers. He read out the King's letters to him, draft-

112. B. 153.
113. B. 115.
114. B. 231.
115. B. 102.
116. B. 438, 319.
117. B. 326.

118. B. 326; Kh. 118-19-20.
119. Kh.
120. A. 302.
121. B. 115.
122. B. 153.

ed suitable replies and placed them before the king for signature. He drafted all farmans. Sometimes the Sultan himself dictated letters or wrote them out and then handed them over to the Minister for despatch. A large staff of dabirs or secretaries worked under the Minister. In Firoz Shah's reign the status of this department was lowered, and the Sar-i Dabir's place on the cabinet was taken first by the head of the Department of Justice and then by the head of the Department of Slaves.

When Firoz Shah collected as many as one hundred and eighty thousand slaves he elevated the head of the Slaves Department to a minister's rank and called him the Sāhib-i Diwān-i Bandagān. This Ministry had its own Ariz, Majmu'dar, Treasury and accounts ¹²³establishment.

The Diwān-i Qazā-i Mamālik or the ¹²⁴Diwan-i Shar'a (the Department of Justice) was presided over by the Qāzi-i Mamālik or Qazi-ul-Quzzat styled the Sadr-i Jahan, Sadr-us-sadur, ¹²⁵Sadr-ul-Isam, or ¹²⁶Sadr-us-Sadur-i-Jahan. He was the Chief Justice of the empire and was always a man of great learning and piety. All learned men were under his supervision and, in Firoz Shah's reign, he granted them ¹²⁷pensions.

He was the highest judicial authority below the King, and exercised both civil and criminal jurisdiction. His department has been defined as the Diwān-i Mazālim wa maqām-i fasl-i khasumāt wa qat-i da'āvi, that is the ¹²⁸Board for the redress of oppression, decision of disputes and settlement of claims. ¹²⁹Muhammad Tughluk is said to have complained to Qāzi Kamāl-ud-din of Dihli that Shaikhzāda Jāmi had called him tyrant. Cases of murder and injury were decided by the ¹³⁰Qāzi. The Qāzi-i Mamālik was assisted by the Nāeb-i Qāzi, and a number of qāzis. Judgments were delivered in accordance with the ¹³¹Islamic Shariat. The head of this Department was always a high official, and he enjoyed the Ministerial status in the reign of Firoz Tughluk, who invested him with full powers (mutlaq-ul-i'nān) in matters relating to

123. A. 271.

124. S. 123.

125. M. 578.

126. B. 247-248.

127. M. 579, B. 580.

128. T.N.Int. 3.

129. T.M.S. 116.

130. S. 123.

131. B. 289.

¹³²Shariat. A great officer, ¹³³Amir-i Dād, or ¹³⁴Dād-Bak was attached to the Qāzi's court to enforce the attendance of a grandee against whom a suit might have been ¹³⁵filed. There was a separate Qāzi for the Army, called Qāzi-i Lashkar and an Amir-i Dād, called the Dād-Bak-i ¹³⁶Lashkar. The Dād-bak was assisted by a Nāeb-i-Dād-bak.¹³⁷

The Sultan was assisted in his judicial duties by a board of divines-ālims, shaikhs and muftis—who were always present for consultation on points of religious law. Alā-ud-dīn did not pay the slightest attention to Qāzi Mughis-ud-dīn's opinion when the latter, on the Sultan's enquiry declared that his appropriation of the spoils of war was ¹³⁸unlawful. But Firoz Shah never turned down the decisions of the learned doctors of law. After constructing canals in the neighbourhood of Hissār-i Firozā he invited the opinion of the qāzis and shaikhs as to whether he was entitled to levy a water-tax upon those whose lands were irrigated by government canals, and it was in accordance with their verdict that he imposed a water-rate of one-tenth of the soil's ¹³⁹produce. Again, he submitted to them for decision the question of levying jizya on ¹⁴⁰Brahmans, and the case of the Hindu who had set up an idol in his ¹⁴¹house.

There were several other important departments, lower in status. The Barīd-i Mamālik or the Commissioner of Intelligence and Posts assisted by the Nāeb-i Barīd-i Mamālik, kept the Sultan informed of all that transpired in the empire. The capital was connected with the most distant parts of the empire with chains of post-houses built at short intervals, where ¹⁴²carriers, both horse and foot, were always ready to speed off with letters. Barīds or official reporters and secret news—writers were posted everywhere, in bazārs, in markets, and in provincial towns, to report to the Sultan, the doings of State officials, transactions in markets, and all other happenings. When the ¹⁴³barīds of Budaon failed to

132. B. 580.

133. B. 148.

134. B. 131.

135. I.B. 217.

136. B. 358, 361.

137. B. 24.

138. B. 293.

139. A. 129.

140. A. 382.

141. A. 380.

142. I.B. 2.

143. B. 40.

inform Balban of the murder of a servant by the governor, they were hanged on the city-gates by the King's ¹⁴⁴order.

The ¹⁴⁵Amir-i Koh was in charge of the Department of Agriculture (Diwān-i-Amīr-i-kohī). He looked after the improvement of agriculture, reclaimed ¹⁴⁶waste-lands, and compensated the losses of cultivators when their crops were destroyed by marching armies.

He supervised the construction of canals, the distribution of water, and the clearing of forests. This department acquired special importance under Muhammad Tughlak.

The Amīr-i Behr or the Controller of Boats was in charge of the numerous flotillas maintained on rivers for the use of travellers and armies.

The Mīr-i Imārat or the Controller of Constructions was the head of the Imārat-Khānāh or the Department of Buildings. He was assisted by numerous Shanās or Superintendents appointed by the King to supervise the various branches of the Department, such as the Carpentry, the Smithy etc. This department attained considerable importance under Firoz Shah, who had a passion for buildings. His Mīr-i Imārat, Malik Ghāzi, held from the King a golden staff as the emblem of his ¹⁴⁷office.

The Amīr-Akhūr or Akhūr-bak, who was among the highest officials in the early days of the Sultanate, was in charge of the royal Horse-Stables, the Shahnā-i Pīl of the Elephant-Stables, and the Shahnā-i Nafar of the ¹⁴⁸Camel-Stables.

144. The following account of the working of this department under the Saracens will be helpful:—Letters and despatches from all parts of the empire were received by the head of this department, who communicated them to the Caliph either in original or in an abbreviated form. He appointed runners and other officers of the Department. He had also to supply the Caliph with all information relating to the condition of the various routes and had to answer all such enquiries when an expedition was to be sent. Besides the barids or official reporters, the secret news-writers also worked under this Officer. An official was in charge of each post-house and he kept a record of the letters received and despatched. (J. 3, 4).

145. B. 379.

146. B. 498.

147. A. 331.

148. A. 340.

Muhammad Tughluk opened the Diwān-i Siyāsāt or the Department of Punishments and placed it under four ¹⁴⁹unscrupulous ¹⁵⁰muftis who lived in the royal ¹⁵¹palace. It was obviously a special tribunal appointed to mete speedy punishment to those who offended the Sultan or opposed his schemes.

We hear of the Diwān-i Khairāt or the Department of Charities in Firoz Shah's reign. Those who could not arrange for their children's marriages owing to poverty registered the names of their sons and ¹⁵²daughters in the Department and received enough money to purchase dowries etc. The Sultan placed this department under honest officers who thoroughly investigated the applicants' condition before granting ¹⁵³relief.

Another department was the Diwān-i Istihqāq or the Department of Pensions which granted allowances to four thousand and two hundred ālims and ¹⁵⁴hāfizs in Firoz Shah's reign. The head of this department was probably a subordinate of the Qāzi-i Mamālik, who granted allowances to the ¹⁵⁵ālims of the empire.

The government of the capital, Hazrat-i Dihli, was entrusted to a separate set of high officials. The Kotwāl-i Mamālik (Commissioner of Metropolitan Police), like the ¹⁵⁶Sāhib-ush-Shurtā of the Abbasides, was among the highest officials of the empire, and enjoyed a rank only slightly inferior to that of a minister. When Balban led an expedition to Lakhnauti he appointed the Kotwāl as Regent in preference to the Vizier. In the first year of Alā-ud-din's reign Nusrat Khan, the Nāeb-i Mulk, was appointed Kotwāl, and in the second year promoted to the ¹⁵⁷Vizierate. Kotwāl is a Hindi word meaning commandant of a ¹⁵⁸fort. He was entrusted with the keys of the gates. When Alā-ud-din had encamped in the plain of Siri after murdering Jalāl-ud-din, kotwāls of all the forts came with their ¹⁵⁹keys. Similarly when the Rāi of Nagarkot came to offer his Submission to Firoz Shah he was accompanied by the Kotwāl who bore the keys of the ¹⁶⁰Fort. The Kotwāl had to main-

149. T.M.S. 115.

150. B. 497.

151. T.M.S. 115.

152. S. 238-9.

153. A. 350.

154. A. 360.

155. B. 580.

156. T. 258.

157. B. 248-9.

158. T.M. 219; B. 302; T.M.S. 77.

159. B. 246.

160. S. 84.

tain peace and order in the city and to apprehend thieves. The culprits were kept in the Kotwālī lock-up, and later produced before the Qāzi or the King, or, if the King was absent, before the ¹⁶¹Vizier. With the help of Mohalā-dārs the Kotwāl also enquired into the state of the unemployed of Dihli and presented them before Firoz Shah for ¹⁶²employment.

The Amīr-i Shehr or ¹⁶³Rais-i Shehr or Nāzir (General Superintendent of Markets) was in charge of the Riyāsāt-Nazarat-i Mamālīk or the ¹⁶⁴Diwān-i Riyāsāt, and ¹⁶⁵sometimes also of the Ihtisāb-i Mamālīk or the Department of Public Censorship. It was his duty to see that the shop-keepers kept the correct weights and measures, sold according to the scheduled rates and did not cheat the customers by weighing or measuring less. The Rais went about patrolling the bazars with his subordinate superintendents (shahnās) and inflicted summary punishment on the defaulters, who were lashed, beaten and tortured. He appointed a Shanā for each bazar and gave him schedules of rates fixed by the King. A ¹⁶⁶permit from the Rais-i Sher was necessary for a shop-keeper wishing to accompany the royal army on march.

¹⁶⁷Ala-ud-din had placed the Department of Ihtisāb-i Mamālīk under the Rais in order to enhance his prestige. But ¹⁶⁸generally this department was under a separate officer, the ¹⁶⁹Muhtasib or the

161. A. 494.

163. B. 316-18.

164. Some modern writers believe the Rais to be a minister. I have failed to find any evidence in support of this view, which appears to be based on the interpretation of the expression 'Diwān-i-Riyāsāt' as 'Ministry of Markets'. Now, the word diwān may be interpreted as minister, ministry, department, board, office, etc., etc., and to determine its exact significance one has to examine the context in which it is used. In my opinion 'Diwān-i-Riyāsāt' means the 'department under the Rais'. The head of this department never attained the status of a minister. Even in the reign of Alā-ud-din Khaljī, whose economic regulations greatly enhanced the power and prestige of the Rais, he is not mentioned among the four ministers (B. 153, 337, 374). While the four ministers were always present at the Council meetings (B. 153), Bālban, in spite of strong recommendations, would not even to converse with the Rais as, the Sultan declared, the Rais-i-Shehr was an officer of a very inferior status (B. 33, 34).

165. M. 579.

166. A. 290.

169. B. 73.

162. A. 334.

167. B. 317.

168. M. 579.

Public Censor, whose duty was to enforce moral and religious ¹⁷⁰observances.

Another officer was the Qāzi-i Shehr, who dealt with cases concerning the City (darūn-i ¹⁷¹shehr).

The medieval Sultan, thus, was not a mere war-lord and an extortioner of taxes, as is erroneously believed by some. He adopted every means to secure the safety, happiness and prosperity of his ¹⁷²subjects.

APPENDIX (A).

Some scholars hold the view that a ministry was under the minister (Diwān or Nāeb-i Diwān) and that there was no deputy minister. They assert that 'Diwan' means 'minister' and 'Nāeb-i Diwān', the 'king's deputy in charge of a ministry', i.e., a 'minister'. Similarly they interpret 'Amir-i Hājib' to mean 'the Chief Hājib', and 'Nāeb-i Amir-Hājib' as 'king's deputy in charge of the hājibs', i.e., 'the Chief Hājib'. I cannot say to what extent this view is correct or otherwise, but personally I think differently.

It is difficult to determine the exact position, as the statements of contemporary historians are confused and vague, and sometimes contradictory. Barani (454) refers to Firoz Tughlak as Bārbak-i Mulk (Amir-i Hājib) of Muhammad Tughluk, but Afif, who wrote later, calls him Nāeb-i Amir-Hājib (A 45,365). Ghiyās-ud-din, on his accession appointed Bahā-ud-din as Āriz and Tāj-ud-din as Nāeb-i Āriz (B 428). But, again, we are told that when he appointed Khwāja Hāji as Nāeb-i Āriz he placed the whole ministry under his control (B 438). Sometimes only the head of the department is mentioned (Vizier-B 240).

Frequently enough we come across the head and the deputy functioning together. Ghiyās-ud-din Tughluk, we have seen, appointed Baha-ud-din as Āriz and Tāj-ud-din as Nāeb-i Āriz (B 428). While Khusru Khan was Mubārak Khalji's Vizier, Fazl-

170. Under the Abbasides the Muhtasib was both Superintendent of markets and a public censor. He was a sort of general supervisor of public life who went about the streets to chastise those whom he found using forbidden things, to prevent the people from blocking roads or overloading coolies and ships, to order tottering buildings to be pulled down, and punish school-masters who were too cruel to their pupils (T. 256).

171. B. 428.

172. "The Sultan, his Court, and the functions of his Government" will form the subject of another paper.

ullāh and Mughis-ud-din are stated to have been his Nāeb-i Viziers (B 379). When Khwājā-i Jahān, Muhammad Tughluk's Vizier, retired after the day's work Khān-i Jahān, the Nāeb-i Vizier, officiated for him (B. 454, A. 396). Nizām-ul-Mulk, Nāeb-i Vizier, assisted Khān-i Jahān, Vizier, in Firoz Shah's reign (B 527, A 282, 395). Khwājā Khatir and Khwājā Hussain Basri were Balban's Nāeb-i Vizier and Vizier respectively (B 24). Subsequently Khwājā Khatir became Vizier under Kaikubād (B 133). Malik Nāsir-ud-din and Amir Jamāl were Dād-bak and Nāeb-i Dād-bak respectively of Balban (B 24). The following statements of Barani and Ibn-i Batutāh will defy all criticism:—"Sultan Balban once called to his presence five persons:— Kishli Khan; Vakīl-i Dar; Nāeb-i Vakīl-i Dar; Amīr-Hājib; Nāeb-i Amīr-i Hājib (B 36)." "Amīr-Hājib, his Nāeb, Khās-i Hājib, his Nāeb, Vakīl-i Dar and his Nāeb stood before the throne (I. B. 101-2)". Another writer tells us that by gradual promotion the officials rose to be nāēbs (deputies) and sāhibs (heads) of their departments (Ad 52b).

APPENDIX (B).

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- A.=Aff's 'Tārikh-i Firoz Shāhi'.
 A A.=Amir Ali's 'A Short History of the Saracens'.
 Ad.= 'Adāb-ul-Harb was—Shujāat' of Fakhr-ud-din Mubarak Shah, A. S. B. MS.
 B.=Barani's Tārikh-i Firoz Shāhi'.
 I. B.=Ibn-i Batutāh's Ajāib-ul-Asfār, Vol. 2 (Muhammad Husain's Urdu translation, Dihli).
 J.=Abul-Farj Qudāmā bin Jāfar's 'Kitāb-ul-Kharāj wa San-at-ul Kitābat' (Abdul Khair's Urdu translation, Haiderabad).
 Kh.= 'Khazāin-ul-Fatuh' of Amir Khusrau.
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 M.=Masālak-ul Absār (Elliot and Dowson III).
 N.=Nāzim's 'Sultan Mahmud of Ghaznā'.
 Q.=Qalqashandi's 'Subh-ul-Aashā' vol. 5 (Qairo).
 S.= 'Sirat-i Firoz Shāhi', Bankipore Ms.
 T.= 'Tārikh-al-Tamadun-al-Islāmī' of Jurji Zaidān, Vol. I (Muhammad Halim's Urdu translation, Amritsar).
 T. N.= 'Tabakāt-i Nasiri' of Minhāji-i-Sirāj.
 T. M. S.= 'Tārikh-i Mubārak Shāhi' of Yahyā bin Ahmad.
 T.M.= 'Tāj-ul-Ma-āsir' of Hassan Nizami (Elliot and Dowson II).

Editorial

I

THE ALL-INDIA MODERN HISTORY CONGRESS

There has been a certain amount of general feeling since the Fourth Session of the Oriental Conference held at Allahabad that the History of India in the broadest sense of the term had not received the attention that it deserved at the hands of the organisers of the Oriental Conference, and this feeling found expression more than once before Bombay took the lead, in the year 1931, in organising, under the auspices of the Bombay Historical Society, the first Bombay Historical Congress. The lead thus given is followed up now by Poona organising an All-India Modern History Congress limiting its scope to the period of Indian History from the Muhammadan Invasions onwards giving clear indication of its character as concerned only with the really historical side of it, and leaving aside as it were the archaeology and ancient history of India. This Congress is programmed to assemble at Poona on the 8th of June next, His Excellency the Governor of Bombay opening the proceedings, and Professor Shafaat Ahmad Khan of Allahabad presiding over the Congress. An influential Reception Committee has been formed with the ruler of the Bhore State as its President, the Hon'ble Sir John Beaumont, the Chief Justice of Bombay as its Vice-President. An influential working committee has also been constituted with Mr. N. C. Kelkar for its Chairman and Datto Vaman Potdhar as its General Secretary with 21 other members constituting the Committee. A detailed programme will be arranged for in due course. There are two exhibitions arranged in connection with this. The first is a Historical Exhibition, which would be kept open for a week or more. The exhibits will include various objects of historical interest constituting the material for the writing of history. The second is an exhibition of historical publications intended to bring to the notice of scholars engaged in historical work the literature bearing on the subject of recent publication which may not all of them be adequately known. Launched as the organisation is under such influential auspices, the Congress will, we have every hope, be a success. It is likely to be of great value to all those interested in historical research

and may prove the means of stimulating further work. We wish the Congress all success.

II

EVOLUTION OF HINDU MORAL IDEALS

By SIR P. S. SIVASWAMI AIYAR, K.C.S.I.,

Kamala Lectures, Published by the Calcutta University.

The subject of Evolution of Hindu Moral Ideals is comprehensive, and one might reasonably doubt whether it has sufficient unity for tracing the evolution of. The talented author is aware of the difficulty as he says at the outset that "the history of morals among the Hindus would require many years of preparation by way of study and research, and the learning and historical gifts of a Lecky." But he limits his subjects to a certain extent, considering whether it is right or otherwise that Indian legislatures should take upon themselves the duty of introducing and carrying through social legislation. He has to consider therefore the position of the social reformers who are for, and the Sanatanists who are against, such both of them relying upon the principles of the Dharma Sastra so-called for the one as well as the other. While Sir Sivaswami Aiyar brings his vast learning and legal experience to bear upon the question, he does not perhaps quite feel he has carried his investigation to a successful conclusion. Even in respect of morals, apart from religion, it would be difficult to present anything like a general ideal actuating the whole of Hindu society, the nature of which is undoubtedly a congeries of more or less autonomous communities each of which has all along enjoyed a very considerable amount of freedom in respect of its own religious and moral ideals, though subject to a very considerable amount of influence by the various communities constituting Hindu India. The Dharma Sastras and the Mimāṃsa could not be held to apply to all the communities composing the society called Hindu. In a matter like the caste system, Sir Sivaswami Aiyar investigates only the *Varṇāśrama Dharma* side of it which cannot be held to apply to the largest number of castes into which the Hindu society happens to be divided. Even in respect of religion he seems to be more or less guided by the dominating preoccupation of his own particular persuasion as influencing the moral life of the Hindus as a whole. Even to the more intellectual, the conviction in point of religion,

is a vital influence, and, where this differs, the other—the moral outlook—must necessarily to some extent differ. In a consideration of a general problem like the Evolution of Morals, it is an average that has to be taken into consideration, and all the difficulties attending the striking of that average vitiates the investigation and makes it imperfect. When he comes to consider the modern tendencies and the course that social life ought to take for the future, he betrays a tendency to the modernising notions on such vital questions as marriage, birth control, etc., while in other parts, he seems to feel that Hindu society and Hindu ideals will still persist, and betrays an anxiety in the course of his investigations that these should not be abandoned altogether. While we congratulate the author upon his courageous and successful effort, the very difficulties of the problem continue to baffle his efforts and make them fall short of achieving success.

III

ANCIENT SIAMESE GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

By H. G. QUARITCH, WALES.

The author was a member of the Siamese service, and was closely enough placed to Siamese royalty to be in a position of advantage to study matters connected with the Siamese monarchy. He has already done valuable work in the publication of Siamese State Ceremonies, which we had the pleasure of reviewing on a previous occasion. This work follows upon it and describes succinctly the character and composition of the Siamese administration. The government and administration of Siam exhibit features which are peculiar amidst much which was borrowed from Indian administration and government either directly or through intervening sources, such as say Burma and Burmese administration, Khmer and Cambodian administration, which exhibit much fuller Indian influence in their composition. As a matter of fact, the author starts with the hypothesis that "if even in India, the source of Siam's highest cultural aspirations, the deeper problems of political obligation, foundations of the state, or the rights of man received little direct attention, one would certainly not expect to find much in Siam." This statement at the beginning is a quotation from Dr. Beni Prasad's *Theory of Government in Ancient India*. But that the author believes in it completely is clear when he says a few pages after that the primary organization of Siamese society was tribal and of a military character, and the tendency was to pro-

mote monarchy rather than other forms of government. In that connection he states on the authority of Professor Ceodes "As in Ancient India no clear concept of the state emerges in Siam until very modern times; and since the government was always monarchical, the term "king" was really synonymous with government and state". It is not our purpose to enquire how far this is correct in respect of ancient India, whether it would be possible to trace the idea of a state though the constitution familiar to Indian minds was the monarchy, though it can hardly be said that other forms of government were unknown. From the account that this author gives, the Siamese government has been almost down to the beginning of the present century more or less of the character of a patriarchal tribal government. There is nothing exactly that could be said of the people, freemen or slaves except in their relation to the Monarch, and the comparatively slight feudal association with land, which might have given rise to feudalism proper and the development of the monarchy even on feudal lines. This has gradually been put a stop to, and instead of that an autocratic monarchy had been developed and an organization given to the people themselves as subserving this single purpose. It is thus an interesting study. The account naturally begins with a description of the government and the royal family. There was the king at the top. Among his children, the sons by the crowned queen (Sans. 'Agramahishi', Siamese 'Argamahēshi'). Then there are the other children of the king by other wives, wives and concubines. This comparatively small body forms the top of the pyramid.

Then there is the whole body of officials. These started probably with an organization feudal in character, of masters and men, or the lords and their tenants, attached to particular districts. This has gradually been superseded by transforming the feudal nobility into definite officials of rank, and transforming their tenants into personal clients in the Roman fashion of patron and client. All freemen therefore are divided into these two, a nobility of official rank with a large body of dependents attached to them. Then there was a class of slaves recruited, as in other places, in various ways, slaves recruited from prisoners of war and people that became enslaved for debt or otherwise, and who were redeemable on fulfilment of the obligation, failure of which was responsible for the slavery. Officials were graded on the principle more or less of the familiar Mansabdari system instituted by Akbar, and the more ancient classification of Sāmantas or even the later Daṇḍanāyakas of the Hindu system. The former, the Samanta classification was

based on the possession of land, and the Daṇḍanāyakas on the supposed command of a certain specific body of troops, quite like the Mansabdari. The terms corresponding here consisted of dignity marks, called *Sakti* Ns. This is the basis of classification. Along with this was another classification on the basis of the honorific titles (*Yāsa*) conferred by the monarch. The two together oftentimes were settling the actual rank of the person. Then came the royal titles conferred upon particular officials. They are generally of Sanskrit origin and high sounding, titles generally called *Rajadinnāma*, name given by kings. Some of these are, for instance *Dharmādhipati*, *Vajravijaya*, *Dēvabhakta*, *Rāmāthēja*, etc. There was also another classification called *Tamhnen*, which indicated the grade of office held by the officers. Personal rank was settled by the first. The remaining three are rank or consequence obtained by royal favour. These contributed the next step. But the whole people was organized almost in the primitive style on a war basis, patrons and their clients, or lords and their men, were grouped together constituting units of the army. In the course of development, this organization did not take in all the people, and those who, for a variety of reasons, were excluded from this war organization were constituted into another group, a sort of a civil division. The whole body of people was constituted into these two groups, each under its particular leaders, the first the military and the second civil. Both of them were known by the title *Argamahāsēnāpati* (Sans. *Agramahāsēnāpati*). In this grade, corresponding to the Maha Daṇḍanāyaka, were four officers of lower rank collectively known as *Chatustambha*, and a regular heirarchy of officers below them. Similarly the military division was under the other head with subordinates more or less purely of military rank. These two divisions are generally known as the left and the right. There were other divisions or departments, all of them more or less assimilated to this, and formed on this well-known basis. The so-called *Śakti* na grade reached up to a maximum of 20,000 and gradually went down to just a few, whatever the unit actually was. All officers and officials *Rājākāra* were graded in this fashion. Apart from these free peoples, there were monks, Buddhist monks, organized as it were in a church in Siam. There were besides a body of Brahmans constituting a class by themselves, and probably recruited from Cambodiya and after the conquest of Ankor-thom. Their function is to officiate in the coronation ceremonies where they occupied a very important position, and stand by themselves as a privileged class. Of course, the last class comes, the slaves. There was yet another important class called foreigners.

These were either outsiders, who came and settled down there, as from China or Japan or even some of the European countries, but sometimes they constituted people who were brought and settled in particular localities by the Siamese Kings themselves.

It is hardly necessary, nor is it exactly possible to go into the whole set of details to give anything like a complete idea in a review. Curious readers can hardly do better than go to the book itself which traces the whole course of development historically, and gives more or less a clear idea of the position. We might content ourselves with merely saying here that the whole territory was divided into royal domains and the provinces. The royal domains originally constituted the palace and the territory immediately adjoining, what may well be called home territory. Further additions at a distance, constituted the provinces. The work contains illuminating chapters on the provincial administration, the character and constitution of the army, the peculiar character of legislation, which is more or less by royal edicts issued from time to time. There are also valuable chapters on the administration of justice, revenue and expenditure and the church. The work gives a very interesting account of the Siamese administration as a whole, which seems to be compounded of a sort of primitive tribal warlike grouping of the Thai invasions from China, modified gradually and from time to time by fresh conquests of Khmer people and Combodia as well as by influences introduced through Burma, from India. The indebtedness to India is very clear, and a careful study of the book with a view to tracing the various institutions to the Indian original would be a very interesting study, and the work under review provides the best means of doing that important work.

Reviews

INDIA : MINTO-MORLEY

By MARY, COUNTESS OF MINTO,

Macmillan & Co., London (21 shillings).

Minto's viceroyalty of India marks an epoch in recent Indian History, and the part that Minto himself played in the shaping of the history of these eventful years was not only important, but remains so much hidden from the public eye that the feeling in him that some one would publish a full account of his period of office as Viceroy of India was fully justified. Viceroys before expressed a similar wish, among them Lord Lytton, whose period of office may be regarded as perhaps equally eventful. The history of Lytton's administration by his own daughter, Lady Betty Balfour, is a prominent example of the fulfilment of that wish ; but Lady Minto's work under the name 'India : Minto and Morley' is a remarkable work for many reasons. Lady Minto was so deeply associated with her husband that it would be impossible to discover a more sympathetic biographer of her husband. What is really more, her own qualities of head and heart, and the care with which she maintained a journal of her own, in addition to the care with which Minto himself kept copies of his own correspondence, make the work really all that one would desire in a book of that character. Lady Minto shows herself in full possession of that happy knack of weaving the account so wholly from the letters and diaries of the principal parties that one hardly feels any break in the narrative notwithstanding the fact that it is so full of extracts from letters and diaries. Nothing escapes her keen eye, and there is always a delicate humour even where she makes the most ordinary remarks about things taking place round her. Here is one for a specimen. During the Amir's visit, he went down to see Lady Minto, cigarettes were offered to him, of which he took one, and in reply to her enquiry "Won't your Majesty smoke," the answer was given "no," followed by "I smoke when I leave you." Then followed Lady Minto's remark "I could not help comparing the manners of the 20th century young men with those of the Afghan barbarian." Many similar examples could be picked up easily from the book.

The work begins with a reference to Lord Curzon's pettiness and his somewhat petulant remark about the appointment of Minto

to succeed him. The unvarnished account of Minto's viceroyalty gives perhaps the most satisfactory answer to the undeserved gibe. As early as the December of 1906, Lord Morley was compelled to make the remark "I believe people are already finding out the immense difference between your reign and the overbearing system that went immediately before it." The years of Minto's viceroyalty were years of great difficulty, and required judgment and decision in all that the head of the Indian administration had to do. Minto proved just the man, calm, unostentatious, with an insight for right decision and a determination to carry it through in the best of humour against opposition. In regard to the most important question that agitated the official mind, the appointment of a "native member of Council," Minto stated his decision emphatically to Morley in the following terms;—"I attach great importance to the official initiative being taken by the Government of India, it is better in every respect both for the present and for the future, that the Government of India should appear to recognise all that is in the air here, the necessity of meeting new conditions, and that they should not run the risk of being assumed to have at last taken tardy action out of respect to instructions from home." Morley's reply to this suggestion is "I suppose, the admission of a native to your Council is the notion most likely to cause a row among the Anglo-Indian community, civilian or commercial. If that principle be accepted, I feel pretty clear that the law member is the right way of beginning, just as I should put a judge on my Council if I determine to act on that principle. I drew back, because you implied that if I put an Indian on mine, your hand would be forced to do the same." This question was finally settled in favour of Minto, for which decision Minto found support only in one member of his Council, Baker, and the strongest opponent of the measure in India was Lord Kitchener. As much could be said all along the position. Minto was jealous of the position and prestige of the Viceroy, and would not brook interference from the Secretary of State. He was able to maintain that position even against Morley, the Secretary of State, about whom he said "He is a fearful autocrat for a democrat which he fancies himself to be." The notion prevailed to the contrary. The publication of some of Morley's letters in his *Reminiscences*, and the speech that Montague made referring to Whitehall directing action in India, certainly called for the exhibition of the real state of affairs, and it could not have been done better than in the manner in which it is so well done in the work under review.

Curzon's responsibility for all the trouble comes to notice prominently, where Morley's statement in conversation with Lady Minto shows that the late Lord Balfour, the chief minister, counted Curzon's second appointment as one of the two mistakes of his prime ministership. Lord Curzon's activities in England on the eve of the Reforms proved troublesome, and his activity was regarded with some anxiety. The crisis came when he made his speech in Parliament on the occasion of the passing of the bill, which became the Act of 1919. Here is Morley's judgment on it;—"In Curzon's case a great deal of what he had to say on the conduct of modern administration was as true as gospel, and nobody now in Parliament could have said it better; it was the man who said that made the difference, and he did not carry the house for five minutes."

The chief feature of the work however, is in the correct exhibition of Minto's part in the inauguration of the Reforms. His official position and the prevailing relationship between the Government in India and the Secretary of State made it impossible that the truth could be known in all its fulness, and, as has already been said, a part of the correspondence happened to be published. The partial exhibition only gives an altogether wrong colour. That happened to be particularly so in this case. The urgent need for Reforms, the appointment of an Indian member to the Viceroy's Council, and the actual liberal trend of the Reforms, these we find were due to Minto. Not only that, we find Morley actually opposing some of these, and Minto in his characteristic way had to keep persisting till he succeeded. That was entirely due to him, and Morley had not only to give in, but to follow it up, as he has stated it in his correspondence more than once by appointing Indian members to his own council. Not only that it was due to Minto that the appointment was made, not as a concession to Indian claims or Indian opinion, but as due to them under the existing law. He made a similar point in regard to promotions in the army, which is a matter still being agitated in India. Speaking of the Cadet Corps that was organised in the days of Curzon, the following remarks of Minto seem pertinent here. "It was generally assumed, whether justifiably or not, that a course in the Cadet Corps would qualify for a direct commission in the Indian Army. That is to say that a cadet, on being gazetted, would be placed on an equal footing in every sense with a British officer of an Indian regiment. This however has not been so, and the cadets who have received commissions have been given them, not in the Indian Army, but in the native Indian land forces, and by the

terms of their commission they are entitled to command native troops only, which places them, no matter what their rank, under the youngest British subaltern of any regiment to which they may belong. This is one of the difficulties to obviate which I have suggested that they should receive exactly the same commissions as British officers of the Indian Army." Later he concluded a letter to Morley in the following terms;—"I must say this, that whatever is done, we must accept the principle that no restriction is to be placed on the promotion of an officer to any rank because he is an Indian." The most extreme member of the Assembly asked for nothing more than what a former Viceroy demanded in the Session of the Legislative Assembly that recently concluded. It is hardly necessary in a review to go further. Minto shows himself as near as is humanly possible to be an ideal administrator, calm and unruffled, even in the most dangerous of circumstances; he had the faculty of knowing his own mind, of gaining a clear idea of what any emergency required, of taking action accordingly without the slightest doubt and in perfect good temper. He knew where to expect opposition and managed to get over even the opposition of the most persistent Secretary of State by seeming to yield when necessary, but returning to the point again when an opportunity offered itself, and lays it down almost as a principle of how exactly to get over difficulties with Morley as Secretary of State. Lady Minto has done her task exceedingly well, and the work could hardly be done better to realise the object, that of depicting Viceroy Minto in the particular part that he played as Viceroy and Governor-General of India in the most difficult of times.

A GUIDE TO ELEPHANTA

By DR. HIRANANDA SASTRI, M.A., M.O.L., D. LITT.,
Government Epigraphist for India.

(Price Rs. 2-6-0 or 4sh. 3d.)

We are in receipt of a copy of a new Guide to Elephanta by Dr. Hirananda Sastri, Epigraphist to the Government of India. This is a publication of the Archaeological Department, and is intended to take the place of the older, authoritative guides beginning with that of the late Dr. Burgess published so long ago as 1871. Guides by various authors do exist, but none issued by the Department, as Burgess's Guide has long been out of print and the gazetteer account in the Thana District is also not easily acces-

sible. This is in the form of the Guide to Sarnath and other works published by the Department in the Series of Manuals of Archaeology. It is a welcome addition to the literature on the subject.

The little book of about seventy pages is divided into six chapters. The first is a description of the topography of the island and the approaches to it. The next is a chapter devoted to the history of it. As far as we know, its history goes back to the early centuries of the Christian era, and the island seems to have risen to a position of importance under the Mauryas of the Konkan, whose capital Puri is located in the island, which seems to have been called Puri, sometimes also Śrī-Puri. It figures, of course, on various occasions in later history. The chief temple there is the temple of Śiva in the main cave, which happens to be the chief attraction for visitors. The inscription on a copper vessel discovered in the island states that the vessel was made for the temple of Jogēśwari, thereby indicating that either the name was given to the temple or the cave itself, or it was the name of the goddess of the temple. Anyway it is interesting to note that there is another Jogēśwari cave of a similar character on the western coast of the island of Bombay itself, which has considerable features similar to this one. The next three chapters are devoted to the art of the shrine itself, and the idols of Śiva beginning with the *linga* in the sanctum and a number of representations of the various aspects of Śiva in the side chambers. Very good photographs of all these are given numbering 19. Each one of the main representations of Śiva is also described in addition to the illustration in detail. These representations of the more important and therefore familiar aspects of Śiva, such as, say Naṭarāja, Gangādhara, etc. But two of these representations are of particular interest and deserve special attention. One of the representations is what is pictured in plate 16 representing Śiva as Lakulīśa (Śiva with the club). This is the peculiar aspect of Śiva much affected by the Pāśupata sect of the Śaivas, and, if this shrine goes back to the fifth century, it takes the history of the Pāśupata to that early period. But what a visitor would regard as a feature of the temple is a representation on plate 12 as Mahēśvaramūrti as Dr. Hirananda Sastri names it correctly. It used to be hitherto described as Trimūrti cave because the image there is a representation in bust of Śiva with three faces, each face having its own peculiar aspect. While rightly casting off the name Trimūrti as unsuitable, the old notion still haunts Dr. Hirananda's account as he gives it on pages 40-43. Hirananda says roundly that

this is a representation of Śiva in his triple aspect of creator, protector and destroyer. But he does not regard them as the ordinary Hindu trinity, Brahma, Viṣṇu and Śiva, but as Śiva alone in the triple aspect. He states that it is due to the Vedāntic notion of the Supreme God manifesting himself in different forms. We are not sure that this is a particularly Vedāntic notion, nor can we quite follow him in his delineation of the triple aspect of Śiva. The three faces here are the representation of Śiva in the supreme form as the one God, not perhaps quite Vedāntic but Śaiva-ic, in which aspect he is to be described, and is found described as a God with five heads, one fronting each of the cardinal directions and the fifth surmounting the rest, but generally facing the east. These are described as *Sadyōjāta* (the westward fronting face, the equivalent of Brahma), *Vāmadeva*, (the northward looking), *Tatpurusha*, sometimes called *Īśāna* (eastward looking), *Aghōra*, the *Rudra* of the destructive aspect (southward looking). The whole of this is sometimes described also as the *Sadāśivamūrti*, the supreme form of Śiva, above all the various aspects of the divinity and combining in it all those various aspects. The Āgamas require its representation with five heads in its full form, but for various purposes of worship, this form of God could be represented also with three faces and even with only one face. This image with three faces is the three-faced representation of Mahēśvaramūrti or Sadaśiva. On page 19, Dr. Hirananda attempts a description of it as the three aspects of Śiva, but the actual figures would perhaps more closely tally with the description given of the five *mūrtis* detailed above. On page 35 describing Śiva as Kalyāṇasundara, the beautiful figure of Śiva as bridegroom, he states the following. Speaking of Pārvati, the figure measuring 8½ feet as against the Śiva figure measuring 10 feet 10 inches there is the statement "According to the Hindu or Brahmanical custom, the wife should occupy during ceremonial functions the left side of her husband." Because she happens to be in the right, Dr. Hirananda seems to think she is not yet wedded. We fear Dr. Hirananda is somewhat fogged in his recollection, unless it be that he is describing the practice in his part of the country. On occasions of marriage and in religious ceremonies of importance, the wife's place is in the left, when she has to be present in a passive form, that is, when the husband is doing something rather longish or elaborate, and the wife's presence alone is called for, she is generally seated on the left side; but whenever she has to play a part, she has to get up and move forward to the right to do it, as for instance in the giving of a gift by the husband, the

wife has to pour water by way of sanction. She has to come to the right and do it, and the really important ceremonies on occasions of marriage also bring her to the right, although she would otherwise be seated on the left. In this very cave, we find Pārvati to the right of Śiva as Kalyāṇasundara and Pārvati to the left of Śiva as Gangādhara. As a matter of fact in Gangādhara-Śiva, Pārvati is placed near him in temples, but in the coming of the Ganges however her place is rather far away, standing near Nandi at a distance and looking on in wonder at the descent of the Ganges till she disappears in the matted coiffure of Śiva. Śiva is shown in the Kalyāṇasundara panel taking the hand of Pārvati just given away in marriage to him and she is then rightly to the right hand of Śiva. It is a very useful handbook neatly got up. The only regret about it is that the monument described with such elaborate care should have suffered such horrid mutilation at the hands of the Portuguese who were in occupation of the island. The book is a welcome addition to the Archaeological series, of which it is one.

THE HINDU CONCEPTION OF THE DEITY

By BHARATAN KUMARAPPA

(Luzac & Co., London, Price 12sh. 6.)

This work was written as the thesis for a Doctorate Degree of the London University by the author and was accepted by that University under a slightly different name, though the subject treated is practically the same. The author starts with the enquiry how far the notion generally held among a considerable body of European scholars that the accepted philosophical system of Hindu India is the monism of the school of Sankara leading in consequence to the notion that all thinking Hindu are necessarily illusionists (*Māyavādīs*) as they are generally called. With a view merely to correct this notion and show how far short that falls from the actual facts, the talented author explores the sources upon which that theory generally rests. As his guide Professor, L. D. Barnett of the British Museum points out, in his foreword, that it is only the first stage of successful philosophical research to postulate a unity, an absolute unity for the whole Universe and then to apply this principle to experience which has to test how far the hypothesis fits in with the facts. He regards that, as a result of that experience, this supreme unity gets modified to the extent of regarding that the Absolute One, the Supreme Being, possessing

qualities divine, creates the Universe which in a sense is real. Mr. Kumarappa's thesis has this second aspect of the question, which ascribes qualities of infinite goodness and beauty to the real Supreme Being, and ascribes essential reality to the world of experience. That is the Viśiṣṭādvaita view, as it is called, which, in one form or another is the living religion of the greater part of India, perhaps of a far larger number of those that pass under the general name Hindu. Kumarappa accepts the orthodox position that monism was the first thought of philosophical principle and goes to the Upanishads first of all to find out how far this finds support in the Upanishads themselves. He finds the Upanishadic teachings do not exhibit that unity and uniformity in monism that is more often than asserted without actual exhaustive examination or proof. Of course monistic teachers have to make efforts to twist all the Upanishadic teaching into the monistic, yet it cannot be said, notwithstanding the great achievements in the line, that it is as yet an unquestionably demonstrated proposition. Examining the Upanishadic teaching objectively, Kumarappa discovers another line more theistic and realistic in its trend. He therefore naturally follows his investigation by taking up this tendency of the Upanishads and proceeding through the next body of literature, the Mahabhārata and Bhagavatgīta on the one side, the Purāṇas, such as the Viṣṇupurana and the Bhāgavatam on the other, as exponents of this. He next proceeds to examine the teaching of the Pāṇcharātra and of the Tamil saints, Dravidian saints as they are generally called, the Āḷvārs. He ultimately arrives at Rāmānuja and the exposition of the system which goes by his name to-day. He is able to evaluate the contribution which each one of these has made to the general position as systematised and expounded by Rāmānuja.

In the first four chapters, he considers the conception of the deity as expounded first in the Upanishads, and second in the Bhagavatgīta, third in the Pāṇcharātra and Purāṇic literature, and fourth in the work of the Āḷvārs. As was pointed out above, he finds a clear theistic trend in the teachings of the Upanishads, which receives more full and systematic exposition in the Bhagavatgīta. In the third section, while dealing with the Pāṇcharātra and Purāṇic literature, he appears as though he is overlooking the peculiar characteristics of the Pāṇcharātra as distinct from the Purāṇic theism. Nor does he emphasise adequately the fact that the works of the Āḷvārs are run through and through with the Pāṇcharātra teaching quite as much as that of the Purāṇas. In the second part in four sections similarly he deals with Rāmānuja's conception of

the deity and the way that he expounds it. He follows rather closely the Śrī Bhāṣya, but brings in additional light and the fuller exposition of Rāmānuja from his commentary on the Bhagavatgīta. Throughout Mr. Kumarappa maintains the objective method of treatment, and makes out a satisfactory case that the Upanishads do not tend finally to abstract monism, nor is the tendency only one. He demonstrates that it is not true that morality finds no place in the philosophical and religious thought of India. On the contrary he shows that morality does occupy an important position in the teaching of the school of Rāmānuja. His exposition of Rāmānuja's teaching falls into two parts, the controversial, in which he refutes the views of Śankara and expounds the corresponding texts of the Sūtra, and secondly expounds his own teaching from the theistic-realistic point of view. He has dealt with these two parts with sufficient distinctness to be able to advise readers to pass over the first if they do not care for it. Kumarappa's work, we should consider, is quite systematic in plan and excellent in execution. The publishers, Messrs. Luzac & Co., deserve credit for the excellence of the get up notwithstanding a few lapses in printing. The service rendered by Kumarappa to Indian philosophy in general and to the realistic side of it in particular is great and deserves wide appreciation.

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1. The opening up of a Research Department in Sanskrit by the University of Madras has been fruitful of some valuable contributions towards the elucidation of unexplored fields of knowledge in the domain of Sanskrit literature.

Dr. Kunjan Raja, the head of the Department, is the editor of the Ṛgvedānukramaṇi of Mādhavabhaṭṭa. Mādhavabhaṭṭa is as great a commentator of the Ṛg-veda as Śāyana Mādhava but little known so far as his standard works remained unpublished. The Kārikas prefixed by him to each of the sixty-four chapters of his Bhāṣya on the Ṛgveda have been collected

together and published under the new name of *Ṛgvedānukramaṇi* by the learned editor. The *Kārikas* are very useful in giving us an idea of the contents of the work, the scope of accents, the special characteristics of Vedic prosody, the significance of repetition of words, the scientific basis of the division of the *Ṛgveda* into *Maṇḍalas* and *Sūktas*, the relative importance of the *Ṛshis* and the subject-matter, the rationale underlying the joint authorship of some *sūktas* and the principles underlying the arrangement of the *Samhita* as a whole. The work is thus highly valuable in affording solutions for the elucidation of essential problems connected with the history of Vedic Exegesis, from an Indian point of view.

The value of the work will be considerably enhanced if the learned editor publishes a translation with critical and exegetical notes, at an early date, to make the work more useful to students and others interested in a critical study of Vedic Exegesis.

II. Dr. Chintamani, the Senior Lecturer in Sanskrit has undertaken the voluminous task of bringing out a critical edition of the *Uṇādisūtras* in various recensions. Though the *Uṇādisūtras* have been in print, they have been known to exist in several recensions with independent commentaries, most of which being available only in manuscript. It is therefore a laudable attempt on the part of Dr. Chintamani to set himself to the task of bringing out the *Uṇādisūtras* in all their recensions with their respective commentaries. In the first two volumes now published, we have the *Uṇādisūtras* with the *Vṛtti* of Śvētavanavāsin and the commentary called *Prakriyāsarvasva* of Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa. The critical value of the edition is considerably enhanced by several useful appendices containing the names of authors and works referred to, indices of *sūtras* and a word-index of the *sūtras* and commentary.

P. P. S.

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2. *Bharat Itihasa Samshodaka Mandala*, Poona City.
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18. *Quarterly Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Andhra Historical Society, Rajahmundry.
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Journal of Indian History

His Excellency Lord Brabourne's

At the Inauguration of the All-India Modern History Congress
on June 8.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,

It gives me particular pleasure to welcome you at this Congress because I feel that History is a subject which has not hitherto received the attention which it deserves in India. Human nature is apt to listen more readily to whatever is exciting and romantic than to cold facts, and in consequence politics and light literature have engrossed attention at the expense of history.

The All-India Modern History Congress is, I believe, the first of its kind. It is of good augury that it has been convened by the Mandal whose designation I may translate as the Indian Historical Research Institute, for History is based on the facts discovered by research, and this Congress is a fitting product of the Mandal's jubilee year.

I am glad to learn that the Mandal has decided to publish in English an illustrated compendium of its work during the past 25 years, as this will enable scholars to appreciate and make use of the materials thus brought to light.

The Chairman has quoted a remark of mine in the visit book of this Mandal as though I had claimed some knowledge of history. What I claimed was, in fact, a great interest in and some slight practical knowledge of the preservation, deciphering and compilation of ancient manuscripts, a subject which this Mandal has made its own and which is a subsidiary to history itself.

The object of this Congress is to bring into closer contact all the agencies interested in Modern Indian History. The Bhandarkar Institute has chosen for its field the period of ancient history up to the year 800 A.D. The Mandal has wisely omitted the period sub-

sequent to 1818 A.D. as being too recent to be studied in proper perspective. They have selected as their own subject of study the 1000 years from the commencement of the Muhammadan invasions to the establishment of the British power in India. This surely is no mean task.

I agree with the Chairman that one of the greatest needs of the time is a thorough, comprehensive and scientific History of India, but I should prefer to say that the immediate and urgent need is a thorough and scientific study of that history, since that must precede the writing of any history. The first thing necessary is the collection of materials, and for this purpose I would particularly stress the vital need of trained research students. They must be trained to know what to look for (and this can only be grasped by fully understanding the aim and object of history); secondly, they must know where to find it; and lastly, how to interpret it when found. There is, in Bombay at all events, a lack of such trained students, and without them it will not be possible to deal usefully with the large mass of materials available in private houses nor even with edited records.

We have in this Presidency two main historical assets, the Peshwa's Daftar and the Historical Museum at Satara always associated with the name of Parasnis.

In 1929 Government, realising the importance of publishing a selection of the documents of historical value in the Peshwa's Daftar, employed Mr. G. S. Sardesai, a well-known authority on Marathi History, to make a preliminary survey of the 27,000 bundles of documents. Government had the benefit of Sir Jadunath Sarkar's advice regarding the methods of selection, sorting and transcribing of these documents. The work has now been finished and 46 volumes covering 8,000 pages have been published. Some of the letters are published in the actual handwriting of their authors. The letters are published in Marathi with a brief summary in English, and much light from contemporary sources has thus been thrown on Marathi history.

The Satara Museum contains historical materials of first rate importance, such as a full series of despatches from Generals and Ambassadors, reports from Agents and spies, and news-letters addressed to the Peshwa's Government from camps and courts.

I am, however, especially glad to hear that private houses are also being searched for the valuable materials they are certain to contain. History, as the study of the inter-actions and reactions of

societies, one upon another, and of the habits of man in society, must concern itself chiefly with the average man and his habits of life and thought. The true measure of historical change lies in the change in the lives, habits and thoughts of the ordinary man. Very little knowledge is at present available on this subject in India. All historians know of the great light that has been thrown on the earlier History of England by the gradual publication of some of the mass of historical material stored away in the archives of the old country houses there. When, therefore, one hears that here in India the records not only of palaces and offices are being searched, but also of private houses, one feels that progress is on the right road.

I do not think that at the present time in India there can be any more wholesome study than that of history, nor any more necessary development than the growth of the historical sense. The tendency of modern politics and modern journalism is all in the direction of short views and sensationalism. The tongue and the pen are often used to attract attention, excite feeling, and to gain the victory of the moment at the expense of reason, proportion and truth. Scientific and impartial history must confine itself to facts, to causes and effects. The historian must be impartial not only, as the Chairman has said, between Europeans and Indians, but between Indian and Indian. To achieve impartiality he must rid himself of preconceived notions, whether they are based on prejudice, philosophy or religion. It is easy to pick out events which confirm a certain theory of life, but the historian must start from no such theories. He must not take for granted that there was a golden age in the past from which we have fallen, nor that we are working up towards a golden future. He must not accept blindly the divine right or inevitability of any institution or custom, nor the sanctity of theories of the rights of man. Nor must he judge actions and events in the terms of morals or ethics. The work of the historian is merely to calculate the results of event upon event, and action upon action.

Whatever this Congress can do to encourage the study of the past with the cool, dispassionate intelligence of the historian, will be a sound beginning to supply one of the main intellectual needs of India at the present day.

It is my sincere hope that the devoted labours of such men as Sane, Khare, Rajwade and Parasnis, who have been pioneers in historical research in this Presidency, may inspire some of the younger students of history to give their time and abilities to the

investigation of the past records of their country in the true spirit of research.

I now declare this, the first All-India Modern History Congress, open, and I venture to express the hope that this Congress will be looked back to as the one at which the seeds of much good and fruitful work were planted.

The Early Pallavas

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1. EARLY HISTORY OF THE KĀNCĪ REGION

THE earliest reference to Kāncīpura seems to be that in the *Mahābhāṣya* (iv, 2, second *āhnika*) of the great grammarian Patañjali whose 'date, B.C. 150, may now be relied upon' (*Bom. Gaz.*, I, ii, p. 140). Patañjali is now generally taken to have been the contemporary of the first Śuṅga king, Puṣyamitra, who reigned from circa 185 to 149 B.C. according to Smith (*Ear. Hist. Ind.*, 4th ed. 208ff.). The mention of Kāncīpura in the *Mahābhāṣya* goes to show that Kāncī became a place of importance as early as the beginning of the second century B.C. It is however not certain whether Kāncī was a political or a commercial centre in the age of the *Mahābhāṣya*.

If traditions recorded by the Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang are to be believed, Kāncī rose to prominence even earlier than the age of the *Mahābhāṣya*. This Chinese pilgrim tells us that he noticed a *stūpa* about hundred feet high, built by king Aśoka, in the city of Kāncī (*Beal, Bud. Rec. Wes. Wor.*, II, p. 230). In this connection we may note also the mention of Aśoka or Aśokavarman as one of the early Pallava kings in the mythical portion of the later Pallava inscriptions. Hultzsch appears to be right in taking this Aśoka or Aśokavarman as 'a modification of the ancient Maurya king Aśoka.' The claim of having this great Maurya emperor as predecessor is to be found not only in the traditional history of Kāncī, but also in the *Rāja-taraṅgiṇī*, the traditional history of Kashmir (i, 102-106). Though the genealogy of Aśoka given in the Kashmir chronicle does not tally with the Maurya genealogy found in the Purāṇas, the description of the Kashmir king named Aśoka 'who had freed from sins and had embraced the doctrine of Jina (i.e., Buddha), covered Suskalettra and Vitastāra with numerous *stūpas*,' clearly shows that he is no other than the great king of Pāṭaliputra. The inclusion of Aśoka in the traditional Pallava genealogy is therefore not impossible.

If however we take the find-spots of Aśoka's inscriptions so far discovered in the far south as establishing the southernmost boundary of the Maurya empire in Aśoka's time, it appears that the Kāñcī region lay outside that empire. Nevertheless, if traditions recorded in early Tamil works are to be believed, the Maurya frontier at the time of Candragupta, grandfather of Aśoka, possibly extended far to the south of Kāñcī. "We have seen that in the south the Maurya power, at one time, had probably penetrated as far as the Podiyil hill in the Tinnevely district. In the time of Aśoka, the Maurya frontier had receded probably to the Pennār river near Nellore, as the Tamil kingdoms are referred to as *prachamta* or border States and are clearly distinguished from the imperial dominions (*viṣṭa* or *rāja-viṣaya*), which stretched only as far south as the Chitaldrug district of Mysore" (*Pol. Hist. Anc. Ind.*, 2nd ed., p. 195). If then the Kāñcī region was once under the Mauryas, it may not be altogether impossible that owing to the commercial importance of its position Kāñcī attracted the notice of a Maurya emperor or a viceroy of the southernmost Maurya province, who assigned this Sanskritised name to a Dravidian original like Kacci-ppedu.¹

The exhaustive list of countries mentioned in Gautamī Balaśrī's inscription over which Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi is said to have ruled does not mention any district of the far south. This fact along with the conspicuous absence of inscriptions and coins of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi in the Andhra region possibly goes to show that the region was outside the kingdom of this Śāta-vāhana king. It must however be noticed that Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi has been described in the famous Nasik Cave inscription as lord of the Vinḍhya, Rkṣavat, Pāriyātra, Sahya, Kṛṣṇagiri (Kanheri), possibly Śrīśaila (*maca-siri-ṭana-martya-śrī* or *śrī-stana* ?), Mahendra Malaya, Setāgiri and Cakora mountains. Malaya and Mahendra, quite well-known in Sanskrit literature, have been identified respectively with the Western Ghats (to the south of Nilgiri) and the Eastern Ghats. If there is in the list really the name of Śrīśaila, it is to be found in the Kurnool district of the Madras Presidency. Cakora has been mentioned along with the Śrīśaila in the Purāṇas. It is therefore possible that Gautamīputra

1. At the time of Aśoka, the southernmost Maurya province had its headquarters at Suvarṇagiri, which has been identified by Hultzsch with Kanakagiri in the Nizam's dominions to the south of Maski (*Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, p. xxxviii).

Śātakarṇi claimed a sort of suzerainty over the whole of southern India. Since there is no mention of the Himālaya, the list of mountains in Gautamīputra's kingdom does not appear to be altogether conventional. Another important point in this connection is the king's epithet *ti-samuda-toya-pīta-vāhana*, which says that his war-horses drank water from the three seas. We are to notice that the inscription does not refer to the conventional *catuḥ-samudra*, but only to *tri-samudra* (three seas) which evidently signifies the Western (Arabian) sea, the Eastern sea (Bay of Bengal) and the Southern sea (Indian Ocean). The traditional southern expedition of Maurya Candragupta and the southern expeditions of the Calukya's of Bādāmi and Kalyāṇi of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Malkhed and later of Śivāji and Haidar Ali show that it was almost a custom with great Deccan kings to lead expeditions to the far south. Is it impossible that Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi's vague claim of suzerainty over the whole of the Deccan originated from such a southern expedition ?²

The Amarāvati inscription of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi (A. S. S. I. I. P. 100 pl. LVI No. 1. Amarāvati inscription of Śivamaka Śāta Siri-Sivamaga Sada; *ibid.*, p. 61, pl. LVI. No. 2), Chinna inscription of Gautamīputra Yajña Śātakarṇi Ep. Ind. I, p. 95), Kodavali inscription of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Candra Śāta (Caḍa Śāta; *ibid.*, XVII, pp. 316ff.) and the Myakadoni inscription of Pulumāvi (*ibid.*, p. 153) however clearly show that the successors of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi certainly ruled in the Andhra region. This southerly extension of the Śātavāhana power may have been due to the rise of the house of Caṣṭana who seems to have established himself at Ujjayinī and to have been a contemporary of the Greek geographer Ptolemy (c. 140 A.D.) and the Śātavāhana king Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi, son of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi. We know from the Junagadh inscription (*ibid.*, VIII, pp. 44ff) that Caṣṭana's grandson Rudradāman (c. 130-150 A.D.), who for sometime ruled conjointly with his grandfather, was reigning over some of the countries that were formerly under the possession of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi.

2. A Nasik inscription possibly refers to a southern expedition led by Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi who seems to have once encamped at Vaijayantī. Vaijayantī which is later known to have been the capital of the Cūṭu-Śātakarṇis and after them of the Kadambas has been identified with modern Baṇavāsi in the North Canara district of the Bombay Presidency.

The occupation of the Andhradeśa and adjoining districts by the later Sātavāhanas is also proved by numismatic evidence. According to Rapson (*Cat. C. Brit. Mus.*, p. lxxi), the Sātavāhana coins found in the Krishna-Godavari region "fall into two classes distinguished from each other both by their type and their fabric". In the district of the first fabric coins of the following five kings have been found (*ibid.*, lxxii) :

1. Vāsiṣṭhīputra śrī-Pulumāvi,
2. Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śivaśrī Śātakarṇi,
3. Vāsiṣṭhīputra śrī-Candra Śāti,
4. Gautamīputra śrī-Yajña Śātakarṇi, and
5. śrī-Rudra Śātakarṇi.

In the district of the second fabric are found coins struck by the following three kings (*ibid.*, p. lxxiv) :

1. śrī-Candra Śāti,
2. Gautamīputra śrī-Yajña Śātakarṇi, and
3. śrī-Rudra Śātakarṇi.

Coins found in the Anantapur and Cuddapah districts have been taken by Rapson to have belonged to some feudatories of the Sātavāhana kings (*ibid.*, p. lxxx). This suggestion appears to be supported by the following facts. Firstly, in the Chitaldrug district has been found a coin of one Sadakana (Śātakarṇi) Kalaḷāya Mahārāṭhi who was most probably a feudatory of the great Sātavāhanas; secondly, the Myakadoni (Bellary District inscription of Pulumāvi shows that the Bellary region was called the *jana-pada* (district) of Sātavāhanihāra and that it was under the rule of a governor (*mahāsenāpati*) whose name was Skandanāga. This fact seems to show that the southern districts of the Sātavāhana kingdom were ruled by military chiefs.

From what has been said above it is perfectly clear that the dominions of the later Sātavāhanas extended as far as the borders of the district of Kāñcī. We shall now consider the question whether Kāñcī could have formed a part of the Sātavāhana kingdom.

There is no epigraphic evidence to prove that the Sātavāhana kings ruled over Kāñcī; but certain coins with "ship with two masts" on one side and the Ujjain symbol on the other have been discovered on the Coromandel Coast between Madras and Cuddalore. "That they belong to the Andhra (Sātavāhana) dynasty seems certain from the Ujjain symbol which forms their reverse type, and from such traces as remain of the coin-legend. On the

on which these traces admit of any probable rescription appears to be intended for *Siri-Pu* [*lūmā*] 2; pl. V) " *Ibid.*, pp. lxxxii-ii. Of course, mere disins of a certain dynasty in a certain area does not articular area was under the direct control of the nasty. But this distinct type of ship-coins found e Coromandel coast possibly supports the view ssuer (or issuers) of the ship-coins had some sort nacy over the coast region. But who ruled the ring the time of the later Sātavāhanas who had ued the ship-coins?

some scholars, "The coast region in which these was in the third century B.C. inhabited by the the middle of the second century A.D. it seems o the power of the Pallavas, who were thus con- the later Andhras (i.e., Sātavāhanas) " *Ibid.*, ew however can be proved to be unwarranted on e *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* and the *Geo-* 7.

pect to find the name of Kāñcīpura in the *Peri-* does not attempt to give an exhaustive list of : the country about which it speaks. The Kāñcī y not a separate political unit at the age of this).). The *Periplus* says: "§59. From Komari i towards the south (actually toward NNE) this Kolkhi (=Korkai on the Tāmraparni in the Tin-nith, *op. cit.*, p. 469); and it belongs to

Beyond Kolkhi there follows another district ountry (=Coromandel or Cola-maṇḍala coast), , and has a region inland called Argaru (=Ura-iyūr near Tanjore) §60. Among the ese countries and the harbours where the ships ka and from the north, the most important are, , first Kamara, then Poduka, then Sopatma; in ps of the country coasting along the shore as far thers very large, made of single logs bound to- ara; but those which make the voyage to Khr- nges are called Kolandia and are very large." y know whether any of these three ports men- lus belonged to the district of Kāñcī; but the us after referring to the coast country refers to round Masulipattan) possibly suggests that the

borders of the coast country touched, in the age of the *Periplus*, those of the district round Masulipattam. This suggestion, it should be noticed, is in accord with the tradition which says that "the Chola country (*Chola-maṇḍalam*) was bounded on the north by Pennār and on the south by the southern Vellāru river; or, in other words, it extended along the eastern coast from Nellore to Pudukottai, where it abutted on the Pāṇḍya territory." Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 480.

In the *Geography* of Ptolemy (c. 140 A.D.) who gives a fairly exhaustive list of countries, cities and important places, we do not find the name of Kāñcī; but the district of Kāñcī can be satisfactorily identified from Ptolemy's map of India. The order of the position of countries in the east coast has been thus given in Ptolemy's *Geography*, VII, i:

1. Country of the Pandiones (= the Pāṇḍyas) with its capital at Modoura (=Madurā) 125° 16' 20', ruled by Pandion (§89);
2. District of Batoi (§90) with its metropolis at Nisamma 125° 10' 10° 30' (§12);
3. Coast of the Soringoi with its capital at Orthoura 130° 16' 20', ruled by Sôrnagos (§91);
4. Arouarnoi with its capital at Malanga 133° 13', ruled by Basaronagos (§92); and
5. District of the Maisôloi (called Maisôlia in §15) with its metropolis at Pitundra 135° 12' (§93).

It is clear from the situation of the above countries that on the way from the district of Masulipattam to the Pāṇḍya country, i.e., to the south of the former, lay first the country of Arouarnoi, then the coast of the Soringoi, and then Batoi. This "coast of the Soringoi" is evidently the same as the "Coast country" of the *Periplus*, which seems to represent the Cola-maṇḍala of Sanskrit literature. Its capital Orthoura appears therefore to be the same as Argaru of the *Periplus*, and Uṇaiyūr (=Uragapura) of the present day.

3. It must be noticed that a city called Argaru 125° 15' 14° 20' has been mentioned by Ptolemy (*Geog.*, VII, i, §11) as belonging to the Pāṇḍya country. It can however hardly be identical with the Argaru (=Uragapura) of the *Periplus* which, as we have seen, places Argaru in the Coast country

But what about this Arouarnoi which has not been mentioned in the *Periplus*, but has been placed between the Cola-maṇḍala and Masulipattam by Ptolemy? In this connection it is interesting to note what Prof. S. K. Aiyangar says about the countries of this coast. "The east coast region, however, beginning with the river Vellār, flowing across the State of Pudukottah now and emptying itself into the Bay of Bengal, which marked the orthodox southern boundary of the Cholas, constituted the Chola-maṇḍalam which actually extended northwards therefrom to as far as the river South Pennār where began the division known as Aruvānāḍu, which extended northwards along the coast almost so far as the Northern Pennār" (Introduction to *Pallavas of Kanchi* by R. Gopalan, p. xi-ii). There can hardly be any doubt that this Aruvānāḍu between the Northern and Southern Pennārs is the Arouarnoi of Ptolemy's *Geography*. This Arouarnoi is practically the same as the Kāñcī-maṇḍala, i.e., the district round Kāñcī. It must however be noticed that the capital of this district, in the time of Ptolemy's map to have been far to the north of Kāñcī.

It now appears that the Cola-maṇḍala or the Cola coast which at the time of the *Periplus* was possibly bounded by the Pāṇḍya country in the south and the Masuli district in the north was divided into two kingdoms in the age of Ptolemy (c. 140 A.D.). What is however more interesting is that in the time of the Greek Geographer, the Cola-maṇḍala proper was being ruled by a king named Sôrnāga, while Aruvānāḍu, the northern part of the former Cola kingdom, was under the rule of a king named Basaro-nāga. We cannot be definite whether these two names really represent Indian names like Sura-nāga (or Sūrya-nāga) and Vajra-nāga (or Varṣa-nāga); but there can be no doubt that in Ptolemy's time the Cola kingdom as well as the district round Kāñcī was ruled by princes who belonged to the family of the Nāgas. The existence of the Nāgas in the Coromandel coast seems to be further supported by the existence of a city called Uraga-pura in the Pāṇḍya country and another of the same name in the Cola country. Uraga, as we all know, is the same as Nāga. It is however difficult to ascer-

beyond the kingdom of Pandion. Ptolemy's Argaru in the Pāṇḍya country is evidently the same as Uragapura mentioned by Kālidāsa as the capital of Pāṇḍya kings (*Raghu*, VI, 59-60). That Uragapura of these two Greek authors is different is also proved by the fact that while the *Periplus* has it as "a region inland called Argaru", Ptolemy's map places the city just on the sea-shore. (Plates in *La Géographie de Ptolémée* par Renou, Paris, 1925).

tain whether the "inland region called Argaru (=Uraga-pura)" was being ruled by the Nāgas (=Uragas) in the age of the *Periplus*; nevertheless the name supports a conjecture that in or before that time the heart of the Cola country was under the Nāgas.⁴

In this connection we should also notice the Buddhist traditions of Ceylon and Siam, which speak of a Nāga country on the coast near the Diamond Sands, to the south of Dantapura, between the mouth of the Ganges and Ceylon (Cunningham, *Anc. Geog. Ind.*, pp. 611-12). This country has been called Majerika. We do not know whether Majerika is the same as Masulika (Masulipatam) or a district on the Manjhira branch of the Godavari, or it is Ptolemy's Arouarnoi where the Nāga king Bassaro-nāga once ruled. But the traditions clearly support the existence of a Nāga country on the eastern coast. Much value of the traditions is however vitiated by the fact that the epochs to which the two traditions refer are irreconcilable. The Ceylonese tradition gives the date as B.C. 157, while the Siamese tradition gives A.D. 310-313. If we believe in the latter tradition, the Pallavas would appear to have risen to prominence after A.D. 313. This however seems to be improbable.

Before the middle of the second century therefore not the Pallavas but the Nāgas were ruling the Coast country.

As scholars generally take Ptolemy's Siriptolemaios (Siri-Pulumāvi), ruler of Baithana (Paithan in the Aurangabad District), to be the same as Vāsiṣṭhīputra śrī-Pulumāvi, son of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, we see that Bassaro-nāga, ruler of the Kāñcī region, and Sōr-nāga, ruler of the Cola-maṇḍala, reigned contemporaneously with this Sātavāhana king, who possibly was the first to establish the Sātavāhana power in the Andhra country⁵ (*Pol. Hist. Anc. Ind.*, 2nd ed., p. 313). It may not be altogether

4. It may alternatively be suggested that Uragapura is really a Sanskritised form of the Tamil name Uṛaiyūr (=Uṛai + ūr, literally, "city of greatness"). We must however notice that as early as the beginning of the Christian era the locality (or localities) was known to foreigners not as Uṛaiyūr, but as Uragapura (cf. Argaru).

5. Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi has been called "lord of the Dakṣiṇāpatha" in the Nasik inscription of year 19. In line 12 of the Junagadh inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, VIII, pp. 44ff), the Śaka king Rudradāman (c. 130-150 A.D.) mentions his Sātavāhana contemporary (Pulumāvi?) as "Śātakarṇi, lord of the Dakṣiṇāpatha".

impossible that the successors of Bassaro-nāga acknowledged the suzerainty of the powerful successors of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi, such as the great Gautamīputra Yajña Śātakarṇi. It should be noticed that Pulumāvi of the ship-coins appears to be the same as the king of the Myakadoni inscription, who was probably a successor of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi and the last king of the direct Sātavāhana line.

2. RISE OF THE PALLAVAS

Scholars are now generally of opinion that the Pallavas were not indigenous to the Kāñcī region. Thus Prof. S. K. Aiyangar says "The Pallavas seem nevertheless to have been foreign to the locality as far as our evidence takes us at present" (*op. cit.*, p. x). The question is now: When did the Pallavas attain political supremacy in the Kāñcī region?

We have already seen that in the middle of the second century A.D. when Ptolemy is known to have written his *Geography*, the above region was being ruled by the Nāgas. The Pallavas therefore could not have ruled as a recognised political power in the same era. They are however believed to have risen to prominence certainly before the middle of the fourth century A.D. which is the time of Samudragupta's Allahabad pillar inscription. This record, as we all know, mentions a certain *kāñceyaka* Viṣṇugopa with whom the Gupta king (c. 330-375 A.D.) came in conflict during his South Indian campaign. This "Viṣṇugopa, ruler of Kāñcī" has been unanimously taken to have belonged to the Pallava family.

To about the same period should be assigned the Mayidavolu (*Ep. Ind.*, VI, 84) and Hirahadagalli (*ibid.*, I, p. 2) grants of the Pallava ruler Śivaskandavarman, and the British Museum grant (*ibid.*, VIII, p. 143) dated in the reign of a Pallava king named *vijaya-Śkandavarman*. These grants are written in Prakrit and are unanimously taken to be the earliest available epigraphical records of the Pallavas. There is however difference of opinion regarding the date of these epigraphs. But, as we shall show in the next section, they appear to belong to the first half of the fourth century A.D. The Pallavas therefore seem to have attained political supremacy in the Kāñcī region after the middle of the second, but before the beginning of the fourth century of the Christian era. Now the next question would be: Who the Pallavas were and how they did succeed in obtaining the mastery of the Kāñcī region from the hands of the Nāgas?

It is almost certain that the Pallavas originally were executive officers under the Sātavāhana kings.¹ They were most probably in charge of the government of districts with titles like *Mahārāṭhi* and *Mahāsenāpati*, i.e., governor. There is inscriptional evidence to prove that the Sātavāhana kings took their officers from the families of the Guptas and Nāgas. A Nasik inscription mentions an officer named Śiva-gupta, and the Karle inscriptions refer to—Gupta and Śivaskanda-gupta (*Pol. Hist. Anc. Ind.*, 2nd. ed., p. 332). We have already seen that a Nāga chief named Skanda-nāga was ruling the Bellary district in the reign of Pulumāvi who was possibly the last Sātavāhana king of the main line. The Pallavas may have been officers like the Guptas and Nāgas.

But who were the Pallavas?² Were they identical with the people called Palhavas in inscriptions and literature? Some scholars are in favour of this identification. Their arguments may be summed up as follows. The Palhavas, i.e., the Parthians, are known from inscriptions and coins to have been ruling in North-Western India in the beginning of the Christian era. In the time of the *Periplus*, "Parthian princes were constantly driving each other

1. Aiyangar, *Op. cit.*, p. XV; Sewell, *Hist. Ins. S. Ind.*, s.v., C. 225 A.D.

2 See H. Krishna Sastri, *Ed. Ind.*, XV, p. 246. "The origin of the Pallavas has been obscure. A suggestion has been thrown out by Mr. Venkayya that they may have been connected with the Pallavas, mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purānas* and there classified as foreigners outside the pale of Aryan society (*A. Surv. Rep.* for 1916-17, p. 217f.). It is true that here the Pallavas are so classed with the Śakas, Yavanas and other foreign tribes; nevertheless the possibility of their being a class that originated from an intermingling of the Brāhmaṇas with the indigenous Dravidian tribes is not altogether precluded. This presumption is confirmed partly by a curious statement made in the Rāyakōṭa copper plates (above, V, p. 52) that Aśvat-thāmaṇ the Brāhmaṇ founder of the race, married a Nāga woman and had by her a son called Skandaśishya. Other copper plates (e.g., *S.I.I.*, p. 353 vv. 16 and 17) which relate a similar story mentioned in the name of Skandaśishya the eponymous king Pallava, after whom the family came to be called Pallava. Hence it appears almost probable that the Pallavas like the Kadambas of Banavāsī (*Dy. Kan. Dist.*, p. 286 and fn. 2), the Nolambas of Mysore (*Rice's Mysore and Coorg from Ins.*, p. 55), the Matsyas of Ōḍḍavādi (Ōḍḍādi in the Vizagapatam district) and other similar dynasties were the products of Brāhmaṇa inter-connections with the Dravidian races, as the stories related of their origin indicate. The Pallavas are however referred to in an early Kadamba record of the 6th century A.D. as Kshatriyas, and their earliest sovereigns are stated to have performed Vedic sacrifices like the Aryan kings of old."

out," were occupying the valley of the Indus. This people possibly pushed a little down to the south when they came in conflict with the Sātavāhana king Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi who is called "subduer of the Śakas, Yavanas and Palhavas." Indeed, from the Junagadh inscription of Rudradāman we learn that a Palhava governor named Suviśākha, son of Kulaipa, was ruling the districts of Anarta and Surāṣṭra under that great Śaka king. If, as it seems to be, the territory of the Palhavas lay not far off from the Sātavāhana kingdom, if they really came into conflict with the Sātavāhanas at the time of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, if the Palhavas accepted offices in the government of neighbouring kings, and if the Sātavāhana government accepted services of persons belonging to the neighbouring tribes, there is nothing impossible in the suggestion that the Palhavas were employed by the Sātavāhana kings and eventually carved out a principality in the south of the Sātavāhana kingdom after the decline of the latter.

We however think that there are some very strong grounds against the identification of the Pallavas with the people called Pallava (i.e., the Parthians). If the people who were called *Palhava* at the time of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi and Rudradāman, that is to say, during the first half of the second century A.D., is the same as the Pallavas whom we find stationed at Kāñcī at about the end of the third century, how are we to explain the fact that the latter have never been called *Palhava* either in the records of their own or in records and works that refer to them? It is improbable that within the short period of about 150 years a tribe had utterly forgotten its original name, so much so that not even for once did its members use that name in the whole course of their history, though Indian literature in all succeeding ages has recognised a tribe named *Palhava*, sometimes even side by side with *Pallava*.

Another important point in this connection is that in the Hira-hadagalli grant the earliest known Pallava king, Śivaskandavarman, who appears to have ruled in the first quarter of the fourth century A.D., is reported to have performed the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice. There is no evidence that kings belonging to foreign dynasties or tribes like the Śaka, Kuṣān, Gurjara, Hūna and others ever performed the Horse-sacrifice, even when they were Hinduised. It seems highly improbable that a foreigner would be favourable to the obnoxious practices followed during the course of this sacrifice. Unless an immigrant tribe hopelessly forgets its self and imbibes utter orthodoxy of Hinduism, it seems impossible for its members to be able to expose their wives to such indelicate practices as

are necessary in performing the Horse-sacrifice.³ The performance of this out-and-out Brahmanical sacrifice by the earliest known Pallava king seems to go against the theory of foreign origin of the Pallavas.

The next important point is that the family of the Pallavas is known even from the earliest record to have belonged to the Bhāradvāja gotra.⁴ This Bhāradvāja gotra of the Pallavas can hardly be imitated from the gotra of any earlier dynasty that ruled in the Deccan. The Sātavāhanas of the main line, whose records the Pallavas imitated in drawing theirs, did never specially mention their own gotra. The Viṇhukaḍa Cuṭu-Śātakarṇis however called themselves *Mānavya-gotra-Hāriti-putra*. This title was imitated by the Kadambas who succeeded the Cuṭu-Śātakarṇis in the Kuntala country. The Calukyas who appear to have originally been provincial governors under the early Kadambas, got the title in their turn along with the sovereignty of the Kanarese country. Since the Pallavas do not use metonymics like their predecessors, and since their Bhāradvāja gotra cannot be reasonably proved to have been imitated from any preceding ruling dynasty of the Deccan, it seems possible that they were originally Brahmanical Hindus of the Bhāradvāja gotra and therefore belonged to Northern India.⁵

3. I am indebted for this suggestion to Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri of the Calcutta University. For details about the Aśvamedha sacrifice, see *Śukla-Yajurveda*, XXII-XXV, with Mahidhara's commentary thereon. For the indelicate portion, see *ibid.*, XXIII, 1825. Mantra to be uttered by the queen of the performer of this sacrifice: *ambe=mbike=mbālike na mā nayati kaś=cana! sasasty=aśvakaḥ subhadrikām kāmṇīlā-vāsinīm* || Mahidhara's commentary: *mad=agamane=śvo=nyām-ādāya śayisyata=iti mayā gamyate*. After pronouncing another mantra, the queen sits (according to Mahidhara, lies down) beside the sacrificed horse. Queen: *tā ubhau caturah padaḥ samprasārayāva*; Adhvaryu: *svarge loke proruṇvāthām*. After the Adhvaryu covers the bodies of the queen and the horse with a sheet of cloth, the queen says: *vṛṣā vāji retodhā reto dadhā reto dadhāu*, and then according to Mahidhara: *mahiṣi svayam=ev=aśva-śiśnam=ākṛṣya sva-yonau sthāpayati*. See also *Śatapatha-Brahmaṇa*, XIII, iv. 2.

4. According to K. P. Jayaswal (*Hist. Ind.*, p. 182). "The Pallavas were a branch of the Vākātakas." The theory however is obviously untenable, as the former is known to have belonged to the Bhāradvāja gotra, while the latter belonged to the Viṣṇuvṛddha gotra.

5. The Purāṇic genealogy of the Pallavas, based on the name of their gotrarṣi, does not appear to have been imitated. See Fleet, *Bom. Gaz.*, I, ii. p. 342, note. "The Purāṇic genealogy of the Rāshtrakūṭas makes its first ap-

Pāṇini (IV, i. 117) seems to say that the Śuṅgas belonged to the Bhāradvāja gotra. From the Purāṇas we know that the Śuṅgas succeeded the Mauryas on the throne of Magadha, and the *Mālavikāgnimitra* informs us that a secondary capital of the Śuṅgas was at Vidiśā (mod. Bhilsa in the Jubbulpore district). Is it altogether impossible that the Pallavas really were a branch of the Śuṅgas of Vidiśā, who gradually pushed to the south, took services under the Sātavāhanas and eventually carved out a principality in the Kāñcī region? The fact that the Pallavas never try to connect themselves with the solar and lunar dynasties, famous in Indian legends, possibly also show that they belonged originally to a Brahman family of Northern India. If a Brahman family rises to royal dignity, it can hardly look back for past glory to the Sūrya and Candra *vaṃśas* which were Kṣatriya dynasties. They can, however claim connection with *Bhāradvāja* Droṇa, the great epic king of Northern Pāñcāla, who was a Brahman by birth, but took the profession of the Kṣatriyas. Cf. the case of the Sena kings of Bengal, who refer to themselves in their inscriptions as *Brahmakṣatriya*.

But, how did the Pallavas occupy the Kāñcī region which was once under the Nāgas? This question is difficult to answer, as we know nothing definitely about the Pallava kings who ruled before Śivaskandavarman, or his father whose name is as yet unknown.⁷

pearance in the Sāṅgli grant (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 247). The pretended historical genealogy of the Western Gaṅgas may have been concocted a little earlier, but was more probably devised about A.D. 950 (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III p. 169). The Chola Purāṇic genealogy is apparently first met with in the *Kaliṅgattu-Purāṇi* (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 329), which was composed in the reign of the Eastern Chālukya king Kulottuṅga Choladeva I, A.D. 1063-1112. And the Purāṇic genealogy of the Eastern Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara is first presented in a record of A.D. 1118-19 (*Id.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 165).—The Purāṇic genealogy of the Pallavas—is the earliest such pedigree that has as yet come to light and possibly the discovery of it in some ancient record set the later fashion which became so general."

6. It may be noted that the early Gaṅgas claimed to have belonged to the Kāṇvāyana gotra. Thus they claim connection with the famous Kāṇvāyana royal line that succeeded the Śuṅgas on the throne of Magadha. We however do not know whether the claim is an imitation, nor do we know whether the family-name *Gaṅga* has anything to do with the famous North Indian river Gaṅgā or is but a Sanskritised form of a Dravidian original like *Koṅgu* (cf. *Koṅgu-deśa*).

7. According to Sewell (*Hist. Ins. S. Ind.*, p. 17), "Bappa", i.e., the father of Śivaskandavarman, was a name assumed by Jayavarman of the

Indeed, later Pallava inscriptions, such as the Kasakudi plates of Nandivarman-Pallavamalla (*S. Ind. Ins.*, II, p. 342), the Velūrpālaiyam plates of Nandivarman III (*ibid.*, p. 508) and the Vāyalūr pillar inscription of Rājasimha (*Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, p. 150) have mentioned the names of some early Pallava kings otherwise unknown and have traced the Pallava pedigree from Lord Brahman, through His descendants, Āṅgiras, Bṛhaspati, Saṃyu, Bhāradvāja, Droṇa, Aśvatthāman, Pallava and Aśoka (or Aśokavarman). There can be no question about the unhistoricity of this part of the genealogy. It is obviously fabricated on the basis of the name of the *gotra* of the Pallava family; we know that the Pallavas belonged to the Bhāradvāja gotra which has the *pravaras*, Bhāradvāja, Āṅgirasa, and Bāṛhaspatya. Pallava is evidently the eponym, while Aśokavarman "can scarcely be considered a historical person, but appears to be a modification of the ancient Maurya king Aśoka."

It must be noted that the order and form of names mentioned after Aśokavarman in the mythological part of the Pallava genealogy are not uniform in the different inscriptions. Hultzsch therefore remarked on this part of the Kaśākūḍi grant (*S. Ind. Ins.*, II, p. 343), "It must rather be concluded that, at the time of Nandivarman, nothing was known of the predecessors of Simhaviṣṇu but the names of some of them, and that the order of their succession and their relation to each other and to the subsequent line of Simhaviṣṇu, were then entirely forgotten." This part of the Pallava genealogy may be compared with the mythical genealogy of the Chālukyas about which Fleet says, "For the above account (scil. Chālukya genealogy before Pulakeśin I), a certain amount of foundation may be derived from the fact that from the time of Pulakeśin II onwards, the Western Chālukyas were constantly at war with the Pallavas, who were their most powerful and inveterate foes, coupled with a tradition of the later Kadambas that the founder of the Kadamba family was a certain Trinetra or Trilochana. But, in other respects, the account is a *farrago* of vague legends and Purāṇic myths of no authority" (*Bom. Gaz.*, I, ii, pp. 341-2). It is therefore difficult to believe that the mythical portion of the

Koṇḍamuḍi grant. This theory is untenable in view of the fact that Jayavarman belonged to the Bṛhatphalāyana gotra, but the Pallavas are known to have belonged to the Bhāradvāja gotra. See my note in *Jour. Andh. Hist. Res. Soc.*, VIII, p. 106.

Pallava genealogy is much useful for the purpose of authentic history. Nevertheless, it is tempting to make a few suggestions.

(i) Verse 6 of the Velūrpālaiyam inscription says that Virakūrca, son of Cūtapallava obtained the insignia of royalty along with the hand of a Nāga princess (cf. *phanindra-sutāyā sah=āgrahīd=rāja-cihnam=akhilam*). We have seen above that the Nāgas were rulers of the Kāñci region before the rise of the Pallavas in that locality; it is therefore not impossible that Virakūrca married the heiress of the last Nāga king of Malanga and thus became the first Pallava king of the district round Kāñci.⁸ Some very late inscriptions (of about the 11th century) mention a king named Trilocana as the earliest illustrious ancestor of the Pallavas. He is also called Trinetra, Trinayana Mukkanti-Pallava and Mukkanti-Kāḍuveṭṭi (Butterworth, *Nellore Inscriptions*, I, p. 389, II, p. 671; cf. *Ep. Ind.*, XI, p. 349). He is described as having, like Śiva, a third eye on the forehead and is believed by some scholars to have been a historical person who was the founder of the Telugu-Pallavas and ruled over tracts of the Telugu country (*An. Rep. S. I. Ep.*, 1916, p. 138; Iyengar, *History of the Tamils*, p. 364, 384). The historicity of this Trilocana-Pallava is however, impossible in view of the facts that a similar Trilocana is said to have been the progenitor of the Kadambas in some Kadamba inscriptions of about the same period (*Ep. Carn.*, VII, Sk. 236) and that all the early Pallava records deny the possibility of the existence of any such early king named Trilocana-Pallava. Many scholars therefore have now discarded this Trilocana as purely mythical. "The name Trilocana seems to have passed from the Kadamba inscriptions of the west to the Pallava inscriptions of the east" (Moraes, *Kadamba-kula*, p. 8, note 1).

(ii) The name of the father of Virakūrca who was possibly the first king of the family was Cūta-pallava. May it be that *Pallava*, the name of the dynasty, derived from the second syllable of the name of the first Pallava king's father?

8. Many scholars think that the Cutu-Śātakarṇis of Kuntala were Nāgas and that the father-in-law of Pallava Virakūrca belonged to the family of these Cutu-Nāgas. Since we have proved Nāga occupation of the Kāñci region just before the rise of the Pallavas, the above suggestion is more plausible. Mr. Jayaswal (*Hist. Ind.*, p. 189) is inclined to identify the Nāga relations of the Pallavas with the Bhāṛasivas (possibly Nāgas) of Central India. His arguments however are not convincing.

(iii) A successor of Virakūrcā was Skandaśiṣya who came into conflict with a king named Satyasena (verse 7). Was this Satyasena in any way connected with the Pālakkaka Ugrasena of the Allahabad pillar inscription, who possibly ruled at Palakkāḍa (sometimes a seat of Pallava government) in the Nellore region?

(iv) Another successor of Virakūrcā was Kumāraviṣṇu (verse 8) who is credited with the seizure of Kāñcī (*grhīta-kāñcīnagara*). Does it mean that the Pallavas first ruled at Malanga, the Nāga capital, which possibly lay somewhere to the north of Kāñcī and that Kumāraviṣṇu was the first Pallava king to have his capital at Kāñcī⁹? Had the Colas, then, become again masters of their country and occupied the Nāga territory as far as the city of Kāñcī?

(v) A successor of Kumāraviṣṇu was Buddhavarman, who is called submarine fire to the sea that was the Cola army (*cola-sainy-ārṇava-vāḍavāgni*). Does it signify the continuation of the war with the Colas, which we have supposed to have begun in the reign of Kumāraviṣṇu?

9. If this Kumāraviṣṇu is identical with Kumāraviṣṇu I of the Chendalur grant, the above suggestion is improbable. Kāñcī became the capital of the Pallavas long before the time of Kumāraviṣṇu I. In that case *grhīta-kāñcīnagara* would possibly mean recovering Kāñcī from the temporary occupation of the Cholas.

Genealogy and Chronology of the Vakatakas

By

MR. M. GOVIND PAI.

VAKĀṬAKA CHRONOLOGY

(Continued from Vol. XIV, part I, page 26.)

THE precise dates of any of the Vākāṭakas are not yet known. The few records we have of this dynasty contain no reference to any era, not even to their own, i.e. the Chēdī era, and while some of them are dated in regnal years, others are not dated at all. Though thus it might seem impossible to arrive at any definite fixtures in the Vākāṭaka chronology, there is however one settled fact, which tends to establish a definite synchronism with a well-known period in the Gupta chronology. It is the matrimonial alliance between the two royal families of the Vākāṭakas and the Guptās; for from the Poona plates of the queen-regent Prabhāvatī Guptā⁴⁹ we know that she was the daughter of the Gupta monarch Chandragupta II and the wife of the Vākāṭaka king Rudrasēna II, the son and successor of Prithvishēṇa I. This marriage must have been celebrated, as might well be expected, during the reign of Prithvishēṇa I on one side and that of Chandragupta II on the other, and the event thus thoroughly establishes their contemporaneity. Now Chandragupta II is known to have ruled from G. S. 61⁵⁰ to G. S. 95⁵¹ i.e. from 333-34 A.C. to 367-68 A.C., according to our equivalent 272-73 A.C. for the epoch of the Gupta era.

The said Poona plates were issued by the Vākāṭaka queen Prabhāvatī Guptā, when on the death of her husband Rudrasēna II she was ruling over the Vākāṭaka kingdom as regent on behalf of her minor son prince Divākarasēna. Though the charter is thus a purely Vākāṭaka document, it is surprising to see that it

49. E. I. XV (pp. 41-42).

50. E. I. XXI (p. 8) Mr. Diskalkar, who first deciphered this Mathurā pillar inscription of G. S. 61, wrote to me, while kindly sending me a copy of its date extract (at about the end of 1929), that he could see traces of the word प्रथमे in the 3rd line after विजयराज्यसंवत्सरे; and accordingly I adopted that reading in my article on the Gupta and Valabhi eras in J.I.H. (XI p. 185 f.n. 19), and here also I have adopted the same.

51. F.G.I. (Int. p. 18).

contains no Vākāṭaka genealogy, nor does it mention any Vākāṭaka king besides her husband Rudrasēna II, whereas the genealogy of her father Chandragupta II is traced down from his great grandfather Ghaṭōtkacha in such a right royal style that *prima facie* the inscription reads like an out and out Gupta record. The reason is not far to seek. She lost her husband when presumably both of them were very young, and their sons were in their utter childhood, as is amply borne out by the fact that the said plates were issued in the 13th year of her regency, when therefore she had been a widow for 13 years and neither of her sons had yet attained majority. Possibly her husband had no brothers, or if there were any, they were perhaps hostile. She had thus naturally to fall back upon the strong arm of her imperial father Chandragupta II, and it is with an implicit confidence in his willing help and cordial co-operation, and presumably on that assurance, that she must have undertaken the arduous responsibility of acting as regent to her minor sons. Such being the case, the inscription could not be worded otherwise, but had to be drafted to look like a Gupta document, inasmuch as the destiny of the Vākāṭaka kingdom would then be guided virtually by the Gupta monarch. If again her Riddhapur plates⁵² issued in the 19th year, i.e. a pretty advanced year, of the reign of her son Pravarasēna II, are also similarly worded, it is perhaps due to her weakness or partiality for her father's house, more than is instinctive in every Hindu woman,^{52a} or it might also be because it was the last tribute of gratitude she offered in her advanced age to her father's family for all the help she had long derived thence during the more or less trying period of her regency; or to take the most unsophisticated view, simply because her later Riddhapur plates were directly a copy of her own former record, the Poona plates. And considering too that the Gupta monarch at that time stood on a much higher level than the Vākāṭaka king, as is evident from the fact that in all the charters also of her son Pravarasēna II (i.e. his Chammak, Siwani and Dudia plates), not only is the Gupta spoken of as a *Mahārājādhirāja* while the Vākāṭaka is only a *Mahārāja*, but also the maternal descent of Pravarasēna II from Chandragupta II is so respectfully mentioned, the peculiar character of the genealogical

52. J.A.S.B. XX (pp. 58-60).

52a. That is why, we believe, she retained her paternal family surname, *Guptā*, though in strict accordance with the Hindu custom she ought to have dropped it with her marriage and never again resumed it.

portions of the Poona plates as well as the Riddhapur plates of Prabhāvatī Guptā may well be explained as due as much to human instinct as to her feminine solicitude.

It is thus certain that Prabhāvatī Guptā took up the administration of the Vākāṭaka kingdom with an absolute faith in the help and co-operation of her father Chandragupta II, who must have been therefore living and ruling at that time. Chandragupta II (333-368 A.C.) would thus appear to have been a contemporary not only of Prithvishēṇa I and his son Rudrasēna II (who was the son-in-law of Chandragupta II), but also of Rudrasēna II's wife i.e. his own daughter Prabhāvatī Guptā during at least the earlier years of her regency, if not throughout. If we now assume as a working hypothesis, that her regency lasted for about 15 years and fell within the reign of Chandragupta II, it may well be assigned in round numbers to *circa* 350-365 A.C., when Chandragupta II was still on the Gupta throne. Now fortunately the name of Prabhāvatī Guptā stands almost midway in the Vākāṭaka genealogy, and from the limits we have thus tentatively assigned to her regency, it would appear that at the rate of an average of 25 years to the reign of each of the six kings before her, the accession of Vindhyaśakti must have taken place in *circa* 350-150 (= 25 × 6) i.e. *circa* 200 A.C.

In the Purāṇas we are told—

ततः किलकिलेभ्यश्च विन्ध्यशक्तिर्भविष्यति ।
समाः षण्णवर्ति ज्ञात्वा पृथिवीं तु समेप्यति ॥⁵³

The text however is corrupt here and exhibits different readings too,⁵⁴ which might naturally lead to different interpretations. We shall not trouble ourselves with these different readings, nor discuss the resulting renderings here, inasmuch as with regard to the duration of the said 96 years, all the readings are of one accord; but we shall only say that the text purports to mean that Vindhyaśakti ruled for 96 years. This is no doubt incredible, and not the less so, when in the same Purāṇas as well as others, we are further told—

विन्ध्यशक्तिसुतश्चापि प्रवीरो नाम वीर्यवान् ।
भोक्ष्यते च समा षष्टिं पुरीं काञ्चनकां च वै ॥⁵⁵

53. Pargiter (p. 48).

54. Ibid (p. 48 f.n. 83-88; p. 72 f.n. 20-21).

55. Ibid (p. 50).

—Pravira, the son of Vindhyaśakti, ruled for 60 years. The only possible way to reconcile this apparent contradiction is to assume that the total length of the reigns of both Vindhyaśakti and his son Pravira i.e. Pravarasēna I, was 96 years, of which the duration of the latter's reign was 60 years. Vindhyaśakti would thus seem to have ruled for merely 36 years. Now these 96 years of the two reigns of Vindhyaśakti and Pravarasēna I would give 46 years above the average of 25 years we have given to each of them. Subtracting 46 from 200 A.C., we would have *circa* 200 — 46 = 154 A.C. for the accession of Vindhyaśakti.

But we have yet to find out how long, or rather how short, the reign of Rudrasēna II, the husband of Prabhāvatī Guptā, was, as the impression already left upon us is that he must have died very young, and as such must have had a very brief reign. We have likewise yet to find out whether any king ruled between Pravarasēna I and his grandson Rudrasēna I, as it is conceivable and even quite probable that Vindhyavardhana, the eldest son of Pravarasēna I, may have well ruled in the interval. Giving them (i.e. Vindhyavardhana and Rudrasēna I) a very short reign of 5 years each, we shall have 10 years for both of them i.e. 40 years less than the total average for both of them, which when added to 154 A.C., would give us *c.* 154 + 40 = *circa* 194 A.C. for the initial year of Vindhyaśakti's reign.

Then again there are the two reigns of Rudrasēna I and his son Prithvishēna I. We know of nothing so far that might tend to make either of them less long than the average, and the same therefore might possibly be much or little above the average. Giving some 20 years to both the reigns together in excess of the average, we obtain *circa* 194 — 20 = 174 A.C. for the commencement of the reign of Vindhyaśakti.

Similarly with an average of 25 years to each of the six names coming after Prabhāvatī Guptā, we would get *circa* 365 + (25 × 6) = 150 = *circa* 515 A.C. for the end of the reign of Harishēna.

Starting thus from the accession of Vindhyaśakti in *circa* 174 A.C., the Vākāṭaka dynasty would appear to have lasted till about 515 A.C. when the reign of Harishēna came to an end.

The Vākāṭaka era, which began in 247-48 A.C., is exactly 25 years earlier than the Gupta era, which according to our calculation was started in 273-74 A.C. If as Mr. Jayaswal holds,⁵⁶ the

initial year of the Chēdī era marks the accession of Vindhyaśakti, he would appear to have ruled from 247 to 283 A.C. and would thus be a senior contemporary of the Gupta king Chandragupta I, the founder of the Gupta era, who may have ruled for about 20 years from 273 to *circa* 293 A.C. Naturally enough the next Vākāṭaka sovereign Pravarasēna I, who would seem to have ruled for 60 years from 283 to 343 A.C., would likewise be the slightly senior contemporary of the next Gupta monarch Samudragupta, who ruled from *c.* 293 to 333 A.C. and would thus appear to have pre-deceased the Vākāṭaka. Now Samudragupta is known as अश्वमेधपराक्रमः—'he who had displayed prowess by horse-sacrifice'—as is evidenced by the legend on some of his gold coins;⁵⁷ and he has also been described as अनेकाश्वमेधयाजी—'performer of many an *Aśvamēdha*'—in the Poona plates of his granddaughter Prabhāvatī Guptā, while her son Pravarasēna II speaks of his name-sake ancestor, the Vākāṭaka emperor Pravarasēna I as चतुरश्वमेधयाजी—'performer of four horse-sacrifices'—in his Chammak, Siwani and Dudia plates. It is hardly conceivable that Pravarasēna I and Samudragupta, both of whom were thus world-conquerors, emperors and performers of *Aśvamēdha*, did live at one and the same time, and yet did not come into conflict with each other; for the name of the former is conspicuously absent in the long *praśasti* recorded on the Allahabad pillar,⁵⁸ wherein everyone of the kings, as it were, attacked and subdued by the latter has been so scrupulously mentioned, nor could it be said that the non-mention of the name Pravarasēna I, who, as an equal emperor and a performer of four horse-sacrifices, was the greatest monarch of his time, might be due to the inadvertance of the sculptor. Nor again could it be maintained that Samudragupta must have avoided Pravarasēna I or must have been defeated by him, for though no doubt in either of those cases the name of Pravarasēna I would not appear in that Gupta *praśasti*, it may well be said once for all that Samudragupta would neither have been allowed to achieve so many victories, which he did achieve, nor would he have dared to put up that *praśasti*, which, as we shall soon see, was recorded in his own life time. It may therefore be confidently asserted that Pravarasēna I and Samudragupta could never be contemporaries, not only because 'in accordance with historical, and even *Śāstraic*, precedent there cannot be

57. F.G.I. (p. 28, f.n. 2).

58. *Ibid* No. 1

two emperors in almost the same region at the same time,'⁵⁹ but also because it is hardly possible that two emperors of the stamp of Pravarasēna I and Samudragupta, neither of whom was less dynamic nor less aggressive than the other, could have lived and ruled at the same time and not far from each other; the whole of the northern and central India would be too small a fish-pond for two such mighty whales to live in without constantly clashing against each other and either of them destroying the other. Furthermore, the Allahabad pillar inscription speaks of a Rudradēva as one of the kings of Āryāvarta, whom Samudragupta 'vehemently exterminated', and the said Rudradēva has been correctly identified with the Vākātaka king Rudrasēna I, who was the grandson of Pravarasēna I. Thus also it is manifest that Pravarasēna I and Samudragupta could never be contemporaries.

If in the Poona plates of his grand-daughter Prabhāvatī Guptā, Samudragupta has been spoken of as having performed many an *Aśvamēdha*⁶⁰ — अनेकाश्वमेधयाजी.....महाराजाधिराज श्रीसमुद्रगुप्तः in the Mathurā stone inscription (F. G. I. No. 4) of his son Chandragupta II (i.e. the father of Prabhāvatī Guptā), he has been explicitly described as 'the restorer of the horse-sacrifice, that had been long in abeyance'—चिरोत्सन्नाश्वमेधाहर्त्ता—and such a specific description cannot well be without its due significance. It cannot mean otherwise than that the horse-sacrifice had not been celebrated for at least a generation or a full cycle of 60 years, when Samudragupta performed his *Aśvamēdha*. As however the fact of Samudragupta's celebration of the horse-sacrifice is conspicuous by absence in his Allahabad pillar inscription, it must be that his *Aśvamēdha* was performed sometime after that pillar was engraved; or in other words, it is plain that he celebrated the horse-

59. Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar's 'Vākātakas and their place in Indian History' (p. 36).

60. It is hardly possible that Samudragupta could have performed more than a single *Aśvamēdha*; for if as Mr. Jayaswal has pointed out (Jy. pp. 64-65), a king who had celebrated two *Aśvamēdhas* (द्विरश्वमेधयाजी) was entitled to style himself with the highest imperial title *Samrāt*, Samudragupta would have certainly assumed that title which was higher than the one he bore, *Mahārājādhirāja*. But as in this very inscription he is spoken of as a *Mahārājādhirāja*, it readily follows that he never styled himself a *Samrāt*, and *a priori* he never performed more than a single horse-sacrifice. This epithet used with respect to him in his grand-daughter's charter would thus seem to be merely a complimentary hyperbole.

sacrifice in the latter part of his reign, whereas he performed his *digvijaya* in the earlier part of it, and the description of the said *digvijaya* was naturally sculptured on that column in the interval between the two, not long after he had at last returned home from his extensive battlefield i.e. when he was yet living and ruling.⁶¹ We have already seen that the Vākātaka king Pravarasēna I performed four horse-sacrifices, and the last of them therefore must have been over at least 60 years before Samudragupta celebrated his *Aśvamēdha*.

The earliest record now accessible to us of the reign of Chandragupta II is his Mathurā pillar inscription⁶² of G. S. 61 i.e. 333-34 A.C. dated in the first year of his reign (vide f.n. 50 *supra*). If then Samudragupta succeeded his father Chandragupta I in about G.S. 21 i.e. 293-94 A.C., he would appear to have ruled for 40 years (293-333 A.C.), and his Allahabad pillar inscription, which speaks of the so many conquests he achieved, may therefore be assigned to about the 20th year of his reign i.e. to G.S. 40-41 or 312-3 A.C., and the *Aśvamēdha*, which he later on performed, may accordingly be allotted to about 5 years later i.e. 317-18 A.C. The

61. Jy (p. 121, f.n. 2). Accordingly the Allahabad pillar inscription is never a posthumous record, as Dr. Fleet insisted (F.G.I. pp. 4; 10, f.n. 2). He evidently misunderstood the passage—समुद्रगुप्तस्य सर्वपृथिवीविजय जनितोदयव्याप्तनिखिलावनितलां कीर्तिमितस्त्रिदशपतिभवनगमनावाप्त ललितसुखविचरणमाचक्ष्ण इव भुवो बाहुरयमुच्छ्रितः स्तम्भः (F.G.I. pp. 8-9, ll. 29-30)—when he rendered it as he did (Vide *ibid.* p. 10). Its correct translation, however, is as follows—'This column is as it were an uplifted arm of the earth proclaiming the fame of Samudragupta, which having (already) pervaded the whole earth with the glory, (that was) caused by (his) conquest of the whole world, (and which thereupon having proceeded) hence (to the abode of the lord of the gods) is (now) wandering (there) with the sweet happiness attained by (its) having gone to the abode of the lord of gods.' This can never mean that Samudragupta had already been dead when the Allahabad pillar was inscribed with this *prasaṣti*, for it is his fame and not himself that has been described in it as 'having gone to the abode of the lord of the gods' (i.e., to heaven); and it is a commonplace of the ancient Sanskrit literature to speak of the glorious deeds of great kings as being sung by the celestial nymphs or as being the everyday talk of the immortals while those kings themselves were still ruling in the land of the living. Vide Kālidāsa's *Śākuntalam* (Act VII verse 5), where the celestial charioteer Mātali says to king Dushyanta दिवौकसस्त्वचरितं लिखन्ति॥

62. E. I. XXI (p. 8).

four horse-sacrifices performed by Pravarasēna I therefore must have been over by at most $317-60=257$ A.C. i.e. some 9 to 10 years later than 247-48 A.C., which, as we have seen, is the initial year of the Vākāṭaka (i.e. the Chēdi) era. The year 247-48 A.C. would thus obviously seem to mark the great event of the consummation of the fourth and the last *Āsvamēdha* celebrated by Pravarasēna I. It is admittedly a great event, nay the greatest, not only of his reign, but in all the history of that dynasty, and it is no wonder that it should have been duly commemorated by his assumption of the imperial title, *Samrāt*, no less than by the simultaneous foundation of a new era, which, as we have already repeated above, connotes the assumption of imperial dignity. It is thus patent that he completed his last horse-sacrifice in the year 247-48 A.C. when forthwith he also founded a commemorative era, and giving at least 10 years to each of his four horse-sacrifices, this year would be more or less the 40th year of his reign; and according to the Purāṇas he is known to have ruled for 60 years.

We have already seen that his father Vindhyaśakti ruled for 36 years. Accordingly the Bhīṭā seal (No. 29)⁶³ with its legend—(Vākā-)-taka Mahārājādhirāja—and bearing the numerals 37, which, as has been so conclusively proved by Mr. Jayaswal, could be of none else than Pravarasēna I himself, must have been issued in the year 37 calculated, of course, from some important event connected with their family history. In the said seal he calls himself *Mahārājādhirāja*, whence it is manifest that he had not yet assumed the yet higher, nay the highest, title *Samrāt*, which, as may well be presumed, he cannot have assumed before he finished his last *Āsvamēdha*. The Bhīṭā Seal (No. 29) would thus necessarily belong to the initial years of his reign, when he had perhaps not performed even a single *Āsvamēdha*, and consequently the only other great event, from which the date it bears is reckoned, will have to be sought for in the reign of his father and predecessor Vindhyaśakti. Now even in that very early part of his reign, Pravarasēna I calls himself *Mahārājādhirāja*,^{63a} whence it naturally

63. Jy. (p. 227).

63a. Mr. Jayaswal is not right when he asserts (Jy. p. 98) that the 'Vākāṭaka emperor, however, did not translate the 'Shāhānu-Shāhi as *Mahārājādhirāja*, as the Guptas did, but went back to the time honoured Vedic imperial title *Samrāt*, for later on when speaking of the superscription on the Bhīṭā seal (No. 29), he himself says (p. 227), *Mahārājādhirāja*—a new title—appears here for the first time. It was a Hindu rendering and adaptation of the *Shāhānushāhi* title of the Kushans which denoted their imperial

follows that he must have inherited that title directly from his father, rather than assumed it himself, when he ascended the throne. In that case Vindhyaśakti also must have been known as *Mahārājādhirāja*, and this is further clinched by the fact that in the Purāṇas, as we have explained above, Vindhyaśakti is spoken of as an already well-known king of a practically eminent position. The predecessors of Vindhyaśakti in all likelihood bore no higher title than *Mahārāja*, (exactly as the father and the grandfather of Chandragupta I did⁶⁴), and that is perhaps why they have not been mentioned in the Purāṇas, which thus start the dynasty directly with Vindhyaśakti. In that case Vindhyaśakti himself would appear to have been the first of the dynasty to assume the right royal title *Mahārājādhirāja*, (exactly as Chandragupta I did⁶⁴), whether

position. Pravarasēna I alone could be the Vākāṭaka sovereign to assume this title, which after his four *Āsvamēdhas* expanded into that of *Samrāt*. Thus according to his own admission, it was not the Gupta king, but it was Pravarasēna, I, who was the first to assume the title *Mahārājādhirāja*. Now as to whether this title was a new one in his days or a foreign title borrowed by him, it might be urged that though, no doubt, as Mr. Jayaswal says (Jy. p. 98), the Indian supreme title *Samrāt* (सम्राट्) or *Samrāt* (सम्राट्) is as old as the Vedas (*Rik*—I. 100.1, II. 28.6, III. 56.5, VIII. 29.9 & *Yajus*—III. 38, IV. 30, V. 32 & *Atharvan*—VI. 36.3, 86.3 &c.), the other imperial title *Mahārājādhirāja*, however, is neither a new title borrowed from the Kushāṇas nor is it a translation or an adaptation of their paramount title *Shāonānoshāo* or *Shāhānushāhi*, as he believes; for the following hymn from the *Pari-Śrīṣṭa* of the *Rigveda*, which is invariably appended to the collection of the hymns called the *Trīṃśad-dēvāh*, and is daily chanted in the Hindu temples—

राजाधिराजाय प्रसह्य साहिने
नमो वयं वैश्रवणाय कुर्महे ।
स मे कामान् कामकामाय मह्यं
कामेश्वरो वैश्रवणो ददातु ।
कुबेराय वैश्रवणाय महाराजाय नमः ॥

will suffice to show that both *Rājādhirāja* and *Mahārāja* were in use as titles of supremacy even in the very early times, and it is not inconceivable that even in those ancient times yet higher titles of super-eminence would ere long be formed, as *Mahārāja Rājādhirāja*, which is so conspicuous in the inscriptions as well as coin-legends of the foreign rulers, or as *Mahārājādhirāja*, which on the other hand is found in the Bhīṭā Seal (No. 29), in the inscriptions and coins of the Guptas, etc. If these titles are found in the inscriptions and coin-legends of the foreign rulers, it is because these indigenous Indian titles exactly answered to the imperial formula used by them, whether it is *Shāonānoshāo* or *Shāhānushāhi* or *Basileus Basileōn* (King of Kings), and not that they are an Indian translation or adaptation of any foreign titles of paramountcy.

64. F. G. I. No. 1 (l. 28).

simultaneously with his accession or some years thereafter on achieving some or other great victory, whereby he could expand his kingdom, and, rising to a higher dignity, establish a paramount rule.⁶⁵ That would naturally be the great event from which their dynastic years would be duly counted; and it must be thence therefore that Vindhyaśakti is said to have ruled for 36 years. The year 37 on the seal of his son Pravarasēna I would, no doubt, thus be the very first year of his reign, and the seal therefore would naturally explain itself as having been struck in commemoration of his accession in the 37th dynastic year.

Then again there is a coin bearing the date 76,⁶⁶ which Mr. Jayaswal has clearly proved to be that of Pravarasēna I. This year, 76, reckoned likewise from the accession of Vindhyaśakti or the foundation of the paramount rule by him, would be the 40th year of the reign of Pravarasēna I, by when, as we have seen, he must have finished the fourth and the last of his *Āśvamēdhas*. This coin in that case must have been struck in commemoration of that great event, and as we have already said the Vākāṭaka era too must have been founded in that 76th dynastic year, which was also the 40th year of the reign of Pravarasēna I. Thus then the year 247-48 A.C. would be the 40th year of Pravarasēna I's reign, and also the 76th year from the accession of Vindhyaśakti or his assumption of the paramount power. This would mean that Vindhyaśakti came to the throne or began to rule as a paramount ruler in the year 172 A.C., and Pravarasēna I succeeded him in 208 A.C. Accordingly the regnal periods of the father and son would be—

Vindhyaśakti	172 — 208 A.C.
Pravarasēna I	208 — 268 A.C.

Vindhyaśakti would thus seem to be a slightly senior contemporary of the other Brāhmaṇa king Mayūrasarma, who founded

65. It may also be contended that all along his reign Vindhyaśakti was merely a *Mahārāja*, and that when he died after a rule of 36 years and was succeeded by his son Pravarasēna I, it was the latter who assumed the higher title *Mahārājādhirāja* in the 37th year (from, of course the accession of Vindhyaśakti). But so long as it is not possible to fix upon any outstanding event (in that 37th year), which must have led to the assumption of the higher title by Pravarasēna I, this other view would seem to be lacking in the proper *raison d'être*.

66. Jy. (pp. 37-38; 83).

in South India the Kadamba dynasty of Banavāsi in circa 180 A.C.⁶⁷

The seal of Pravarasēna I of the year 37 thus allots itself to the year 208 A.C., and his coin of the year 76 to 247 A.C. Of the other records of his reign, which extended from the 37th to the 96th of their dynastic years, leaving aside the Kōsam inscription (No. II) of his son *Mahārāja Śivamā(ē)gha*,⁶⁸ as the number of years given in it is broken off, the corresponding English date of the other Kōsam inscription (No. III) of *Mahārāja Bhadrām(ēgha)*⁶⁹ which is dated the 5th day of the 3rd fortnight of the rainy season (i.e. the 5th lunar day of the dark fortnight of the *Amānta* month of the *Śrāvaṇa*) in the year 88, would be the 27th July 259 A.C. (or if the year is 86, as has been read by Mr. Jayaswal,⁷⁰ it would be the 18th July 257 A.C.), and the equivalent English date of the Giñja inscription of *Mahārāja Bhīmasēna*,⁷¹ which is dated on the 12th day of the 4th fortnight of the summer season (i.e., the 12th lunar day of the bright fortnight of the *Amānta* month of *Vaiśākha*) in the year 52, would be the 31st March 223 A.C. All these princes would of course be known as *Mahārājas*, so long as their father Pravarasēna I was living and ruling as emperor, when they were governing as sub-kings or vice-roys under him.

Mr. Jayaswal⁷² seems to have correctly identified the Bactrian Tukhāras (mentioned in the Purāṇas as Tukhāras or Tushāras⁷³) with those Kushāṇas, whose rule in India began with Kanishka. He holds⁷⁴ that immediately after registering the fall of the Tukhāras i.e., the imperial Kushāṇa dynasty, the Purāṇas give the dynasty of the Vindhyaśakti of which they mention the two kings Vindhyaśakti and his son Pravira (i.e., Pravarasēna I). Now this dynasty of the Vindhyaśakti cannot possibly be any other than that which had Vindhyaśakti i.e., Vindhya-

67. J. I. H. XIII. (p. 141).

68. E. I. XVIII (p. 159).

69. Ibid. (p. 160).

70. Jy. (p. 230).

71. E. I. (III p. 302); Lüders' list No. 906.

72. Jy. (pp. 8, 50, 65).

73. Pargiter (pp. 45, 72).

74. Jy. (p. 8, 65).

śakti for the founder⁷⁵ of its paramountcy. The period of the rise of Vindhyaśakti and his son Pravarasēna I thus comes in the Purāṇas after that of the Kushāṇas and before that of the Guptas.⁷⁶ But we have already seen that the Vākātakas are placed in the Purāṇas between the Sātavāhanas and the Guptas,⁷⁷ and thus it might seem difficult to reconcile this apparent contradiction. But hardly any real difficulty exists; for those two dynasties, the Sātavāhanas in the south as well as the imperial Kushāṇas in the north, disappear alike in the 3rd century A.C. within more or less than a quarter of a century of each other, the former passing off in about the first quarter of that century and the latter its next quarter. If therefore the Vākātakas have been looked upon in the Purāṇas as the immediate successors to the imperial position of both of those great powers, it would necessarily mean that they must have risen to it openly defying the Sātavāhanas as well as the Kushāṇas, or by superseding them by means of conquests, and not that they slyly stepped into those dead men's shoes. Now Vindhyaśakti, as we have seen, came to the throne or founded the independent Vākātika dynasty in the year 172 A.C. The decline of the Sātavāhana power had already set in during the last years of its last great king Gautamīputra Yajña Śrī Sātakarṇi, who as we shall soon show hereafter, was actually on the throne in the year 178 A.C., within a few years of which he died leaving the crown to weak and weaker successors. It is impossible to avoid connecting all these facts, when the assumption of the paramount dignity by Vindhyaśakti would readily explain itself as inevitably the very next step in his career after he had once thrown off the Sātavāhana yoke and asserted his independence. In other words it would mean that until then the Vākātakas, who, as we have already said, must have been of a feudatory rank were the feudatories of the Sātavāhanas, and that Vindhyaśakti was the first king of that dynasty, who asserted independence and carved out an independent Vākātika kingdom. Soon hereafter it will be shown in our next article on the Sātavāhana chronology that Yajña Śrī Sātakarṇi died in about 180 A.C. and consequently the assumption of

75. Though thus this dynasty is spoken of merely as the Vindhyaśaktis, and not as Vākātakas, in the Purāṇas, we know that Pravarasēna I styled himself *Vākātika Mahārājādhirāja*, as is evident from the Bhīṭa seal (No. 29) of his first regnal year.

76. Jy. (p. 66).

77. *Ibid* (p. III);

paramount power by Vindhyaśakti may well be allotted to *circa* 185 A.C. It will thus be seen that though Vindhyaśakti may have started as a more or less quasi-independent ruler, when he ascended the throne in 172 A.C. soon thereafter in about 185 A.C. he became totally independent of the Sātavāhanas and assumed supreme power and therewith also the paramount title *Mahārājādhirāja*, when perhaps he took the offensive against them, and, driving them farther into the south, expanded his own kingdom at their expense. The year 172 A.C. would thus be the year of Vindhyaśakti's accession, as he would appear to have assumed the paramount dignity some years thereafter.

If as Mr. Jayaswal holds⁷⁸ Vindhyaśakti 'as a general of the Bhāraśivas seems to have put an end to the kingdoms, which had arisen on the fall of the Sātavāhanas, he would seem to have started as a feudatory of the Bhāraśivas. According to our chronology, however, this would not be possible. For as Pravarasēna I, who according to the dates we have assigned to his rule, reigned from 208 to 268 A.C., is known to have got his son Gautamīputra married to the daughter of the Bhāraśiva *Mahārāja Bhavanāga*,⁷⁹ Pravarasēna I and Bhavanāga would necessarily be contemporaries. We have just seen that the date of prince Bhāramēgha's Kōsam inscription of the year 86 or 88 corresponds to 257 A.C. or 259 A.C. and also that he was appointed viceroy at Kōsam when his elder brother prince Gautamīputra was dead. The marriage of Gautamīputra may well be placed between *circa* 230 and 240 A.C., whence it would follow that his father-in-law Bhavanāga was still living and ruling at that time. Now according to the Purāṇas there were seven kings of the Nāga dynasty, who have been called *Nava-nāgas*:⁸⁰ it may mean the descendants of Nava Nāga, who in that case would be the founder of that dynasty, if Mr. Jayaswal's reading *Navasa* on the coin and his ascription of that coin to a Nāga king (Jy. p. 18) is correct; if not, it may mean the *new* or the *later* Nāgas, as Mr. Jayaswal himself has suggested (p. 15, f.n. 3), marking them off from perhaps the Śiśunāgas of the pre-Mauryan age. At any rate as according to the Purāṇas those kings

78. Jy. (p. 88).

79. भारशिवानां महाराज श्री भवनाग दौहित्रस्य गौतमीपुत्रस्य पुत्रस्य वाकाटकानां महाराज श्रीरुद्रसेनस्य (Chammak, Siwani and Dudia plates).

80. नवनागास्तु भोक्ष्यन्ति पुरीं चम्पावतीं (पद्मावतीं) नृपाः मथुरां च पुरीं रम्यां नागा भोक्ष्यन्ति सप्तवै (Pargiter p. 53) Vide also Jy. p. 28.

were seven in all, the word *Nava* cannot mean nine. Mr. Jayaswal has also suggested their chronology,⁸¹ which however we cannot accept; for with an average of 25 years for the reign of each of those 7 kings, the total period covered by that dynasty would be 175 years i.e. from *circa* 70 to 245 A.C. if we assign the death of the last of them, Bhavanāga, a contemporary of Pravarasēna I, to *circa* 245 A.C. within a few years of the marriage of his daughter to Gautamiputra. According to his genealogy of the Nava-nāgas or Bhāraśivas, as Mr. Jayaswal identifies them, Virasēna would seem to be the second and the greatest of those kings (Jy. pp. 19-20, 28, 35).

Virasēna's coins are said to be most common at Mathura,⁸² and an inscription of his bearing the same royal symbols as are found on his coin and engraved on the head and mouth of a sculptured animal has been found in the village of Jānkhaṭ not far off from Mathurā,⁸³ whereas coins of his successors are not found in Mathurā, and we know it from Mr. Jayaswal, that after Virasēna his successors of the Bhāraśiva branch reverted to their original seat at Kāntipuri (the modern Kantit) and continued to rule there.⁸⁴ It thus goes without saying that Mathurā was the principal centre of the Nāga rule during the reign of Virasēna, and it is also evident that it must have been conquered from them at the end of his reign or soon after its close. Now, the Kushāṇa kings Kanishka, Vāsishka and Huvishka are known to have been well-established in power at Mathurā, and in fact there are inscriptions at Mathurā dated in the 5th, 7th, 9th and 10th years of the rule of Kanishka.⁸⁵ Mathurā would thus seem to have been either conquered by Kanishka himself soon after his accession, or to have been already included in the Kushāṇa dominions when he ascended the throne, and if it is a fact that the *abhishēka* of Kanishka was performed at Mathurā,^{85a} it follows that he came into possession of Mathurā with his accession. Prof. Sten Konow, who after a very careful study of almost all the available dates and events connected with the Indo-Scythian, Indo-Parthian and

81. Jy. (pp. 28; 35).

82. *Ibid* (pp. 19-20).

83. *Ibid* (p. 21); Lüders' list No. 1422.

84. Jy. (p. 35).

85. Lüders' list Nos. 18, 21, 22, & 23. There is also an inscription of the 8th year of Kanishka found very close to Mathurā (E. I. XVII pp. 10-11).

85a. Rapson's 'Indian coins' (p. 18).

Kushāṇa periods of Indian (as well as foreign) history, proposes to take the year 1 of the Kanishkan era as coinciding with the year 128-129 A.C.,⁸⁶ cautiously adds that he is still convinced that it cannot be put earlier, but may be later.⁸⁷ From our calculations however, as will be set out in our forthcoming article on the Indo-Scythian chronology, we are led to the conclusion that the year 1 of the Kanishkan era must lie somewhere between the years 130 and 140 A.C.; and accordingly taking it here as tentatively coinciding with the central year 135 A.C. the aforesaid Kushāṇa inscriptions at Mathurā of the 5th, 7th, 8th, 9th and 10th years of that era will be seen to belong to the years 139-140 A.C., 141-142 A.C., 142-43 A.C., 143-44 A.C. and 144-45 A.C. respectively. The conquest of Mathurā from the Bhāraśivas would thus allot itself to sometime before the year 140 A.C. The Bhāraśivas thenceforth could not be expected to have still maintained their former supremacy, but must have naturally become gradually reduced to an inferior position, though perhaps they may not yet have lost their independence. For these reasons Vindhyaśakti (172-208 A.C.) cannot have started his career as the general of the Bhāraśivas, nor could he have put an end to the kingdoms which had arisen on the fall of the Sātavāhanas, as believed by Mr. Jayaswal, so long as the last great Sātavāhana king Yajña Śrī Sātakarṇi was not dead. Nor again could Vindhyaśakti have started as the feudatory of the Kushāṇas inasmuch as the locality to which he belonged, lay evidently beyond the limits of the Kushāṇa kingdom. The only other power, which was still looked upon as paramount when Vindhyaśakti entered upon the scene, was the Sātavāhanas, and since Vindhyaśakti does not seem to have begun to rule as a supreme king, it is unavoidable to conclude that he must have started his career as a feudatory of the Sātavāhanas, or at most as a sub-king under them.

The last date hitherto accessible to us of the reign of Vasudēva, the last great king of the Kushāṇa dynasty, is the year 98 of the Kanishkan era,⁸⁸ which according to our equivalent C. 135 A.C. (as proposed above) for the year 1 of that era, would be *circa* 232-233 A.C. The Kushāṇa dominions of Huvishka are known to have

86. J. I. H. XII (p. 44.)

87. E. I. XXI p. 57.

88. Lüders' list No. 76. A yet later date in the Kanishkan era obtained from another Mathurā inscription is the year 99 of that era, but then there is no name of Vasudēva in it. (E. I. X. p. 117).

included Mathurā, Kāshmir and Kābūl;⁸⁹ and from the fact that the inscriptions of Vāsudēva are mostly found in Mathurā,⁹⁰ that city would certainly seem to have been the central seat of the Kushāṇa government during his time. The Kushāṇa power seems to have suffered no diminution during the reign of Huvishka,⁹⁰ and if also, as the Chinese text shows,⁹¹ that as late as 230 A.C. at least the Kushāṇa dynasty was in power, its decadence must have set in immediately after the reign of Vāsudēva, if it had not already begun before its close. For then the Kushāṇas are known to have accepted the suzerainty of the Sassanian king Ardashir I (224-241 A.C.)^{91a} and to have also adopted the effigy of his son Shāpur I (241-272 A.C.) on their coins,⁹² and further from the time of his successor Hormuzd I (272-73 A.C.) onwards the Sassanian kings are known to have styled themselves as *Vazurk Kūshānshāh* i.e., the great over-lord of the Kushāṇas, thus proclaiming their

89. Vincent Smiths 'Early History of India' (p. 286).

90. *Ibid* (p. 288).

91. *Ibid* (p. 289, f.n. 2).

91a. In this connection it may be remarked that some of the later Kushāṇa coins, which are said to 'belong rather to the more eastern portion of the Kuṣana dominions' (Rapson's *Indian Coins*, p. 19), have on the obverse 'the figure of king and legend copied from those of Kanishka' (*Ibid*. Pl. II No. 14), or Huvishka ('*Coins of India*' Pl. IV, No. 10), while on their reverse they bear the Greek legend ARDOCHSHO ('*Indian Coins*' Pl. II. No. 14; '*Coins of India*' Pl. IV. Nos. 7 & 10; Vincent Smith's *Early History of India* Pl. II. No. 9), which has not been satisfactorily explained, so far as I know, except in '*Coins of India*' (p. 37), where, however, it has been mistaken for the name of a deity and wrongly identified with the Indian goddess Lakshmi said to be represented in the figure to its left. But then the goddess seated on the throne in one of these coins ('*Indian Coins*' Pl. II. No. 14, '*Coins of India*' Pl. IV. No. 10) holds a noose in her right hand, as no Indian *Lakshmi* does, while in the other ('*Coins of India*' Pl. IV. No. 7) the figure on the reverse could never be that of *Lakshmi*. ARDOCHSHO is never the name of any deity, but it is obviously the name of the Sassanian king ~ Ardashir I (224-241 A.C.) His name was variously spelt as Artachshatra in Achamenian, as Irtaksassa in Susian, as Artahshetr in Pehlevi, and as Artaxerxēs, Artaxarēs, Artaxēr and Artaxēs in Greek (Z.D.M.G. xxxiv. pp. 5-6), and ~ *Ardochsho* is evidently an attempt to reproduce the form *Artaxēs* of his name. It was struck on the older Coins of Kanishka, Huvishka etc., by their later successors in acknowledgment of their acceptance of the suzerainty of that Sassanian king who died in 241 A.C., whence it follows that the Kushāṇas must have already lost their status and become vassals of Ardashir I sometime before that year.

92. Jy. (pp. 50; 55; 240).

overlordship on the Kushāṇas.⁹³ It is thus certain that soon after 230 A.C. the Kushāṇas must have found themselves so harassed in India that they had to seek the protection of the foreign king Ardashir I, and even to acknowledge his suzerainty and adopt his name in their coin-legend, and that again soon thereafter between 241 and 272 A.C. they must have been so hard pressed as almost to be driven out of India, when again they had to go yet farther in their fealty to the next Sassanian king as even to adopt his effigy on their coins. Evidently therefore if the Kushāṇas, who had been a paramount power till at least about 233 A.C. the last recorded date in the reign of Vāsudēva, must have become so mortified before or soon after 241 A.C. as to be compelled to willingly accept the vassalage of the foreign Sassanian king, the pressure, that drove them into that impasse, must have been brought to bear upon them in India itself. It is thus unavoidable to conclude that between the years 224 and 272 A.C. a great power must have already grown up in India, which so constantly harassed the Kushāṇas that they were driven to the unavoidable necessity of accepting the suzerainty of the Sassanian kings and even agreeing to rule as their vassals in India, no doubt in exchange for the help which the Sassanians would render them to keep on their grasp intact over the provinces that yet remained to them in India. Neither the Sassanians nor the Kushāṇas however seem to have succeeded. For from the fact that the Sassanian kings from the next king Hormuzd I (272-73 A.C.) onwards styled themselves as *Vazurk Kūshānshāh*, the overlord of the Kushāṇas, as well as from the other fact that the Kushāṇa ruler whose daughter a subsequent Sassanian king Hormuzd II (302-309 A.C.) married (evidently some or several years before he came to the throne in 302 A.C.) was known merely as *Kābūl-Shāh* i.e., the ruler of Kābūl,⁹⁴ it readily follows that in the interval between the years 224 and 272 A.C. perhaps about the middle of it, the Kushāṇas must have been deprived of most of their possessions and driven out of India into their furthest province of Kābūl, where perhaps they settled down at last to provincial rulership as the feudatories of the Sassanian kings. This is amply borne out by the fact that the coins of the Sassanian Hormuzd II are found in the Kābūl valley.⁹⁵ Now the reigns

93. *Ibid* (p. 241).

94. *Ibid*.

95. Rapson: '*Indian Coins*' (p. 19). Coins of another Sassanian king Varaharān are also found in the Kābūl valley (*Ibid*). These have on their

of Ardashir I (224-41 A.C.) and his son Shāpur I (241-72 A.C.) fall duly within the long reign of Pravarasēna I (208-68 A.C.) with a little difference of merely 4 years. It thus just stands to reason that the conquest of the Kushāṇas between those years cannot have been achieved by any other Indian power than the Vākāṭakas, and undoubtedly therefore it was Pravarasēna I and no other, who conquered the Kushāṇas and drove them away into the furthest corner of Kābūl.

Now there is an ancient inscription on a Jain image at Mathurā⁹⁶ dated the first day in the 2nd month of winter of the year 299, which mentions a *Mahārāja Rājātirāja* without his personal name. This date cannot be referred to the Indo-Scythian era (in which the Taxila plate of Patika is dated⁹⁷) not only because the last recorded date in it of the Shahdaur II inscription^{97a} of the year 103 (?) is numerically far lower than 299, but also because that era itself became extinct so far back as about the middle of the first century B.C. when it was displaced by the Indo-Parthian era. Nor could it be referred to the Indo-Parthian era i.e., the so-called era of Azes I, which, as we shall soon hereafter show, is never the same as the Vikrama era, as is still believed, but differs from it by some years; for the last recorded date in that era is that of the Taxila silver vase of the year 191⁹⁸ (and possibly also that of the Dewani inscription of the year 200^{98a}), whereupon it became soon extinct, when it was supplanted by the Kanishkan era of circa 135 A.C. Nor again could it be referred to the Kanishkan era, not only because the last recorded date in it is the year 98, which is numerically far antecedent to 299, but also because the inscription, which, if referred to that era, would seem to belong to circa 135 + 299 = circa 434 A.C., is decidedly much older. The Śālivāhana (i.e., the Śaka) era could

reverse 'Siva and bull' closely copied from the coins of Vāsudēva, and otherwise unimaginable in Sassanian coins. (*Ibid* Plate II No. 15). Prof. Rapson assigns them to Varaharān V (422-40 A.C.), but I believe that they belong to Varaharān I (273-76) or Varaharān II (276-93 A.C.) both of whom styled themselves as *Vazurk Kushānshāh* (Jy. p. 240).

96. Lüders' list No. 78.

97. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* Vol. II Part I (p. 28).

97a. *Ibid.* (p. 17); J. I. H. XII. (p. 25).

98. *Corpus* (p. 82).

98a. *Ibid.* (p. 106).

not yet have penetrated into the Mathurā region in about the 3rd century A.C. to which the inscription has been properly assigned; and even if it be referred to the Śālivāhana era the resulting year would be 377 A.C. when the Mathurā region was included in the Gupta empire, and Skanda-Gupta was the then Gupta emperor (A.C. 377-272=G.S. 105), and as such it would be duly dated in the years of the Gupta era and not in the Śālivāhana era. The Guptas moreover it is well known have styled themselves as *Mahārājādhirāja* and never as *Mahārāja Rajatirāja*. Beyond doubt therefore this inscription of the year 299 is referable to only the Vikrama era and no other, and in that case its date is 242-43 A.C. The imperial Kushāṇa rule terminated in about 235 A.C., as we have already seen; and as there could be no further *Mahārāja Rājātirāja* in that line, and as also the date 242-43 A.C. of the inscription in question falls exactly in the reign of Pravarasēna I (208-68 A.C.), the *Mahārāja Rājātirāja* of this inscription cannot well be any other than Pravarasēna I himself, who as we know from his Bhītā Seal (No. 29),⁹⁹ was in fact styled *Mahārājādhirāja* in the very first year of his reign, and must have continued as such until some or several years later on he became a *Samrāt*. It is inevitable then to conclude that in the year 242-43 A.C. Pravarasēna I must have just conquered the Mathurā region from the Kushāṇas. We say that he had just conquered it at that time, because when that inscription came to be engraved, his personal name Pravarasēna was obviously not yet known in Mathurā, as is plain enough from the fact that he is spoken of not by his proper name but simply by his title, and such a state of things is possible only within a very short space after the occupation of the country by a new power; and this is amply borne out by the fact that whereas in the Hindu inscriptions it is the seasonal *pakshas* (fortnights) that are reckoned with, this inscription is dated in the seasonal *month* exactly as almost all the Brāhmi inscriptions of the Kushāṇas are; wherefore it would appear that there was hardly any time to change the Kushāṇa calendar when this inscription came to be engraved. Next we say that he conquered Mathurā from the Kushāṇas, firstly because, whereas in all the indigenous Hindu records the form of the paramount title of the king is महाराजाधिराज (*Mahārājādhirāja*), which is one compound word with a धि (*dhi*) for its 5th *akshara*, the form it has in the Mathurā inscription is महाराज राजाधिराज (*Mahārāja Rājātirāja*), which contains two distinct words, the latter of

99. Jy. (p. 227).

which has a ति (*ti*) for its 3rd *akshara*, exactly as it is spelt in all the Kushāṇa inscriptions whether of the Brāhmī¹⁰⁰ or of the Kha-rōshthī¹⁰¹ script; secondly because the imperial Kushāṇa rule having come to an end in about 235 A.C. the king, who is spoken of in this inscription with an obvious Kushāṇa title, could not belong to that line, but would necessarily belong to some other; thirdly because the date of the inscription 242-43 A.C. falling, as it so manifestly does, within the reign of Pravarasēna I (208-68 A.C.), the king spoken of in this inscription could not well be any one else than himself, all the more so since there was no other paramount king in all northern and central India at that time; fourthly because though the calendar used in this inscription is no doubt Indian, the reckoning is with the seasonal *month* exactly as in all the inscriptions of the foreigners such as the Kushāṇas (Lüders' list 21, 22, 23, 32, 34, 38, 43, 46, 51, 52 &c.), the Saka satrap Śoḍāsa (*Ibid* 72) &c., and not with the seasonal *pakshas* as in the case of those of the indigenous rulers, such as the Sātavāhanas (*Ibid* 1100, 1105, 1106, 1122, 1123, 1124, 1125, 1126 &c.), Ikshvākus (*Ibid* 1202, 1203), Chutus (1186, 1195), Kadambas (*Ibid* 1196), Pallavas (1200, 1205), and his own descendant Pravarasēna II (Dudia plates); whence it is evident that the dynasty which ruled in those parts just before the date of this inscription was a foreign dynasty, and the king mentioned in it with paramount title was an indigenous king who therefore came into possession of that region by means of conquest; fifthly because Pravarasēna I not having been a scion of the Kushāṇa line, he must have necessarily conquered Mathurā region from the Kushāṇas, who until then were evidently in possession of it, and if in addition Pravarasēna I is spoken of with a title in the Kushāṇa form, it simply means that the inscription must be placed within a very few years, even one or two, of Pravarasēna's conquest of Mathurā, inasmuch as soon afterwards the Kushāṇa form of the title would naturally be displaced by the indigenous Hindu form of it, though no doubt the difference between the two titles is only in their spelling and not in sense.¹⁰² Pravarasēna I must have

100. Lüders' list Nos. 21, 56, 72, 1373, 1417, 1418 &c.

101. *Corpus* II Part I (pp. 141, 165, 170). The Kushāṇas evidently took this title from their predecessors, the Kadphises (*Corpus* II, I. p. 77), Parthians and Scythians (*Cambridge History* Vol. I. pp. 587, 590, 592).

102. If however the Kushāṇas had also the additional title *Shāhi* (Lüders' list Nos. 21, 72, 161, 1417), it had necessarily to be omitted in the case of an out and out Hindu king like Pravarasēna I, who could not well be styled with such a distinctly foreign title.

thus immediately succeeded the Kushāṇas in the rulership of the Mathurā region, no doubt by conquest. Now as we have already seen Mathurā was the central seat of the Kushāṇa government during the reign of Vāsudēva so far at least as *circa* 233 A.C. It is therefore at once clear that Mathurā must have been conquered and wrested by Pravarasēna I either from Vāsudēva himself or his immediate successor, and the event accordingly may well be assigned to some year between 235 and 240 A.C.¹⁰³ Thus then Pravarasēna I was still a *Mahārājādhirāja* in the year 242-43 A.C. and had not yet become a *Samrāt*. He must have styled himself a *Samrāt* a little later on, when he had completed his fourth and last *Aśvamēdha* in about the year 247-48 A.C., when also he established the commemorative era, as the lasting symbol of the imperial power he had assumed in consequence of his conquest of the imperial Kushāṇas, no less than that of his celebration of four horse-sacrifices. Just as almost all the other Indian eras were established, as we have said, to commemorate some one or other great victory achieved by their respective founders, the Vākāṭaka era too would thus seem to have come into being as commemorative of the conquest and the final overthrow of the foreign Kushāṇas effected not long since by the Vākāṭaka monarch Pravarasēna I. In so doing he would clearly seem to have followed in the footsteps of his great fore-runners, the Hindu kings, the historical Vikramāditya and Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, who too founded their respective eras, when they had conquered the foreign Śaka kings. Having thus celebrated four *Aśvamēdhas* and overthrown a foreign imperial dynasty, Pravarasēna I was by all means entitled to style himself *Samrāt*, emperor, a title which none of the foreign kings before him ever bore, as well as to inaugurate a new era, sweeping away the foreign Kushāṇa era founded by and associated with the dynasty which he had so completely dislodged from its eminence and once for all driven off the land.^{103a}

103. The Bhārasīva king Bhavanāga, who was a contemporary of Pravarasēna I, had indeed a long-standing legacy of political vendetta against the Kushāṇas, who had conquered Mathurā from his ancestors as we shall show soon hereafter. It is therefore just possible that Bhavanāga had allied himself with Pravarasēna I, who was the most powerful Hindu king of the time, in order to clear off the Kushāṇa power from the land. This would explain the inevitable political significance of the matrimonial alliance between the Bhārasīva and the Vākāṭaka houses.

103a. From the fact that in his Allahabad pillar inscription (F. G. I. No. 1, p. 8, l. 23) Samudragupta claims to have commanded the respectful

Pravarasēna I died in the year 268 A.C. That year is only 4 or 5 years earlier than 272-73 A.C. when the Gupta king Chandragupta I assumed the imperial style and founded the Gupta era. These events necessarily imply that in order to effect that end, Chandragupta I must have either made a *digvijaya* (i.e., world-

service of the *Dēvaputra-Shāhi* (king) as well as the *Shāhānushāhi* (king), he would seem to have conquered not only the then king of the Kushānas, who, as is evident from so many inscriptions of Kanishka and his successors (e.g., Lüders' list Nos. 21 and 1417), called themselves *Dēvaputras* as well as *Shāhis*, but also the contemporary Sassanian king, who alone at that time styled himself *Shāhānshāh*, king of kings. We have just seen that after the Kushānas were conquered by Pravarasēna I and once for all driven out of India, they continued to rule in the Kābūl country as the vassals of the Sassanian kings. From Narseh (293-302 A.C.) onwards no Sassanian king is known to have styled himself as *Vazurk Kūshānshāh*, i.e., the over-lord of the Kushānas (Jy. p. 240), and Hormuzd II (302-309 A.C.) is also known to have married the daughter of the *Kūshānshāh Kābūlshāh* i.e., the king of the Kushānas ruling in Kābūl (Jy. pp. 240-41). It would follow hence that the Kushāna position must have gradually improved from 293 A.C. when the *Vazurk Kūshānshāh* Varaharān II died (Jy. p. 240), and the more so during the reign of the next king Narseh, which was disturbed by the Roman Conquest of the Sassanian provinces of Armenia and Mesopotamia, and by the time Narseh had abdicated and his son Hormuzd II came to the throne in 302 A.C. the Kushānas in Kābūl must have sufficiently revived, if they had not become quite independent, so that their princess could be selected as his bride by their whilom over-lord the Sassanian king. Now the reign of Hormuzd II (302-309 A.C.) coincides with the *digvijaya* of Samudragupta, whose subsequent Allahabad *prashasti* we have already assigned to circa 312 A.C. Samudragupta would thus seem not only to have carried arms into the Kābūl country where he conquered the Kushānas, but even to have gone further and invaded the territories of the Sassanian king, who would of course be his contemporary Hormuzd II. At any rate it was not in India proper that Samudragupta conquered the Kushānas but in their last resort in the Kābūl country, and their final suppression is thus to the credit of that great Gupta conqueror. It may be further remarked that the word *Kushān* in the epithet '*Rabbā* (sic) *Kushān*' on the Coins of Hormuzd II can not well mean the Kushānas i.e., the Kushāna kings, as understood by the late Mr. Vincent Smith (Early History, pp. 265-65, f.n. 1), as in that case the Sassanian king would appear to have styled himself a *Great Kushāna* i.e., a great king of the Kushāna dynasty, which he certainly was not. As it stands in its correct form *Rabā Kushāna*, this epithet means 'a great killer', the first a Pehlevi word meaning 'great', and the next an Avesta word meaning 'killer' from $\sqrt{kush}$ =to kill (cf. Av. *Vanāna*=Conqueror, from $\sqrt{van}$ =to conquer; *chashāna*=one who acquires religious lore, a religious teacher, from $\sqrt{chash}$ =to taste, to learn). The epithet thus merely denotes a great warrior and can have nothing do with the Kushānas.

conquest), which however he does not seem to have made, since it is undertaken for no less a reason than the celebration of the *Aśvamēdha* or any other equally great sacrifice, and so far as can be made out from the Allahabad pillar inscription of his son and successor Samudragupta or any other later Gupta records, he does not seem to have performed any such sacrifice; or he must have conquered and overthrown an emperor himself, or at least a great king of an equally paramount position, and wrested the imperial title from him. The only imperial power in existence at that time, whether in northern or central India, was the Vākātakas, whose greatest monarch, the emperor Pravarasēna I, was dead not long since, and whose imperial dignity could not yet have suffered any diminution. Thus the Guptas themselves would appear to have been until then the subordinates of the Vākātakas (and the feudatory rank of the father as well as the grandfather of Chandragupta I is evident enough from the secondary title *Mahārāja* 'borne by them'¹⁰⁴), and it would equally appear that the imperial dignity which Chandragupta I assumed, must have been wrested by him from none else than the Vākātakas. In view, however, of the long further continuity of the Vākātika dynasty for nearly 3 centuries yet, Chandragupta I cannot be said to have succeeded as a matter of course to the Vākātika imperial dignity, nor to have raised himself to that position, when the Vākātika dynasty had been extinct and there was no other power exercising imperial sway. He must have therefore attained the imperial rank by the conquest of his Vākātika contemporary.¹⁰⁵ The Vākātika monarch thus overthrown by Chandragupta I would be the immediate successor of the emperor Pravarasēna I, and also the last of their imperial line, since it is well-known that no Vākātika from Rudrasēna I (the grandson of Pravarasēna I) onwards ever bore any title higher than *Mahārāja*, as is patent from their records. Who then was the particular Vākātika sovereign whom Chandragupta I conquered?

104. F. G. I. Nos. 1 (l. 28), 4 (ll. 5-7).

105. Later on we shall see that the Traikūtakas, who also were the feudatories of the Vākātakas, were conquered by the Vākātika king Harishēna, possibly because they must have revolted against their suzerain and tried to assert independence. Similar perhaps was the case with the Guptas, who also must have risen against their sovereigns, the Vākātakas, but the result in this case, however, was different in that the Guptas succeeded in not only asserting their independence but even in wresting the imperial power from the Vākātakas.

There is another Vākāṭaka coin with the figure 100, which has been rightly identified by Mr. Jayaswal¹⁰⁶ as that of Rudra i.e., Rudrasēna I, whence it follows that Rudrasēna was living and ruling in the year 100. Now this year 100 could never be the year 100 of the Vākāṭaka era i.e., it could not be 346-47 A.C.; for Rudrasēna I, who has been correctly identified with the king Rudradēva, who was one of the kings of Aryāvarta supplanted by Samudragupta, as recorded in his Allahabad pillar inscription,¹⁰⁷ must have been already dead before circa 312-13 A.C., when, as we have seen, the Prāsasti of Samudragupta was engraved on that pillar nay Samudragupta himself was dead by G. S. 61 i.e., 333-34 A.C. in which year the Mathurā inscription of his son Chandragupta II, was set up.¹⁰⁸ The year 100 of Rudrasēna I's coin must therefore be reckoned from the year 172 A.C. of Vindhyaśakti's accession (exactly as the year 37 of the Bhiṭā Seal No. 29¹⁰⁹ and year 76 of Pravarasēna's coin¹¹⁰ are reckoned from that event), when it would be the year 272-73 A.C., which is exactly the epoch of the Gupta era. If now Rudrasēna I, who was the grandson of Pravarasēna I, was also his immediate successor, inasmuch as it is certain beyond doubt that prince Gautamīputra, the son of Pravarasēna I and the father of Rudradēva I, must have predeceased his father and could not therefore have ruled as king, he (Rudrasēna I) would seem to be the Vākāṭaka emperor, whom Chandragupta I vanquished, and therefore he would appear also to be the last of the Vākāṭaka emperors. But as a matter of fact it was not Chandragupta I but his son Samudragupta, who conquered and supplanted Rudrasēna I. Nor again could Rudrasēna I be an emperor, as in none of the Vākāṭaka inscriptions is his name coupled with any higher title than *Mahārāja*—*चाक्राटकानां महाराज श्री रुद्रसेन* (Chammak, Siwani, Dudia, and Bālāghāt plates)—which duly argues that the family had already been deprived of its imperial dignity by the time he came to the throne. Now Pravarasēna I was an emperor to the end of his life in 268 A.C.; and if then his grandson Rudrasēna I ascended the throne as merely a *Mahārāja*, as is just evident, it goes without saying that Rudrasēna I was not the immediate successor of his grandfather Pravara-

106. Jy. (pp. 72-73).

107. F. G. I. No. 1 (l. 21).

108. E. I. XXI (p. 8).

109. Jy. (p. 227).

110. *Ibid* (pp. 37-38; 83).

sēna I, wherefore there was evidently another ruler between them, who must have immediately succeeded Pravarasēna I as an emperor. It was that Vākāṭaka who was conquered by Chandragupta I: he was perhaps also killed in that battle. He would thus seem to have ruled from 268 to 272 A.C. when he was defeated and the imperial title taken away from the Vākāṭaka family by Chandragupta I. Beyond doubt he was one of the 3 other sons (i.e., other than prince Gautamīputra) of Pravarasēna I, and in all probability he was none else than Vindhyaśakti, whom we have not unreasonably taken to be the eldest of them.^{110a} Thus then the immediate successor of Pravarasēna I would be his eldest son Vindhyaśakti, who therefore was also the next Vākāṭaka emperor. He ruled from 268 to 272 A.C., when he was conquered by Chandragupta I, who forthwith founded his own dynastic era, the Gupta era, in commemoration of the conquest he had achieved of an imperial dynasty and the consequent assumption of the imperial title by himself. Vindhyaśakti was thus the last of the imperial line of the Vākāṭakas, as with his defeat and death that family lost its imperial status, which it never since recovered.¹¹¹ The imperial

110a. The indubitable fact here is that the immediate successor of Pravarasēna I was one of his three sons other than Gautamīputra, but which of them we have no means to decide. It is quite possible that Bhīmasēna or Bhādrāmēgha was that immediate successor, in case of course Vindhyaśakti too had predeceased his father; but in that case it is also likelier that Bhīmasēna or Bhādrāmēgha would have been succeeded by his own son than by his nephew i.e., Gautamīputra's son, unless it is further presumed that they too were issueless, whereas in the case of Vindhyaśakti the crown would naturally pass on to Gautamīputra's son as the son of the eldest of the next brothers.

111. As Mr. Jayaswal has rightly observed (Jy. p. 131), the Purāṇas take the definite date—100 years from Vindhyaśakti—as the landmark for the close of their chronicles, but that definite date, however, is not the year 348-49 A.C., nor is it with the death of Rudrasēna I that they discontinue their narrative as that scholar understands. For it is undoubtedly with the year 272-73 A.C., when exactly a hundred years from the accession of Vindhyaśakti (172 A.C.) had rolled by, and when Chandragupta I, who was neither a Brāhmaṇa nor a Kshatriya, had succeeded to the imperial position of the Vākāṭakas, who were Brāhmaṇas (for Vindhyaśakti was a *विजयप्रकाश*, an illustrious Brāhmaṇa, as we have already seen, and Pravarasēna I performed also the *Bṛihaspati Sava*, a ritual open only to the Brāhmaṇas—(Jy. p. 65), and founded his own dynastic era, the Gupta era, that the Purāṇas finally close their chronicles with the dictum—*अनुगंगमाप्रयागंगो (गौ) सा भोक्ष्यन्ति मेदिनाम्॥* (Jy. p. 126, f.n. 1; Pargiter pp. 53-54, f.n. 8). It is for the same reason, we believe, that the Purāṇas have omitted (perhaps purposely)

dignity of the family began, as we have seen, with Vindhyasakti, who was its first *Mahārājādhirāja*; it reached its zenith in Pravarasēna I, who assumed in addition the yet higher, nay the highest, title *Samrāt*, which, however, was his *personal title* which accrued to him as a matter of course when he had performed 4 horse-sacrifices; and it had its final decline with the death and defeat of Vindhyavardhana, who was thus the last *Mahārājādhirāja* in their imperial line. It was thus that Chandragupta I styled himself *Mahārājādhirāja* when he had overthrown Vindhyavardhana who was himself a *Mahārājādhirāja* and wrested that imperial title from him.^{111a}

Vindhyavardhana was perhaps issueless, and that is why his nephew Rudrasēna I, the son of his younger brother prince Gautamīputra, succeeded him. The coin of Rudrasēna I, with the figure 100, would thus readily explain itself as having been struck at the time of his accession in the year 272 A.C.

Now Rudrasēna I, as we have seen, was one of the kings of Aryāvarta, whom Samudragupta exterminated in his northern campaign;¹¹² and as the Allahabad inscription itself is allotted above to *circa* 312-13 A.C., the defeat and death of Rudrasēna I may well be assigned to about 308 A.C. In that case Rudrasēna I would appear to have ruled from 272 to *circa* 308 A.C. He was succeeded by his son Prithvishēna I, who thus came to the throne in c. 308 A.C.

the name of the last Vākātaka emperor Vindhyavardhana, who was defeated (and perhaps killed) by Chandragupta I.

111a. If as Mr. Jayaswal has pointed out (Jy. pp. 64-65), it is only a king who had performed two or more horse-sacrifices, was entitled to call himself a *Samrāt*, Vindhyavardhana, who could have performed none, could lay no claim to that highest title, but had to be content with the just lower title *Mahārājādhirāja*, which, as that of paramountcy, had accrued to the family ever since Vindhyasakti first bore it; and it is for just the same reason that Chandragupta I, when he had conquered Vindhyavardhana, had to assume the title *Mahārājādhirāja*, which the vanquished king bore. Further if neither Chandragupta I nor his son Samudragupta assumed the highest title *Samrāt*, it is because the former performed no *Āśvamēdha*, and the latter only one, as we have just seen.

112. The battle between Rudrasēna I and Samudragupta, as has been suggested by Mr. Jayaswal (Jy. p. 140), would seem to have been fought at Eran, which lay in the heart of the Vākātaka home-province, and where therefore Samudragupta rightly set up his stone inscription (F. G. I. No. 2) to commemorate his victory over the Vākātaka king, who would thus seem to have been the most formidable of the whole lot of kings, whom he had brought down.

Prithvishēna I has been described in the Chammak, Siwani and Dudia plates of his grandson Pravarasēna II in such significant terms as *वर्षशतमभिवर्द्धमान कोशदण्डसाधन सन्तान पुत्रपौत्रिणः* (genitive singular) i.e., he 'who belonged to an uninterrupted succession of sons and grandsons, (and) whose treasure and means of government had been accumulating for one hundred years', and these very words have also been repeated in describing him in the much later Bālāghāt plates of Prithvishēna II. This would no doubt mean that Prithvishēna I was very wealthy and no less mighty; and further as the stock of one's wealth or power or of happiness would naturally be taken only after he is once for all dead, it would also mean that at the time of his death, one hundred years, not 'well-nigh a century' as Mr. Jayaswal understands,¹¹³ but full one hundred years i.e., exactly one hundred years, as stated in those records, had elapsed, as counted, of course, from some epoch-making event connected with the history of their dynasty. The only two great events, so far known in their history, are (1) the accession of Vindhyasakti in 172 A.C. and (2) the establishment of the Vākātaka era by Pravarasēna I in 247-48 A.C.; and therefore between either of these years and the year in which Prithvishēna I died, a period of exactly 100 years must have run its course. Now the year 100 of the coin of Rudrasēna I,¹¹⁴ the father of Prithvishēna I, has already been shown to be the year of his accession reckoned duly from 172 A.C., the year of Vindhyasakti's accession. It therefore goes without saying that the year 100 in which Rudrasēna I's son Prithvishēna I died cannot be counted from the year 172 A.C. but will have necessarily therefore to be referred to the Vākātaka era, when it readily corresponds to the year 346-47 A.C. This is perhaps the *only* instance we have of a reference, though no doubt quite indistinct, to their own era in all the records of the Vākātaka dynasty, hitherto accessible to us. Prithvishēna I would thus appear to have died in 346 A.C., and his regnal period accordingly would be c. 308-346 A.C.

The Mathurā pillar inscription of Chandragupta II¹¹⁵ is dated G. S. 61 i.e. 333-34 A.C., and the last date for him is G.S. 95 i.e. 367-68 A.C.¹¹⁶ He was thus a junior contemporary of the Vākātaka king Prithvishēna I (c. 308-46 A.C.) Now ever since the last

113. Jy. (p. 18).

114. Ibid (pp. 72-73).

115. E. I. XXI (p. 8).

116. F. G. I. (Int. p. 18).

Vākāṭaka emperor Vindhyavardhana, the son and successor of Pravarasēna I, lost his life in the battle which Chandragupta I fought with him, and therewith also lost the imperial dignity of the family to the Gupta conqueror, those two royal families would naturally be at deadly feud with each other. When again within barely 36 years thence the next Vākāṭaka king Rudrasēna I also, defeated by the next Gupta monarch Samudragupta, died on the battlefield, the tension of their mutual hostility would necessarily be further increased. When therefore Prithvishēṇa I and Chandragupta II were on their respective thrones, there would be the bitterest animosity between those royal families. It was thus his political sagacity that must have prompted Chandragupta II, who was undoubtedly a far greater statesman than his father, the world-victor Samudragupta, not only to put an end to all their enmity that had so long estranged the two greatest royal households of the time, but also to join hands with each other and make a strong alliance perhaps against the western Śaka satraps, who were growing in power all around at that time, and whose dominions adjoined the Vākāṭaka kingdom as well as the Gupta empire; and in order to make the *entente cordiale* secure and enduring, he must have further pitched upon a closer bond of union by means of a matrimonial alliance between the two families, which thus resulted in the marriage of his own daughter, princess Prabhāvatī Guptā with prince Rudrasēna, the son and heir-apparent of Prithvishēṇa I, exactly as the Bhāraśiva king Bhavanāga and the Vākāṭaka Pravarasēna I did, about a 100 years ago, when the daughter of the former was married to prince Gautamīputra son of the latter. Now of the nearly 34 or 35 years of the reign of Chandragupta II (333-68 A.C.) the first 13 or 14 years synchronise with the last as many of the reign of Prithvishēṇa I (c. 308-46 A.C.), and the Gupta-Vākāṭaka marriage therefore must have been celebrated during those years 333 to 346 A.C., when both of them were on their respective thrones.

We are further told in the Ajanta inscription that Prithvishēṇa I conquered a king of Kuntala,¹¹⁷ and all the scholars seem to be of one accord that the king of Kuntala spoken of here was the contemporary Kadamba king.¹¹⁸ According to our chronology

117. A. S. W. I. (IV. p. 124).—कुन्तलेन्द्रं विजित्य पृथिवीषेण (v. 8).

118. Jy. (pp. 99 f.n. 3; 131); Dubreuil's 'Ancient History of the Deccan' (A.H.D.) p. 73.

of the early Kadambas of Banavāsi,¹¹⁹ Mṛigēśavarma (c. 303-23 A.C.) as well as his cousin-brother Kṛishṇavarma I (c. 323-49 A.C.) would seem to have been the Kadamba contemporaries of Prithvishēṇa I, and the king of Kuntala if also he was a Kadamba, conquered by Prithvishēṇa I would be either of them. But we however believe that in that age the king of Kuntala would not mean the Kadamba king; for, in his 'Gāthā Saptasati' of about the 1st century B. C. or the 1st century A.C., the Sātavāhana king Hāla calls himself the king of Kuntala;¹²⁰ in the 'Kāmasūtra' of Vātsyāyana, a Sātavāhana king is spoken of as Kuntala Śātakarṇi,¹²¹ and from the list of the Sātavāhanas given in the Purāṇas, we know that one of them was called Kuntala Śātakarṇi;¹²² and from Rājaśekhara's 'Kāvya-mīmāṃsā'¹²³ (as also from other historical as well as literary sources) it would appear that the capital of the Sātavāhanas was in Kuntaladēśa. Further in the *Bṛihat-Saṃhitā* of Varāhamihira (of circa 5th or 6th century) Vanavāsi (*Ibid* XVI. 6) and Kuntala (*Ibid* XVI. 11) are mentioned separately, evidently as different countries, and as such until at least the time of Varāhamihira, Banavāsi cannot yet have come to be called as Kuntala, though no doubt, inasmuch as they were contiguous, later on Banavāsi was also known as or was included in Kuntala. Now

119. J.I.H. (XIII Pt. II).

120. राएण विरइआए कुन्तलजनवअ इणेण हालेण (*Nirṇaya-Sāgara* Press Ed. Int. p. 1).

121. *Ibid*.

122. Pargiter (pp. 36, 40).

123. श्रूयते च कुन्तलेषु सातवाहनो नाम राजा (*Gaekwad's Oriental Series* No. 1 p. 50). Furthermore Rājaśekhara extols his patron king Mahipāla (914, 917 A.C.) as कुन्तलानां कुठारः in his unfinished drama *Bāla-Bhārata* (I. 7), and Padmagupta in his *Nava-Sāhasārīka-charita* (I. 74) speaks of his patron Sindhurāja, (c. 995-1000) who is also the hero of that poem, as अक्रान्तदिङ्मण्डलकुन्तलेन्द्र &c.; and it is well-known that the king of the Kuntalas (i.e., of the Kuntala country) referred to in the former work is the contemporary Rāshtrakūṭa king Indra III, and the Kuntala king of the latter poem is the contemporary Western Chālukya king Tailapa or his son Satyāśraya, and none of them belonged to the Kadamba dynasty. From the fact that Rājaśekhara's 'Bālabhārata' (*Nirṇayasāgarā* Ed. p. 2) mentions king Nirbhaya's son the Pratihāra King Mahipāla of Mahodaya (Kanuj), for whom we have the dates 914, 917 A.C. (E. I. XIV. p. 179) the poet would seem to have been living in the first quarter of the 10th century A.C.

the regnal period of Prithvishēṇa I (308—c. 346 A.C.) falls duly in the first half of the 4th century A.C., when therefore neither could Banavāsi, where the early Kadambas then held their capital, be included in Kuntaladēśa, nor their kingdom be identified with it. Moreover nowhere in the records of the early Kadambas from Mayūrasarma down at least to Kṛṣṇavarman II (who died circa 450 or 455 A.C. according to the Kadamba chronology we have proposed) do they speak of themselves as the kings of Kuntala, or call their kingdom by that name. Accordingly the king of Kuntala defeated by Prithvishēṇa I could be neither of his kadamba contemporaries, but must be some one else, who then ruled over Kuntala proper, and of whom, however, we know next to nothing at present.

Next from the significant words— **महाराज श्री रुद्रसेनस्याग्र महिषी** i.e., the 'senior queen of the illustrious *Mahārāja Rudrasēna*'—in which the queen-regent Prabhāvatī Guptā describes herself in her Poona plates, we have already shown that her husband Rudrasēna I did rule as king, and naturally enough it was his father Prithvishēṇa I that he succeeded. After the death of her husband Rudrasēna I, Prabhāvatī Guptā became regent to her minor son prince Divākarasēna, and we have seen that it was with absolute confidence in her father Chandragupta II that she took up that responsibility. From the further fact that in both of her grants, the Poona plates of the 13th year of her regency as well as the several years later Riddhapur plates of the 19th regnal year of her son Pravarasēna II, she speaks of herself as merely the daughter of Chandragupta II without further describing herself as also the sister of his son and successor Kumāragupta I (and it is more or less certain that by the time she issued her Riddhapur plates Chandragupta II must have been already dead and succeeded by Kumāragupta I), it is not inconceivable that the only Gupta king, to whom she was indebted for all the help she had received throughout her regency, was her father Chandragupta II and no other, and in that case the period of her regency would appear to fall absolutely within his reign. If then the 13th year itself of her regency, in which her Poona plates are dated, was also the last year of the rule of Chandragupta II, it would mean that she lost her husband Rudrasēna II in 368—13 i.e., 355 A.C., and the extreme limit of the reign of Rudrasēna II would thus be some 9 or 10 years from 346 A.C., when on the death of his father he succeeded to the throne, to 355 A.C. But we believe it was yet shorter, perhaps merely of 4 or 5 years. Giving therefore as many

years to the reign of Rudrasēna II, and some 16 years to the regency of his wife Prabhāvatī Guptā, we shall have—

Rudrasēna II	346—350 A.C.
Prabhāvatī Guptā (regent)	350—366 A.C.

It was her eldest son Divākarasēna for whom the queen-mother Prabhāvatī Guptā was acting as regent, when she issued her Poona plates. He would thus seem to have been living in that 13th year of regency. Thereafter however we hear no more of him from any of the Vākāṭaka records. Perhaps he died young before he attained majority, wherefore he never came to the throne. Or else, if only he had ruled as king for ever so short a time, his mother who, in her Riddhapur plates issued in the reign of her other son Pravarasēna II, calls herself as **वाकाटकानां महाराज श्री दामोदरसेन तवरसेन जननी** i.e., 'the mother of the illustrious *Mahārāja* of the Vākāṭakas Dāmōdarasēna-Pravarasēna' would have assuredly called herself the mother of the two *Mahārājas*, Divākarasēna and Dāmōdarasēna-Pravarasēna. It is thus almost certain that Divākarasēna died before he came to the throne, and it was thus his younger brother Pravarasēna II, who succeeded to their father's throne, when on his attainment of majority his mother's regency came to a natural close.

We have the following records of the reign of Pravarasēna II—

- (1) The Chammak plates of his 18th regnal year, dated the 13th lunar day of the bright half of the month of Jyēshṭha;¹²⁴
- (2) the Siwani plates of the same regnal year, dated the 12th lunar day of the bright half of Phālguna;¹²⁵
- (3) the Riddhapur plates issued by his mother Prabhāvatī Guptā in the 19th year of his reign on the 12th lunar day of the bright half of the month of Kārtika;¹²⁶
- (4) and the Dudia plates of his 23rd regnal year dated the 10th day of the 4th fortnight of the rainy season¹²⁷ i.e., the 10th lunar day of the bright fortnight of *Amānta Bhādrapada*.

124. F. G. I. No. 55.

125. *Ibid* No. 56.

126. J.A.S.B. XX (pp. 58-60).

127. E. I. (III. pp. 260-62).

The date details in none of these grants, however, admit of verification. All that can be asserted with regard to his reign is that he must have ruled for at least 23 years. Giving some 28 years to his reign, he would seem to have ruled from c. 366, to c. 394 A.C.

As we have already seen, Pravarasēna II was succeeded by his son Narēndrasēna, who is said to have been selected for succession on account of the confidence placed in him, no doubt by his father, for the good qualities which he had already acquired. Presumably therefore an elder brother of Narēndrasēna was passed over as we have shown, when their father Pravarasēna II nominated Narēndrasēna to succeed him. In the Bālāghāt plates of his son Prithvishēna II,¹²⁸ Narēndrasēna is said to have been obeyed by the lords of Kōsalā, Mēkalā and Mālava—**कोसला मेकला मालवाधिपतिभिरभ्यर्चितशासनः**—who would thus seem to have been his feudatories. This peculiar description, which thus claims for him the obedience of the said sub-kings, rather than their conquest by him, seems to suggest that he maintained *in status quo* the inheritance to which he succeeded at his father's death rather than added to it by further conquests. The only other fact known (from his son's Bālāghāt plates) with regard to him is that his senior queen (**महादेवी**) Ajjhita Bhaṭṭārikā was the daughter of the king of Kuntala, who, however, has not been mentioned by name. Here too we believe that this king of Kuntala could not be the contemporary Kadamba king of Banavāsi.

We have said that the Vyāghradēva of the Nāchna stone inscriptions¹²⁹ could not well be any other than Mahārāja Vyāghra, who was the father of Jayanātha and the grandfather of Śarvanātha of the Uchchakalpa dynasty.¹³⁰ We have yet another stone inscription of the same Vyāghradēva at Gañj,¹³¹ which also is situated in Bundēlkhāṇḍ, i.e., the Chēdī country.¹³²

128. *Ibid* IX (pp. 270-71).

129. F.G.I. Nos. 53 and 54.

130. *Ibid*. Nos. 26-31; E.I. (XIX pp. 129-30).

131. E. I. (XVII pp. 12-13).

132. There is another Vyāghrarāja, who has been mentioned as the king of Mahākāntāra among the kings conquered by Samudragupta (F. G. I. No. 1, l. 19)—**माहाकान्तारक व्याघ्रराजा** This Vyāghrarāja cannot be the Vyāghradēva of the Nāchna and Gañj inscriptions, in that while the former is said to be a southern king, the latter must be a prince of Āryāvarta, as it is within the limits of Āryāvarta that his lithic records stand; and also because the latter was obviously a feudatory prince, while it is almost certain

In all his inscriptions this Vyāghradēva speaks of himself as the feudatory of Prithvishēna, who is evidently one of the two Vākāṭaka kings of that name. Dr. Sukhtankar, who has edited the Gañj inscription, is of opinion that it is a record of the reign of Prithvishēna I, which on paleographic grounds must be assigned to as late an epoch as the 7th century. Mr. Jayaswal also assigns the stone inscriptions of Vyāghradēva to the reign of Prithvishēna I,¹³³ and so also does the late Prof. R. D. Banerji;¹³⁴ while on paleographic grounds again Mr. K. N. Dikshit points out that the said inscriptions are records of the reign of Prithvishēna II and must be attributed to the last quarter of the 5th or the opening years of the 6th century A.C.,¹³⁵ exactly as M. Jouveau-Dubreuil also does on paleographic grounds.¹³⁶ As has been significantly remarked by M. Jouveau-Dubreuil,¹³⁷ paleography is a bad auxiliary to the chronology of the Indian dynasties, as very often two documents dated in the same reign differ much from each other; and thus its evidence would be mainly suggestive or corroborative, but at any rate by itself not conclusive. Leaving aside therefore the question of paleographic grounds, on which, as is apparent, such eminent scholars differ by no less than two centuries, let us see what conclusion the Vākāṭaka chronology, we have so far proposed, would lead to.

The earliest date we have for Jayanātha, the son of Vyāghra, is the Vākāṭaka (Chēdī) year 174 i.e., 420-21 A.C. of his Kāritālāi plates,¹³⁸ and the earliest date for his son Śarvanātha is the Vākāṭaka year 191 i.e., 437-38 A.C. of his Sōhāwal plates.¹³⁹ Jayanātha therefore may well be supposed to have begun to rule between the years 390 and 400 A.C., and his son Śarvanātha be-

that the former was an independent king. Nor again could the Vyāghradēva of the Nāchna and Gañj inscriptions be the same as the Traikūṭaka prince Vyāghrasēna of the Sūrat plates (E. I. XI p. 219), as the latter, though no doubt also a feudatory of the Vākāṭakas, (as we shall soon see) was a ruler of Aparānta on the West Coast, and as such the lithic records (which on that account are not liable to change of place) found in the far-off Chēdī country cannot possibly be his.

133. Jy. (p. 73).

134. 'The Age of the Imperial Guptas' (p. 16).

135. E. I. (XVII p. 362).

136. A.H.D. (p. 72).

137. *Ibid* (p. 97).

138. F. G. I. No. 26.

139. E. I. (XIX pp. 129-30).

tween 430 and 435 A.C. If now Vyāghra, the father of Jayanātha, was indeed a contemporary of Prithvishēṇa I, who, as we have seen, died in 346 A.C., even supposing that Vyāghra began to rule in 345 A.C., there would be a difference of nearly 90 years between the initial years of the reigns of the grandfather and the grandson, and in case Vyāghra began earlier, this difference would also necessarily increase. Such a case is not however quite impossible, though no doubt very rare. It is likelier therefore that Vyāghra was a feudatory of Prithvishēṇa II than of his great grandfather Prithvishēṇa I. Possibly he ruled as a feudatory prince, or sub-king, from between 370 and 390 A.C. to circa 415 A.C., when he was succeeded by his son Jayanātha. In that case his suzerain Prithvishēṇa II would appear to have succeeded his father Narēndrasēṇa in circa 410 A.C., and Narēndrasēṇa would thus seem to have ruled from circa 394 to 410 A.C.

From the fact that the reign of Dēvasēṇa's father, whose name has been lost in the Ajanta cave inscription, was a short one of barely 8 years, we have inferred that he must have come to the throne in succession to his nephew Prithvishēṇa II, and not to his own younger brother Narēndrasēṇa. Prithvishēṇa II was therefore the immediate successor of his father Narēndrasēṇa. The only record we have of his reign is his Bālāghāt plates,¹⁴⁰ which again is merely a draft seemingly kept ready for engraving some kind of benefaction, which however has not been recorded, nor is therefore the draft dated. Accordingly it would seem to belong to the last year of his reign, or even to the last days of his life. All that we know of him from the said draft is that he rescued his sunken family. We have elsewhere¹⁴¹ shown that the Hūṇa leader Tōramāṇa conquered eastern Mālava in circa 444-45 A.C., when Mahārāja Dhanyavishṇu, the ruler of Eran in eastern Mālava, and until then a feudatory of the Guptas, as is apparent from the use of the Gupta era in his brother Mātrivishṇu's Eran pillar inscription¹⁴² of G. S. 165 i.e., 437-38 A.C., forthwith acknowledged the suzerainty of the Hūṇa conqueror, as again is evident from his own Eran Boar inscription¹⁴³ of the very first year of Tōramāṇa's victory. Now Eran, which as has been pointed out by Mr. Jayaswal,¹⁴⁴ stands in

140. *Ibid* (IX pp. 270-71).

141. J. I. H. (XI p. 184).

142. F. G. I. No. 19.

143. *Ibid*. No. 36.

144. Jy. (p. 140).

the heart of the Vākātaka home-province, must have belonged to the Guptas ever since Samudragupta conquered Rudrasēṇa I in the battle fought in all probability in that locality (f. n. 112), and though therefore as the capital of the Gupta feudatory, it would be naturally included in the Gupta empire, Tōramāṇa could not conquer it without first conquering the adjoining portion of the Vākātaka kingdom and thereby coming into collision with the Vākātaka king. On the basis of the chronology we have so far proposed, the trouble which king Prithvishēṇa II had to encounter, would seem to have come from the Hūṇas, which, in spite of the one or two¹⁴⁵ such calamitous repulses as may have well shaken the Vākātaka kingdom, he seems to have averted at last with a heroic effort, so that he could justly and no less proudly congratulate himself in the last days of his life as having raised his almost sunken family and rehabilitated it. The trying period of his reign would thus coincide with those early years of the Hūṇa invasion, when Tōramāṇa had not yet succeeded in conquering eastern Mālava. Therefore the end of the reign of Prithvishēṇa II would allot itself to, say 437 A.C. i.e., just a few years before the actual conquest of Eran in circa 444-45 A.C., for if Prithvishēṇa II had lived as far as the latter year, it cannot well be imagined that he would not have been carried away by the Hūṇa onslaught, but could have successfully withstood and survived it to congratulate himself as he did. Prithvishēṇa II would thus appear to have ruled from circa 410-437 A.C.

Prithvishēṇa II having perhaps died issueless, the crown naturally reverted to his uncle, the anonymous king,^{145a} who

145. Is it विमल (or विमल) वंशस्योद्भूतः : in the Bālāghātplates?

145a. Though there are instances of their eldest sons being passed over by kings, and younger ones nominated for succession, instances, on the other hand, of such elder brothers succeeding later on to the kingship after the demise of their younger brothers are very rare or even scarce. It is thus quite possible that the anonymous king may not have been the elder brother of Narēndrasēṇa, but might well be a younger brother, presumably because an elder brother of Narēndrasēṇa may not have survived till after the death of his nephew Prithvishēṇa II, who having been contemporary with Vyāghra, as shown above, must have immediately succeeded his father Narēndrasēṇa. There is however hardly any evidence in the Vākātaka records to decide whether the anonymous king was the elder or the younger brother of Narēndrasēṇa, whereas it is known for certain that an elder brother of Narēndrasēṇa had been actually passed over when their father nominated the latter to succeed him; and it is therefore that the anonymous king may well be taken, tentatively though, as the elder brother of Narēndrasēṇa especially in view also of the fact that he ruled for only eight years.

was the father of Dēvasēna, and all that has been said with regard to him in his grandson Harishēna's Ajanta cave inscription¹⁴⁶ is that (though) he ruled (merely) for eight years, he ruled well. Even if he was 25 to 30 years of age at the time of the death of his father Pravarasēna II in circa 394 A.C. he would be nearly 65 to 70 years old when he succeeded his nephew. He would thus seem to have ruled from c. 437 to 445 A.C., and the end of his reign would thus seem to synchronise with Tōramāṇa's conquest of eastern Mālava. Naturally enough Tōramāṇa must have encountered this Vākāṭaka contemporary, whose dominions lay on his way to Eran, and it is conceivable and even probable that the bold, though no doubt old, Vākāṭaka king must have forthwith taken the field against the oncoming foreign invader, and perhaps died in that heroic struggle.

Dēvasēna succeeded his father in c. 445 A.C. In the Ajanta inscription of his son Harishēna, Dēvasēna has been described in such peculiar terms as— भोगेषु यथेष्टचेष्टः—which however seem to have been strained by Mr. Jayaswal to mean much more than they possibly can. Thus he not only understands that Dēvasēna was an 'ease-loving, handsome king,'¹⁴⁷ but goes on yet further when he says that 'he preferred a life of ease and pleasure to the duties of kingship,'¹⁴⁸ and at last 'abdicated in favour of his son Harishēna.'¹⁴⁹ Nothing of the sort seems to have been meant, or even intended, in the said description, nor is there a word in it which could lend any the least probability to Mr. Jayaswal's hypothesis of Dēvasēna's abdication. The description, as it is, simply means that Dēvasēna had his fill of happiness, and inasmuch as the happiness of a king comes to him from his wealth and power, and is thus commensurate with them, Dēvasēna would appear to have been affluent and powerful to a high degree. This is clinched by the fact that elsewhere in the same inscription, he is compared in his possession of comforts (उपभोग) to Indra, the king of the gods— देवसेनः । यस्योपभोगैर्ललितैः देवराजस्य...॥, and as Indra is not only the emblem of the greatest wealth and the highest happiness, but also the embodiment of unique valour, as is evident from an earlier passage in the same inscription, wherein Vindhyaśakti has

been said to be equal in valour to Purandara (i.e., Indra) and Upēndra (i.e., Vishṇu)— पुरन्दरोपेन्द्र समप्रभावः । we cannot bring ourselves to believe that in spite of such a significant and explicit simile, he could still be held to have been a weak king, who loved ease and pleasure even to neglect the duties of kingship. Then again this description occurs in the inscription of his son, who would of course be the last person to say anything untoward with regard to his father, even if the latter's life had been unkingly. Considered thus the said description— भोगेषु यथेष्टचेष्टः—would merely mean that he was a happy king, and as such it may well be said that his was an equally happy reign, in which if perhaps there was no territorial expansion by means of any new conquests, there was neither any loss of territories due to invasions from outside; and if thus it was eventless, it was possibly quite peaceful. Now the only source of all possible disturbance at that time was the Hūṇa invader Tōramāṇa. He conquered eastern Mālava in c. 444-45 A.C., and western Mālava shortly thereafter in c. 450 A.C.¹⁵⁰ From the Eran posthumous pillar of Gōparāja,¹⁵¹ we have shown elsewhere¹⁵² that in the year G. S. 191 i.e., 463-64 A.C., a vigorous attempt was made by the Gupta prince Bhānugupta and the Gupta feudatory Gōparāja to drive out the Huns from eastern Mālava, which however seems to have been abortive. At any rate throughout those years of perplexity in the immediate vicinity, the integrity of the Vākāṭaka kingdom would seem to have remained in tact; for from the fact that within a few years of the death of Dēvasēna's father on the battle-field, his grandson (i.e., Dēvasēna's son) Harishēna could effect several conquests, as we shall presently see, it would appear that the Vākāṭakas were neither crushed nor even conquered by Tōramāṇa, nor did they acknowledge his suzerainty (as Dhanyavishṇu did); but they continued as before in their independence, though perhaps shorn of some portion or other of their kingdom; hence it is manifest that though Tōramāṇa conquered the Gupta province of Eran, the Vākāṭaka kingdom, however, was not very much affected thereby. Soon afterwards Tōramāṇa would seem to have discontinued his aggressive career and settled down to the peaceful work of consolidating his new conquests, as is testified to by his issue of coins, of which the one that is accessible to us, that of his 52nd regnal year,¹⁵³ as, of course, counted from his first conquest i.e., the

146. A. S. W. I. (IV p. 125).

147. Jy (p. 76).

148. Ibid (p. 102).

149. Ibid (pp. 76-77).

150. J. I. H. (XI p. 184).

151. F.G.I. No. 20.

152. J. I. H. (XII p. 238).

153. F. G. I. (Int. pp. 11-12).

conquest of eastern Mālava in c. 444-45 A.C., sufficiently argues that a normal order of things had already been established by that year 495-96 A.C. The reign of Dēvasēna would thus seem to fall in the period of comparative lull and quiet between *circa* 445 A.C. (when his father died) and 495 A.C.; and it may therefore be duly assigned to *circa* 445-470 A.C.

Dēvasēna was succeeded by his son Harishēṇa in c. 470 A.C. From the Ajanta inscription (verse 18) he would seem to have conquered, or made obedient to himself, the kings of Kuntala, Avanti, Kālīṅga, Kōsala, Trikūṭa, Lāṭa, Andhra and perhaps some others— स कुन्तलावन्ति कलिङ्ग कोसल त्रिकूट लाटान्ध्र (further portion is worn out). Though no doubt his conquest of or his mastery over as many as at least seven different countries might well suggest that he must have expanded his kingdom which he had inherited, the names merely of the countries, without those of their respective kings, would not help us to establish any definite synchronism with the known dates of any of the contemporaries of Harishēṇa.

But the case however is different with his conquest of Trikūṭa. For from the use of the Vākāṭaka (Chēdī) era in the grants of the Traikūṭakas—the year 207 of the Pardi plates of Dharasēna I,¹⁵⁴ and the year 241 of the Sūrat plates of Vyāghrasēna¹⁵⁵—they would appear to have been the feudatories of the Vākāṭakas, while from the fact that in the Kanheri plates¹⁵⁶ of the year 245, the said era has been re-named as the Traikūṭaka era—त्रैकूटकानां प्रवर्द्धमान राज्यसंवत्सर....—it might also well appear that perhaps between the years 241 and 245 of that era, they must have tried to throw off the Vākāṭaka yoke and assert their independence. But then they cannot have succeeded as after the year 245 of that era i.e., 491-492 A.C., there is scarcely any document of the Traikūṭakas, nor is any further trace of their family found.¹⁵⁷ Their sudden disappearance from history subsequent to that date is thus intelligibly explained by Harishēṇa's conquest of their country. The said event may be located between 495 and 500 A.C., and the end of Harishēṇa's reign may accordingly be assigned a few years later to *circa* 510 A.C.

154. E. I. (X. p. 53).

155. Ibid (XI p. 219).

156. Ibid XX. Appendix: 'Inscriptions of Northern India.' (p. 160, (p. 160, No. 1200).

157. A.H.D. (p. 76); Jy. (p. 103).

Harishēṇa would thus seem to have been a potent conqueror, and as such the Vākāṭaka dynasty cannot well be believed to have abruptly terminated during his reign, nor, as we have hardly any information with regard to his successor or successors, is it possible to say at present when and how that dynasty came to an end.

According to the Ajanta inscription Harishēṇa would also appear to have conquered the Avanti and Lāṭa countries, which at that time therefore must have been ruled over by different kings, if it is not under any metrical necessity that their names have been mentioned apart in that inscription with at least as many as three others inserted between them— स कुन्तलावन्ति कलिङ्ग कोसल त्रिकूट लाटान्ध्र.. स्वनिर्देश.. Now from the Ābhōṇa plates of the Kalachūri king Śaṅkaragaṇa,¹⁵⁸ dated in the year 347 of the Chēdī era i.e., 593-94 A.C., he appears to have had his capital at Ujjain, which had long been the headquarters of the Avanti region. The Śāṅkhēḍa grant,¹⁵⁹ issued by a feudatory of Śaṅkaragaṇa, and dated in the year 346 of the same era, i.e., 592-93 A.C., purports to imply that his kingdom included the territory actually lying in the Lāṭa country.¹⁶⁰ Thus Śaṅkaragaṇa would appear to have been more or less an independent ruler of the Avanti and Lāṭa provinces; and since neither in his grants nor in those of his son Buddharāja, viz., the Vaḍnēr grant¹⁶¹ of the Chēdī year 360 i.e., 606-7 A.C. and the Sarsavṇī grant¹⁶² of the year 361 i.e., 607-8 A.C., their ancestry has been carried back beyond Kṛishṇarāja, the father of Śaṅkaragaṇa, it is intelligible that it was Kṛishṇarāja who was the first important king of that family, the earlier members of which were therefore at most princes of feudatory rank. Now it is the Chēdī era in which the records of Śaṅkaragaṇa and Buddharāja are dated. Accordingly it would appear that the Kalachūris started as the feudatories of the Vākāṭakas, and it is thus conceivable that when Harishēṇa conquered the Avanti and Lāṭa countries, he placed them together in charge of some prince of Kalachūri family, who thus became the progenitor of that dynasty. As might be expected, the Kalachūris became independent later on when their suzerains the Vākāṭakas themselves were no more; and considering that even after the Vākāṭaka dynasty became extinct, their era

158. E. I. XX Appendix: *Inscriptions of Northern India* (p. 161, No. 1206).

159. Ibid (p. 160, No. 1205).

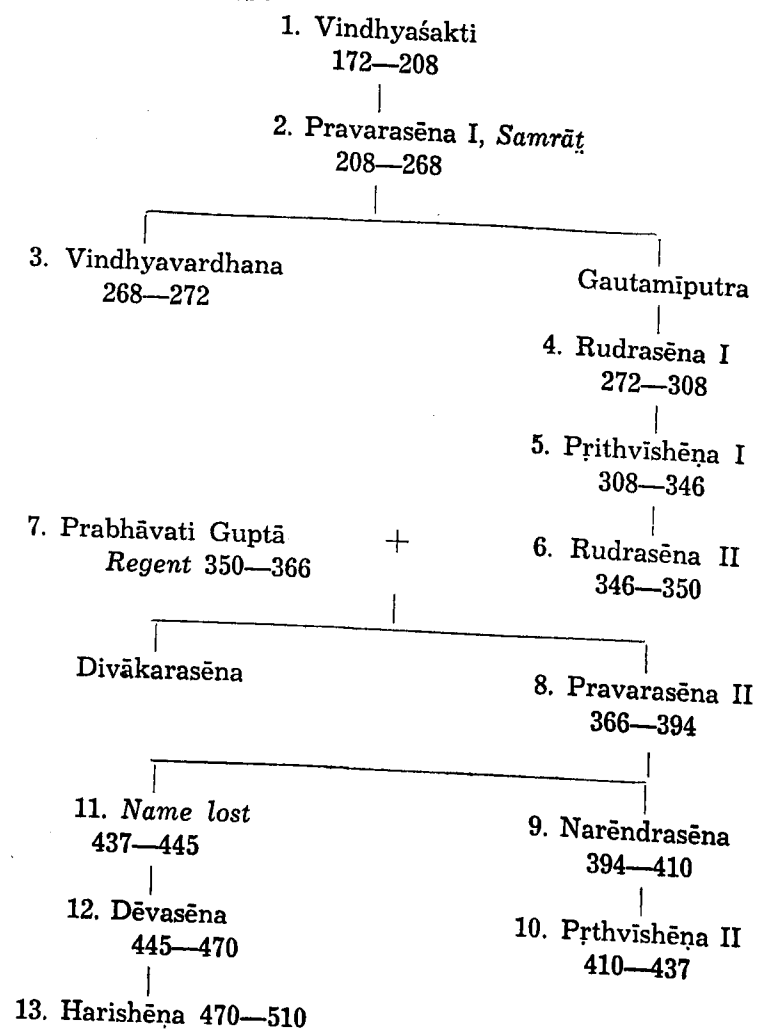
160. Fleet's *Kanarese Dynasties* (p. 295).

161. E. I. (XII pp. 33-35).

162. E. I. XX Appendix (p. 161, No. 1208).

was so regularly carried on by the Kalachūrīs as befitting their original feudatory position, it is no wonder that in later times the Chēdī era of the Vākāṭakas came eventually to be identified with their name as the Kalachūrī era, as is evident for instance from at least such later records of their dynasty as the Kudga, Rājim, Sēorī-Nārāyan and the Ratanpur inscriptions¹⁶³ which are dated respectively in the *Kalachūrī Samvatsaras* 893, 896, 898 and 910.

The genealogy of the Vākāṭaka dynasty with the regnal periods of its different kings from Vindhyaśakti down to Harishēṇa according to the chronology we have proposed hereinabove, would then stand as follows :—



163. *Ibid* pp. 165-167 (Nos. 1231, 1232, 1233 and 1239).

A Note on the Mughal Military Terms

ZAT AND SAWAR

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ALL scholars are not agreed about the meaning of the terms Zat and Sawar. To Prof. Blochmann Zat was a brevet rank and Sawar indicated the number of horsemen under the command of a mansabdar. To Mr. Irvine Sawar meant an honour and indicated the number of extra-horsemen over and above Zat. Dr. Tripathi thinks that sawar had no actual existence in horsemen but indicated a rate of allowance given to a mansabdar honoured with the distinction.¹ Mr. Dasrath Sherma concludes that "both the ranks sawar as well as Zât were actual."² To take a hypothetical case a mansabdar whose Zat rank was 5,000 and Sawar rank 2,000, would command or was expected to command only 2,000 cavalry according to Blochmann. According to Irvine he would command or was accepted as commanding 7,000 cavalry. This view is accepted by Dasarath Sherma. According to Dr. Tripathi, he would command 5,000 cavalry and get an extra money allowance, calculated on the 2,000 sawar.

The rule of branding the fourth part is described among the years of 1056 A.H. Abdul Hamid Lahori the official historian of Shah Jahan writes in the *Badshah-Nama* :—

"The following law was made during the present reign [Shah Jahan's] If a mansabdar holds a jagir in the suba in which he holds his mansab he has to muster one-third of the forces indicated by his rank [mansab]. Accordingly a Śīb hazari Zat sib hazar sawar has to muster [bring to the brand] 1,000 cavalry. But if he holds an appointment in another suba he has only to muster a fourth part. Accordingly a Chahar-hazari Zat Chahar hazar Sawar has to muster 1,000 cavalry."

1. *Ind: Hist: Records Commission Vol: V. P. 60.*

2. *J.I.H. Vol. V. 1926-27.*

"At the time when the Imperial Army was ordered to take Balkh and Samarquand [1055 A.H.], His Majesty on account of the distance of those countries gave the order that, as long as the expedition should last, each mansabdar should only muster one-fifth. Accordingly a Panj hazari Zat Panj hazari sawar mustered only 1,000 cavalry."³

We may leave account of the one-fifth rule, as it was a special emergency measure. According to Lahori one-third or one-fourth of a mansab represented cavalry, in the time of Shah Jahan from the 20th regnal year [1056 A.H.] onwards. If both Zat and Sawar had represented cavalry forces, one-third or one-fourth would be two thousand cavalry and not one thousand; whether Zat represents cavalry or Sawar represents cavalry, it is not possible to deduce from above. But we can safely say that one of them or rather one-third or one-fourth of one of them represented the actual cavalry which the mansabdar commanded. Whether the other was cavalry, or a brevet rank or a money allowance, it is not possible to say from the above extract. But this is certain that both of them did not represent cavalry forces. Had it been so, a sib hazari Zat sib hazar sawar or a chahar hazari Zat chahar hazari sawar would have been required under the rules to bring one-third or one-fourth, in other words 2,000 cavalry.

Bernier's evidence gives us some help to decide which of them represented cavalry, at least as regards Shah Jahan's reign. Bernier stayed with Danishmand Khan, a grandee of the Mughal court, at least till the 2nd July 1666 A.D. when he witnessed the eclipse of the sun at Delhi, and has left us a vivid description of the crowd at Jamna waiting anxiously to take the plunge when the eclipse would be over.⁴

From the *Maāsir-ul-Umara*, the following details are known about Danishmand Khan, Bernier's patron, or 'Agah' as he affectionately describes him.

"On the 23rd November 1650 he was presented to Shah Jahan and was raised to the rank of 1,000 Zat 100 Sawar. In the 29th

3. *Badshah Nama* II P. 506; Trans. Blochmann *Ain-i-Akbari* Vol. I. P. 244.

4. Letter to M. Chapelain—Bernier's *Travels in the Mughal Empire* P. 300, et seq.

year he was made second Bakshi with the title of Danishmand Khan. His mansab was then 3,000 Zat, 800 Sawars. In the same year he resigned service owing to differences with Prince Dara. In the second year of Alamgir he re-entered service and his rank was fixed at 4,000 Zat, 2,000 Sawar. In the beginning of the 7th year his rank was increased to 5,000 Zat. In the 8th year he was appointed subahdar of Delhi. On the 18th of July 1670 he died."⁵

So the highest mansab he received was 5,000 Zat and 2,000 Sawar and that was in the beginning of the 7th year of Alamgir which fell on 18th March 1664⁶ and Bernier stayed with Danishmand Khan at least till 2nd July 1666.

Bernier writes: "I perceived that the Omrah under whom I served, a Penge hazary or Lord of five thousand whose quota was fixed at five hundred etc."⁷ Bernier's evidence as regards the number of horses Danishmand Khan maintained in his stables should be accepted. He was in that noble's service for a number of years and must be expected to know at least the number of horses his master kept in his stables. Bernier's expression "quota was fixed" is very interesting. It savours of a legal enactment, possibly the rule of branding the fourth part. Danishmand Khan was a naqdy. He was always at the court. False muster in his case was an impossibility. Mr. Irvine gives a further bit of information about the proportion of this mustering in his book on the army of the Indian Mughals⁸. "If a mansabdar was paid in Jahgire he had to muster his men for verification once a year If the officer was paid in naqd the time allowed depended upon whether he was (a) at court, or (b) at duty elsewhere. In the first case [i.e., at court or hāzari Rikab] at 6 months intervals." It was evidently to this half-yearly mustering that Manucci refers. "Twice a year the Bachi [Bakshi] the chief commander of cavalry, holds a review of all the cavalry present at court, examines all the horses and sees whether any of them are old and unfit for service Throughout the Empire there are similar officers bearing the same name, and these are required each in his locality to perform the same duty."⁹

5. *Maasir-ul-Umara* P. 446. Beveridge's translation.

6. Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, Vol. III. P. 390.

7. Letter to Colbert 'Travels' P. 213.

8. Irvine; *Army*. P. 54.

9. *Storia do Mogor*, Vol. II. P. 377-378.

Mr. Irvine further adds "The proportion of horsemen (*tabinan*) that a mansabdar must produce differed when he was at court and when he was on duty in the provinces. In the first case he was bound to muster one fourth and in the second, one third of his total number or as the case is stated in *Maāsir-ul-Umara*. [II 444] 'In the reign of Shah Jehan it was decided that if an officer held a Jagir within the suba to which he was attached, he should produce one third of his *tabinan*, for branding. Thus if he were a *sih hazari* *sih hazar suwar* he would produce 1000 horsemen. If sent to another suba of Hindusthan then one fourth had to appear. During the Campaign in Balkh and Badakshan one fifth was held to be sufficient."¹⁰

It is evident that *Maāsir*'s authority is Lahori's *Badshah Nama*. For the former rule that an Amir at the capital had to muster $\frac{1}{4}$ Mr. Irvine's authority is evidently some *dastur-ul-Amal*.

So the following points are established. *Danishmand Khan* was a *naqdy*. He was at court and so had to muster $\frac{1}{4}$. He was a mansabdar of 500 *Zat* and 200 *Sawar*. His quota was fixed at 500 horse. Now according to Shah Jahan's rule of bringing $\frac{1}{3}$ or $\frac{1}{4}$ part to the *dager*, if both *Zat* and *Sawar* represented cavalry. *Danishmand* would have been required to maintain $\frac{1}{4}$ since he was at court i.e., $5000 + 2000 = 7000$, $\frac{1}{4}$ of which is 1750 horsemen. If *Zat* had represented cavalry and *Sawar* a money allowance, then *Danishmand* would have been required to maintain $\frac{1}{4}$ of 5000, i.e., 1250 horsemen. If *Sawar* represented cavalry then *Danishmand Khan* would have been required to maintain $\frac{1}{4}$ of 2000 i.e., 500 horsemen and he maintained 500 horsemen.

So we come to the conclusion that *Sawar* represented cavalry and did not mean any extra force over and above that of *Zat*. This $\frac{1}{4}$ rule lasted to the end of Aurangzeb's reign; for *Manucci* writes that "a man getting the pay of *Hazary*, in the first class is obliged to keep 250 horsemen of different races—64 *Pathans*, 64 *Mughals* and 64 *Rajputs*; the remainder *Sayyids* and *Sheikhzadas* and so forth. The regulation still observed up to this day was made by Akbar". "These with the same rate in the second class are obliged to keep 125 horsemen and the same with all other classes."¹¹ *Manucci* is here referring to what *Mirati-Ahmadi*¹² describes as "*Tabinan* if

10. Irvine; *Army*. Pp. 54-55.

11. *Storia* Vol. II. P. 375

12. II. F. 118 op. cit. Irvine; *Army*.

horsemen must be $\frac{1}{3}$ *Mughals* and $\frac{1}{3}$ *Afghans* and $\frac{1}{3}$ *Rajput*." And *ushal Chand* gives further details: "a noble from *Mawar-un-nahr* recruited none but *Mughals*; if from *Iran* he might have $\frac{1}{3}$ *Mughals* and the remainder *Sayyids* and *Sheiks* Nobles who who *Sayyids* or *Sheikhs* enlisted their own tribes or up to $\frac{1}{6}$ they might take *Afghans*. *Afghans* might have one half *Afghans* and the other half *Mughals* and *Sheikhzadas*, *Rajputs* made up their whole force of *Rajputs*";¹³ I think *Bernier* refers to the same when he talks of the king maintaining different classes of troops like *Afghans* and *Rajputs* as mutual checks to one another.¹⁴

It may be argued that there are later evidences and what was true of Shah Jahan's and Aurangzeb's reigns need not necessarily be true of Akbar's and Jahangir's, and *Zat* may have represented cavalry in Akbar and Jahangir's time. '*Sawar*' could not have come into existence later than 1595 A.D.; for in that year *Abul Fazl* says: "Mansabdars were divided into three classes: first those who had horsemen equal in number to their office (*Mansab*): and those who had half and upwards: 3rd those who had less. The pay of each was fixed".¹⁵ This does not exclude the possibility of *Sawars* existing from the earliest times. It may have been fixed arbitrarily and Akbar with his fondness for classification may have classed them and regularised the grades in that year. Whatever it is, viewed from the 20th year of Shah Jahan's reign both *Zat* and *Sawar* may be taken as contemporary military institutions. Now institutions decay in course of time. It is almost a law of nature. Contemporary institutions of a similar type when they decay, decay together. If both *Zat* and *Sawar* had represented cavalry forces, in Akbar's time, it is reasonable to expect that *Mansabdar* would keep some horsemen under *Zat* rank and some under *Sawar*. They would not keep everything under *Sawar* and none under *Zat*. But we find the *Shahjahani* noble maintaining his cavalry only under *Sawar* rank.

Besides we have evidences of two European travellers in Jahangir's reign who became mansabdars of the Great Mogul. Their descriptions of the military system finally dispose of this theory of double force. Four letters of *Austin* of Bordeaux, the

13. *Nadir-uz-Zamain* Berlin Ms. 495, fol. 1072 B. Op: cit Irvine *Army*.

14. 36.

15. *Bernier*, *Travels*, Letter to Colbert P. 209-210.

15. *Akbarnamah* Vol. III. P. 1031.

famous Hunarmand, the Feringi artist and goldsmith of Jahangir's memoirs, were discovered by Mr. and Mrs. Allen in the Bibliotheque Publique at Carpentras Vaucluse and were published by them in the Journal of Panjab Historical society.¹⁶ In letter No. 1, addressed to Messieurs les Anbris dated Lahore 20th 1620, Austin writes "I have been in this country 8 years. All the Frenchmen I had brought with me died in the first year and therefore I took service with this king the Great Moghul who at first gave me 4 crowns a day (120 a month) but now during the *last year* made me a captain of 200 horse. [il ma fet capiteno de 200 chevaux]. I made him a royal throne in which there are several millions in gold and silver and several other inventions." The King gave him "two elephants and two horses, a horse valued at 8000 livres and his likeness in gold to put on my hat which is a mark of honour corresponding to the order of holy spirit in France"¹⁷ and Austin signs himself "Augustin Honaremand" (a Persian name "which the King has given me and which means inventer of arts."). In another letter to Baron du Tour he gives a description of the throne he made "supported by four lions weighing 150 quintals of silver covered with golden leaf."

Austin must have received all the presents the 'last year' i.e., 1619 which is confirmed by Jahangir himself in his memoirs. He writes "among the offerings of that Madar-us-Saltanat there was a throne of gold and silver the supports of which were in the form of tigers the throne has been made by a skilful European of the name of Hunarmand who had no rival in the arts of goldsmith and jeweller and in all sorts of skill." Further on Jahangir writes he presented "3000 darb, a horse and an elephant." He describes these events in the 14th year of accession which fell on 10 march 1619 A.D.¹⁸ In letter No. 2 Austin writes of presenting to King Louis "with two elephants of whom the King gave me the male and the prince the female." So there is remarkable confirmation and it shows that Austin is a trustworthy writer. There is however no reference to Austin's mansab in Jahangir's memoirs which is perhaps due to that "if the increase of mansabs given to

16. J. P. H. S. Vol. IV. Pp. 3 et seq.

17. Sir T. Roe also was similarly honoured by Jahangir. See his journals Vol. I. P. 244-45. It very probably represents 'The token and the likeness' shast-u-Shubib given to the *initiates* by the Emperors Akbar and Jahangir. See Tuzuki-Jahangiri, Vol. I. P. 60-1. R. and B.

18. Tuzuki-Jahangiri Vol. II. P. 80. R. and B.

those of less than 500 were to be written in full it would be too long".¹⁹ In 1632 Austin left the service of the new Emperor Shah Jahan. The cause of the dismissal he says was due to his refusal to make engines of war against the Deccanis "although" he writes "they offered to make me a captain of a thousand horse or to give me the pay without the obligation to maintain the horse if I did not so desire." This last remark is important. It shows that there was a rank without the obligation to maintain horse and another with the obligation to maintain horses. Now under the Mughal system there could be a Zat rank without Sawar, but there never was a Sawar rank without Zat. Sawar rank implied that the possessor had Zat rank also. So the conclusion is justifiable that Sawar rank implied that the Mansabdar had to maintain horses and Zat one without the obligation to maintain horses. The other European traveller who became a mansabdar under Jahangir was Captain Hawkins. Angrej Khan was not so fortunate as Hunarmand to be mentioned by the Shah-in-Shah in his memoirs but his evidence is trustworthy. Captain Hawkins came to India in 1608. He set out for Agra on the 15th of Feb. 1609 and reached Agra on the 12th of April. He was presented to Jahangir and was appointed by him as he describes "a captain of 400 horse." This appointment must have been before 12th July 1609, for William Finch writes to Captain Hawkins, of "the King making you a captain of 400 horse"²⁰; and Downton's letter of Feb. 24, 1611 speaks of Hawkins' disgrace and return²¹. So Hawkins was a Mansabdar for nearly 19 months, a fairly long period to understand the intricacies of the Mansabdari system. Hawkins' evidence as regards his mansab and pay which he says was fixed at £3200 is confirmed by Jesuit testimony. Guerriero says "The King made him a captain of 400 horse with the pay of Rs. 30,000"²². Hawkins' evidence cannot be rejected as a traveller's tale.

He writes "The custom is they are allowed so much living to maintain that post which the King has given them; that is to say they are allowed twenty rupias of every horse by the month and two rupias by the month for every horsefame for the maintenance of their table as thus: a captain that hath five thousand horse to

19. Tuzuki-Jahangiri Vol. II. P. 83. R. and B.

20. Letters received Vol. I. 1602-13 P. 23.

21. *Ibid.* P. 158.

22. "Jahangir and the Jesuits" C. H. Payne P. 80.

maintain in the wars hath likewise of fame other five thousand which he is not to maintain in the wars, but only for his table allowed upon every horse and the other five thousand twenty rupias by the month."²³

In other words it meant "a captain of 5000 horsefame and 5000 horse" had to maintain 5000 horse for the wars. In the official language it meant that a mansabdar of Panj hazari Zat Panj hazar Sawar had to maintain only 5000 cavalry. Had Zat and Sawar represented two cavalry forces a captain would have been required to maintain 10,000 horses. So one of them is honorary. What is captain Hawkins' horsefame? Is it Zat or Sawar? He himself gives an indication of what he means by horsefame. He writes, "They that be of the fame of 12000 belong to the King and his mother and eldest son . . . Dukes be of 9000 fame, marquesses 5000 fame, earles 3000 fame Yeomen from 20 downwards. All they that have these numbers of horsefame are called mansabdars or men of living or Lordships . . ." Then follows a list of the Amirs. In this list Prince Khurram is mentioned as belonging to 9000 horsefame.

Prince Khurram the future Shah Jahan received his first mansam of 8000 Zat 5000 Sawar in March 1607. The following table taken from Dr. Beni Prasad's History of Jahangir settles that Hawkins meant Zat when he talked of horsefame.

A.D.	Zat — Sawar.
1607	8000 — 5000
1611	10000 — 5000
1612	12000 — 5000
"	12000 — 6000
1615	15000 — 8000
1616	20000 — 10000
1617	30000 — 20000

23. Purchass his Pilgrimes. Vol. III. 44-45.

Hawkins as we have seen must have left Agra sometime in December 1610, for at the end of February 1611 he was at Surat. If Khurram's 9000 horsefame meant Sawar then he could not have received his Sawar rank before 1615 A.D. when his Sawar was raised to 8,000, and Hawkins had left India by 1611 A.D. So we conclude that Hawkins meant Zat when he talked of horsefame. Sometime between 1611 Khurram must have received the rank of 9,000 Zat of which there is no mention in the Persian Histories.

We have to consider Dr. Tripathi's view that Sawar indicated a rate of allowance given to mansabdars honoured with this distinction. Dr. Tripathi mainly bases his argument on the case of the Yuzbasis and the evidence of Hawkins.

Every mansabdar had to muster according to what was technically called *Dah : bisti*. 3 seh asp, 4 Do asp and 3 yak asp. i.e., 10 soldiers with 20 horses: A sib asp trooper got 1,000 Dams, a Do asp, 800 Dams, yak asp 600 dams²⁴. This works out at Rs. 200 for 10 troopers or Rs. 20 per trooper [average]. This is exactly what Hawkins means when he says "the other five thousand twenty rupias by the month."²⁵ But what is Captain Hawkins' "*Two Rupias by the month*" allowed "for every horsefame for the maintenance of their table?" He explains that this 'horsefame' he need not maintain for wars "but only for his table allowed upon every horse." He means two Rupias were allowed for the horsefame which depended on his horse.

Abul Fazl when explaining the rule technically known as *Dah bisti* takes the case of a *Dah basi* explains the rules and clearly says that the rule held good for all grades²⁶. As regards the case of Yuzbasis or mansabdars of 100, he does not say that it held good for all grades, but gives much information about them. He writes "Yuzbasis are of eleven classes. The first class contain such as furnish 100 troopers. Their monthly salary is 700. The eleventh class contains such as have no troops of their own. This class gets 500. The nine intermediate classes have monthly salaries decreasing from 700 by Rs. 20 for every 10 troopers which they furnish less."²⁷

24. Akbarnamah Vol. III. P. 1031-32.

25. "They are allowed twenty Rupias of every horse" Hawkins.

26. Ain 5. Blochmann P. 251.

27. Ain Book II. B. P. 238.

Another rule was Sawar varied the Zat allowance. "The monthly grant made to the mansabdars vary according to the condition of their Sawars. An officer whose Sawar comes up to his mansab is put in the first class. If his Sawar is one half and upwards of the fixed number he is put in the second class. Third class contains such whose Sawars are still less as is shown in the table below."²⁸ The following table condensed from Blochmann illustrates the point.

Rank	monthly salary in Rupees		
	1st grade	2nd grade	3rd grade
5,000	30,000	29,000	28,000
3,000	17,000	16,800	16,700
1,000	8,200	8,100	800
500	2,500	2,300	2,100
100	700	600	500

If it is accepted that the Yuzbasis example is illustrative it means that the salaries entered in the second and third column is the salary of the mansabdar of the last grade of their respective classes. For instance the pay of Rs. 29,000 entered in the second column is the pay of a Panj hazary mansabdar whose Sawar is 2,500. A Panj Hazary mansabdar whose Sawar is let us say 3,000 though technically classed under second class would get more pay than 29,000 which is the pay of Panj Hazary whose Sawar is 2,500. The pay entered in the third column would be the pay of the last grade, of third class i.e., one who had no Sawar rank. If this is accepted then the above table becomes a sort of an apparatus for calculation in the variation in Zat pay, which was due to Sawar rank. For instance a Yuzbasi who had no Sawar rank would get a monthly pay of Rs. 500. His Sawar would be increased say by 50, then his Zat pay would be Rs. 600 an increase of Rs. 100 for 50 Sawars, which works out at Rs. 2 per Sawar. A Panj Hazary who had no Sawar would get 28,000 a month. His Sawar is increased to

28. Blochmann P. 238.

say 5,000. His pay would be Rs. 30,000, an increase in Zat pay of 2,000 for 5,000 Sawars. For each Sawar the increase in Zat allowance works out at two-fifths of a Rupee or 16 Dams in the money of account. For each mansab the rate of increase is fixed arbitrarily. It was to this variation in Zat pay, due to Sawar rank, that Hawkins draws our attention which he picturesquely describes as "Table allowance" on "horsefame" allowed on 'horse'. It is not a Sawar allowance as it is mistaken by many.

So we come to the conclusion that Sawar represented the actual cavalry which a mansabdar commanded or was expected to command from the 20th year of Shah Jahan to the end of Alamgir's reign and that it was fixed at one-third or one-fourth of his Sawar rank which depended on where the mansabdar was placed, whether at court or elsewhere and where he had his jagir whether in the suba in which he served or elsewhere. Sawar did not mean a money allowance. Zat certainly did not represent cavalry forces a mansabdar commanded. Zat and Sawar did not represent two cavalry forces.

Then the question still remains—What is Zat? Before trying to answer what Zat is, let us inquire into the salaries of the mansabdars and their followers. Scholars as usual disagree. Blochmann held that the salaries of mansabdars as given in Ain were of the Zat rank while the cavalry was paid from the Imperial and local treasuries. Irvine accepts Blochmann's view. Dr. Tripathi says that if this view is accepted, "The military expenditure would reach to incredible figures which would baffle the very resources of the Mughal Empire." Mr. Dasrath Sherma suggests that in Akbar's reign mansabdars seem to have been expected to keep—whether they kept or not is a different question—as many horsemen as were indicated by their Zat rank and were paid for these from the Imperial and local treasuries. From the Zat salary the mansabdar maintained his household and kept the specified establishment."²⁹ Dr. Tripathi's view is that a "mansabdar of twenty [Bisti] had to maintain from his own salary five horses of specified classes, one fourth class elephant, six camels, and one cart; six sih asp, Eight Do asp and six yak asp, in all 20 men with 40 horses. This rule was known as the *Dah bisti* and held good for all grades." Abul Fazl says that in 1595 a new order was made and sih aspis received Rs. 25, Do aspis Rs. 20 and yak aspis Rs. 15. This as was

29. J. I. H. Vol. 1926-27 P. 364.

pointed out previously works out at Rs. 20 per head [average] and is corroborated by Hawkins. If Dr. Tripathi's view that a mansabdar has to keep not only the requisite establishments but also pay his cavalry out of his own pay is accepted, it would mean for instance that a Panj Hazary has not only to keep his elephants, horses, camels, etc., but also pay 5,000 horsemen with 10,000 horses. This is not possible. His pay ranged from 28,000 to 30,000. The establishment charges of elephants, etc., calculated on the basis of expenses allowed in the Imperial stables comes to about Rs. 10,600 per month. It may be a little less but still the expenses are considerable. He would have a balance of 10 to 20 thousand to keep his household and pay 5,000 soldiers. Even if he had paid his all the pay for a horseman comes to about Rs. 4 per month which is equal to that of a piada or footman. With what else could he maintain himself and his family? Even a keeper of animals like siyaposh in the Imperial service received about Rs. 2-8-0 to Rs. 3 a month.

So we have to accept Blochmann's view which is supported by Irvine that for his cavalry a mansabdar received a separate pay, disbursed from the Imperial and local treasuries. From his Zat salary he maintained his household and the requisite establishment.

If this view is accepted it would leave a balance to the mansabdar which is really stupendous. The following table condensed from Blochmann is taken from Mr. Moreland's Book 'India at the death of Akbar.'³⁰

Rank.	Monthly salary in Rupees.			Expenses of the Forces.
	1st grade.	2nd. grade.	3rd. grade.	
5000	30000	29000	28000	10600
3000	17000	16800	16700	6700
1000	8200	8100	8000	3000
500	2500	2300	2100	1170
100	700	600	500	285

30. India at the death of Akbar Ch. III. Pp. 65-68.

Mr. Moreland rightly points out that these expenses are maxima and a competent commander could maintain these forces at a substantially small sum. Besides, an officer was entitled to retain for himself 5 per cent. of his soldiers' pay. Mr. Moreland correctly points out that an officer of 5,000 would have at least 18,000 a month, if he belonged to the lowest grade. A Hazary would have at least Rs. 5,000. He further points out that these are in Akbar's Rupees and will have to be multiplied six or seven times to represent them in modern currency. It means a third class Panj hazary would have at least an income of what a lakh of rupees would buy now and this was his salary for a month! A Hazary could count on an income of 25 to 30 thousand rupees a month.

These are really astonishing figures and perhaps no government in the history of the world has remunerated its servants on such a regal scale. But there must be some explanation for these huge figures. There are certain points which if accepted would reduce these figures to some manageable limits.

Badaoni says that "Shah-baz Khan the Mir Bakshi introduced the custom of Daghu-mahall which had been the rule of Sultan Alaudin Khilji and afterwards the law under Sher Shah. It was settled that every Amir should commence as a commander of twenty [Bisti] and be ready with his followers to mount guard, carry messages, etc., as has been ordered; and when according to the rule he had brought the horses of his twenty troopers to be branded he was to be made a commander of hundred (sâdi) or more. They are likewise to keep elephants, horses and camels in proportion to their mansab."³¹

This new rule was introduced sometime in 1575 A.D. The Ain-i-Akbari gives the details of these elephants, camels, horses, etc., which a mansabdar had to keep according to his mansab.³²

Father Monserrate was in India or rather at Akbar's court from 1580-1582, only five years after the introduction of the Daghu-mahall. He had exceptional opportunities to observe and accompany Akbar in the Kabul expedition. He had an opportunity to observe how the military system worked in practice. His evidence cannot be lightly set aside.

31. Badaoni' Lowe Vol. II. P. 193.

32. Blochmann Ain Tables. P. 248.

He writes 'Although the infantry which has various types of arms is *entirely a fighting force*, yet the cavalry is regarded as the very flower of the army..... There are 45,000 cavalry, five thousand elephants and *many thousand infantry paid directly from the royal treasury*. In addition to these there are troops whose command is inherited by their chief officers from father to son like an hereditary estate;³³ then troops consisting of cavalry, infantry and elephant detachment are paid by their commanding officers out of the revenues of provinces which they hold from the King.....the King takes great care in the assignment of territories to grant each noble a district large enough to enable him to maintain due state and dignity and to support properly his share of the military forces. Thus he, for instance, who has to maintain two brigades receives a richer province than he who has to maintain one brigade."³⁴

Badaoni tells us that a mansabdar had to maintain *elephants, camels, horses* in proportion to their mansab. Father Monserrate gives us an additional bit of information that he had to maintain infantry also. This infantry according to the Father is not "*The many thousand infantry paid directly from the royal treasury*" but the infantry "paid by their commanding officers out of the revenues of the provinces which they hold from the king" i.e., from their jagir.

"The many thousand infantry paid directly from the royal treasury," is evidently the Dakhili Piadgan of the Ain³⁵. These were paid by the State but were handed over to the mansabdar. Similarly the king's elephants, horses, camels, panthers, fallow deer and doves were also handed over to be looked after by the grandees.³⁶ Ain says that the fodder charges were paid to the mansabdar³⁷. Hawkins admits that the king allowed them certain expenses but complains that some of them "will eat a good deal more than the allowance cometh unto". This was the origin of the Khuraki Da-

33. Cf. Hawkins, Purchass III. P. 34 'The custom of the Mogul Emperor is to take possession of nobleman's treasure when they die unto the eldest son he has got very great respect who in time receiveth the full title of his father.

34. Commentarius Trans Hoyland and Banerji P. 89.

35. Ain 6 Book II. Blochmann P. 254.

36. Commentarius P. 90.

37. Ain I. 26.

wabb which became a serious cause for complaint in the time of Aurangzeb.³⁸ However, if any mansabdar commanded the "many thousand infantry paid directly from the royal treasury it was in addition to those which they had to keep out of the revenues of the provinces which he holds from the king". Irvine points out that these 'Dakhili Piadgan has dropped out of the later official manuals.'³⁹

Fortunately a Dutch account gives some information about the number of infantry which a mansabdar had to keep "out of the revenues of the provinces which they hold from the king." To use Monserrate's words this Dutch account known as the "Gujerat Report," is now published by the Linschoten Society as "De Remonstantie Van W. Geleynssen de Jough—Hague." A few passages have been translated by Mr. Moreland.⁴⁰ Mr. Moreland says that anyone who has read the report will agree with him that the writer was a religious man hungry for facts and figures and utterly devoid of imagination. I will reproduce two passages in extenso. "Broach is under the rule of the Great Moghul, who for the present has granted with all its revenue for maintenance to a great Amir or commandant of 1,500 horse. For this the said commandant, whose name is Nahir Khan must maintain that force, for the King's service in addition to 1,500 foot, elephant, etc. Baroda has been granted by the King for maintenance to one of his Amirs or commandants named Nahir Khan, who has to hold for the King and protect it with 1,500 horse and 1,500 foot, who must always be ready for the King's service when he calls on them"⁴¹. The above Dutch writer must have been writing of Nahir Khan a little later than 1618 A.D. when according to *Tuzuki Jahangiri*, Nahir Khan was promoted to the mansab 1,500 Zat, 1,500 Sawar.⁴² European travellers always described Zat rank as that of horses. "A captain of 5,000 horse" is the usual way with them of describing a mansabdar of 5,000. This extract from "Gujerat Report" suggests that Zat ranks perhaps represented infantry which the mansabdar commanded. A passage in *Tuzuki Jahangiri* suggests that Zat rank represented infantry or Piada. "On this day writes Jahangir in his memoirs [16th new year feast Monday

38. Elliot and Dowson VII P. 403.

39. Irvine. Army. P. 160.

40. J. I. H. Vol. III. 1924. P. 69.

41. Ibid P. 72.

42. Tuzuk. R. and B. Vol. II. P. 22.

27 Rabiul Akhir 1030 A.H. 10th March 1621]. Baqir Khan arrayed his men before me in order. The great Bakshis recorded (the number) as 1,000 horse and 2,000 foot. Having promoted him to the mansab of 2,000 Zat and 1,000 horse I entrusted the duties of Fauzdar of Agra to him."⁴³ Baqir Khan's previous mansab was 1,500 Zat and 500 horse.⁴⁴ This passage definitely suggests that Zat represented infantry. False muster according to Irvine was an evil from which the Moghul army suffered even in its palmiest days. But at least we should expect the requisite number would be made up on the day of parade and inspection, the Daghu-Mahall as it was called.

Mr. G. Yazdani, in an article on Jahanara,⁴⁵ writes that "The early training and associations of Jahanara were all that could be desired. Her wet nurse was Huri Jan, whose son Mahomed Zahid rose under Shah Jahan to the rank of Do hazari nazaro Panchsad Sawar, a commander of 2,000 foot and 1,500 horse." He also comes to the conclusion that Zat represents foot. I wrote to him and he very kindly replied giving me the priceless information that in Hyderabad State until recently such titles were given and that Zat signified foot and Sawar cavalry.⁴⁶ So, if I err in my conclusion that Zat represents Piada, I err in good company.

The explanation why the infantry was brought under Zat seems to be that the word Piadagon connoted a wider meaning than infantry proper. It included infantry as well as the ministrant staff like camp followers, tent men, etc. Irvine points out that the chapter on Piadagon in Ain ⁴⁷ corresponds generally with the Ahsham of the later books. The word Ahsham is defined (steinglass) as servants, domestics, followers, attendants, retainers, militia. In Dastur-ul-Amal it corresponds to infantry.

Since horses, camels, elephants, mules, carts, etc., came under the mansabdars' household and had to be paid and maintained out of the Zat pay, it naturally follows that camel men, elephant men, etc., attached to these establishments came under Zat. These are domestics and may be described as Piadagon or Ahsham. Since

43. Tuzuk Vol. II. P. 199 R. and B.

44. Ibid P. 120 R. and B.

45. J. P. H. S. Vol. II. 152.

46. Private letter dated 26th March 1935.

47. 251-254 Blochmann.

they are Piadgaon we find the infantry proper also under Zat. This explains the huge salary of the mansabdars. It must be admitted that it is an anomaly that the foot should be brought under Zat. But anomalies existed under the Mughal system. Irvine points out the anomalous classification of the artillery as part of the Imperial household in book 1 of the Ain-i-Akbari instead of with the rest of the army in book II. The writer points out that Akbar's 12,000 matchlock men, who were the only men to be reckoned as soldiers, are classed with door-keepers, palace guards, kahars and so forth.⁴⁸ There is no reason why the infantry under the mansabdars should not be classed with the elephant men, camel-men and cart men.

When the mansabdar had to maintain infantry also, besides the other establishment the Zat pay is considerably reduced. Broadly speaking the pay of the foot varied from 100 to 400 Dams.⁴⁹ The pay of the ordinary Bandukchis varied from 110 to 250 Dams. The pay of the archers varied from 100 to 120 Dams. These may be described as infantry proper, so under Akbar the wages varied from 100 to 250 Dams or Rs. 2-8-0 to Rs. 6-4-0. Jahangir says that at his accession he raised the salary of the domestics by 20 per cent.⁵⁰ which would mean that the pay varied from 3 to 7½. This agrees with Hawkins' statement that the pay of the porters, gunners, lackeys . . . all these be paid monthly out of the King's treasury whose wages be from 10 to 3". So if we take Rs. 3 the lowest as the average pay of the foot it would leave to a panj hazary 8 or 9 thousand a month a considerable pay still, considering the purchasing power of the rupee. Perhaps Jahangir had this in view when he pensioned off Mir Jamaludin Hussain Tuzu, who had attained the rank of 5,000 Zat—3,500 sawar on Rs. 4,000 a month⁵¹ which is about 50 per cent. of the net income of a second class Panj hazary.

The acceptance of the view that Zat represented infantry would not only reduce the Zat salary to a reasonable figure but also solve the question of how the infantry was organised and commanded. It is also reasonable to expect that a mansabdar would command infantry also when we know that he commanded not only cavalry but also elephants, camels, etc.

48. Irvine. Army. P. 160.

49. Ain Blochmann.

50. Tuzuk R. and B. Vol. I. P. 10.

51. Tuzuki-Jahangiri Vol. II.

The Imperial Treasury of the Greater Mughals

By

MR. ABDUL AZIZ, BAR-AT-LAW,

[AUTHOR'S COPYRIGHT]

Part II : Jewel Treasury

Chapter III : Notices of Semi-precious Stones and other Substances. (Continued)

IVORY AND IVORY WORK IN INDIA.

Now we can jot down some bits of information about ivory and articles of ivory in India during the Mughal period :—

Ivory, especially the best kinds, came chiefly from Africa in the first instance.²¹ It was, however, also imported from England, though sometimes the commodity was rather dearer in England than in India.²² The ivory brought from England was not so white as that which came from Mozambique.²³ 'The largest teeth', says Milburn, 'are said to come from Africa, and are most esteemed being of a closer texture, and less liable to turn yellow than those from the East Indies.'²⁴

'The ivory from the islands of Ceylon and Achin [he means Sumatra]', says Tavernier, 'has the peculiarity when it is worked that it never becomes yellow like that from the Peninsula and the West (sic) Indies; this causes it to be more esteemed and dearer than the other' (I, 222-23). No elephants are found in the West Indies!

So also Ovington: 'The Achen Elephants are most looked upon for their Teeth, because that Ivory they say, maintains its Whiteness, and turns not Yellow, as other does' (p. 192).

21. E. F. I. 1624-1629, p. XXXV and Milburn, *Oriental Commerce* I, 6

22. E. F. I. 1630-1633, p. 5.

23. *Letters*, III, 10.

24. Milburn, *Oriental Commerce*, I, 62.

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The elephants of Ceylon, says Linschoten, are the best (I, 80).

These remarks are corroborated by Watt, *Dictionary of the Economic Products of India* :

'It is said that Indian ivory has an opaque dead-white colour, and manifests a tendency to become discoloured. The Ceylon ivory is distinguished by fine grain, small size, and pearly bluish tint. Siam ivory is in the trade regarded as much superior to the Indian in appearance and density. It has been remarked of Africa that the nearer the equator the smaller the elephants but the larger the tusks. The finest *transparent* ivory is collected along the West Coast, between latitudes 10°N. and 10°S. The best *white* ivory is obtained from the East Coast. African ivory is said to be best when recently cut. It has a mellow warm transparent tint, as if soaked in oil, and has very little appearance of grain or texture' (Watt, *Dict.*, III, 227).

We gather from scattered remarks by the John Company factors that the quality of ivory depended on weight, length, and whiteness, as well as on the perfect roundness and soundness of the tusks.²⁵

According to Fryer there were three qualities of ivory :

'*Muyn*, such are the greatest, free from Flaws.

Muyda, which are the lesser, or the great ones with Flaws.

Sera, the least, or worst sort' (II, 140).

I am not able to trace the words, *Muyn*, *Muyda* and *Sera*; nor am I able to suggest whether they are of Portuguese or Oriental origin.

'The Weights by which they are bought,' continues Fryer, 'are *Baharrs* and *Frasslees*; each *Baharr* 20 *Frasslees*, each *Frasslee* 12 l. and they call the *Baharrs* Gross.

Of *Muyne*, $\frac{1}{2}$ *Baharr* of 20 *Frasslees*, makes 1 *Baharr* Gross.

Of *Muyda* and *Muyn* they hold equal Price, in regard that though the Teeth of *Muyn* be bigger than the other, yet the *Muyda* giving more Weight, they balance Account' (II, 140).

This means apparently that *Muyn* and *Muyda*—the first and second quality—were quoted nominally at the same price, but as the

25. *Letters*, II, 181; III, 10; IV, 296.

Baharr Gross of the former was half the weight of the *Baharr Gross* of the latter, the price of the former was really double that of the latter.

Formerly, says Fryer, *Muyn* and *Muyda* were worth 260, 270 and 280 *Cruzado* per *Baharr Gross*. A *Cruzado*, according to Fryer, is $\frac{1}{5}$ of a *Roy* of $\frac{8}{8}$, or $\frac{8}{5}$ (or $1\frac{3}{5}$) rupees,²⁶ since a royal (or rial or real) or eight=Rs. 2. The price of a *Baharr Gross* would thus be Rs. 416, 432 and 448 respectively; that is to say, for *Muyn* Rs. 416 to 448 per 120 lb., and for *Muyda* Rs. 416 to 448 per 240 lb.

Of the third quality; *Sera*, the current price, says Fryer, is 150, 160 and rarely 180 *Cruzado* per *Baharr Gross*. Presuming that the *Baharr Gross* of this quality was 240 lb., the quoted price would come to Rs. 240, 256 and 288 respectively for 240 lb.

Further, at Surat the following rule was observed in the ivory trade: 'All over 16 *Sear* sell at 40 *Sear* to the *Maund*; from 10 to 16, at 60 *Sear* to the *Maund*; from 10 *Sear* and under, 80 *Sear* allowed to the *Maund*' (*Ibid.*)

Here the figures refer apparently to the total weight of the particular tusk, a larger one being far more valuable than a smaller one, other things being equal.

As Fryer is talking of Surat, by *seer* he means presumably Surat *seer*, which was $\frac{3}{4}$ of a pound or a little under; so that 16 *seers* would be 11 or 12 lb., and 10 *seers* about 7 lb.

William Milburn, who was in India in the beginning of the eighteenth and end of the nineteenth century, supports this statement, with the further subdivision, that while the tusks weighing from 10 to 5 *seers* each went 80 *seers* (or 2 maunds) to the maund, those weighing under 5 *seers* went 160 *seers* (i.e., 4 maunds) to the maund (Milburn, *Oriental Commerce*, I, 62.)

Milburn also is talking of Surat and Cutch, but he makes his 16 *seers* equal to 15 lb., which is an unusual value.

The E. I. Company factors give a widely different scale of weights for the various kinds:

26. This result is not consistent with the value assigned by Dr. Ball to a *crusado*, which ranges between 2 s. 3 d. and 2 s. 10 d. But when we are taking Fryer's statements and weights we must accept his values.

Surat factors, writing under date 26 Feb., 1616 [1617], place in the first class tusks weighing two, three, or four to a hundred-weight, in the second those weighing four to eight to a hundred-weight, and in the third such as weighed 27 per cwt. (*Letters*, V, 105).

This would assign tusks weighing 28 to 56 lb. to the first class, those weighing 14 to 28 lb. to the second, and those weighing 4 lb. and under to the third.

Again, we are told that tusks weighing under 16 lb. lose a third in value (*E. F. I.* 1651-1654, 140), the hollow of the teeth being worth little (*Letters*, II, 181).

We learn that the medium kinds of ivory found the best market in Gujarāt, while the largest specimens, as one would imagine, were in demand at Agra and Lahore (*Letters*, V, 105). In another place we are told that tusks weighing 16 to 30 lb. apiece were most vendible at Surat (*E. F. I.* 1651-1654, p. 140).

The following run of prices can be gathered from the notices in *E. F. I.* and *Letters* :—

Quality.	Price in rupees per Akbari maund (of 55 lb.).
Large.	40 to 50, with a possible rise to 60. ²⁷
Medium.	30 to 35. ²⁸
Small.	16 to 30. ²⁹

The smaller sort is called "Chan-dahare."³⁰

27. *E. F. I.* 1622-1623, p. 108;
 " 1624-1629, p. 326;
 " 1630-1633, p. 132;
 " 1646-1650, p. 8.
 " 1646-1650, p. 250.
Letters, I, 28, 33 and 238;
 II, 100, 218, 248, 260;
 III, 8, 86;
 IV, 296; V, 105; VI, 159.

28. *Letters*, III, 41; VI, 159;
E. F. I. 1622-1623, p. 8.

29. *E. F. I.* 1661-1664, p. 211; *E. F. I.* 1665-1667, p. 31;
Letters, I, 299 and 304;
Letters, V, 105; VI, 159.

30. *E. F. I.* 1618-1621, p. 189.

Linschoten speaks in glowing terms of the skill and workmanship of Cingalese artificers in gold, silver, ivory, iron, and other metals. 'They make the fairest barrels for pèces that may be found in any place, which shine as bright as if they were Silver.' The same writer thus describes a crucifix of ivory: 'My maister the Archbishop had a crucifixe of Ivorie of an elle long, presented unto him, by one of the inhabitants of the Ile, and made by him so cunningly and workmanly wrought, that in the hayre, beard, and face, it seemed to be alive, and in al [other parts] so neatly wrought and proportioned in limmes, that the like can not be done in [all] Europe: Whereupon my maister caused it to be put into a case, and sent unto the King of Spaine, as a thing to be wondered at, and worthy of so great a Lord, to be kept among his [costliest] Jewels' (1, 81).

'Their teeth which is the Ivory bone, is much used in India, specially in Cambaia, whereof they make many curious peeces of workmanship, the women weare manillas, or arme bracelets thereof, ten or twelve about each arme, whereby it is there much worne, and are in great numbers brought out of Aethiopia, Mosambique and other places' (Linschoten, II, 3).

In this connection the following passage in the E. F. I. chronicle relating to the Surat Presidency in 1668 is of interest: 'Elephants teeth have fallen in price these five yeares, and hath not that good esteeme as in former tymes; which made us very inquisitive to finde out the reason, and are told that much of the use they were putt to is taken off; as, uppon the death of the husband, the wife, putting herselfe into widowhood, not onely layes by all her jewells and ornaments, but breakes her ivory braceletts, which are 8 or 10 uppon each wrist; and soe did the whole kindred, mourning certain dayes, and then were again supplied with new from the deceaseds kindred; which superstition was soe universall that it caused a vast expence of teeth. But they of late are become wiser and make silver in their stead, which att funeralls they lay by for a tyme and then putt them on again; and this is now become soe generall that little or noe ivory is worne' (E. F. I. 1668-1669, p. 26).

Jahāngīr tells with his usual unction the story of a slave's workmanship in ivory carving: 'One of the royal slaves who was serving in the seal-cutting departments prepared and laid before me a design such as I had never seen or heard of before. As it is exceedingly strange, a detailed description of it is given. In the shell of a filbert four compartments had been carved out of ivory

[strictly, elephant bone]. The first compartment was one of wrestlers, in which two men were engaged in wrestling, a third was standing with a spear in his hand, a fourth with a hard stone ['a stone and a cord'. i.e., a sling]. Another was sitting with his hands placed on the ground, while in front of him were laid a piece of wood, a bow and a pot. In the second a throne had been made above which a *shamiyāna* (a tent-fly or canopy) was depicted, and a man of wealth (a prince) was seated on the throne with one leg placed over the other and a pillow at his back. Five servants were standing around and before him, and tree-boughs threw a shade over the throne. In the third compartment is a company of rope-dancers, who have raised upright a pole with three ropes fastened to it. A rope-dancer upon it (qu. on the ropes?) has taken hold of his own right foot with his left hand behind his head, and standing on one foot has placed a goat on the top of the pole.³¹ Another person has thrown a drum on his neck and is beating it, whilst another man is standing with his hands lifted up and looking at the rope-dancer. Five other men are also standing, of whom one has a stick in his hand. In the fourth compartment there is a tree, below which the figure of the revered (*ḥaẓrat*) Jesus is shown. One person has placed his head at Jesus' feet, and an old man is conversing with Jesus and four others are standing by. As he had made such a masterpiece, I honoured him with a present and with increased salary' (*Tūzūk*, 97-98; R. & B., I, 200-1).

From the likeness of Jesus Christ in the fourth compartment, Sir Sayyid Aḥmad argues that this piece of carving was probably the work of a European artist; the royal slave having got hold of it and passed it off as his own handiwork.

The King of Ethiopia, Bernier informs us, sent some presents to Aurangzeb at his accession, in token of his goodwill. These included 'a couple of elephants' teeth, of a size so prodigious that it required, it seems, the utmost exertion of a strong man to lift

31. The translator makes a correction in the text, which is not warranted by the readings of the MSS. extant. The I.O. MS., to which the translator refers in a footnote, and the finely-written, though incomplete, copy of the *Tūzūk* in the P. U. L., agree with *Iqbāl-nāma* (p. 58), which reads *buzbāzi*, and not *barbāzi*, as the translator construes it. Sir Sayyid Aḥmad's reading is incorrect. The meaning clearly is that a *buzbāz* is standing and is making a goat stand on the pole, while a person who has a drum round his neck beats it. A *buzbāz* is a performer (quite common in India) who goes about with a goat showing its tricks.

either of them from the ground' (p. 135). None of the presents, however, ever reached Delhi, owing to a series of mishaps on the way.

WALRUS IVORY OR THE 'FISH-TEETH.'

These are the two long canine teeth or tusks in the upper jaw of the walrus, also called sea-horse or morse. The tusks of the female are slightly longer, though not stouter, than those of the male, and may attain a maximum length of three feet.³²

The ivory obtained from walrus-tooth is white like elephant ivory, though somewhat more yellowish; but there seem to have been extant some parti-coloured (veined or spotted) specimens of it, which, when produced before Jahāngīr, drew his enthusiastic admiration.

Out of the presents KHān Daurān sent to Jahāngīr from Kābul, the following, among others, were accepted (5 *Urdibihisht*, XI. R. Y.): 63 horses, 15 camels, a handful of plumes (for aigrettes), 9 pieces of china from KHatā 9 veined fish-teeth (walrus-teeth), and 3 guns (*Tūzuk*, 158).

SHāh 'Abbās, King of Persia, had bestowed on "KHān-i-'Ālam" a dagger the hilt of which was made of walrus-tooth with black spots (or veins). "KHān-i-'Ālam", thinking that the best use he could make of the fine arm was to present it to the Emperor, sent it to court through a servant. The dagger was placed before Jahāngīr on Thursday, the 20th *Tīr*, XIV R. Y. He was delighted with it, and records that it is a rare present, and that he has never seen a spotted specimen of walrus-tooth before. In fact it so whetted his zest for the article that he, ever keen-set for the unusual in nature, sent out men in search of the specimen. But let us hear the rest of the story in his own words: 'A strange circumstance was that I was so much delighted with a jewelled dagger-hilt of piebald teeth which KHān 'Ālam had got from SHāh 'Abbās and sent to me, that I appointed several skilful men to go to Īrān and Tūrān to look for them and to be consistently searching for them, and to bring some from anywhere and any person, anyhow, and at any price. Many of my servants who knew my disposition, and dignified Amīrs in the course of their duty, engaged in the search. It happened that in this city a stupid

stranger bought in the open bazaar a coloured tooth of great beauty and delicacy for a trifle; he believed that some time or other it had fallen into the fire, and that the black on it was the mark of burning! After some time he showed it to one of the carpenters on the establishment of my prosperous son SHāh-Jahān, desiring that he should take off a piece of the tooth in order to make a ring (*shast*) [rather, thumb-stall worn by archers], and pointed out that he should remove the marks of burning and the blacknesses, being ignorant that the blackness enhanced the value and price of the whiteness. Those moles and patches were what the tirewoman of destiny had given as an adornment of its beauty. The carpenter at once went to the Superintendent of his workshop, and gave him the good news that such a rare and precious thing, in search of which people were wandering and going long distances, and hastening to all corners and in all directions in various countries, had fallen for nothing into the hands of an ignorant man, who did not know its value. It could be easily and cheaply obtained from him. The Superintendent went off with him and immediately procured it, and next day produced it before my son. When my son SHāh Jahān came to wait on me he at first showed great delight, and after his brain had become free from the intoxication of the wine of joy, produced it, and greatly pleased me'—

May thy time be happy that
thou hast made mine happy!

'I invoked so many blessings on him that if one of them out of a hundred obtain acceptance, it will suffice for his spiritual and material well-being' (*Tūzuk*, 275; R. & B. II, 96).

The story is continued a page or so lower: 'On the 1st of the Divine month, out of the veined (*jauhar-dār*) spotted tooth (walrus) which my son SHāh-Jahān had given me as an offering, I ordered to be cut off sufficient for two dagger-hilts and a thumb-stall: it came out of a beautiful colour and was very choice. I ordered the *Ustāds* (masters) Pūran and Kalyān, who had no rivals in the art of engraving, to make dagger-hilts of a shape that was approved at this time, and has become known as the Jahāngīrī fashion. At the same time the blade and the sheath and fastenings were given to skilful men, each of whom was unique in his age in his art. Truly, it was all carried out according to my wish. One hilt came out coloured in such a way as to create astonishment. It turned out of all the seven colours, and some of the flowers looked as if a skilful painter had depicted them in black lines round it with a wonder-

32. J. A. Thomson, *New Natural History*, II, 542.

working pencil. In short, it was so delicate that I never wish it to be apart from me for a moment. Of all the gems of great price that are in the treasury I consider it the most precious. On Thursday I girded it auspiciously and with joy round my waist, and the masters who in their completion had exercised great skill and taken great pains were rewarded, Ustād Pūran with the gift of an elephant, a dress of honour, and a golden bracelet for the wrist, which the people of India call *Kara*, and Kalyān with the title of 'Ajā'ib-dast (wondrous hand), and increased mansab, a dress of honour, and a jewelled bracelet (*pahūnchī*), and in the same way every one according to his circumstances and skill received favours' (*Tūzuk*, 276-277; R. & B., II, 98-99).

But this was not the end of the matter. The vigorous search for the "fish-teeth" which the Emperor instituted soon bore fruit in another quarter. In the annals of the next year he has the following information to give us: 'As at this time I was much inclined to parti-coloured veined teeth, the great Amirs exerted themselves greatly in looking out for them. Of these, 'Abdu-l-'Azīz K. Naqshbandī sent a servant of the name of 'Abdu-llah with a letter to *KHwāja Hasan* and *KHwāja 'Abdu-r-Rahīm*, ss. *KHwāja Kalān Jūybārī*, who are to-day the leading holy men of Transoxiana, containing a request for these things. By chance *KHwāja Hasan* had a perfect tooth, exceedingly delicate, and immediately sent it with the aforesaid (servant) to the Court, which it reached this day. I was greatly pleased, and ordered them to send the value of Rs. 30,000 in choice goods to the *KHwājas*, a service for which *Mir Baraka Bukhārī* was fixed upon' (*Tūzuk*, 310; R. & B., II, 166).

The translator thinks that tortoise-shell, and not walrus-tooth, is referred to in these passages; because 'there is nothing black or piebald about walrus-teeth, and *Jahāngīr* would surely not admire greatly a kind of ivory which was inferior to that of the elephant' (II, 94, f. n.). I am rather inclined to think that what is meant is walrus-teeth. We cannot imagine that Indian emperors did not know the difference between walrus-tooth and tortoise-shell. And it was just because walrus-tooth is usually white, and just because the particular specimens obtained bore the beautiful black-and-white veins or spots (which, he says, are rare), that *Jahāngīr* was so enthusiastic over them, and was so keen for more.

On Thursday, the 15th *Ābān*, XIV R. Y., *Jahāngīr* presented to *Sultān Parwīz* a *tipchāq* horse, a waist-dagger with a black-and-

white *jauhardār* handle [of walrus-tooth], a *KHaṣṣa* sword and a *KHaṣṣa* shield (*Tūzuk*, 280).

RHINOCEROS-HORN

Mysterious properties were supposed to belong to the horn of the rhinoceros from ancient times.

The medical dictionaries like the *Muḥīt-i-A'zam* tell us in detail how various diseases could be cured, some by the patient wearing a ring cut out of the horn, others by grinding the horn and drinking the juice, or again by drinking from a cup made of it, or else through vapours rising from the horn held on fire (*Muḥīt-i-A'zam*, Cawnpore, 1313 A.H., IV, p. 61).

Cups made of rhinoceros-horn indicated the presence of poison, and were consequently held in high esteem among nations where poisoning was a common form of taking life. Besides drinking-cups, knife-handles and rings were carved out of the horn.

We find there was a similar belief current in the West, which continued down to the seventeenth century; but there the horn was known as the "unicorn's horn"; that is to say, the Europeans ascribed imaginary properties to the horn of an imaginary animal. This was natural enough, since we know that the rhinoceros did not exist in Europe.

We learn from Fuller's *Worthies of England* that there was a "unicorn's horn" in the Tower as well as another in Windsor Castle. As for its properties, he says, it is reputed to be not only an antidote against several poisons, but it resists 'poisons which kill by second qualities, that is, by corrosion of parts.' Dr. Fuller himself heard a report of a successful experiment made with it, where some grains of the horn proved an effective antidote against poison.³³

Whether these horns were of the rhinoceros, or of the narwhal, or of some other animal, is entirely a matter of conjecture.

It has been remarked that the belief about the properties of a "unicorn's horn" was later transferred to the horn of the rhinoceros, when no unicorn was found to exist.³⁴ Obviously this cannot

33. Thomas Fuller, *History of the Worthies of England*, London, 1840, II, 338 and 340.

34. Linschoten, II, p. 9, footnote 2.

apply to the eastern peoples, who from the beginning stuck to the rhinoceros, and in whose mythology the unicorn had no place.

But we are concerned chiefly with the rhinoceros horn in Mughal India and the popular belief about its virtues in that country.

After describing the rhinoceros and its horn, Linschoten says: 'The Portingales and those of Bengala affirme, that by the River Ganges in the Kingdome of Bengala, are many of these Rhinoceros, which when they will drinke, the other beasts stand and waite upon them, till the Rhinoceros hath drunke, and thrust their horne into the water, for he cannot drink but his horne must be under the water because it standeth so close unto his nose, and muzzle: and then after him all the other beastes doe drinke. Their hornes in India are much esteemed and used against all venime, poyson, and many other diseases: likewise his teeth, clawes, flesh, skin and blood, and his very dung, and water and all whatsoever is about him, is much esteemed in India, and used for the curing of many diseases and sicknesses, which is very good and most true, as I my selfe by experience have found; but it is to be understood, that all Rhinocerotes are not a like good, for there are some whose hornes are sold for one, two, or three hundred Pardawes the peece, and there are others of the same colour and greatnes that are sold but for three or foure Pardawes, which the Indians know and can discerne. The cause is that some Rhinocerotes, which are found in certaine places in the countrie of Bengala have this vertue, by reason of the hearbes which that place only yeeldeth and bringeth forth, which in other places is not so, and this estimation is not onely held of the horne, but of all other things in his whole body, as I saide before' (II, 9-10).

William Finch has the following: 'Here [near Ajodhyā] is great Trade, and such abundance of Indian Asse-horne, that they make hereof Bucklers, and divers sorts of Drinking Cups. There are of these Hornes, all the Indians affirme, some rare of great price, no Jewell comparable, some esteeming them the right Unicorne Horne (Purchas, IV, 66).

'Great Prices', says Fryer, 'are offered for those [rhinoceros horns] that are inadulterate; which they in India pretend to try by the Liquors presently fermenting in them; but notwithstanding that Experiment they are often deceived by false Horns made into drinking Cups' (II, 298).

'They ascribe very much likewise to the Rhinoceros Horn in India', says Ovington, 'as it is an Antidote against all poysonous Draughts, and hugely extol in it that Medicinal Excellence and singular Quality. The Character of this Horn prevail'd so far with a former President of ours at Suratt, that he exchang'd for a Cup made of this Horn a large capacious Silver Bowl of the same bigness'.³⁵

We read in an Armenian's report that 'there are many beasts with one horn in their forehead like unto an unicorn, which horn they say is good against poison, there are of them which weigh 8 lb., some 7, 6, 4, and 3 lb., the greatest and fairest worth some 4 rials per piece, and those of a lesser sort worth less. Amongst the Turks and Moors in Arabia every lb. is worth one rial of 8' (Letters, I, 193).

Bābur tells us that 'out of one of the largest of these horns I had a drinking-vessel made, and a dice-box, and about three or four fingers' bulk of it might be left' (*Memoirs of Bābur*, tr. Leyden, Erskine and King, II, 210).

Sir Thomas Roe once laid a nice little plot against Prince SHāh Jahān. He tried to win his good graces by offering him a "Unicorn's horn" at a price, pretending that he did not speak of it to Jahāngīr since he wanted to give him (the Prince) an opportunity of securing it and offering it in due course to the Emperor. The ambassador spoke in glowing terms of the virtues of the horn, and represented that it was so valuable that he had no power to sell it, and that the merchants made a secret of it, and did not allow it to come out of the ship. He made an offer, however, that if the Prince wished to buy it and would accede to certain demands of Sir Thomas's then pending, he could let the Prince's officers see the horn. 'This I hoped,' continues the ambassador, ever a clever diplomat, and at this moment at his best, 'would both sett an extreame appetite on the Prince, to passe it at a high price, and would insinuate an extraordinary desire in mee to doe him service; and if hee reavealed it to the King, I would answere: because it was not in my power to give His Majestie, I was ashamed to name yt, but had mooved the Prince to buy it for his use.'^{35a}

35. Ovington, *Voyage to Suratt*, London, 1696, p. 297.

35 (a). Foster, *Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to India* p. 255.

The Prince, always a match for the tactician, was in this case too clever for him. He returned formal thanks, but matters proceeded no further.

The above entry is under October 16, 1616. Eight months later Roe records that 'the unicornes horne was returned as without vertue' (p. 366). It was then sent on to Sūrāt and then to Ahmadābād, where John Browne, a factor, showed it to Muqarrab KHān, asking 5,000 rupees for it. The factor says that he tried the efficacy of the horn on the lives of 'a pigeon, goate, and man, which they loosing, itt also lost his esteeme, and soe I retourned it aboard from whence I had ytt'.³⁶

Muqarrab KHān not buying it, the horn was sent to Achin,³⁷ and then on to Bantam.³⁸ Finally it passed into the hands of the Dutch, and was sold in Holland for £400.³⁹

TORTOISE-SHELL

It consists of the horny plates of the hawksbill turtle (*Chelonia imbricata*), the smallest of the sea turtles. These plates are harder, more brittle and less fibrous than ordinary horn. Their value depends on the rich mottled colours they display—a warm translucent yellow, dashed and spotted with rich brown tints—and on the high polish they take and retain. The finest tortoise-shell is obtained from the Eastern Archipelago, particularly from the east coast of Celebes to New Guinea; large supplies come from the West Indian islands and Brazil' (*Encycl. Britan.*, XXII, p. 310).

'Tortoiseshell,' continues the writer of the same article, 'has been a prized ornamental material from very early times. It was one of the highly esteemed treasures of the Far East brought to ancient Rome by way of Egypt, and it was eagerly sought by wealthy Romans as a veneer for their rich furniture. In modern times it is most characteristically used in the elaborate inlaying of cabinet-work known as buhl furniture, and in combination with silver for toilet articles. It is also employed as a veneer for small boxes and frames. It is cut into combs, moulded into snuff-boxes and

other small boxes, formed into knife-handles, and worked up into many other similar minor articles. The plates from certain other tortoises, known commercially as turtle-shell, possess a certain industrial value, but they are either opaque or soft and leathery, and cannot be mistaken for tortoise-shell. A close imitation of tortoise-shell can be made by staining translucent horn or by varieties of celluloid' (*Ibid.*).

'Torteanxes [tortoises] there are likewise in great numbers throughout all India: of their shelles they make many curious devises, as Combes, Cuppes, and Boles to drinke in, with tablemen [men at backgammon] and divers such like thinges, knowing howe to give it a faire and shining colour most pleasant to behold, and is more esteemed of in India, then the mother of pearle, by reason of the beautifull colour they set uppon it' (Linschoten, II, 136). The same writer in another place speaks of shields made of tortoise-shell 'wrought and inlaide very workemanlike' (*Ibid.*, I, 61).

Tortoise-shell seems to have come mainly from Bantam, and also from Ceylon.⁴⁰

The Sūrāt factors declare that the blackest colour and thickest shells are most in request.⁴¹

Sūrāt quotations extending from 1619 to 1649 give a nearly uniform price of just over two rupees a seer (of 7/10 lb.).⁴²

When the shell of a single animal weighed 1½ or 2 lb., says Fryer, it sold for 30 or 36 *Cruzado* per *Frasslee* (II, 140). This price comes to Rs. 48 to 57¾ per *frasslee*.

We assume the *frasslee* to be equal to about 22½ lb., which is the usual value; although on the same page, in connection with ivory, Fryer makes the *frasslee* = 12 lb., which is presumably the special value of the *frasslee* of ivory.

This calculation would yield the price 2½ rupees to the pound—a rate which tallies roughly with that deduced from the factors'

36. *E. F. I.* 1618-1621, p. 12.

37. *Ibid.*, p. 58.

38. *Ibid.*, p. 184.

39. *Ibid.*, p. 11, f. n.

40. *E. F. I.* 1634-1636, pp. 49 and 296;

„ 1642-1645, p. 86 and 211;

„ 1655-1660, p. 56.

41. *E. F. I.* 1618-1621, p. 55.

42. *E. F. I.* 1618-1621, p. 55;

„ 1642-1645, p. 211;

„ 1646-1650, p. 234.

reports (given above) ; although Fryer's time is late in the century, viz., 1672-81.

MISCELLANEOUS

As a supplement to the above are appended the following notices of articles made of ivory, tortoise-shell, ebony, jet, amber, and crystal :

Linschoten, speaking of the industries and trade of Cambay, says that there are found there 'fine playing tables, and Chessebordes of Ivory, and shields of Torteur shelles, wrought and inlaide very workemanlike, many fayre signets, ringes, and other curious worke of Ivorie, and sea horse téeth, as also of Amber, whereof there is great quantitie : They have likewise a kind of mountain Christall, wherof they make many signets, buttons, beades, and divers other devises' (I, 61).

Roe thus narrates the presents he made to Āghā Nūr, the *Kotwāl* of Agra, who, he says, was one of his best friends :

'I gave him according to the custome two knives, one of amber and one of jett, cost xs., and a pare of tables of ebonie and elephants tooth, worth 30s. Then hee desired mee to give his brother a pare of knives, which I did, of vis. price. After that hee desired some greater knives, and I shewed him fower, which hee tooke every one, without restooing the former. Though this was somewhat unmannerly, yet I was content, because hee is one of the best frends wee have in India and did keepe the English house from being taken from them in Agra' (Roe, 143, f. n. 1).

Tavernier's general remarks about the course of trade in coral and lapis lazuli beads, yellow amber, tortoise-shell, etc., are interesting.

'Those merchants who come from Bhutān and Kābul go to Kandahār and on to Ispahān, and they generally take back coral beads, yellow amber, and lapis wrought into beads when they can obtain them. The other merchants, returning from the regions about Multān, Lahore, and Agra, take calicoes, indigo, and an abundance of carnelian and crystal beads. Finally, those who return by Gorakhpur, and have an understanding with the customs officer, take from Patna and Dacca coral, yellow amber, tortoise-shell bracelets, and others of sea shells, with numerous round and square pieces of the size of our 15-sol coins, which are also of the

same tortoise-shell and sea shells. When I was at Patna four Armenians, who had previously made a journey to the Kingdom of Bhutān, came from Dantzic, where they had had made numerous images of yellow amber, which represented all kinds of animals and monsters ; these they were taking to the King of Bhutān to place in his pagodas, he being, like his people, exceedingly idolatrous. Wherever the Armenians see that money is to be made they have no scruple about supplying materials for the purposes of idolatry, and they told me that if they had been able to get an idol made which the King had ordered from them they would have been enriched. It was a head in the form of a monster, which had six horns, four ears, and four arms, with six fingers on each hand, the whole to be of yellow amber, but the Armenians could not find sufficiently large pieces for the purpose (*Tavernier*, II, 203-204).

BEZOAR-STONE

Bezoar-stone (from Pers. *pad-zahr*, lit., protecting from poison, i.e., an antidote) is a concretion found in the stomach and intestines of ruminants and some other animals. We are here concerned only with the Oriental species, and not with the Occidental, which is obtained from the llamas of Peru, nor with the German, which is obtained from the chamois.

The Oriental bezoar was supposed to possess powerful medicinal qualities, being specially used as an antidote in Persia, India and other eastern countries.

Dr. Kunz tells us that a bezoar-stone upon which scorpion's figure had been engraved during the time when the constellation Scorpio was in the ascendant, was considered an effective cure for a scorpion's bite (*Curious Lore of Precious Stones* 340).

This intestinal calculus appears to have been in great request in India, and the early European travellers (including Garcia da Orta) seem to believe in its efficacy not only as an antidote, but as a useful therapeutic agent and an aphrodisiac.

The Oriental bezoar is found in the wild goat of Persia and in various kinds of antelopes. But we are specially concerned with India, about which information from contemporary observers is available :

In this country, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the bezoar was obtainable chiefly from goats, but also from cows and monkeys, and geographically was strictly localized.

The following is from Linschoten:—'The Bezar stone commeth out of Persia, from the land or Province called Carassone [KHurāsān], and also out of other places in India: they grow within the maw of a sheepe or Goat, about a little straw, that lyeth in the middle [of the maw], for by experience the straw is often found within them: the stone is very slicke and smooth without, of a darke greene colour' (II, 142).

'This Bezars stone is very costly, and is much used in India against all poyson, and [other] diseases, and is more esteemed then Unicornes horne in Europe, for it is much tryed and sold very deare: the greater and heavier they are, the better and of more vertue they are: the common sorte are of three foure or five octaves weight, some more, some lesse: they are much brought into Portingall, and greatly esteemed: the place where they are most found, is (as I said before) in Persia and also in the Island called Insula das Vacas, or the Island of Cowes: It lyeth before the mouth of the river, entering into Cambaia, hard by the coast where the Portingall navie often putteth in to refresh themselves, and [being there], kill divers of the sheepe or Goats, wherein they finde many of these Bezars stones: likewise in the lande of Pan [Pahang] by Malacca, there are many found' (*Ibid.*, 143-44).

'The Bezars stone is as hard as [any] stone, but not very heavie: It is thought that these stones doe grow in the mawes of sheepe by vertue of the grasse [or hearbes] whereon they pasture and feed, as we have declared of the Rhinoceros, because they doe onely breede in those places above named, and in no place els, where these kinds of beastes are' (144).

Manucci tells us how he once fed on chicken-broth and bezoar-stone a patient who had been weakened with enema and purgatives. The patient, who was a *qāzī*'s wife, steadily gained strength, and was, in a few days, restored to perfect health (*Storia*, II 178).

Roe, Tavernier, and Manucci seem to agree that the bezoar-stone was found in what is now the Masulipatam district in the Madras presidency; though Manucci is quite wrong in deriving the name *pad-zahr* from Bezwada in that district. Manucci says that in that part the goats are 'very numerous', and that 'the goat-herds who tend them are aware of how many there are in each goat, and the weight of each' (*Storia*, II, 431).

Roe adds Bengal as another Indian locality. But his remarks are worth quoting in full. 'For Bezars,' he says, 'ther are three sorts;

the best are of Persia, others from Malacca, the last of Masolapatan and Bengala. . . . The best . . . are a blackish greene of Persia. . . The prices in England are about 3 li. an ounce; if the stones be great and whole they are woorth 5 li. . . To avoid counterfaytes . . . with a very hot needles poynt peck them. If it make noe signe, they are not false; if the nedle enter or burne them, they are made ones. The best triall of the virtue is to lay them in buffles milke, and the best will turne it like runnett and those are rich' (Roe, 157, f.n. 1).

We are told in the *Relations of Golconda* that where they are found, the bezoar-goats are killed for their skins and the stones in large numbers, so that the flesh is mostly thrown away. Two, three, and sometimes as many as four small stones are found in a single goat, some long, others round in shape. The concretion forms round a woody nucleus (p. 34).

From an experiment reported in the same place one may infer that the formation of a bezoar-stone depends more upon the kind of vegetation on which the goat feeds in that region, than on any peculiarity of the species (p. 35). This seems corroborated by Tavernier who refers to a particular tree on which the goats feed, though, he says, he has forgotten the name of it. 'This plant', he continues, 'bears little buds, about which, and also on the tips of the branches, which the goats eat, the bezoar concretes in the bellies of these animals. It assumes a form according to the shape of the buds and the ends of the branches, and this is why one finds it in so many different shapes. The peasants, by feeling the belly of the goat, know how many bezoars it contains, and they sell the goat for a price in proportion to the number which are therein. In order to ascertain this, they run both hands under the belly of the goat and beat the paunch along both sides, so that all the stones fall to the middle, and they then estimate exactly, by touch, how many bezoars are in it. The value of bezoar depends on the size, although the small possess no less virtue than the large. But in this respect one is often deceived by the fact that there are people who enlarge the bezoar with a kind of paste made of gum and other materials of the same colour as the bezoar. They understand, even, how to give as many coats as the natural bezoar ought to have. One can detect this fraud easily by two methods. The first by weighing the bezoar and placing it to steep for some time in lukewarm water; if the water does not change its colour, and if bezoar does not lose weight it has not been adulterated. The other means is to touch

the bezoar with a pointed hot iron; if the iron enters it and makes it fry, it is a sign that it is a mixture, and that it is not genuine. For the rest, the larger the bezoar the higher the price, which rises in proportion like that of the diamond. For if 5 or 6 bezoars weigh an ounce, the ounce will be worth from 15 to 18 francs, but if it is a bezoar of one ounce, the ounce will be worth fully 100 francs. I have sold one of $4\frac{1}{4}$ ounces for as much as 2,000 livres [£ 150], (Tavernier, II, 116).

These prices work out as follows:

Weight	Price.
$\frac{1}{8}$ to $\frac{1}{5}$ of an oz.	2s. to 2s. 10d.
1 oz.	£ 4.
$4\frac{1}{4}$ oz.	£ 150

We have seen that Roe quotes £3 to £5 an oz. as the price in England, which is considerably lower. This goes to support Fryer's statement that owing to a heavy demand in India the stones cannot be bought there to yield profit in England enough to repay for the trouble (Fryer, II, 34).

William Methwold bought at Masulipatam in 1621 a few bezoar-stones, some at 24 rials (= 48 rupees) per seer (of 12 oz.) and some dearer (E. F. I. 1618-1621, p. 255).

In a communication dated Jan. 6, 1648 from Surat, we have the following remark:—'Bezoar stones cannot be got from Golconda (where the "pagode" is now worth, exchange included, $4\frac{3}{4}$ rupees) under 33 and 36 mahmūdīs per ounce' (E. F. I. 1646-1650, 182). So the price at Golconda was Rs. 13 or 14 per oz.—a very high price compared with the last quotation; but we may explain it by supposing that here the stones were larger, and therefore much more costly;—besides the dates are 27 years apart.

Again, in a Sūrāt report for 1668, Rs. $3\frac{1}{2}$ per *tola* is quoted for bezoar-stone. This is equivalent to Rs. $8\frac{3}{4}$ per oz. (E. F. I. 1668-1669, p. 3).

Tavernier visited Golconda several times and was interested in the bezoar-goats. He once purchased as much as about 60,000 rupees' worth of bezoar for the servants of the English and Dutch Companies. Considering Roe's quotation and Fryer's remark, the English could not have bought it for importation to England. Possibly they did so for local disposal.

It appears that export of bezoar-goats from Golconda was prohibited on pain of death, the king of Golconda farming out the trade for a yearly payment of 6,000 old pagodas, or 45,000 livres.⁴³ It was with great difficulty, therefore, that Tavernier once succeeded in procuring six bezoar-goats, which he examined at his leisure. 'They are beautiful animals', he says, 'very tall, and having fine hair, like silk.' He had to pay 3 rupees for a goat with one bezoar only, 4 rupees each for another two, and $4\frac{1}{4}$ each for the remaining three. The last five had from two to four bezoars each. (Tavernier, II, 116-18).

Jahāṅgīr relates that an Afghān once 'brought from the Carnatic two goats that had *pāzahar* (bezoar stones, an antidote against poison). I had always heard that an animal that has pazahar is very thin and miserable, but these goats were very fat and fresh. I ordered them to kill one of them, which was a female. Four pazahar stones became apparent, and this caused great astonishment' (*Tūzūk*, 117; R. & B., I, 240). The Carnatic, as the reader is aware, borders on Golconda.

Bezoars are also obtained from cows, which weigh up to 17 or 18 French ounces. But these are not esteemed. A bezoar from a monkey, which is round in shape, is particularly efficacious, but rare, and proportionately costly. One of the size of a nut would cost more than 100 écus (i.e. £22-10-0) (Tavernier, II, 118-19).

Methwold (*Relations of Golconda*, 34) and Fryer (II, 141) are at one with Tavernier in thinking that the monkey bezoars are the best; though Fryer says they are long, while Tavernier makes them round. 'Those that are rough', continues Fryer, 'prove commonly faulty, breaking with Stones in the middle: Others in form of Tares, somewhat flat, which break in smaller Stones in the middle, are better than the rough ones' (*ibid.*)

Manucci has the following interesting, if fantastic, account, of the origin of the bezoar in the monkey: 'They [the monks] told me that in that country [Borneo] was an island where there were many baboons. The natives inflict wounds on them with a small poisoned arrow shot from a *zarvatana* (blow-tube). The baboon,

43. This equation is untenable on Tavernier's own showing; since 6,000 old pagodas=£2,700, and 45,000 livres=£3,375. But with Tavernier this is a small matter.

aware that the wound is poisoned, takes to flight at once, and goes to find a certain herb which is an antidote. The blood is then stanchd and the wound closes, but at the spot, instead of flesh, the blood congeals into a stone which possesses the virtue of the plant that was eaten. The natives recognise these baboons by their height, and killing them, withdraw the stone, which has greater potency than any others' (*Storia*, III, 191-92).

Fryer suggests the following methods of detecting fraudulent manufactures: 'Bezoar is tried sundry ways: As the rubbing Chalk upon a Paper, then rubbing the Stone hard upon the Chalk, if it leave an Olive-Colour it is good. Also touch any with a Red-hot Iron, which you suspect because their Colour is lighter than ordinarily they use to be, and if they fry like Resin or Wax, they are naught. Sometimes they are tried by putting them into clear Water, and if there arise upon them small white Bubbles, they are good, and if none, they are doubtful. The use of the Hot Iron is esteemed infallible.' (II, 141).

The reader will notice that at least one test, viz., that of the pointed hot iron, is common to Roe, Tavernier, Fryer, and the last writer calls it infallible.

PORCUPINE STONE

The bezoar leads on naturally to the 'porcupine stone', which was another much, esteemed antidote, and, according to Tavernier, 'more efficacious against poison than bezoar'. It was found in the head of the porcupine. 'When it is placed to steep in water for a quarter of an hour,' continues Tavernier, 'the water becomes so bitter that there is nothing in the world to equal it in bitterness. This animal has also sometimes, in its belly, a stone which is of the same nature and equally good as that which comes from the head, except with this difference, that it loses nothing of its weight or size by steeping in water, while there is diminution of the other. During my life I have bought three of these stones. One cost me 500 écus [£ 112-10-0], and I disposed of it subsequently with advantage to the Ambassador Dominico de Santis, of whom I have spoken in my accounts of Persia. I paid 400 écus [£ 90] for another, which I still keep; and the third was sold to me for 300 écus [£ 67-10-0], and I made a present of it to a friend' (Tavernier, II, 119-20).

The editor's footnote to this passage is worth quoting: 'It seems probable that the substance supposed to be obtained in the

head of the porcupine was a vegetable drug, to which that mythical origin was ascribed (Garcia da Orta, 470 f.). Castanheda mentions a stone obtained in the head of an animal called bulgoldorf, which was exceedingly rare, and was said to be an antidote against all kinds of poison (Kerr, *Voyages and Travels*, ii, 439). A. Hamilton (in Pinkerton, viii, 450) says that at Lingen, near Johore, he has seen pieces of porcupine bezoar as big as, and shaped like, a walnut, valued at 600 pieces of eight.' It is only necessary to add that a piece of eight had the same value as an *écu*, viz., 4s. 6d.

SNAKE-STONE

Tavernier winds up his long account of miscellaneous stones with the following passage: 'I shall finally make mention of the snake-stone, which is nearly the size of a double [? doubloon, a Spanish gold coin, larger than the English penny, formerly worth 33 to 36s., now slightly over £ 1], some of them tending to an oval shape, being thick in the middle and becoming thin towards the edges. The Indians say that it grows on the heads of certain snakes, but I should rather believe that it is the priests of the idolaters who make them think so, and that this stone is a composition which is made of certain drugs. Whatever it may be, it has an excellent virtue in extracting all the poison when one has been bitten by a poisonous reptile. If the part bitten is not punctured it is necessary to make an incision so that the blood may flow; and when the stone has been applied to it, it does not fall off till it has extracted all the venom which is drawn to it. In order to clean it it is steeped in woman's milk, or, in default of it, in that of a cow; and after having been steeped for ten or twelve hours, the milk, which has absorbed all the venom, assumes the colour of matter. One day, when I dined with the Archbishop of Goa, he took me into his museum, where he had many curiosities. Among other things he showed me one of these stones, and in telling me of its properties assured me that but three days since he had made trial of it, and then he presented it to me. As he traversed a marsh on the island of Salsette, upon which Goa is situated, on his way to a house in the country, one of his pallankeen bearers, who was almost naked, was bitten by a serpent and was at once cured by this stone. I have bought many of them; it is only the Brahmans who sell them, and it is that which makes me think that they make them. You employ two methods to ascertain if the snake-stone is good, and that there is no fraud. The first is by placing the stone in the mouth, for then, if good, it leaps and attaches itself immediately to the palate. The other is to place it in a glass full of water,

and immediately, if it is genuine, the water begins to boil, and small bubbles ascend from the stone which is at the bottom, to the top of the water' (Tavernier, II, 120-21).

Much useful bibliography is condensed in the following footnote to the above passage: 'Thévenot says that they were made of the ashes of the root of a certain plant, mixed with a particular kind of clay (*Voyages*, p. 94). Some snake-stones appear to have been made of charred bone. (See for an exhaustive account of this subject Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 847; Tennent, *Ceylon*, i, 197; Fryer, 138 f; *Voyage of F. Leguat*, ii, 234). The belief in their efficacy is still very general in India; by some they are supposed to be found in the head of the adjutant bird (see Ball, *Jungle Life in India*, 82; Prof. W. R. Halliday, *Folk-lore*, xxxii, 262 ff., xxxiii, 118f.)' (P. 120, f.n. 2).

'There is still another stone,' continues Tavernier, 'which is called "stone of the hooded snake." It is a kind of snake which has, as it were, a hood which hangs behind the head, and it is behind this hood that the stone is found, the smallest being of the size of a hen's egg. There are snakes in Africa and in Asia of an enormous size, and up to 25 feet in length, as was that one whose skin is preserved at Batavia. This snake had swallowed a girl of eighteen years, of which fact I have elsewhere given an account. You find these stones only in snakes which are, at the least, two feet in length. The stone, which is not hard, when rubbed against another stone yields a kind of slime which, when dissolved in water and drunk by a person who has some poison in his body, has the property of driving it out at once. These snakes are only to be found on the coasts of Melinda, and you can obtain the stones from Portuguese sailors and soldiers on their return from Mozambique' (Tavernier, II, 121).

Ovington tells a story of a snake-bite and the cure of it effected with a snake-stone, which he follows up with a description of composition and virtues of a snake-stone, and the methods of putting it to the test: 'A Peon of mine, named *Gemal*,' he says 'walking abroad in the Grass after the Rains, was unfortunately bit on a sudden by one of them. The latent Snake twisted unawares about his Leg, and in a short time brought him to the Ground, by causing in him an immediate deliquium of Spirit, almost even to Expiration. The Servants who were standing by, amaz'd at the accident, called immediately upon an *English Merchant*, who hasten'd to-

wards him with a special Medicine for his Recovery. The thing which he carried about him, and which instantly applied, is a Specifick against the Poison of Snakes, cured him, and therefore obtains the Name of Snake-stone. It is a small artificial Stone, almost flat, only with a little protuberance in the middle, and of a gray Colour. The Composition of it is Ashes of burnt Roots, mixt with a kind of Earth, which is found at *Diu*, belonging to the *Portuguese*; and those are burnt together again, out of which Paste the Stones are formed. They are not all alike Colour'd, but those that have receiv'd more of the Fire, are thereby inclin'd to a lighter Gray, the others are a little more dark. This Stone Cures by the application of it to the part invenom'd, to which it immediately sticks fast, and by its powerful Attraction sucks back the infus'd Venom, 'till its Pores are full. Then like a glutted Horse-Leach it falls off, and disgorges the replenisht Pores in Milk (the properest liquor for this purpose) which by discolouring, it renders livid. Upon this it recovers new strength, and its Alexipharmick quality again, and is speedily prepar'd for a fresh Draught of Poison, if any remains in the affected part, 'till it quite extracts whatever the venomous Serpent had immited; which makes those Counterpoisons in great esteem against all external Attacks upon the Body; as the Cordial Antidotes are most valuable for expelling or subduing any Poyson inwardly receiv'd. The double Excellence of this Stone recommends its worth very highly, in that a little of it scraped off, and mixt with Wine, or some other proper vehicle, and inwardly taken, is reputed one of the most powerful Medicines against any Malignant Fevers or Infectious Diseases, that is known; and much excels the deservedly fam'd *Gasper Antoni*, or Goa Stone. The trial of these Stones is made by fixing them to the Roof of the Mouth, to which if they stick fast, 'tis a sign they are genuine, if they easily fall off, fictitious. Another method for knowing the true Stones from the Counterfeit, is to immerse them in a Glass of Water, where, after a while, if some light Ebullitions rise from them, and ascend through the Body of the Water, this likewise is an approv'd Sign that the Stone is not spurious. The *Europeans*, for the Security of themselves against the Danger of these Serpents, which are every where so common in *India*, carry always about them one of these Stones inclosed in a Heart of Gold, fixt to a Golden Chain, which hangs about their Necks' (p. 260-63).

The reader will have remarked that the author is speaking here of the artificial snake-stone. He knows nothing apparently of the 'natural' snake-stone,

YADATĀSH OR RAIN-STONE

According to the *Farhang-i-Anandrāj*, it was a stone which, when incantations were recited over it, and the stone placed on the hand and put up to the sky, was believed to bring clouds and rain in abundance. This belief was widely current among the Turks. It is to be traced to the following incident in sacred history, which, however, is not to be found in the *Old Testament*.

It is related that when Japheth got leave from his father Noah, to proceed towards the east and the north with his family and relations, he requested his father to teach him a prayer which should bring rain whenever he wished it. The patriarch Noah gave him a stone which had that virtue, and either recited, or made a show of reciting the *ism-i-a'zam* over it (*Akbarnāma*, I, 58). According to another version, Noah taught him the *ism-i-a'zam* and traced it on the stone (*Shajaratul Atrak*, 24).

Japheth then set out on his journey, and produced rain with the help of that stone whenever he required it.

'It is said that this secret was disclosed to Noah by Gabriel, and that he was intructed, when he wanted rain, to repeat the name of God, to breathe on the stone, and throw it in water, and rain would then fall' (*Shajaratul Atrak* 24).

On Japheth's death the stone passed to his eldest son, Turk, who succeeded him.

This, we should remember, was the first stone of its kind.

This stone, which was called *jada tāsh* or *yada tāsh* by the Turks, *sang-i-yada* by the Persians, and *hajaru'l-maṭr* by the Arabs, was reported to be common among the Turks in later times—which presumably means that a kind of stone came in succeeding ages to be credited with similar properties, and was supposed to be descended in some mysterious way from the celebrated stone of Noah (*Akbarnāma*, I, 58; *Shajaratul Atrak*, 24).

Bābur often speaks of this stone in his *Memoirs*; and mention of it in Mughal history is frequent.

Later on, the *yada* stone was believed to bring not only clouds, wind and rain, but hail, snow, excessive cold and violent tempests.

An instance where the stone was merely thrown into water, and snow and hail appeared is cited in *Shajaratul Atrak* on p. 66.

Another instance: When Tūli KHān, son of CHingiz KHān, during the Mughals' invasion of China in 627 A.H. (=1230 A.C.) was driven by the Chinese to KHafā, and was reduced to an extremity, he used the *sang-i-yada*, which brought snow and rain and intense cold. He thus scored a victory and put a large number of the enemy to the sword, taking some prisoner, Ghiāsu'd-Dīn "KHwand Mir," *Habibu's Siyar*, Bombay 1857 III, Pt. i, 29).

Rain-making with this stone, however, was not a common thing within the power of every tiro. It was an esoteric art and was practised professionally. Those who knew the use of the stone were called *yadahī* or *jadahī*.

Rai Anand Rām "Mukhlis" reports that a Turk, who understood the art of the *yada* stone, was once on a visit to Nawāb "Saifu'd-Daula" Abdu's-Samad KHān, who was Nāzim of Multān in the reign of Muḥammad SHāh. At the Nawāb's request he gave the performance once, and produced plenty of cloud, and rain and hail.

The Emperor Muḥammad SHāh, having heard of it, directed his immediate attendance at Delhi; but by the time the orders reached Multān, the Turk had left for Turkistān, his home *Mir'ātu'l-Istīlāh*, P.U.L. MS., f. 136 b).

The *Shajaratul Atrak* wrongly identifies this stone with, or at least assimilates it to, the bezoar-stone, and thus has misled many European scholars of repute. Again, the word *jada* has no connection with 'jade,' as has been sometimes supposed.

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

By

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(Continued from Volume XIII, Part II.)

XIV

1. THE DIARIST RISES IN THE FAVOUR OF THE NEW GOVERNOR, DE LEYRIT

THE DIARIST noticed that the new Governor was obviously very close and would act only with much deliberation; and he was advised to refrain from making hasty proposals to him. On a suitable occasion, he told De Leyrit:—"I was able to satisfy M. Lenoir, M. Dumas and M. Dupleix, because they followed my advice. I never visit the Councillors, nor do I serve others. I deal direct with the Governor; nor do I visit others with gifts. . . . I have used my whole strength on behalf of him who governed, seeking only his gain, and satisfying myself with the glory. If now you also will listen to no advice but mine, and act accordingly, I will strive for your profit and win your favour." The Governor was obviously impressed by these words, and, in the words of the Diarist, vowed, calling on God to witness what he said to do nothing without consulting him. Thereupon Ranga Pillai explained to the Governor "the character of all here and the profits they make, with proof of everything," as well as the affairs in the subordinate stations.

He subsequently wrote out in French an account of all that had taken place between Godeheu's departure and the new Governor's arrival, and this precious document was, according to Professor Dodwell, the one that was among the Gallois-Montbrun papers at Pondicherry and was shown to him.¹ Ranga Pillai's

1. The document was dated March 29, 1755, and was published as an appendix to Vol. IX of the *Diary* (Translation). M. Dodwell is of the

heart was now intent upon getting one personal honour to be shown to him; viz., that the *tambour* should be beaten at the Fort and the town-gates, as a mark of respect to him, since he was the leader (governor) of all the Tamils. To his great satisfaction, at the Governor's reception of the Company's merchants, the Diarist was personally invested by De Leyrit with a gold chain and pendant, the *turra* and *sarpech*, given 4 pieces of finest broad cloth and 18 yards of cloth of gold, and ordered a salute of 15 guns. Ranga Pillai also led the deputation of the Mahā-nāṭṭārs to the Governor and cautiously hinted to the latter that he should not allow undue influence to others, and told him that "if you will listen to me alone, you and the Company will gain greatly, while you will earn the Company's gratitude." The Governor promised to give him the leases of Villianallūr, Bāhūr and Karaikal.²

The political situation of the French at Trichinopoly continued to be gravely jeopardised by financial difficulties. Nāñja Raja, according to the Diarist, owed the French a balance of 22 lakhs and Murari Rao from about 10 to 12 lakhs, while he continued to blame the French in every letter, ignoring his own obligations. M. Godeheu was blamed for having allowed the English, after the conclusion of the agreement, to seize the Madura and Tinnevely countries, when the available French troops were all centred at Aurangābād, Masulipatam, and Trichinopoly. M. Godeheu could have then insisted on seizing half the country; but many places continued in the English possession with "only a few outlying places in ours."

The Diarist told the Governor, on another occasion, that, as the successor of Dupleix, he was now a Mansabdar of the Padshah; only he needed a jaghir in order to enable him to main-

opinion that the letter was the Diarist's own and that it was only revised by M. Reyne, with whose help, Ranga Pillai says, he wrote out the French account (Note (1)—p. 228, Vol. IX of the *Diary*).

2. The Governor is characterised by Dodwell as a "cold, silent and haughty man, whose solemnity covered little but dullness, self-seeking and irresolution." "Those who wounded his feelings found him implacable in his resentment; but those who knew how to manage him found him plastic as clay." Ranga Pillai had been pointed out by Boyelleau and others as "the person who could, if he would, make De Leyrit's fortune." And we read that "so long as that impression lasted, the *courtier* on the whole enjoyed the Governor's favour, though not to the degree that he considered his due."

tain his status and keep elephants, etc. Again, he advised the Governor not to be afraid of taking strong measures, and told him that it was not necessary to bring all to book, since "if we twist one or two, the others will be alarmed and will settle their affairs," and that former Governors had done so. After a few weeks had elapsed, the Diarist became bold enough to tell the Governor that the latter listened to what he said, but did not do accordingly; adding that this habit "brings discredit on those who transact business and belittles your service." The Governor was too fond of money, and was advised to see that the commandants of troops did not prevent the Amaldars from doing their work properly, and not to pay heed to their complaints and protestations, as otherwise rents could not at all be collected. So greatly did the Diarist rise in the favour of the Governor that he was told he was looked upon as nothing less than his minister, and that no one was so intelligent and broad-minded as himself; "for which reason both M. Dupleix and M. Godeheu had favoured you, though for a while under Madame Dupleix it was not so."

II. THE MYSOREANS IN THE TRICHINOPOLY COUNTRY

Nañja Raja did not recognise that the Anglo-French truce of January 1755 prevented his committing hostilities against the English and their allies; and he even requested the French to be pleased to retire with their troops to Pondicherry, if they, like Muhammad Ali and the English, thought proper to recede from their alliance. He continued his 'blundering' operations to obtain possession of Trichinopoly till the middle of April. The positive injunctions of his brother, Deva Raja, then induced him to depart, on account of a very serious domestic danger.³

3. Nañja Rājā had stated that he had discovered the determination of the French to keep Trichinopoly for themselves, if they should succeed in its conquest. When he departed, he left the French in possession of the island of Srīraṅgam, the revenues of which had been formally given up by Muhammad Ali to the Mysorean (Wilks, Vol. I, p. 214).

Dusaussaye had refused to join Nañja Rājā in a plan for a night escalade on the Fort, and had scornfully rejected a bribe of three lakhs of rupees offered by the latter, if he should feign a quarrel, march off, and thereby leave him at liberty to pursue his designs. It was even said that Nañja Rājā's next project was to surprise the French and endeavour to cut them off; and Dusaussaye had written to Major Kilpatrick, assuring him that he would attack the rear of the Mysorean if the latter should make any attempt on Trichinopoly. Cf. R.O. Cambridge—*An Account of the War in India from 1750 to 1780* (1761), p. 87).

The Diarist who heard from the Governor of Nañja Rājā's departure told him that Dusaussaye, who had received some 50,000 or 60,000 (Rs.) from the Daḷavāi and who could have forced him to stay on should be held responsible; that it was not Dusaussaye that had been deceived or got nothing from the Mysorean; and that "careful inquiry will prove whether he (Dusaussaye) was deceived, or whether you (De Leyrit) were deceived by that letter." (Entry for the 11th April)

The day after that on which this entry was made, news was received at Pondicherry that Hari Singh and Manaji were going over to Trichinopoly from Tanjore in order to confer with Muhammad Ali; and that Nañja Rājā, who had promised to leave Thana Singh and Hyder Ali Khān at Srīraṅgam, had left for Mysore on the night of 8 April, without doing so, since Dusaussaye disapproved of the terms he had offered.

An expedition had in the meanwhile, been undertaken under Colonel Heron into the Madura and Tinnevely countries, to collect the dues from the Poligars. In the course of his operations, Heron experienced good inclinations on the part of the Marava chief of Rāmnād, who offered a free passage through his country for the English troops, promised to use his interest with the other Poligars, sent his brother to the help of the English with 3,000 men and several pieces of cannon, and pressed the English to build settlements in his dominions. This caused great jealousy in the minds of the rulers of Tanjore and Pudukōṭṭa, and they strongly protested against the English treating with the Marava. In their hatred of the Marava they had even raised forces to march into his country. The fact is, Manaji, the Tanjore general, had been personally affronted by the Marava, though the ostensible reason given for the hostility was the friendship that had subsisted between the Marava and the Mysorean. The English, under these circumstances, had perforce to pacify the Tanjore Rājā and the Toṇḍaimān, and order Colonel Heron to break off all negotiations with the Marava⁴ till he restored all the districts that he had taken from the King of Tanjore and the Nawāb.

4. Refer to 'Records of Fort St. George, Diary and Proceedings,' 1755, Military Department, Letters of Col. Heron to the President dated Madura 4th March, and of A. Newton, dated Tanjore, 4th March, and the Government consultation of 26th March. (pp. 47-53).

Heron himself at this stage, had to retire in disgrace from Madura. He was tried by a court martial for misconduct, for fraudulent collusion with Mahfuz Khān, the Nawāb's brother, and for the neglect of the Nawāb's instructions. He reached Trichinopoly early in June, after suffering a most disgraceful defeat in the Nattam pass at the hands of the 'Colleries' (Kaḷḷars).

While this was the situation of the English, interesting events happened in Mysore. Nañja Rājā hastened, by forced marches, to the help of his brother Dēva Rājā, who was besieged in Seringapatam by Salābat Jang, with the help of a strong force under M. Bussy. But before Nañja Rājā could reach his destination, Dēva Rājā had been forced to agree to pay 56 lakhs of rupees which he could make up⁵ only by requisitioning the plates and the jewels of the Rājā's family and of the Hindu temples in the town, and by prevailing on the sowcars of the town to give their *gomastahs* as hostages for the balance that remained. On hearing of this, Nañja Rājā halted, and discharged one-third of his army, "not without great difficulty in paying their arrears." Nañja Rājā then wrote to Pondicherry, suggesting that the Governor should write to Salābat Jang and M. Bussy to the effect that the whole amount of the *peshkash* money due from Mysore had been spent on the French army, and that they should collect only the usual *peshkash* and return what had been taken in excess. (Diarist's entry for 24 April).

The Diarist gives, in his entry for 25 April, the copy of a letter that he had received from Nañja Rājā, dated April 14, in which he pleaded that he was an ally of the French, and that a suitable letter should be written by M. Leyrit to M. Bussy "who desires to break our friendship with the French instead of preserving it so long as the sun and the moon endure." Nañja Rājā also requested Raṅga Pillai to explain everything to Salābat Jang. He further warned the Diarist that the English should not be

5. Only one-third of the amount could be made up; and the balance for which the acceptance of the *gomastahs* of the Sowcars of Seringapatam was given by Dēva Rājā was not at all realised. "Of the unhappy hostages, some died in prison, others escaped and after a period the remainder were released." The English treaty of 1768 says that Mysore estimated to constitute half of the Carnatic, Balaghat, Bijapur was fixed to pay the Nizām a tribute of 3½ lakhs of rupees in 1755, including darbar charges.

trusted, and that though they had concluded an agreement with the French, the Governor should write to his commandant at Srīraṅgam warning him to stand on his guard against their attempts.⁶

The Pondicherry authorities could only assure Nañja Rājā that Bussy and his European army were paid by Salābat Jang and were under his control, and should do as *he* desired. The French Governor could not interfere, but assured Nañja Rājā thus:—"As you are my ally, we have protected your fort and country hitherto. Otherwise you would have lost them. I have written to M. Bussy to help you as far as possible, and I will do so again; but you should pay our money speedily."⁷ The Diarist suggested that the same might be written to the English and Muhammad Ali if they should protest against Bussy's activity on the ground that it was opposed to the treaty concluded with Godeheu. He wrote that "this device would meet all cases;" and the Governor agreed with him.

6. This was due to the fact that Dusaussaye had not only rejected Nañja Rājā's plan of an escalade on Trichinopoly Fort and offer of a bribe but also communicated the whole plan to the English Commander, Major Kilpatrick. A Madras Council Consultation of April 2/13, 1755, records a letter of De Leyrit communicating the news of Nañja Rājā's proposed escalade and adding that "the representations made to him on that subject by the French Commanding Officer, far from diverting him from the enterprise, had served only to breed dissensions between them and him in so much that there was some reason to apprehend that he might turn his arms against their troops."

7. A letter was written later, according to the Diarist, that Bussy and Salābat Jang had already given battle to Dēva Rājā and were on the point of capturing the fort (of Seringapatam); but immediately after the Governor's letter reached them, they ceased the attack, and demanded the usual *peshkash*; but the enemy made a reply that even that could not be paid, then the French decided to put a boy of the royal family on the throne, who was brought and installed with the usual ceremonies, in the name of the French. "But then a letter was written to M. Bussy who explained everything to Salābat Jang and settled the matter for 52 lakhs, for the payment of which a long period was allowed. Thereupon M. Bussy returned to Hyderabad with Salābat Jang's army." Neither Wilks nor *The Mysore Gazetteer* (new edition) makes any mention of the French invaders having set up a rival Rājā to spite Dēva Rājā. The Diarist records in his entry for May 3, 1755, the details of the battle between Dēva Rājā and the Mysore troops. According to the Madras Despatch of October 27, 1755, Salābat Jang was reported to have collected 33 lakhs of rupees before he departed.

After the satisfaction of the invaders before Seringapatam, the brothers, Dēva Rājā and Nañja Rājā, continued to conduct the government as before, "whose usurpation, although complete in everything essential, left to the pageant Rājā "a considerable share of the exterior appendages of royalty." The nominal King, who had now attained the age of 27, became impatient of the restraint put upon him, and formed a crude plan to confine the ministers and take the power into his own hands. The plan was duly reported by spies to the brothers; and Dēva Rājā advised the ruler to dismiss the evil counsellors and administered a mild remonstrance; but the latter burst into indignation, and replied with puerile threats. Dēva Rājā was for the adoption of mild measures for restoring the ruler to a 'proper frame of mind'; but Nañja Rājā moved a column of troops against the palace, forced the Rājā to take his seat on the throne; and cut off the noses and ears of his partisans in his very presence, in spite of the protests of his brother. Dēva Rājā was so deeply offended at this open contempt of his admonitions that he resolved to have nothing to do with his brother. He actually departed from Seringapatam in February 1757, with all his adherents and with a large body of peons, and settled at Satyamangalam; and in order to get an income he revoked the assignments of revenue made to Haidar Ali, and ordered them to be paid to himself; and the latter had to go over to Seringapatam from his faujdāri of Dindugul.⁸

8. Ranga Pillai has his version of the attempt of the Mysore Rājā to free himself from the thralldom of the brothers. "The Raja, his mother and the Pradhan Pandit resolved to seize and imprison Nandi Raja and reappoint the Pradhani Pandit Venkatapati Ayyan who was formerly Sarvadhikari. But Nandi Raja and his elder brother Devaraja Udaiyar, learning this were on their guard and have seized Venkatapathi Ayyan, the former Pradhani and others of his party, and resolved to keep the Raja in the palace under close custody. Nandi Raja also suggested to his daughter who was the Rani that her husband should be put to death and her son placed on the throne. She would not consent, but told her husband about her father's intentions and warned him to be on his guard. The Raja collected 4,000 faithful men, and Nandi Raja also collected 200 European deserters; but Deva Raja went to his younger brother, his son-in-law and the Raja and pacified them. But Nandi Raja seized Venkatapati Ayyan, the Pradhani, and his people who followed him, imprisoning them, plundering their houses and seizing 6 lakhs of pagodas. Nandi Raja set guards over the royal palace on the 12th day in the dark half of Asvija, (i.e., November 1, 1755). Deva Raja tried to reason with Venkatapati Ayyan, his son and several others of the folly of their plot and said he should have

III. THE POLIGAR TROUBLES

It was rumoured at Pondicherry that Dēva Rājā had died, and that that was the reason of Nañja Rājā's departure from Srīraṅgam. Nañja Rājā's removal of Pāpu Redḍi, the Poligar of Turaiyūr, who was under the protection of Dupleix and Godeheu, caused trouble. Pāpu Redḍi sought French help in order to get back Turaiyūr⁹; and the Governor tried to keep the Poligars of Ariyalūr and Uḍayarpālayam in check, so that they might not interfere in the Turaiyūr affair. The French claimed control over Uḍayarpālayam as it was nominally under Gingee; but its

communicated the plot. Venkatapati and his wife were chained and imprisoned in Manvallidrug and his son and son-in-law in another drug; and his brother and his wife were confined in Kapaldrug; while their houses and property were given to Nandi Raja. The whole town of Seringapatam was in a serious state of alarm; and the jemadars, officials, merchants and others feared of being falsely accused and punished." (Entry for December 1, 1755).

Several months later, in his entry for 19 August, 1756, Ranga Pillai reports what he had heard from the Mysore Daḷavāi's Brahman *vakil* as to what had occurred about four weeks earlier. Dēva Rājā and Nandi Rājā had resolved to kill the Rājā and place on the throne a boy of five, the Pradhāni having been imprisoned in a hill-fortress four months earlier. The Rājā however induced Shabaz Khān (Haidar Nāyak's elder brother) to quit service and secretly gave 50,000 gold pieces to Kande Rao, Haidar's *mutasaddi*, to be given to them (Haidar and his brother) in order to collect troops. Knowing this, the Daḷavāi brothers closed all the gates of the fort, mounted guns against the palace. There was a battle the next day, in which the Rājā and his followers sallied forth, and the Daḷavai's troops retreated. Nandi Rājā then fired all the guns and entered the palace. The brothers first resolved to kill the Raja, but Kṛishṇa Rājā Uḍayār's wife clung to him, and swore that they should kill her first. After much talk, they decided to imprison the Rājā, his son and his wife, and the wife of Kṛishṇa Rājā Uḍayār, in the palace under a guard. The *vakil* of the Peishwa is said to have protested to Nandi Rājā against his action, and the Rājā himself sent a letter to Poona by four camel-messengers recounting what had happened.

9. According to Orme, Turaiyur was ordered to be attacked by Maissin with a force of 500 Europeans and 1,000 sepoys. Captain Cailland who wanted to oppose him was asked by the Madras Government to desist. Maissin had his own way at Turaiyur, deposed its poligar and reinstated his cousin and predecessor. He then proceeded against the Poligars of Ariyalur and Uḍayarpalayam, who, according to the English, had never made any submissions of fealty either to the French or to the Mysoreans. Cailland was now ordered to march from Trichinopoly; and the English Governor threatened to send another force from Madras if Maissin should persist. After this, De Leyrit ordered Maissin to desist.

poligar was playing off Muhammad Ali against the French and was contriving ever since the death of Chanda Sahib, not to pay any *peshkash* to either. All that the Governor could do was to ask M. Maissin to threaten the Poligars of Ariyalūr and Uḍayār-pālayam, so that they might not unduly interfere in the French affairs. There was a considerable amount of arrears from the neighbouring taluks. Chidambaram was demanded by Nawāb Abdul Nābi Khān of Cuddapah, but his vakil was told that nothing could be definitely decided owing to the 18 months' peace between the English and the French. The fort of Chētpaṭṭu which had been taken from Mīr Āsad by Chanda Sahib and given over to Shaikh Hasan, was given, after the capture of the latter by the English in the battle of Śrīraṅgam, into the possession of Pāpayya Piḷḷai and Nizar Muhammad Khān. As there was no agreement between the two, Nizar Muhammad, who was in charge of the *kila*, joined Muhammad Ali and the English.

Abdul Wahab Khan, a younger brother of Muhammad Ali, had created considerable disorder in the Arcot country, of which he was in charge, and squandered away the revenues. The Madras Governor advised Muhammad Ali to settle with his family at Arcot. Accordingly, after Heron's expedition had returned to Trichinopoly, and the troops had rested for some time, the Nawāb began his march north on the 9th July (20th N. S.), being escorted by 300 Europeans and 1,000 sepoy under Captain Polier. The march was made through the country of Tanjore, as the rivers were swollen with floods, and as some risk was apprehended from Maissin's troops then lying before Ariyalur. In the Tanjore country the Nawāb received Manakji (Manaji) who assured him of his master being ready to serve him with 5,000 horse in the Carnatic, in spite of the Mysore general having offered him 50 lakhs of rupees for forsaking the Nawāb. These protestations of friendship on the part of the Tanjoreans were declared by the Nawāb to Captain Polier to be "all a lie." After halting at Fort St. David,¹⁰ the Nawāb arrived near Arcot on August 19 (O. S.), and was, before he made his state entry into the capital, invited to pay a visit to Madras by a deputation headed by Major Lawrence. The deputation was requested by the Nawab, to announce in full darbar, that the Poligars and other tributaries

10. The Diarist and the Governor De Leyrit both suspected that Muhammad Ali would not be going over to Arcot without some new object. (p. 356 *Diary*, Vol. IX)

should submit their accounts without delay, lest they should be forced to it.

At Madras, which he visited on the 28th August (O. S.), the Nawāb urgently requested military assistance in order to force the Arcot Poligars to pay up their heavy arrears. It was resolved to take half the monies that might be collected and to send a force of 300 Europeans and 1,500 sepoy under Major Kilpatrick to help the Nawāb. The latter objected, on the score of loss of dignity, to the transfer of the management of certain taluks to the Company, and finally agreed to give Ponnēri and Pudupēṭ which were worth about 30,000 pagodas a year.

One remarkable feature about Muhammad Ali's march to Arcot is noticed by Ranga Pillai. The troops never resorted to plunder on their way. Wherever they halted, they sent word of assurance to the amaldārs that they would not plunder, nor tread down the crops, so that no complaint might afterwards be made; and "the people thereabouts are saying that they have never before seen troops march so quietly and they are astonished at it. These troops are under complete discipline." (Entry for Aug. 11, 1755). Ranga Pillai also notes the respect shown to Muhammad Ali at Madras, his stay in Louis Madeiros' garden (the present Government House in Mount Road), the display of fireworks and other entertainments in his honour. Ranga Pillai also says that Muhammad Ali was to be given an allowance, and desired to remain at Madras; and that he was much dejected as his amaldārs had been ordered not to do any act of authority without orders from the English; who had sent their own people to Arcot and other places.¹¹ The Diarist heard at Pondicherry that Muhammad

11. The Fort St. George Despatch to the Secret Committee, dated October 27, 1755, says that, in order to secure for the Company a proportionate share of the rents at which the Arcot countries might be let out, the Nawāb had promised to report when any countries were about to be leased, so that the Company's share might be settled before the Cowle should be given. Much of the Arcot countries was leased out to the principal inhabitants of Madras who agreed to pay the greater part of the sum of 8 lakhs of rupees granted to the Company, with orders on the renters, payable half in May, and half in September (1756). The Nawāb had also promised half the revenues of Madura and Tinnevely, though he expected nothing for the time being owing to the cost of the troops sent to punish the rebels, over and above half the tribute paid by all the Poligars under him. Wm. Percival was to accompany the Nawāb and to be present at all the transactions with the poligars or their vakils, to receive the Company's half of the tribute and control the expenditure involved in the expedition.

Ali had agreed to accept Rs. 240,000 from Yāchama Nayak of Veṅkatagiri, two lakhs from the Dāmarla Poligar of Kālahasti, inclusive of darbār expenses, and a lakh and a half from the Raja or Karveṭi or Bommarajapaḷaiyam—all these sums having to be paid at Madras by the Sowcars. Also Murtaza Ali Khān of Vellore had agreed to pay a lakh of rupees, and supply 500 troopers and 200 horse. The Killedar of Satghar had settled for Rs. 50,000. Muhammad Ali was able to collect or settle these sums, without any complaint, nobody could question his title; and on December 7 the English flag at Arcot was replaced by that of the Nawāb. The Fort was named Muhammad Nur; and the Nawāb himself was to be henceforth called Umdat-ul-Mulk, Siraj'-u'd-daula Bahadur Dilawar Jang (Entries for December 6th and 18th).¹² Ranga Pillai expressed a doubt whether the countries of the Poligars were worth the amounts stipulated; but he admired the Nawāb as "one who behaves calmly and discreetly, without precipitation," and he attributed this assurance on the part of Muhammad Ali to the fact that the Marāthās were strong enough to establish or overthrow the Padshāh, while Salābat Jang's dominions were being overrun by the Peishwa, and Murāri Rao had seized the country belonging to Coja Namat-ullah Khān, the subadār of Adoni with its dependencies and *killas*. Only part of the Hyderābād country remained in the possession of Salābat Jang; "but even there he could not keep order, for he had no money to pay the army and had to wink at much." The year 1755 ended with Muhammad Ali triumphantly and securely settled at Arcot, and his flag flying, in the place of the English flag, even over the forts of Kāveripākkam and Timiri, though he himself was prostrated by a severe illness.

One sad comment on the state of the political morality of the Europeans at Pondicherry is noted by the Diarist in his entry for December 6th, 1755. It is as follows:—"When the Europeans formerly had the renters under them, they said that they had

12. By reason of De Leyrit's threats, Kilpatrick, who was sent to help the Nawāb was ordered 'to repulse force by force', should the French support the Arcot Poligars. Before December, Kilpatrick had marched towards Baṅgāru Yāchama Nāyak's pālaiyam, and encamped for nearly a month outside its limits at Killenore. After the Nawāb finished his business with Yāchama Nāyak, the army marched into Bommarajapaḷaiyam where it stayed for a whole month. The reduction of the minor Poligars was left to the Nawāb's country forces. The army returned to Arcot in January 1756.

lost 1½ lakhs of rupees Mm. Very and Solomiac wrote that they had borrowed Rs. 10,000 in excess. . . . The same is the case with other European sureties. As you are dealing with this carefully, falsehood cannot succeed, but truth will appear."¹³

The affair of the Vellore Killedār was seriously taken up in the beginning of the new year. Murtaza Ali had always been perfidious in his behaviour. He had sworn on the holy *Qurān*, acknowledging the right of Muhammad Ali, and offering to settle the tribute due from him. His insincerity became obvious, when Muhammad Ali claimed the fulfilment of his promises. Indeed, in one place, Ranga Pillai records that Muhammad Ali fell sick after eating betel sent him by the wife of Safdar Ali Khān of Vellore, and resolved to capture Vellore, "as the Vellore man had attempted to poison him." (Entry for January 24, 1756).

Kilpatrick marched on Vellore towards the end of January; but as the place was found to be very strong, it was decided not to attack it but only to intimidate the Faujdār. De Leyrit at this stage, disputed the Nawāb's right to Vellore, and threatened to oppose the English intervention. Letters were also written from Pondicherry to Murtaza Ali Khān that he need not pay *peshkash* to Muhammad Ali, and that if it was demanded from him, he might reply that he was "our (French) ally," and that "we (De Leyrit) had forbidden him to pay *peshkash*;" and he was assured that troops would be sent if he were attacked. Murtaza Ali's bending the knee to Muhammad Ali was taken by the French as an indication of his general worthlessness, and the opinion was held that, "if he had only done as we told him, he might have ruled the subah of Arcot". 300 Frenchmen and 300 sepoy were thereupon sent from Pondicherry for Vellore. It was sanguinely hoped by the Diarist that the despatch of French troops would save Murtaza Ali in Vellore, Nāzir Muhammad at Chētpattu (where he was

13. Dodwell remarks on this state of affairs thus:—"Ranga Pillai mentions many details in which he had no personal interest. The Second, as Sepoy Paymaster, draws for twice as many as were actually with the colours; one officer appropriates part of the Turaiyur *peshkash*; another levies a rupee on every traveller passing by Gingee; The Company's servants oblige the merchants to supply them with cloth, while the Company's Investment has still to be provided. In short, as the Diarist observes, Dupleix might have taken money for himself, but he had at least kept a sharp lookout for the misconduct of others, whereas De Leyrit suffered all to do very much as they pleased." (*Diary*: Vol. X, Introduction p. VIII).

opposed by Mir Āsad Khān at the head of Muhammad Ali's troops), and Abdul Rahmān at Elavānasūr which was intended to be attacked by Khairud-dīn Khān. The English Council at Madras feared that a party of French troops might be easily admitted into the Vellore Fort, "in which case it would have been difficult ever to expel them." Fortunately for the English, discipline was none too evident among the French troops. M. Saubinet, who used to be merciless in his punishments, was stabbed to death at Gingee by his officers who resented his sternness and, even more, his jobbery. Indeed, as already remarked, speculation was rife at Pondicherry, especially among those officials who had the sepoy and cavalry management.

The English, in the meanwhile, surrounded the Vellore fort and raised batteries. Khair-ud-dīn Khān abandoned his attack on Elavānasur, and joined his master at Arcot, and even by the middle of February, Murtaza Ali could not get any reinforcements from the French. Their troops were only encamped near Tiruviti and "plundering our own country."

Robert Orme was at this stage deputed by the Madras Government to negotiate with Murtaza Ali, and he set out on February 19 to Vellore. Already, ten days before this, the Faujdār, finding that the English army remained under the walls of Vellore, in spite of De Leyrit's protest, had agreed with Kilpatrick to pay 100,000 pagodas and Rs. 25,000 for the removal of the troops, and indeed paid Rs. 20,000 as earnest money. But now, finding that he could hope to get better terms from the new English envoy, he refused, on the 22nd February, to fulfil his engagement with Kilpatrick. Orme would not interfere, and promptly left for Arcot. Murtaza Ali, however, would not treat with anyone but Orme. The latter had perforce to come back to Vellore, and hold a conference with the Faujdār. Early in March, Orme returned to Madras while Kilpatrick, after some time spent before Vellore, returned to Arcot, as the Presidency considered it better to await another opportunity, rather than relax their demands from Murtaza. During all this parley, a body of 700 French soldiers and 1,500 sepoys lay between Chetpattu and Gingee, some forty miles distant from Vellore.

IV. THE MARATHAS AND MURARI RAO ON THE SCENE

The Diarist reports that Kilpatrick, who was before the Vellore Fort, was subsequently reinforced by troops under Sayyad Yūsuf and Muhammad Abrar Khān; and he demanded four

lakhs of rupees from Murtaza Ali. Thereupon Murtaza sent word to Madras, and Mr. Orme was sent as envoy. He first conferred with Muhammad Ali at Arcot, and then with Murtaza Ali in the Vellore fort, and returned with presents to Madras; and Governor Saunders was in a position to write to Kilpatrick asking him to withdraw his troops and proceed to Arcot, as the Vellore affair had been settled for two laks or a lakh and a half (entry for March 2, 1756).

Muhammad Ali thereupon arranged to occupy the Tuttipattu and Agaram pargannahs, dependent on Vellore and sent some troops to Paḍaiviḍu and Mūlakkāḍu. He even planned to send the newly entertained horse and foot to Madura and Tinnevely. News of the English capture of Gheriah reached Arcot at this time, and 60 guns were fired by the fort and the army as a token of joy. De Leyrit suspected the Diarist, on the report of his enemies, of helping Muhammad Ali with news from Pondicherry.¹⁴ The troops despatched to the help of Murtaza Ali Khān, returned at the end of March from Chētpattu, beyond which they had not marched. Meanwhile, things did not improve for Murtaza Ali; and he wrote to the Peishwa for the contingent of 10,000 horse which he had promised in return for their daily pay. Bālāji Rao was now reported to have made peace with Salābat Jang and despatched his cousin, Sadaśiva Rāo, with 30,000 horse and artillery towards Savanur and Bankapur (February, 1756). Bālāji Rāo had also started on an expedition into Mysore in 1754-55, in the course of which he extorted one-fourth of the revenue either in cash or in bills from every village through which his army passed, and further stormed the fortress of Holē Honnur on the Bhadrā river. Joining Salābat Jang's army beneath the walls of Seringapatam, Bālāji demanded a vast sum from Mysore as arrears of tribute due to him. It was now that M. Bussy obtained an audience of the Peishwa, on behalf of both the Nizām and the Dālavāi, and won his good opinion. The Marāthā ruler was deeply impressed by "de Bussy's bearing, his studied courtesy, his unruffled temper, and above all by his vast capacity for military and civil affairs,"¹⁵ and he was persuaded that it was useless to make further demands

14. The Diarist openly complained to the Governor that Mm. Du-Basset, Delarche and Moraein had joined together to bring heavy and unfounded charges against him.

15. Kincaid and Parasnis—*A History of the Maratha People*; Vol. III. p. 34.

on Mysore. The Peishwa thereupon withdrew his army from Seringapatam, but he overran Jamkhandi, and fought a series of actions at Harihar, Bagalkot, and other places (1755). At the same time, Mahadji Purandarē plundered Bednur; but he quarrelled with Muzaffar Khān, the commandant of the Marāthā artillery, who had been trained under the French; and the latter left the Peishwa's service, and entered that of the Pathan Nawab of Savanur. The refusal by the Nawāb to comply with the Peishwa's demand for the surrender of Muzaffar Khān led to the formation of a league between Murari Rao Ghorepade (who would not acknowledge the Peishwa) and the Pathan Nawābs of Savanur, Cuddapah and Kurnool, and of a counter-league between the Peishwa and the Nizām. A powerful expedition was despatched by the latter against Savanur. The Peishwa himself met the Pathān Nawābs and Murāri Rāo near Savanur, and drove them, after inflicting a severe defeat, to take shelter in the fort. Salābat Jang and Bussy soon arrived at the place, and a regular siege began: Bussy's artillery poured, it was said, more than 250,000 shells into the fort; and the tremendous effect of the cannon has "passed into legend." Murāri Rāo now deserted to the Peishwa; and the Nawāb of Savanur submitted. He surrendered Muzaffar Khan to the Peishwa, and further gave an indemnity of 11 lakhs and the districts of Belgaum, Sholapur and Hubli (May, 1756).

In the course of the siege Murari Rao had given to Bussy a bond which had been executed in his favour by the Pondicherry Government and which had not been redeemed; and Bussy had spoken of it to both the Peishwa and the Nizām on behalf of Murāri Rāo. The matter was reported to the Peishwa, and he communicated it to Shah Nawaz Khan. The latter had been thirsting for an opportunity to alienate the Nizām from Bussy, and he now painted his action in the blackest colours, asserting in fact that Bussy had received a rich bribe from Murāri Rāo. This was the beginning of the great rupture between Bussy and Salābat Jang.¹⁶

16. See Letters No. 115, dated 3-7-1756 containing a report of Muzaffar Khān's movements, No. 116 indicating negotiations with Murāri Rāo Ghorepade to whom Amrit Rāo was specially deputed as conciliator; No. 121, dated 8-2-1756 giving the news of the investment of Savanur; and No. 129, detailing that the Peishwa had besieged Bagalkot and Murari Rao, Muzaffar Khan and the Nawab of Savanur were preparing to oppose him. (G. S. Sardesai—'Selections from the Peshwa Daftar, No. 28.—Peishwa Bālāji Rāo, *Karnatak Affairs* 1740-1761.)

The Diarist reports on January 25, 1756, that a battle had been fought between Murari Rao and the Peishwa's younger brother on the banks of the Kṛishṇa. Later, he gives us the news that the crafty and jealous Tara Bai, whose inveterate hatred of the Peishwa had not abated a jot, had written to Murāri Rāo that she would send 30,000 horse and a sum of 30 or 40 lakhs, if he would seize the Nānā (the Peishwa) by treachery in battle, and that he had replied asking for the despatch of the troops (Entry for February 20th, 1756). Murari, the Diarist continues, was subsequently encamped near Savanur with 12,000 horse, 8,000 foot and 10,000 followers (*stomam*), and fought a hard battle with the Peishwa who had crossed the Tūngabhadra. He then refers to Bālāji Rao's besieging Savanur which was garrisoned by Murari Rāo's forces. Murari Rāo, we are told, was in great straits from a scarcity of provisions; and the Peishwa sent at the same time word to the Nawāb of Savanur that, unless he delivered up Murari Rao and his sardārs, he would destroy the fort, (Entry for 2 March, 1756). By the end of March, the Diarist had heard that Bālāji Rao and Salabat Jang had combined, that the Savanur affair had been settled, and that both had marched their armies in two stages towards Mysore, which greatly troubled the Pathāns of Cuddapah and other places, and also disconcerted the mind of Muhammad Ali, who thereupon resolved to send two envoys to discuss matters with them. The Diarist had heard echoes of the severity of the French shelling of Savanur fort, and he also refers to the gossip, of course false, to the effect that Murāri Rao, Muzaffar Khān and others had been killed, that Bussy had been wounded, and that both the former had been chained together by the Peishwa.

V. AFFAIRS IN THE MADURA COUNTRY

Colonel Heron's troops, accompanying the Nawāb's forces, set out from Trichinopoly about the middle of February. At Manapar, where the Nawāb desired to stay till the tributes of the four principal Poligars of the neighbourhood were fully paid, it was resolved to attack the Poligar 'Lachenaig'; and in the attempt to overcome the barriers raised by him to cover the advance to his principal town, some serious loss of troops occurred. After this, the Nawāb returned to Trichinopoly; and the troops proceeded to Madura¹⁷ together with Māfuz Khān. The gates of Madura

17. For an account of the situation at Madura see the writer's note on pp. 219-221 of the J. I. H.—Vol. XIII, Part II.

were thrown open to them without any resistance and apparently without any treachery. A deputation from the Sētupati awaited them; and Colonel Heron entered into an alliance with the Marava chief upon his own responsibility. Mayana, who had been appointed by Alam Khan as the Governor of Madura, had fled to Koilkudi, a few miles off to the west, and entrenched himself in the strongly built pagoda of Tirumbūr. The temple was therefore stormed, notwithstanding the inefficiency of the sepoy, and what was worse, Heron and Muhammad Yūsuf, the captain of the sepoy, burnt down the gates with fire, and allowed the troops to plunder the pagoda and carry off a large number of idols which were very sacred to the Kaḷlas of the neighbourhood.¹⁸

Leaving a garrison of Europeans and Sepoys in Madura, Col. Heron moved off to Tinnevely in the end of March 1756. From the latter place, he sent two parties under captains Lee and Beaver to compel the Poligars to settle their accounts, and they did it with very little loss. Kaṭṭabomma Nāyak, the most considerable of these, however, was attacked by one of the detachments; and the fort of Nellikotta was stormed by another. Meanwhile, the Marava chief of Rāmnad, who had offered and even despatched 5,000 men under the command of his brother, to assist Heron in the reduction of the Poligars of the Tinnevely country, was thrown away by Heron who had received strict orders from the Presidency to break off all connection with him, as the King of Tanjore and the Toṇḍaiman of Puḍukōṭṭai strongly declared that they could place no reliance on the friendship of the English if the latter should ally themselves with their mortal enemies, the Maravas. The revenues of the expedition were not equal to the expenditure on the army. Māfuz Khān embezzled a portion of the tributes realised; and Colonel Heron received with avidity presents from those who had accounts to settle. Mafuz Khan and Heron's interpreter colluded together to make the condition of the country appear less advantageous than it really was, and as the result of it Heron persuaded himself into

18. According to Orme the people of the country held the troops in utter detestation for this exploit; Nelson writes of it thus:—"It is observable that, contemptible as was the value of the plundered articles, this circumstance is the only one recorded in the Record Office Ms. in connection with Mafuz Khān's stay in Madura." (The Madura Country, A Manual; Part III, p. 274).

giving Māfuz Khān the charge of the Madura and Tinnevely countries for a yearly rental of Rs. 1,500,000.¹⁹

After returning to Madura, Heron moved off towards the Nattam pass, where he suffered a disgraceful defeat at the hands of the Kaḷlas and lost a considerable part of his baggage. At the town of Nattam he was joined by a detachment from Trichinopoly; and Māfuz Khān returned to Madura. Heron eventually reached Trichinopoly on the 16th of June,

An inquiry was held into his conduct; and he was suspended from his seat in the Council; but he applied for a court martial. Māfuz Khān placed Barkat-ullah in charge of Madura, where a fakir planted a small mosque on the top of the unfinished Rāyagōpura, and would not remove it in spite of the entreaties and remonstrances of the people.

Ranga Pillai records in his Diary an agreement said to have been arranged by the English with Muhammad Ali, on the latter's visit to Madras, to the effect that the Nawāb was to bear the cost of the establishment at Trichinopoly, that the Poligars' *peshkash* was to be given to the English, and that Māfuz Khān was to be recalled by 'proper persons.' In the meanwhile, Māfuz Khān could not make full headway against the rebels. According to the Nawāb's understanding with the English, the latter were to get half the revenues of Madura and Tinnevely. But Māfuz delayed payment of the balance of Rs. 121,000 due from him under the pretext of his heavy expenses in defending the country against the Poligars, and later on contended that he required the Nawāb's authority for the payment. Titārappa Mudali, a Tinnevely merchant, was prepared at this stage to rent the country for 12 lakhs of rupees; but the Nawāb doubted his capacity to collect the revenues in so turbulent a region; and the Madras Council invited that person to Madras to explain his plan.

De Leyrit had remonstrated that the southern expedition of Heron was in itself a breach of truce with M. Godeheu, and that the southern districts belonged to themselves in virtue of various rights derived from Chanda Sahib and the Mysore Dalavāi. The English answered these remonstrances with "arguments equally specious," and De Leyrit did not think it worth while to interrupt the expedition at the risk of renewing the war.

19. For a clear and full account of Heron's doings see Orme (4th Edn.) Vol. I, pp. 380-395; and R. O. Cambridge, *An Account of the War in India*, pp. 83-86.

Tippu Sultan's Confederacy against the British—1790

By

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IN 1779, Hyder Ali of Mysore built up a "terrible confederacy," with the help of the Nizam and all the Maratha chieftains, except the Gækwar of Baroda, in order to destroy British Power in India—a calamity that was averted by the Treaty of Salbai (May 1782) and the Treaty of Mangalore, with Hyder's son, Tippu Sultan, in March, 1784.

That treaty was never accepted as final by Tippu who was even more ambitious than his father and, as yet, lacked the chastening influence of misfortune. In a letter written to the Padshah at Delhi on June, 23rd, 1785, he writes, 'This steadfast believer with a view to the support of the firm religion of Mahomed, undertook some time since, the chastisement of the Nazarene tribe, who unable to maintain the war waged against them, solicited peace of me in the most abject manner. . . . With the Divine aid and blessing of God, it is now again my steady determination to set about the total extirpation and destruction of the enemies of the faith. (Kirkpatrick. Letters of Tippu Sultan. No. LXXI). From the palsied hands of His Imperial Majesty, Tippu solicited mandatory letters calling upon the Nizam and other Muslim chiefs of the Deccan to join him in the Holy War.

Nizam Ali Khan, the Subedar of the Deccan, was in no mood, in 1785, to listen to these calls for a confederacy. He was disposed to ally himself with the Marathas in another campaign against Mysore, to keep the unruly upstart from crossing the Tungabhadra. He sent an army, late in 1785, under Mosheer-ul-Mulk, Mughal Ali and Sham Sher Jung to co-operate with the Marathas in the defence of Badami, Adoni, Nargund and other forts, but, as a result, it is said, of Tippu's timely bribe of Rs. 20,000, Mosheer abandoned Adoni and retreated to the North. The Marathas, thereupon, concluded a separate treaty with Mysore, by which they received

thirty lakhs of rupees in cash and the promise of another fifteen lakhs, after a year. As Col. Read writes, "The Marathas rather regarded the Nizam as an auxiliary vassal that demanded their protection than in the light of a respectable ally." (Mackenzie Mss. No. 46. India Office Library, p. 51). He was justly exasperated at this breach of diplomatic etiquette and harboured strong resentment against the "Brahmins" of Poona.

The Gunttoor Circar affair, long a thorn on the side of the Nizam, also became more alarming at this time. The territory was of great importance to him as the only outlet to the sea; it was equally valuable to the English, who had acquired a contingent right over it by the Treaty of 1768, because it lay between Madras and the Northern Circars. The Nizam was striving his utmost to retain the Circars, and even Lord Cornwallis wrote to Dundas, on March 5, 1787: "The Business of the Gunttoor Circars is a very delicate one and requires the most mature reflection. There are several reasons which make it very doubtful whether this would be a proper time for us to call on the Nizam to settle accounts and to deliver it up. . . . Our demand of the Circars from the Nizam in the hour of his distress would not only appear ungenerous, but would undoubtedly hurt him in the negotiations for a peace with Tippoo" (Ross. Cornwallis Correspondence. Vol. I. p. 252). In spite of this, early in 1788, Captain Kennaway was sent from Calcutta to Hyderabad with instructions that, if he found the atmosphere not propitious for the demand of the Circars, he should, "instead of declaring the real object of your mission, confine yourself to the general expressions of friendship and assurances of our earnest desire to cultivate a good understanding between the two Governments." Captain Kennaway did not discover anything unfavourable and, when he pressed for the cession, the Gunttoor Circars were peaceably and quietly 'delivered up to the servants of the Company.' (Briggs. Nizam, Vol. I. Appendix p. 251).

Col. Alexander Read, who was watching on behalf of the Company the vicissitudes of native powers in the Deccan and writing instructive reports to the Governor of Madras, had advised against this step. He had written: "It will be mortifying to his pride to part with it as calling to his and his people's recollection the great change of affairs in the Deccan since the death of Nizam-ul-Mulk." (Mackenzie Mss. 46 p. 62). According to Kirmani, (History of Tippu Sultan. Translation by Miles, p. 174) this Colonel, the Darogha of the Intelligence Department, had an uncanny way of 'discovering the secret intrigues of the country powers by sending clever

spies and able moonshis at great expense.' Among his papers collected in Mackenzie Mss. Vol: 46, there are many evidences of the nervousness with which the Guntoor affair was broached and the warnings which Col. Read himself thought fit to administer. He says: "I believe it is a received opinion among the Princes of India that we have a desire to enfeeble every power in connection with us and that consequently every one who is tenacious of his independency is wary in trusting to our support." (*ibid* p. 58). "If roused by a danger or a sense of honour, we do not know what he (the Nizam) would do." Nizam Ali Khan, now, more or less in the same mood as in 1779, began negotiations with Tippu Sultan. Col. Read says that the "Nizam was desirous to get back his lost possessions; dissatisfied with the Marathas; jealous of the English and in dread of Tippu." Ambassadors were sent to Seringapatam in the strictest secrecy, ostensibly from the Nizam's brother-in-law Imtaz-ud-daulah, but really to negotiate a treaty. They reached the capital of Tippu in November, 1787.

Tippu also wrote: "My father, Hyder Ally Khan, gave many proofs of his friendship for Your Highness. It is sufficient to remind you of those he manifested during the Carnatic War, in which Your Highness was engaged and since that period, in being the principal cause of the English restoring to Your Highness the Guntoor Circar. I am sorry to observe that you seem to have forgotten those services, when without provocation you joined the infidel Marathas, invaded my country and desolated the land of Mussalmans. Notwithstanding such treatment, my reducing Adoni has been my only retaliation. But, let the past be lost in oblivion both on account of the union that as true Mussalmans ought to subsist between us and of the last advice given me by the Nawab (who has received mercy). I am desirous of entering into a firm alliance with Your Highness and, to show how earnest I am in it, request you will appoint a time and place for a personal conference that all matters relating to our respective interests may be taken into consideration and a treaty concluded for our mutual advantage." (*ibid*. p. 53).

It is significant also that the embassies from Hyderabad were ostensibly from Imtaz-ud-daulah, because one of the articles of the treaty by which an offensive and defensive alliance was formed, stipulated that the daughter of the Nizam's sister (married to Imtaz-ud-daulah) should be given in marriage to Tippu Sultan. In another place, Col. Read says that the embassy, on their return,

brought a casket of jewels for the intended bride, there mentioned as the daughter of the Nizam. Kirmani, too, is not very definite whether a niece or a daughter was indicated, for he speaks of 'the mention of a matrimonial connection.' (p. 149). There were comings and goings for months thereafter, and Col. Read writes that, for about two years, there were constant rumours of the matrimonial alliance, as the basis of a political confederacy.

Meanwhile, discussions proceeded apace and it was agreed that "Tippu was to restore to the Nizam all the territory in his possession that appertained to the Deccan in the time of Nizam-ul-Mulk." It was even said that, in consequence of this, the Mutsaddies of the Revenue Department were actually employed in drawing out an account of the countries that were formerly under the Subah's jurisdiction." "All differences which subsisted between His Highness and Tippu Sultan have been accommodated and friendship established, by Hafiz Fariduddin." (*ibid*. p. 55).

Tippu also evinced a desire to include the Marathas in the alliance, and the Nizam himself was found by Col. Read sending Sooraji Pandit, the Poona Vakil at Hyderabad, with a letter to Nana Phadnavis "to prevail on the Pant Pradhan to enter into a conference with His Highness, Tippu Sultan and the French against the English." Nana Phadnavis, at that time, embroiled in complications between Sindia and Holkar in the North, was inclined 'to dissemble with Tippu', and shared 'a disposition to promote his views on the supposed Confederacy as a likely means to preserve peace with him.' Nana Phadnavis must have thought that this was a good enough way of keeping up the struggle against the English, for, as he wrote in a letter to Madhava Rao Sindia, his sentiments were: "We must not only insist on the reparation of our wrongs but we must try to recover that part of the Carnatic conquests of the great Shivaji which is now occupied by the English." (Kincaid and Parasnis. Vol. III. App. A. p. 141).

Tippu, therefore, ordered the Maratha Vakils and Hafiz Fariduddin Khan to attend him at Coonattoor and, about the middle of September, 1789, Col. Read is able to report that the basis of negotiations at that place, though kept strictly confidential, was the following:—

(1) A firm and lasting union between Nizam Ali Khan and Tippu Sultan in all matters in which they mutually engage for the good of their two States.

(2) His Highness to join Tippu in a war against the Marathas, at any time that nation shall oppose their views.

(3) The Guntoor Circar to be made over to Tippu for the usual rent, and His Highness to break all connection with the English.

(4) His Highness to give his daughter to Tippu's son in marriage.

Besides this, a truce was agreed upon with the Marathas for a period of three years and six months. Col. Read writes on 15th September 1789 that Shivaji Rao, the Maratha Vakil, is in Tippu's camp and that it is currently reported that the Marathas have entered into engagements to assist Tippu in the event of war with the English. This engagement is further corroborated by the discovery by Col. Read of the following events. (mentioned in his despatch dated 4th January, 1790). "The Wallajah (Nawab of Arcot) has sent an agent to Poona to persuade the Marathas to invade Tippu's country, to which the minister has replied that they have made a treaty for three years and three months with the Sultan and could not, without breaking their engagements, commit hostilities against him." (*Ibid* p. 119). Col. Read gives also evidence to show that some Mysore Sowcars proceeded to Poona with money to enlist 30,000 Maratha horsemen and that they were encouraged by the friendly disposition of the Poona Government.

Meanwhile, the Nizam was keeping other irons, too, in the fire and awaiting replies from other capitals. He had sent an Amir to the Wallajah asking him to suggest the likeliest means of getting Guntoor back from the English. He had despatched Abdul Cassim to Calcutta to negotiate for substantial financial payments (if not the surrender of the Circars) and for positive military help. And, indolently, he awaited the turn of events. Lord Cornwallis had written on 7th July 1789, very favourably on both issues, and promising him two battalions of sepoys and six pieces of cannon manned by Europeans whenever he wanted to employ force against Tippu Sultan. This letter liberated him from all fear on his Southern Frontier and gave him also a respectable rent from the Guntoor Circars. Mr. Malet, the British ambassador at Poona, also strove hard against the formation of the new Confederacy and corrected the impression of duplicity that Lord Cornwallis had given, when, as soon as he assumed office, cancelled his predecessor's offer of three battalions of British troops (*Ross*. Vol. I. p. 22).

Tippu's vakeels at Hyderabad were given a rather cold audience on 2nd January 1790 and they were sent back in April of that year, "without any apparent mark of friendship from the Nizam." They also carried with them a definite refusal, in rather insulting terms, of the marriage proposal. Kirmani is very much touched by this injury and he writes, "Considering the term Naik which belonged to the Sultan's forefathers as discreditable and relationship with him a disgrace, according to the advice of his foolish women, he turned his face aside from the true path. . . . Good God! Is it possible that on the strength of worldly power and distinction, low fellows boast of their noble descent and men of the dregs of the people, falsely claim to be Shaikhs and Syeds and consider no one equal to themselves. 'Low birth is hidden by wealth and station! 'The Golden Veil conceals the ugliness of the old courtesan!' (pp. 149-151).

Meanwhile, by his rash attack on Travancore, Tippu had invited the wrath of the Company on his head and Lord Cornwallis had, by conciliation and compromise, gathered together once again the broken threads of diplomacy. On the 5th July 1790, a treaty of offensive and defensive alliance was concluded between the Company, the Marathas and the Nizam. Tippu could vent his wrath against his Muslim Brother on the Hyderabad throne only by insulting reference to him in letters as Hajam Ali, instead of Nizam Ali and by painting a detestable animal, beneath the picture drawn by order of his father, of the Nizam marching with the Mysore Troops in the old days of 1780! To-day on the walls of the Daria Daulat Bagh Mansion on our right as we enter, we can see the pathetic perpetuation of Tippu's wrath, at the break-up of the Confederacy.

Editorial

HAYAGRĪVA—THE MANTRAYANIC ASPECT OF HORSE-CULT IN CHINA AND JAPAN

By

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THIS work is a publication of the Internationales Archiv Für Ethnographie. The paper was originally presented by its author, Dr. R. H. Van Gulik for a doctorate degree of the University of Utrecht. It is a subject of considerable interest as bearing upon a topic typical in character in respect of the study of perhaps what might for convenience be called general *Mantrayānic* or *Tantrāic* religion, without the evil import attaching to Tantrism. Tantrism in its original meaning is inoffensive, and means nothing more than worship or propitiation offered by a man by shape of hand either accompanied by the incantation of a *mantra* by word of mouth, or only by dumb-show. The terms *Mantra* and *Tantra* are held in contrast, offering worship by word of mouth or by an act of mind, against that done by feat of hand. But as in the generality of cases, nothing is done without a *mantra* being pronounced, the division is not always strictly carried out. But that does not mean that the strict division does not exist. Even at the present time, the practice exists in temples in the Malabar country where the officiating priest is not a Brahman. Worship is conducted to a considerable extent by this kind of a dumb-show. There is nothing else even as supplementing this in the shape of *mantra* whether it be of the incantational or of the glorifying kind. The term *tantra*, in the sense in which the term *Mantrayāna* is used, has received a certain amount of acceptance and may therefore be usefully retained to indicate a particular development of religion in which the principal part of the ritual of worship consists in the recitation, or even meditation of particular texts, generally accompanied by certain ideas being represented by poses of the hand in certain forms known by the term *mudra*. The Brāhmaṇic system in India and the Buddhistic, as well as the later Buddhistic systems which had travelled abroad from India show this largely in their modern form. In their origin they arise from the *Āgama* worship, both *Vaiṣṇava* and *Śaiva*, and it is from

there that apparently they passed into Mahayānistic Buddhism, and from there again into Tibet, China and Japan with characteristic features explained by the locality of the provenance.

Hayagrīva in Brāhmaṇic tradition is the form which Viṣṇu assumed to recover the Vedas that had been stolen and hidden under the waters by two Rākshasas, the products of anger (*Tamas*) of the primeval being. He had to assume the horse-form to overcome these powerful enemies, and for this achievement has been hailed as saviour and benefactor, as the recovery of the Vedas set the order of the Universe as before. Hayagrīva has therefore been handed down in Brāhmaṇic tradition in various aspects. In modern times, Hayagrīva is worshipped peculiarly as the presiding deity over learning as well as many other things. The name of course appears in various forms, *Hayagrīva*, *Hayasīrsha*, and *Hayasīras* and a number of other synonyms. There is a Hayagrīva Raja referred to in the Mahābhārata, and similarly there is a Hayagrīva, a Rākshasa, whose name is Hayagrīva and not its synonyms. That is so far as the Brāhmaṇic tradition goes. In the *Pāñcharātra*, Hayagrīva comes in for an important share and is worshipped with *Mudras* and *Mantras*, characteristic of the followers of that *āgama*. It is these features that are carried into the Hayagrīva tradition when it passes first into the Mahāyāna in India, and from there carried into Tibet. The *mantras* and the *dhyāna* prescribed show unmistakable similarity sometimes approaching to identity in points of language between the *mantras* as prescribed in these foreign countries and the original Sanskrit *mantra*. Of course, when Hayagrīva is carried into Mahāyāna Buddhism, Hayagrīva is allotted a place in the Mahāyāna pantheon, and here he figures chiefly as an attendant deity of *Avalokiteśvara*. The prescription for the seat, for the lotus on it for the position of the central presiding deity, the location of the attendant deities, all of them happen to be exactly like the prescription of the *Pāñcharātras*.

Van Gulik has done excellent service bringing the details of the *mantras* and the *mudras* alike together in one conspectus, keeping intact the distinctive features of character of Hayagrīva-worship as it obtains in Tibet, China and Japan. It is a very good piece of work as research work, and has obviously involved a considerable amount of labour bringing the information together. His attempt to connect it with the more primitive kind of horse-cult is very much more recondite, and perhaps requires much more work to establish, while the possibility is by no means ruled

out. In the disquisition upon the *mantras*, etc., we have to invite the author's attention to what seems a serious error, on page 32, footnote. He discusses there the *mantra* of Hayagriva giving there the Sanskrit text as well as its Tibetan equivalent. In the *sādhana* part of the text, describing what a devotee would gain, one is assured of the attainment of a position as emperor of the *Vidyādhara*s, with Brahma, Viṣṇu, Śiva, etc., as attendant deities, and in the enjoyment of all the various kinds of bliss in the heaven of the Gods. Here particularly occurs what seems his entourage. "He will live in the abode of the *Vidyādhara*s, Indra will be his parasol bearer; Brahma his minister, Vemachitra's son, Vaimachitra, the prince of the *Asuras* will be his general; Viṣṇu will be his door-keeper, etc." Following this comes "the naked teacher Śankara will demonstrate all the qualities." This naked *Āchārya* Śankara, Van Gulik attempts to equate with Śankarāchārya, who lived in the 8th century in South India. The explanation offered for his being described as naked is said to be due to a confusion with the *digambara* Jains demonstrates clearly the unsuitability of the explanation. The naked Śankara ought to be interpreted as Śankara in his *bhairava* aspect of *Dakṣiṇāmūrti* the teacher, and *Bikṣhāṇḍa*, the beggar and as the teacher he is generally regarded as having expounded the fundamentals to four disciples. Anything like a reference to a philosopher-teacher like Śankarāchārya seems out of place in the context. In the same passage occurs the architectural technical term, *Masūrakam*, the plinth or basement, which is interesting. There are just a few other slips hardly of sufficient importance to point out.

We welcome the work as an important contribution to the understanding of the outspread of Indian culture into lands far beyond the boundaries of India. Let us hope that the author, who, as he says is now in Japan, would carry out his wish going further into the investigation there and throwing more light upon the subject in the not distant future.

VISHNUPADAGIRI

THERE has been for some time a discussion on the location of the Vishṇupadagiri referred to in the Mehrauli Inscription of Chandra now in the quadrangle on one side of the Qutub Minar in Delhi. Mr. Chintaharan Chakravarti began the discussion, which had been carried on by others and the last note is by Mr. J. C. Ghosh in the *Indian Culture* for January 1935. The whole of this discussion we find centres round the Vishṇupadagiri near the source

of the river Beas, which would hardly meet the conditions of the case satisfactorily for locating the position of the iron pillar on the assumption that it was brought down to where it is now by Anangapāla. There is no reference however in the whole of this discussion to the pillar having been just where it was erected, which is not an impossibility in the actual circumstances of its position. As a result of what had been discovered on digging out the foundations of the pillar, the possibility was pointed out by Vincent Smith himself in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1897. We took occasion to discuss the matter in our *Vākāṭaka* lectures at the Madras University published as the *Vākāṭaka Supplement* in the *Journal of Indian History*,* and pointed out there the possibility of some locality round about Delhi being known by the name of Vishṇupadagiri on the analogy of Biana at the farther south end of the Delhi Ridge being known by the name Śrīpadagiri or Śrīpadam. We are glad to find this position receiving confirmation in chapter 81 of the *Vanaparva* of the *Mahā-Bhārata*, *Kumbhakōṇam* Edition.¹ In this chapter a *tirtham* called a Vishṇupada is under reference and is associated with the *Vāmana avatāra*, just the occasion for the holiness of this spot. This is mentioned actually as a *tirtha* in *Kurushētra* which lies between the *Sarasvati* in the south and the *Drishadvati* in the north.

दक्षिणेन सरस्वत्या इषद्वत्युत्तरेण च ।
येवसान्ति कुरुक्षेत्रे ते वसन्ति त्रिविष्टपे ।

(M. Bh. III. 81. 4)

It is somewhere between the junction of the *Kauṣiki* with *Drishadvati* and the *Tirtha* Śrī Kunja in the *Sarasvati* which is much nearer to the locality where the pillar actually stands. Therefore it must have been probably in the vicinity of Delhi, perhaps across the river *Jumna*.

ततो गच्छेत धर्मज्ञ विष्णोः स्थानं अनुत्तमम् ।
सततं नाम राजेन्द्र यत्र सन्निहितो हरिः ॥
ततो वामनकं गच्छेत् त्रिषु लोकेषु विभुतम् ।

(Ibid. III. 81. 10 & 11)

तत्र विष्णुपदे स्नात्वा अर्चयित्वा च वामनम् ॥
सर्वपापविशुद्धात्मा त्वणुलोकम् सगच्छति ॥

(Ibid. III. 81. 103 & 104)

* *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. VI, part iii, *Vākāṭaka Supplement*, Pages, 7 ff.

1. This may be found perhaps not in the same chapter, but in a near neighbouring chapter in other editions.

Of course there are a number of Vishṇupadas. We may have to locate a Vishṇupada beyond the Kailāsa. There is a Vishṇupada referred to in literature very near the source of the Beas, and we have the Chinese Traveller Hiuen T'sang's reference to the source of the Jehlum in Kasmir being referred to as a Vishṇupada also. There is a tradition of the Gayāsūra and Vishṇupada in Gaya as also in Allahabad at the junction of the Ganges and the Jumna. In this locality what is referred to is Vishṇupada-tirtha, and not Vishṇupadagiri. The objection need not be insuperable, as a *tirtha* is composed of the three elements, the *mūrti* (representation of God), the *tirtha* (holy bathing-place) and *sthalam* (the holy locality itself), all of them combined, or single could constitute a holy place fit for pilgrimage by those so minded. So a Vishṇupadagiri and a Vishṇupadatirtha are not incompatible with a locality very near to where the pillar stands at present to give the whole locality the name. Before any final decision in regard to the locality could be arrived at this locality will have to come in also for its share of consideration.

SATIYAPUTRA

THE identification of Asoka's Satiyaputra has been brought into discussion by two notes in the Indian Culture, the first by Mr. V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar in the number for January 1935, and another in the April number by Mr. B. A. Saletore. The latter article gives a fairly exhaustive list of authorities in which this has been discussed before. But the real point at issue is where it is actually to be located in the age of Asoka, and particularly with reference to his mention of Satiyaputra among the territories of the south, independent of his authority. First of all the order of mention as given by Mr. Dikshitar is wrong, the actual order in the Edicts being, Choḷa, Pāṇḍya, Satiyaputra, Kēraḷaputra and Tambapanni, so that if we take the order to mean a geographical order, then the kingdom next adjoining the Mauryan frontier is Choḷa, next follows Pāṇḍya, then comes Satiyaputra, and then Kēraḷaputra, leaving Tambapanni aside for the moment. Mr. Dikshitar would brush aside the etymological or the philological equivalent of the word as of no consequence, allowing himself the freedom to identify any two names of similar sound as it were, as in fact it happens to be the case in the suggested identification between *Satiyaputra* and *Satyavrataśhētra*. Apart from the obvious fact that it cannot be held that the two are equivalent in any sense of the term, let us see if there is any evidence leading to a possible identification, apart from similarity of name.

The first question that one would like to ask is was *Satyavrataśhētra* the name of the whole of the modern Conjeevaram town or even old Kānchi; whether at any time it was used as the name of the country dominated by the town of Kānchi, and whether it is not limited in its application purely to what is now called Little Conjeevaram or Vishṇu Kānchi, where exists the Dēvarāja Temple, which does not find mention among the Vaishnava Prabandās of the Ālvārs as such, while all other Vishṇu shrines which are now minor ones are celebrated in these Prabandas. The mention of Kānchi as a kingdom of importance in Patanjali's Mahābhāṣya can only prove that Kānchi had already attained to the dignity of a kingdom or a province at the date of Patanjali, and if that had been known in the days of Asoka, surely he would have mentioned it in his edicts before coming to the kingdom of the Choḷas. Satiyaputra and Sātpute are not so far apart, where the existence of a family, Sātpute in the southern Mahratta country would justify the existence of Satiyaputra in that locality or no. Of course, Dikshitar passes over Vincent Smith's attempt at identifying it with Satyamangalam, as it certainly leads to absurd identifications and explanations in regard to the Brihatcharaṇa. He takes a jump from there to Kerololpatti and the Satyabhūmi finding reference there. It would be very much better not to bring such a late source as the Kerololpatti to throw light upon Asoka's Edicts, as there is no intervening link of any kind. But then the principal point of Dikshitar's note is his attempt at identifying the Satiyaputras with the Kośar who are referred to in the Tamil classics of the Śaṅgam age as 'men of their word.' The Tamil expression would mean men or people that kept their word, which may receive the interpretation 'votaries of *Satya* or truth', though it is possible to interpret the word as meaning a slightly different thing "valiant men who are as good as their word" in certain particulars. But passing over that term, one hardly sees the appropriateness of Dikshitar's attempted identification of the Kośar with Kongu, and then equating it with Satyabhūmi or Satiyaputra from the well-known reputation of the Kośar for keeping to their word. In the age of Śilapadhikāram, the Kongu Kośar were known as Iḷankośar, which *ipso facto* implies another body of people of the same ethnic kind, who could be described as an elder Kośar. The Ahanānūṭu contains references to the entry of the Kośar into Tuḷu Nāḍu, the territory of the Tamil chief Nannan (Aham 14), and from there they must have proceeded farther in their migration to come to occupy Kongu. If these people were in the course of a migration we may possibly locate them farther north than Tuḷu in the

age of Asoka, a location which would justify Sir R. G. Bhandarkar's identification. But one might very well doubt whether the somewhat recondite characteristic of the Kośar known to the Tamil people was so widely prevalent as to give them the general name Satiyaputra so as to make it the name of the territory occupied by these people. If it were so, they occupied territory north of Tuḷunāḍu. They occupied the Tuḷu country; they occupied the Kongu country, Kongu in the days of the Śilapadhikāram, Tuḷu at the time of the Ahanānūṟu poem, and north of Tuḷu in the time previous to that. We do certainly want a little more than that to accept the equation Satiyaputra with the Kośar, and the consequent location of the territory under Kośar occupation which in the days of Asoka we ought to look for somewhat to the northward of Tuḷu.

Mr. Saletore is rather definite about Satiyaputra not being the ancient Tuḷuvar, and would take advantage of the difference of opinion in respect of the ages of the Tamil classics including Tolkāpiyam to deny their authority for this question. He is frankly of opinion that the Keralolpatti is of no authority for this particular part and that the Tuḷuva was no part of the Kongu Dēśa. The Tolkāpiyam mentions only the three kingdoms, and that must be one of the reasons why the Tolkāpiyam must be ascribed to an age when the fourth kingdom had not attained to any importance. In the days of the Śilapadhikāram Kānchī was a place of great importance, though not a great kingdom. The territory dominated by Kānchī had come to be under chieftains ruling Kānchī first, and then under the Choḷas. When Karikāla had conquered and annexed the whole of this territory Kānchī became the headquarters of a Choḷa viceroyalty till the rise of the Pallavas of Kānchī when it became a kingdom gradually dominating the whole of South India. Śilapadhikāram and Iḷango Aḍigal are not two separate authorities, as Mr. Saletore seems to believe. The latter is the author of the former, the work.

Mr. Saletore however gets into an argument that Tambapanni of the Asoka Edicts is not Ceylon but that it is the Tāmraparaṇi river. Tāmbapanni may be the equivalent of the Tāmraparaṇi, but that does not debar its being the name of Ceylon, whatever may be the origin of the name, whether we accept the origin of the name as given in the Mahāvamśa or no. If the island came to be known as Tambapanni when the emigration of Vijaya took place, it certainly would be known by that name in the age of Asoka. There is no connection between the

name of the island and Buddhism. Buddhism may have been introduced into the island later in the days of Asoka. The fact that the classical geographers referred to it as such certainly does make the name Tāmbapanni as the name of the island. Tāmbapanni being the name of the island does not make it impossible for Vijaya to found a city under the same name, the capital city of the island of the same name. The river flowing between it and the mainland that we find mentioned in the account of Megasthenes is nothing more than the current that even now flows through the Palks Strait, which early sailors may have regarded as a flowing river. But the weakest point in Saletore's argument is, if the Choḷa and Pāṇḍya were kingdoms, where does he propose locating the kingdom of Tāmbraparaṇi or Tāmbapanni. Tāmbraparaṇi is certainly the name of the river, but we know of no kingdom called by the name of that river. Everything considered, the position remains just the same. Asoka knew of five political entities in the south, Choḷa, Pāṇḍya, Satiyaputra, Keralaputra on the Continent, and across the Strait, the island of Ceylon. As to the location of the Satiyaputra, it certainly is not Satyavratākshētra or Kānchī even when it dominated the whole region, as that name does not occur even in Vaishṇava works of the period admitting for the moment the possibility of equating the two names. In our present state of knowledge, we have to regard it as a kingdom or a state under some other form of government, in all probability to the north or N.W. of the three well-known southern kingdoms. We think that is about as far as we could go with the material at our disposal.

THE ALL-INDIA MODERN HISTORY CONGRESS,

POONA, 8TH AND 9TH JUNE, 1935

This Congress was convened at Poona with a view to making an organised effort at promoting the study of Indian History generally. It was limited to Modern History, having regard to the fact that the All-India Oriental Conference has an important section for Indian History, which, however, was restricted in scope to what might well be called the ancient history of India, coming down to the Muslim invasions, more or less. The purview of this Congress was therefore intended to take in the rest of Indian History stopping short early in the 19th century, 1818 marking an important epoch in the history of the Mahrattas. This downward limit was considered necessary as historical records of

periods beyond that are under copyright limit and do not admit of really historical treatment. An influential reception committee had been formed with Raja Saheb, Shrimant Raghunathrao Shankarrao *alias* Babasaheb Pantsachiv, Ruler of Bhor, as President. The more influential among the members of the Bharat Itihasa Sanshodhaka Mandala and other workers in Poona constituted the working committee with Mr. N. C. Kelkar as its chairman. His Excellency the Rt. Hon'ble Lord Brabourne, Governor of Bombay was invited to open the Conference, and Professor Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan of Allahabad having been invited to preside over the Conference. The extensive and airy buildings and grounds of the Parasuram Bhau College were utilized for the purpose of the Conference. The sessions of the Congress lasted three days, 8th, 9th and 10th June 1935. His Excellency, the Governor, and the President were received at 5 p.m., on the 8th and the meeting was inaugurated. The Pant Sachiv in a short speech, invited His Excellency to open the Congress, in the course of which he pointed out the important part that Poona played in modern Indian History and its character as the intellectual centre of the Mahratta country. He said "This is a question for you scholars and students of Indian History to think about, and you have to find out ways and means to solve it in a satisfactory way. Government, Indian States, Universities and the public, including private, literary and research Societies, must come forward to do their own part and help to co-operate in a scheme calculated to bring about the desired result. This, I believe, is a question well-worth engaging your attention during this session of the All-India Modern History Congress." After referring to the work that has so far been done by individual workers and the Bharat Itihasa Shamsodhaka Mandala, he exhorted the scholars assembled to proceed to the preliminary work of a comprehensive survey of the sources, and concluded that this is a question for scholars to think about. His Excellency Lord Brabourne in an informing speech which is printed in full in the journal, declared the Congress open.

Professor Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan was formally proposed to the chair and delivered a long Presidential Address, making an elaborate survey of the present condition of historical work, the facilities that there are for it and the facilities that ought to exist, and indicated what there is need to be done and what a body like the Modern History Congress might do to assist in this good work. After a long survey of the various periods, he put forward among the constructive suggestions, the organised digestion of material such as has been done by the Historical

Records Commission in England. He suggested the organisation of a historical manuscripts commission, and wanted a revised edition of Elliott and Dowson's "History of India as told by her own Historians" with such additions of new sources, revision of the translation as a whole with annotations to make the important source book really more useful. He wanted that the Congress should take upon itself the functions of a clearing house in regard to the output both of historical material and the further work on the basis of these. Amidst a large and distinguished audience of the elite of Poona, the sessions closed for the day.

The next important item in the programme was an exhibition of historical material of which Poona is fairly rich, the collection at the Bharat Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandala constituting the main part, in addition to exhibits obtained from outside, even the Records of the Government of India being well represented. This section was opened by the Editor of this Journal, and his address will appear in the proceedings of the Congress in the usual course. There were a number of interesting exhibits occupying part of the Parasuram College, and the building of the Itihasa Mandala.

About thirty papers were presented in all, and the work of reading the papers was got through in three separate sections. Some of the papers presented were very interesting, and the whole sessions proved to be interesting and well attended. As side shows they had arranged for the singing of the Mahratta ballads and a demonstration of the Indian musical instruments each one of which was played and shown by Sardar G. N. Majumdar. On the following day, the 10th, the sectional meetings continued in the morning, and the afternoon, and there was an open session of the Congress for the transaction of business. The following two days were set apart for excursions to interesting places. At the business meeting, it was resolved to constitute a permanent organisation to be called the Indian History Congress. A committee of nine was constituted to do the needful by drafting a constitution and launching the association as a working body. Judged by the work done in the first congress, the organisation seems to supply a felt want and its permanence would assure continuous working with useful results.

Reviews

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE EARLY TAMILS

By MR. K. N. SIVARAJA PILLAI

This work is welcome as the first fruit of the School of Dravidian Studies established in the new form in which it had been brought into existence under the new Act. Early Tamil chronology is a subject receiving attention since the days of Bishop Caldwell, but very much more actively and usefully since the late Professor Sundaram Pillai of Trivandrum made the first serious attempt at fixing a starting point in Tamil literary chronology in his "Some Milestones in Tamil Literature." This work stimulated other work besides, and there has since been published a considerable volume of work on the subject of varying value. Notwithstanding the series of efforts referred to above the full material for an all-round constructive effort has become available only recently. The earliest body of literature to which the scholar this way inclined turns is a group which goes generally by the name Śāṅgam works among students of Tamil. We may flatter ourselves now that we have almost the whole body of this literature made available to us in a form capable of critical use for the purpose of chronology. Mr. Sivaraja Pillai, with commendable enthusiasm has taken it upon himself to do this much desired work. He has exploited the whole of this literature and chalked out for himself a time scheme on the basis of which he claims to have attained to a chronological arrangement of the early rulers and poets of the Tamil land.

The work that he has done falls into three parts really. The first consists of the study of Śāṅgam literature generally with a discussion of their value for critical work, and the arrangement that a critical chronological study would justify. In the second part, he arranges these data consisting mainly of poets and their patrons, rulers of the Tamil land, in a scheme of synchronistic tables, and lays claim to recover ten generations of such. In the third section he discusses the order of arrangement of these ten

generations and their chronology. In a separate section, he summarises the results achieved. In a volume of a little over 200 pages, he presents these various sections of his work. This is followed by 15 appendices covering about 50 pages and dealing with topics which could not very well be discussed in the detail necessary in the body of the work. On the whole it may be said that it is a very creditable performance as embodying a serious study, and an elaborate investigation with a view to resolving the tangle, setting out at least a part of it in a chronological scheme.

The main question, however, is how far the results achieved in this effort may be accepted as of higher value than previous efforts, which is really the material point. To evaluate the results one has necessarily to consider the methods adopted and the manner in which texts are used to draw particular conclusions. Of course, we might pass over all that he says—and there is much of that in the work—in disparagement of previous workers and their various shortcomings which makes the author appear quite a new Daniel come to judgment. He starts with certain *a priori* conclusions in regard to the character of this body of literature, and would divide these into three distinct chronological strata, the naturalistic, the ethnical and the religious, applying these attributes as the exclusively characteristic of the poems of periods of Śāṅgam Literature. He would regard a certain number of these poems as being naturalistic and containing quite matter of fact statements and therefore coming the earliest; the next exhibiting a certain diadectic character and being classed therefore as coming at a later period; and the third class is, according to him, the group of poems where there is anything like a reference to religion, which unfortunately shows itself to be something like a pet aversion for this author. We need say no more about this classification than merely to doubt whether anthropologists would admit it as of any really historical value in respect of a people which has advanced to the stage of culture of producing literary works. Apart from that the catena of historical details given in the course of the work to justify the classification would hardly find support among serious students of Indian or South Indian History.

The Śāṅgam literature, as it has come down to us, is in the main a number of collections of works, and must naturally consist of poems of different periods divided by longer or shorter intervals. Perhaps this is what is reflected in the statement of Dandin in his *Kāvyādarśa*, where he speaks of other literatures than Sanskrit

literature. He refers to Tamil literature as being composed mainly of works put together in collections. While therefore the works would admit of the internal division of the poems into those prior and posterior through a number of generations, the division will have to be determined by much other evidence than this general *a priori* classification. From among this body of literature Mr. Sivaraja Pillai selects four groups of collections as the most ancient. These are the 400 of the Puṇam, the 400 of the Aham, Naṇṇinai and Kurum Togai; and, on the basis of these four he constructs his scheme. He overlooks the general belief that the collections were made by one author, and perhaps for one patron, and that these are only selections from a larger body of poems. But even so, it must be pointed out that he picks and chooses poems of value from his point of view, and he dismisses others of no value to him, sometimes even characterising them as forgeries without an adequate investigation, or offering what would seem adequate reasons, for the characterisation. He often reads his own meanings into the poems and builds theories on them. We might mention as an example Paraṇar's poem in the Ahanānūṇu, No. 122, quoted and discussed in pages 71 and 72. "From this we may reasonably conclude that immediately after the conquest of Urantai (Uraiyūr), Tittan put its defences in thorough order and made that city impregnable. An ambitious sovereign like himself with projects of conquest seething in his mind could not have done anything else". We regret very much that we can find nothing in the poem that would indicate anything leading to this detailed conclusion. Nor is the case any better in regard to Neḍum-Tēr-ṣeḷiyan's conquest of Madura, etc., discussed on 100 ff. We need not quote other passages similarly treated.

In the course of this study of his, he not merely assumes, but would drive it into the heads of his readers that he is dealing with a period when the whole of the Tamil land was divided into a number of chieftaincies, each independent of every other, and points to the dawn of the period when a few great rulers, by annexing a few principalities in addition to their own, gradually build up kingdoms. This ought rather to follow a detailed investigation of evidence to prove this general position; whereas this general position seems almost assumed, and other details from the literature are made to conform to this view. There is a similar investigation about a Pāṇḍya and his conquest of Podiyil from an Āy king on pages 113 following where a mere expression *Pothiyil Śelvan*, in a poem of Bhūta Pāṇḍyan, is made to support the inference that a king Āy was a chieftain of independent position as against the

ruler of Madura who was the author of the poem. There is similarly much in the course of the work in which important statements are made, with all the emphasis of accepted or acceptable conclusions, without offering the evidence from which alone such conclusions could be drawn. These statements are made as if they were obvious; and, what is worse, oftentimes as if his *ipse dixit* was more than enough for proof.

It is hardly necessary to labour the point further. But a few instances of the kind of criticism and critical work of Mr. Sivaraja Pillai would be necessary to understand the actual character of his work. He is frankly of the opinion that the Tamil country was, up to the period that he is dealing with, divided among a number of tribal chieftainships. Just at the time some of these start on a career of expansion, and, as a result of conquests made in the course of a generation or more, the three Tamil kingdoms, Chera, Choḷa and Pāṇḍya stand out. On Mr. Sivaraja Pillai's chronology, this process of formation of the kingdoms would be somewhere in the first century A.D., sooner or later. The Asoka edicts which speak of these Southern countries of the Tamils refer to the three kingdoms, Choḷa, Pāṇḍya, Keraḷaputra, adding one more kingdom on the continent Satiyaputra and then passing on to Ceylon. Asoka's frontier comes down to North Mysore on one side and Gooty on the other. This general *a priori* conclusion he has formed, and from which he deduces very largely, sometimes makes him very confounded. He lays down the general position in one place that the coming of Sanskrit and Sanskritic influence is datable to the time of Tiruḡṇāna Śambandar and not before. He seems to apply the same to religion, particularly with reference to the orthodox Hindu forms of it, and considers Jainism and Buddhism as having been introduced into the Tamil country earlier. He offers no particular proof to demonstrate the position; but quietly assumes that, as having been demonstrated, to justify the occurrence of Sanskrit words in earlier works as being quite natural. The question is not whether it is natural or unnatural. The point to note is the borrowing of Sanskrit words indicates a contact with Sanskrit language and literature, and those that are of other views generally state that and nothing else. This leads to a considerable amount of chronological confusion in the work under review. Poems are sometimes ascribed to periods on the basis of anything religious that they may contain, and, strangely enough, instead of being consigned to the middle of the seventh century or near to that period, these are made to move down only a generation or two—it may be three generations. This

comes out clearly when he ascribes the *Tirumuruhāṛṛupaḍai* of Nakkirar to a later time, he does not exactly specify to what later, but ascribes Nakkirar to the eighth generation of his genealogical table. But this unfortunately would take it perhaps to the first half of the second century A.D., five centuries earlier than the time indicated. This conclusion he tries to enforce by a philological excursus pointing out that the word, *irattal* is used merely in the sense of *olittal* (sounding) instead of in the original sense of *sounding alternately*. Here are his own words :—"Again, both *Kurincipāṭṭu* and *Tirumurugāṛṛupaḍai* use the word *irratal* in a sense quite unknown to the early poets, who invariably denote by it, the noise issuing from two bodies alternately or simultaneously. This specific meaning expressive of the origin of the word faded away in the course of a few centuries and by the time of the two works we are now discussing the word had been generalised to mean all manner of sounds without distinction. Taking the early poets, not one of them, as far as I can see, has used *irrattatal* in the sense of merely *olittal*, thus depriving it of its original significance." The italics are ours. This general sense of the word is found in the *Maduraikkānji* where the term occurs at least in two places, in one of which the sense sounding alternately is brought home clearly by the context; and in the other the sense is obviously producing sound and so *Nacchinārkiniyar*, the commentator, interprets it. Mr. Sivaraja Pillai, it must be pointed out, however has no opinion of *Nacchinārkiniyar*'s knowledge of Tamil. The word lost its original meaning in the course of a few centuries, but the difference of date between *Māṅkuḍi Marudan*, and *Nakkirar*, according to the learned author is one generation between if even that.

The interpretation that he gives to *Hiḍaraja* in the *Asoka* edicts probably goes back to the days of the second volume of the *Epigraphia Indica*. We would advise him to consult the recent publication of these inscriptions by *Hultzsch*. This critic of all previous workers and writers including the author of the *Tolkāppiyam*, sometimes launches into statements which would be more than questionable. Here is one taken at random. Speaking of *Marudan Iḷanāgan*, he has this following weighty statement :—"But I have purposely refrained from that arrangement for this weighty reason: that *Iḷavantiḱaippaḷḷi-tuṇṇiya-Nanmāran* being sung by *Marudan Iḷanāgan*, a son of *Māṅkuḍi Marudan*, the poet should necessarily follow the generation of the victor of *Talaiyālankānam* to whose court was attached the father-poet *Māṅkuḍi Marudan*". Here again the italics are ours. *Marudan Iḷanagan* has poems in which he celebrates the victor of *Talaiyālankānam*. He is some-

times referred to as *Madurai Marudan Iḷanagan*, and on what particular authority he makes him a son of *Māṅkuḍi Marudan* is not clear.

He takes people to task for giving Sanskrit origins of certain Tamil words. He takes the word 'Naoura' of the *Periplus* and the 'Nitria' of *Pliny*, lying to the north of Tyndis or Tonḍi. He wants to derive these two words from *Naravu* referred to in the *Patirruppattu*. He says that *Yule* has correctly identified these places with *Mangalore* on the river *Nētrāvati*. Is *Nētrāvati* to be taken as a Tamil word? Could *Nitrias* be derived from *Naravu* without the intervention of the term *Nētrāvati*? *Naoura* may perhaps be so derived. Carrying this a little further, he lays it down "the name *Nētrāvati* itself should be taken as a later form and its origin traced to the ancient Tamil name *Naravu*." He would have done well to have shown how. So in the case of the classic 'Damirica'. He would rather derive it directly from 'Tamilaham', and would object strongly to deriving it from the Sanskrit form 'Dramiḍaka'. The transition from 'Tamilaham' to "Dimiraka" even to a Western foreigner would perhaps be made easy by the form 'Dramiḍaka' which the nautical log-keeper of the 'Periplus' might have heard from a Sanskrit source immediately to the north. We need not unnecessarily multiply instances. But we must refer to two points of the first importance before closing. He would bring the *Kuṛaḷ* and the *Tolkāppiyam* to a later age. Here is a general dictum :—

"Turning to the history of literary development in the Tamil land, we find important intervening land marks between the early period and the modern. Let us start with the beginning of the seventh century, the age of *Tirugṇānasambanda*, one of the definitely settled periods in Tamil History. In moving back to antiquity we have to find a place for such a work as *Cilappadikaram* and possibly also for *Maṇimēkhalai*. Then we should move still higher up for the Ethical Period which should spread over at least one or two centuries, locating *Kuṛaḷ* and *Tolkāppiyam* at about this time. We have also to find room for the development of such Naturalistic works as *Ainkuṇūru*, *Kalittogai* and such portions of the *Pattupāṭṭu* as are not covered by the Synchronistic Tables. Do not all these stages of literary growth require at the least four centuries—the period which now separates the age of the Synchronistic Tables from that of *Tirugṇānasambanda*? If anything, the period is only too short for the variety and complexity of the literary phenomena which one has perforce to locate in it." Whether

the classification of these works into his own *a priori* periods is at all valid readers of Tamil can judge for themselves. He would go the length however of charging the very author of the *Tolkāppiyam* proceeding to define the sense of particles like 'man' and 'kol' without a comparative study of their use in literature—a large order even for this heroic critic. He would however offer for acceptance that "grammarians from *Tolkāppiyam* downwards have been literally playing fast and loose with these tiny particles", and he concludes by saying "this they could not help doing in the absence of a scientific induction based on a comparative study of all the available ancient texts in which such particles occur."

We fear we have gone into tiresome detail; but we had unfortunately to avoid the impression that we were making general statements without warrant. We may well conclude the review with pointing out that, if the author had simply proceeded without his pet prejudices, and examined the texts altogether objectively and set about his business methodically, he might have done himself and the subject that he has chosen for himself for investigation, really more good. He has aimed at precision which in the light of the late Mr. Kanakasaba Pillai's work more than thirty years ago was found to be impossible, and the late Mr. Kanakasaba Pillai himself was inclined to agree. Under appearance of precision the author has started on a schematic arrangement, which is the result of his own interpretations where the material is used without due regard to items that might seem unfavourable to the actual position of a particular author or patron in the scheme. He has taken power to multiply names, creating as many as may be necessary from his point view, and discarding texts, passages and whole poems as forgeries at pleasure. What is worse, he starts with a certain amount of caution and feels that his results are but tentative. But as he advances the affection for his own scheme so overpowers him that he almost claims absolute certitude for the scheme that he has ultimately developed. We regret very much we could not congratulate the author upon his having achieved success. The whole work, the most careful reading proves to be a farrago of details collected from here, there and everywhere, chosen and arranged as it suited the convenience of the author, and without actually advancing the position of Tamil chronology one step further than it stood about a generation ago. The book undoubtedly exhibits much painstaking work, but all the pains bestowed are wasted without what ought to be a dispassionate investigation, and has been allowed to be riddled through and through with the author's petty prejudices and biases, so that the

whole work turns out to be no more than special pleading for the general preconceptions of the author.

THE MAHĀBHĀRATA ANALYSIS AND INDEX

By REV. EDWARD P. RICE,
Oxford University Press.

This little book of 112 pages gives in 84 of these an analytical summary of the 209 chapters of the Mahābhārata followed by 20 pages of an index of names, and another 8 pages of index of subjects, presenting on the whole, the whole of the Mahābhārata in a nutshell, as it were. The learned author made a summary of the whole of the vast work for his own use and, finding that summary too vast for publication, has issued this analytical summary of that summary to facilitate the study of the Mahābhārata. A knowledge of the Mahābhārata is essential to those who would aspire to understand Indian culture and civilization as a whole, and for the far larger part of it the material would be found in this vast epic, which, according to Mr. Rice, is eight times the size of Homer's Iliad and Odyssey put together. The plan followed is simple. He takes the work *parva* by *parva*, the *parva* being the major division. Then chapters are grouped together so as to bring together a connected account of any topic discussed. Where there is no such connection, the contents of individual chapters are given. The analysis is more or less of the character of a table of contents, somewhat more elaborate than the mere table of contents for books often happen to be. As such it provides in a small compass a sort of a finger-post for any topic for those who may wish to know more details about any particular topic they may be working upon. But even as a mere detailed table of contents, the work would be worth reading through by those who may not be in a position to read the Mahābhārata in original or translation as a whole. Such reading would give an idea of the Mahābhārata in a nutshell, an equipment which is by no means inconsiderable for the ordinary scholar. Mr. Rice has followed Manmatha Nath Dutt's text and translation of the work. Of course the difference between this text and other texts in general use in other parts of India, and perhaps even elsewhere, would mean a considerable amount of difference. But on a closer examination, it would be found that it actually amounts to only a difference of just a few chapters. A certain amount of research would show what the actual difference is for particular editions. As such therefore it is still of considerable general value as providing a fairly detailed

analysis. There is Sorensen's index to the Mahābhārata which is now available in a complete edition. But perhaps it is not as well-known that the Kumbhakoṇam edition of the Mahābhārata which is by far the most voluminous of even Mahābhārata editions has been provided with an index compiled by Professor S. Subba Rao of the Presidency College, afterwards Principal of the Sanskrit College at Tiruppati. Both these books are mere indexes and not an analysis as this little book is. It is an admirable piece of careful work, for which we congratulate the author. Mr. Rice supplies the information that a fuller *precis* is available in German compiled by the venerable Professor Jacobi.

IN TOUCH WITH UJJAIN

By KESHAV RAO BALWANT DONGRAY, M.A.,
Gwalior.

This is a handbook intended to be more or less a handbook of information for those intending to visit Ujjain or wishing to know something of the ancient city. It is well-known that Ujjain is a far-famed city both in Indian History and tradition, and has had quite a long history, which means, so far as places in Indian History happen to be concerned, a series of revolutions in the history of the locality. A visitor to modern Ujjain sees but little of what he might have read of Ujjain and its sacred spots. A book that would enable a visitor to see such of the ancient landmarks that remain and even some of the monuments in their ruined character would be welcome. The book is intended to supply that want. It gives a general account of the history of Ujjain as a preliminary to this. The special features of the history of Ujjain are dealt with in this prefatory account and places worth seeing are detailed in the last chapter, a number of illustrations assisting in this function of the book. The author, who has intimate knowledge of Ujjain, is admirably qualified to do the work. It is a readable book on the whole. It would have been perhaps better if the author had avoided general questions in Indian History, which, though touching Ujjain here and there, would not admit of adequate treatment in a book like this. In the treatment of these, it is only certain opinions that are offered, which are of no particular value in a book of this moderate compass. Such as it is, it attempts to supply a want. We hope it will be found useful by those for whom it is intended.

FASCISM OR SOCIALISM ? THE CHOICE BEFORE US

By NORMAN THOMAS,

Messrs. George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London.

The subject of this book is of the utmost current importance, and is in one way or another occupying the minds of all thinking people the world over. The problem perhaps calls for more urgent consideration since the book was written when the world seems to be on the brink of another war, the extent or the significance of which cannot yet be fully gauged. The work is a clear and well written account of the world economic situation and the main causes which have brought about this *impasse*. While the book is specifically intended for the Americans and deals more or less fully with the condition of the United States at present and the tendencies of the various measures adopted under the new deal, it is not without application to all countries in the world under situations more or less similar. In the first three chapters, he considers the general problem of the world condition of to-day, discussing what that condition is at present and how or why the old order broke up, and whether there is anything in the present world condition worth saving. He traces the causes of the rise of industrialism and capitalism running through and through with the twin ideas of nationalism and democracy. He ascribes the present impossible conditions in the international situation to the capitalistic economic organization which manipulates the political machinery in the interests of profiteering capital. In the next two chapters he considers the rise of fascism, the supreme examples of which in Europe happen to be Italy under Mussolini and Germany under Hitler, and then Socialism and Communism drawing in Russia but sparingly for illustration. Then he discusses in two separate chapters the measures adopted by President Roosevelt in what is briefly called the New Deal, and says frankly that the aim of these measures is still capitalistic and in the interest of the profiteering class. Then he discusses the various social forces operating in America and points out the three alternative courses open to them to take. He frankly states the present tendencies if left to themselves would lead to a war a hundred times worse than the last war, which again would bring in its train an era of calamitous revolutions and revolutionary destruction. If such a calamity is to be averted two courses seem possible, namely fascism and socialism.

For fascism, of course, he has the example of Italy and Germany and considers the measures of the new deal in America as

perhaps more or less fascistic in tendencies in certain particulars and may ultimately lead to that. What he calls the mechanical vote counting democracy works in the capitalistic interest through the manipulation of the voting public. Of course in a state thus organised, the voting power at any rate rests in a middle class rather the lower middle class of the small owner as well as the wage earner by brain power, which class is in the main as yet capitalistic in its tendencies. Such socialistic tendencies and movements that there are in America are as yet in his opinion defectively organized and fall into a number of irreconcilable sections.

The author who was the socialist candidate at the last presidential election is of the opinion that the salvation for the present world lay in socialism, which according to him is the introduction of a co-operative commonwealth of all the nations, which would abolish altogether the tariff barriers and the rivalries created in consequence, and bring about a better order more in keeping with natural distribution of wealth. He would have for his programme of socialism a nationalisation or, as he would call it beter, socialisation of the productive resources of all the countries should be applied with a view to providing the people with the means of a comfortable life, and not in the interest of the capitalist order, or the absentee holders of capital. He would appropriate all the machinery and the large accumulated sources of production into the hands of a socialistic government, and adopt a method of distribution which would be according to the contribution of each individual whether it be by intellectual or higher mechanical work and the supply of labour. The best means of bringing about this co-operative socialism in single countries would be according to him first to bring into the socialistic field the small owner and the intellectual middle class typified in the engineer to view the whole position socialistically and sweep into this organization all the various communistic, socialistic and labour union elements so as to make one vast mass of socialists. He does not work out a detailed programme, but what he indicates seems well thought out and likely to result in the introduction of that co-operative commonwealth of nations which would ultimately assure peace and bring about that international comity which seems very much the supreme need of the world of to-day. It is a thought provoking little book which everybody so-minded can peruse with pleasure and profit.

BHATTA-CHINTAMANI: A COMMENTARY ON THE BHATTA-DĪPIKĀ

By VANCHESVARA YAJVAN.

EDITED BY

MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA VENKATASUBBA SASTRI.

Law Journal Press, Madras. 1934. Price Rs. 6.

The work which is commented upon here is a well-known classic of what is called the 'Bhāṭṭa school' of Mīmāṃsā. Its author was Khaṇḍa Dēva who flourished in the early part of the 17th century as is shown by the fact that Jagannātha Paṇḍita, the celebrated poet of Shah Jahan's court, refers to him as one of his father's teachers. Like the other Indian systems of philosophy, the Mīmāṃsā also exhibits a scholastic phase in its growth, whose distinctive feature is the emphasis it lays on clearness of thought and precision of language. Khaṇḍa Dēva is one of the best exponents of this phase of Mīmāṃsā, and his *Bhāṭṭa-dīpikā* is a masterpiece of India's scholastic literature.

The commentary on this classic, which is printed here for the first time, is by a famous South Indian pandit of the last century who has also written other valuable works like the *Dattachintāmaṇi* dealing with the law of adoption. He belonged to a family which produced many gifted scholars and which traced its history back to Govinda Dikṣita, a pandit attached to the court of Vijayanagar in its palmy days. The immediate predecessors of the present commentator were all residents of Tanjore, and had for their patron the princes of the royal house that ruled there. The most illustrious of those predecessors was Vāñcheśvara of the 18th century (1690—1760 A.D.) who was not only a versatile scholar but also a skilful poet; and it is stated that, while he was still quite young, he attracted the fancy of the then king of Tanjore by his poetic precocity and won from him the title of *Kuṭṭi-kavi* or 'boy poet'. This eulogistic appellation seems to have stuck to the family thenceforward, for we find more than one of its scions bearing it in after years. The present commentator, who was named after this 'boy poet', resembled him in the acuteness of his intellect as well as in the profundity of his scholarship. He did not, however, stay at Tanjore very long, but left it for a prolonged tour in the North, and, as a result of his many academic triumphs there, became famous in the chief centres of Sanskrit learning at the time like Benares, Poona and Mysore. He settled down finally in the last place where the Mahārāja, who was a great patron of learning, honoured him by appointing him as one of his *dharmādhikāris* or spiritual advisers. All this is

narrated in an exceptionally interesting manner in the Sanskrit Introduction prefixed to this edition.

The *Bhāṭṭa-dīpikā* has been commented upon by others; and among them is counted one Śambhu Bhaṭṭa who was a pupil of Khaṇḍa Dēva himself. But those commentaries are not so helpful to the beginner as the present. It covers, we believe, the whole of the work, consisting of twelve chapters; but it is only the portion relating to the first two chapters and a part of the third (*nivītānta*) that is printed here. This is the portion that is commonly studied even by those who learn *Mīmāṃsā* as a subsidiary subject and do not aim at specialising in it. The style of the commentary is, comparatively speaking, easy; and every point of importance in the text is explained in it with admirable lucidity. The author shows himself here to have been, not a narrow specialist, but an adept in many branches of learning, particularly ritualistic literature, Vedānta and Vyākaraṇa. He does not hesitate to differ from or even criticise the views of Khaṇḍa Dēva when he considers that they are not supported by earlier authorities (See e.g. pp. 58 and 335). The *Mīmāṃsā* differs in certain essential respects, from the other orthodox systems. Thus it insists on the supreme importance of *dharma*, while the others subordinate it in one sense or another to the ideal of *mokṣa*. But unfortunately the system has not, for sometime past, received the amount of attention which the uniqueness of its teaching deserves; and pandits who are able to teach it on traditional lines have become few and far between. The publication now of this commentary, which was hitherto known only to a handful of specialists who chanced to possess manuscript copies of it, may therefore be said to supply a very real need; and we trust that no student of the *śāstra* will fail to make a good use of it.

The printing of this commentary, together with the text of Khaṇḍa Dēva's work was undertaken by Mahāmahopādhyāya Pandit Venkatasubba Sastri, a grandson of the commentator and the well-known Principal of the Mylapore Sanskrit College. But unhappily he did not live to see it completed, and it was apprehended at one time that the undertaking might have to be abandoned. Thanks, however, to the deep interest which His Holiness the Swāmi of the Śaṅkara Mutt at Kumbakonam took in the publication, proper arrangements were soon made for its continuance. Students of *Mīmāṃsā* owe an immense debt of gratitude to His Holiness for this gracious act. The edition is provided with all the conveniences for ready reference which we expect in a modern publication, such as a detailed analysis of the topics discussed

in the text as well as the commentary, a subject index, an index of quotations, etc. It also records the readings of the *Bhāṭṭa-dīpikā*, as printed elsewhere, when they differ from those adopted by the commentator. The editors deserve the highest praise for the diligent care with which they have carried out their difficult task. The printing and the get-up of the book are excellent as, indeed, they always are when the Law Journal Press is responsible for them.

M. H.

PLANNED ECONOMY FOR INDIA.

By SIR M. VISVESVARAYA, K.C.I.E., D.Sc., LL.D., M.I.C.E.,
The Bangalore Press, Bangalore.

Sir M. Visvesvaraya's book, "Planned Economy For India" is an attempt at formulating a comprehensive plan for economic reconstruction of India. The book is divided into two parts; the first ten chapters which cover about one half of the book are devoted to a survey and analysis of the conditions of agriculture, industries, transport, power supply, trade and commerce, finance, currency and banking, etc., in India and to a comparative study of the same with those of some half a dozen prosperous countries in the world. Ten well constructed tables of essential statistics bearing on the economic conditions of India, with corresponding figures for the countries with which comparison is invited, are appended to the book. There is nothing new or striking in this survey; it is a restatement of the familiar facts about Indian economic conditions. All the same, it contains a wealth of information carefully collated and lucidly and cogently presented which will be found useful by the general reader, the political thinker and the business man alike, whose requirements, the author rightly claims to have kept in view. It may be readily conceded that this comparative survey and analysis bear out the conclusion of the author that the position and standing of India in the various departments of economic life are very low in comparison with the United Kingdom, the United States of America, Canada, Japan, Germany and France, the six countries selected by the author for comparison, even after making full allowance for possible errors in the statistical data relied on. Indeed, this position has never been disputed in any quarter. The central point, however, of Sir M. Visvesvaraya's survey and analysis is that India suffers from excessive dependence on agriculture and neglect of industrialisation. In his opinion, the Indian problem is fundamentally industrial and that India cannot prosper except with rapid industrialisation, which has to be organised, planned and worked for, on methods in operation in civilised

countries, which are in the van of progress. This affords the key to the second part of the book in which he elaborates his scheme of reconstruction.

His planned economy for India provides for a ten year plan for All-India and five year plans for the provinces and States. The two are, however, inter-related in the sense that the provision made for development in the All India ten year plan represents generally the aggregate of the provisions for the individual plans of provinces and States. The All India plan is based on the assumption that the Indian States will also join the All India Economic Organisation, if one is established, "both in their own interests as well as in that of the economic strength of the country as a whole." The provincial plans and the central plan are together intended to form constituent parts of the central ten year plan. The work of preparing details for the ten year plan and putting it into operation is assigned to the Central Government, which must discharge it in co-operation with the people. In order to secure this co-operation, two agencies are suggested: (1) a national economic organisation with a Central Economic Council at its head, composed of about 50 members consisting mainly of expert economists and leading businessmen, representing the various organisations and activities in all parts of the country; and (2) a Central Development Department under the supervision of a Cabinet Minister of the Central Government, working in collaboration with the Central Economic Council and its Standing Committee. The Development Minister at the centre will have under him a general economic staff consisting of officers and experts in economic science and practices. This body of trained experts is said to correspond to the "Brain Trust" of President Roosevelt of the United States of America. Each Provincial Government will have a similar organisation at its headquarters and a Provincial Economic Council consisting of about 30 members and a Standing Committee thereof to do similar work in the provinces. The Provincial Economic Council and its Standing Committee will be associated with the Development Department of the Provincial or State Government. The responsibility for the execution of the work under the ten year plan in each district and city will primarily rest with the department of the Provincial Governments concerned. Then there will be Local Economic Councils, ordinarily one in every district and city, and the functions of the local economic councils will not be merely advisory but they will be "both thinking and executive bodies" for the work to be done in their respective units or areas. They will consist of about a dozen per-

sons, with Executive Committees consisting of about three persons. A special provincial plan is given for the Bombay Presidency as it has some special characteristics. The author is of opinion that economic progress will not be as easy in Indian States as in British India and makes certain special suggestions to suit the peculiar conditions of Indian States.

The development work to be undertaken is classified under seven departmental schemes, namely, (1) Industrialisation, (2) Agriculture and minor industries; (3) Public Works, public utilities, transport and power supply; (4) Commerce, (5) Finance and Banking; (6) Other special developments including (i) administrative and business policies, training for business life and citizenship, (ii) education, military training and other developments and (7) Unemployment. A separate organisation or agency of an All-India character to deal with *unemployment* is suggested but not insisted on, as the same organisation of Economic Councils, Central, provincial and local, may possibly also answer this purpose.

The cost of working the ten year plan, on the lines suggested by the author, is estimated at Rs. 10 crores per annum, of which Rs. 2 crores should be found by the Central Government and Rs. 8 crores by the Provincial Governments and States, roughly in proportion to their population. In the first five years at least, the recurring expenditure is expected to be met by loans, the annual debt charges being debited to the yearly budgets of the Governments concerned. There will be a development budget in connection with the working of the ten year plan. The main policy of the All India Economic Organisation is to develop production and income. It is expected that the income of the country will double itself in ten years under this plan, that is, it will increase to about Rs. 5,000 crores from about Rs. 2,500 crores at which it now stands.

The main interest of the scheme naturally centres round the business policies recommended by the author, the rest being merely machinery to carry out those policies. How are the Central and Provincial Governments and Economic Councils to bring about increase in production and profits under his Plan? Sir M. Visvesvaraya is decisive in his answer to this all-important question. It is to be achieved by mechanization and mass-production—large scale industrial organisation, with its seven M's (1) Money, (2) Marketing, (3) Management, (4) Machinery, (5) Motive Power, (6) Material and (7) Men. He says that capitalism suits India best at present and that management of business concerns shall be left to private agencies and joint stock organisations with their later developments—trusts, combinations, mergers

and cartels. He is an unhesitating advocate of "shifting the task of production, as far as possible, from industries manipulated by human labour to industries operated by machinery by standardizing commodities and by narrowing individual tastes to suit the methods of mass production." It is therefore little wonder that the call for reorganisation of handicrafts and village industries makes little appeal to him. He advises India not to worry herself about the complaint against capitalism that it has led to inequitable distribution of profits and wealth, for it will take at least two decades for India to build up *per capita* incomes comparable to the least progressive of the civilised countries and in the mean time prosperous nations which have adopted capitalism may be expected to somehow solve the problem of unequal distribution of profits and wealth. As regards the relations between capital and labour, his advice to the latter is that, in view of the fact that our industries are yet undeveloped, it behoves labour to be more circumspect and not to kill the goose that lays the golden eggs, and to take consolation in the fact that though the standards of wages and living of industrial labour are very low at present, "the wages are appreciably higher than those earned in agricultural employment."

Such in brief, is the outline of the "Planned Economy" for India which the author has drawn up. One fails to find any more of "economic planning" in all this than what one sees in countries where aggressive capitalism, with its admitted evils, has its unbridled sway. The expression, "economic planning" is now used in a very technical sense and has a very definite meaning. It is, so to say, a modern "term of art" as lawyers call it. "Economic planning" of which one hears so much now, involves State action on an extensive and intensive scale. The setting up of national economic councils and associating them with Departments of Central and Provincial Governments may serve the purpose of enabling the State to get into closer touch with the commercial and business interests of the people and no more. Such national economic councils, associated with the State, do now exist in some countries which have no special "Planned Economy". Indeed Sir Arthur Salter, of the League of Nations Secretariat, without attempting any "economic planning" prepared a scheme for the Government of India in 1931, suggesting the constitution of Central and Provincial Economic Advisory Councils much on the same lines as those of the author, as he himself concedes.

Even accepting Sir Visvesvaraya's scheme of economic organisation or programme of economic development as "Economic planning" what are the chances of its being accepted by the Government and successively pursued in India? That is really what interests the general reader most. It is clear, from what the author

himself has repeatedly stated in various places in his book, that a planned economy of the nature described by him has no chance of being adopted and worked under existing political and economic conditions, which are inherent to the dependency rule under which India's economic destinies are settled by a handful of Englishmen in power in the Government of India, the India Office and the British Cabinet. Sir M. Visvesvaraya, therefore, very rightly says that "nation building in India would be impossible unless control of finance is transferred to Indian hands from the very outset, and that the safest course for Great Britain in her own interest is to grant to India without further loss of time and without equivocation, a satisfactory form of Federal Dominion Government, which will give it full control over its financial and fiscal policies." In fairness to the author, we may assume that he has drawn up his "planned economy" for a self-governing India which can determine her economic action primarily in her own interests. Indeed, he says it in so many words thus: "The truth seems to be that the present Government, by the very nature of its constitution is unable to initiate economic planning or make any courageous advance in this direction. Apparently, the question must wait till a responsible Government is installed in the centre." He, therefore, makes a fairly long digression into the purely constitutional and political problems and bestows much thought to the formulation of proposals for a political compromise between India and England, which will ensure for India a substantial measure of self-Government, and financial and fiscal autonomy. But unfortunately, the Government of India Bill which settles the future constitution of India rejects every one of his terms of compromise. Indeed, there can be no compromise between interests which conflict and clash at every turn.

Whatever may be the intrinsic merits of Sir M. Visvesvaraya's "planned economy" and the chances of the creation of conditions and atmosphere necessary to put it into action, his proposals for "Reconstruction" which are based on his wide administrative and business experience as well as on the information and knowledge gathered by him during his repeated visits to Europe, America and Japan, are entitled to careful and respectful consideration from his countrymen. The author's outlook throughout is entirely national and we have no doubt that his book will be well received by all those who are interested in India's political and economic future.

[N.B.—The Editor much regrets that owing to pressure upon space other reviews have to be held over.]

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The Date of Bhūti Vikramakēsari. By K. A. Nilakanta Sastri.

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Tekkālī Copper-plate Grant of Dēvēndra Varma. By L. H. Jaggadeb Rajabahadur.

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The Chronology of the Eastern Calukyas.—M. Somasekhara Sarma.

The Nampali Grant of Yuvarāja Rājendra Varma, Ganga Year 314.—K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, M.A.

A Note on the Haraha Inscription and Kālidāsa.—Dasaratha Sarma, M.A.

A Note on the Fresco-Painting at Sittannavāsāl.—S. R. Balasubrahmanyam, M.A., L.T.

An Inscribed Pot from Nandūru.—K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, M.A.

Suṇḍram Inscription of Bhūtala Vira Rama Varma.—S. Desikavināyakam Pillai.

The Astronomical Data of the Paripadal.—K. G. Sankar.

A Note on the Inscribed Seal from Perak.—K. A. Nilakanta Sastri.

The Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society, Vol. VII, Part ii.

Europeans in the U.P., 1580 to 1800. By Sir Edward Blunt, Kt., C.I.E., I.C.S.

The Malavas in Ancient India. By Dr. Bimala Charan Law, Ph.D., M.A., B.L.

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Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University—Vol. XXV, 1934.

Jataka-Gleanings bearing on Ancient Indian Civilisation. By Gokuldas De, M.A.

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Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University—Vols. XXVI & XXVII, 1935.

Successors of the Sātavāhanas in the Eastern Deccan. By Mr. Dines Chandra Sircar, M.A.

Primitive Religion, Social Organisation, Law and Government amongst the Santals. By Mr. P. C. Biswas, M.Sc., Humboldt Fellow, Berlin University.

An Ethnic Analysis of the Culture-traits in the Marriage Customs as found among the Rāḍhiya Brahmins of Mymensingh. By Mr. Birmal Chakravarti, M.A.

Races of India. By Dr. Bhupendranath Datta, A.M. (Brown), Dr. Phil. (Hamburg).

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A Munda Colony in Bengal—The Compact Mundas. By Mr. Minendranath Basu, B.Sc.

A Note on the Kom People of Manipur. By Mr. Paresh Chandra Das Gupta, B.A.

Singanpur-Cave-site Implements. By Mr. Susanta Bose, B.Sc.

The Journal of the Assam Research Society.—Vol. III, Nos. 1 and 2, April-July, 1935.

Kāmarūpa in the Ninth Century A.D. By K. L. Barua.

King Śrīharṣa—The Author of the Ratnāvali. By Jogendra Chandra Ghosh.

Caitanyadēva and Śrī Madhava. By Rai Bahadur Amarnath Ray, B.A.

The Ancient Relics of Kamrup. By Ananda Charan Bhattacharya, M.A.

Extent of Vaidyadēva's Kingdom. By Pandit Padmanath Bhattacharya Vidyavinod, M.A.

The Administrative System of Kāmarūpa. By Birinchi Kumar Barua, M.A.

Puruṣottama Vidyāvāgiśa. By K. L. Barua.

Some Ancient Relics Found in North Lakhimpur. By Sjt. Sarveswar Barua, B.L., M.L.C.

Stemming of the Tide of Muslim Conquest in Eastern India. By K. L. Barua.

The Name Asam—An Explanation.

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Early History of Tea in Assam.

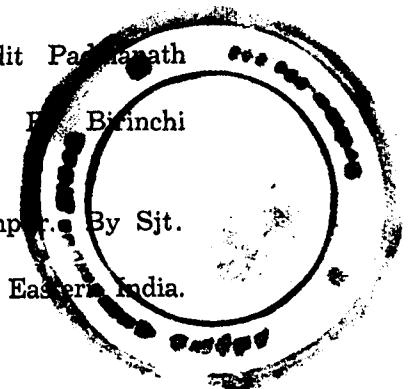
Manipur of the Epic Age. By Syed Sayeed-ud-Din Ahmad, B.A.

Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (New Series) Vol. 11, Nos. 1 and 2-1935.

Gotra and Pravara in Vedic Literature. By P. V. Kane.

Material for an Ismaili Bibliography, 1920-1934. By Asaf A. A. Fyzee.

The Abhira-Traikūṭaka Dynasty. By S. V. Vishwanatha.



Acta Orientalia, Vol. XIV, Part 1.

New Contributions to Assyriology. By O. E. Ravn.

The Karnatak Historical Review, Vol. II, No. 11, 1935.

Socio-Political Compacts. By Dr. B.A., Saletore, M.A., Ph.D.

A New Genealogy of the Western Chālukyas. By H. G. Bangeti, B.A., B.T.

Chronology of the Early Gangas (*contd.*). By M. Govind Pai.

Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society—Vol. IX, Part 3, January 1935.

Gonarda, The Cradle of the Gonardiya. By Prof. Sylvain Levi, translated by Dinesh Chandra Sarkar, M.A.

The Fore-fathers of Rāṇi Samyukta. By Sri Lakshmi Narayana Harichandana Jagadeb, M.R.A.S.

A Reply to "The Mandasa Plates of Dharmakhedi. By J. C. G." G. Ramadas, B.A., M.R.A.S.

The Poṇḍūra Copper-plate Inscription of Vajrahasta II. By Manda Narasimham.

Successors of Paramēśwaravarma II. By Govind Pai.

The Meghas of Kosala. By V. Appa Rao, B.A., B.L.

Anglo-American Historical Conference

6—11 July, 1936.

Chairman : A. F. Pollard, D.Lit., D.Litt., Litt.D., F.B.A.

Secretary : Guy Parsloe, B.A.

The University of London proposes to issue invitations for the fourth of a series of quinquennial Anglo-American Historical Conferences to be held in July, 1936, at the Institute of Historical Research in London. Arrangements will follow in general those of the Conferences of 1921, 1926 and 1931.

TIME-TABLE

Registration will take place on Saturday, 4th July, and on the morning of Monday, 6th July. The opening meeting will be held on the afternoon of Monday, 6th July. General and sectional meetings, visits to colleges and schools of the University and to places of historical interest in London, and various social engagements will occupy the four following days, and on Saturday, 11th July, visits will be arranged to Canterbury and to other places of historical interest outside London. Among those who have already promised hospitality are the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Royal Historical Society, the Masters of the Bench of Lincoln's Inn, University College, King's College, Bedford College, and the London School of Economics. It is hoped that, among others, visits will also be arranged to the Houses of Parliament, the Port of London, and the hall of one of the ancient City Companies.

SECTIONS

The following sections have been established :—

Medieval History :

Chairman : Professor F. M. Stenton (Reading).

Secretary : Professor C. H. Williams (London).

Diplomatic History :

Chairman : Professor C. K. Webster (London).

Secretary : Professor Lilian Penson (London).

*History of Parliamentary Institutions :**Chairman :* Dr. A. F. Pollard (London).*Secretary :* Miss Eliza Jeffries Davis (London).*Economic History :**Chairman :* Professor J. H. Clapham (Cambridge).*Secretary :* Dr. A. Redford (Manchester).*British Colonial History :**Chairman :* Professor Sir Herbert Richmond (Cambridge).*Secretary :* Dr. W. P. Morrell (London).*British Local History :**Chairman :* Professor A. Hamilton Thompson (Leeds).*Secretary :* Mr. L. F. Salzman (London).*Slavonic History :**Chairman :* Professor R. W. Seton-Watson (London).*Historical Relations between Europe and the American Continents :**Chairman :* Professor H. Hale Bellot (London).*Secretary :* Dr. Pelham H. Box (London).

The following section will also be set up if sufficient demand arises :—

*Oriental History :**Chairman :* Professor H. H. Dodwell (London).*Secretary :* Dr. C. C. Davies (London).

INVITATIONS

The invitations to universities, university colleges, learned societies and other institutions inviting them to appoint delegates to attend the Conference will be sent out in December, 1935. Invitations to individuals will be dispatched in March, 1936. Persons interested in historical research who would like to receive invitations should send their names to the Secretary, Institute of Historical Research, Malet Street, London, W.C.1, to whom all communications respecting the Conference should be addressed.

OUR EXCHANGES

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

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

Journal of Indian History

Chronology of Sakas, Pahlavas and Kushanas

By

MR. M. GOVIND PAI.

Manjeswar P.O. South Kanara.

It goes without saying that in the first century before Christ, two different eras, both of them associated alike with the foreign invaders, were current in the north-west of India as far as the Panjab, as will be readily borne out by the following inscriptions.

(1) The Kharoshthi inscriptions on the Taxila copper plate of Patika¹ is dated in the 78th year of the Great King, *maharayasa mahamtasa*. His name is believed to be *Moga* from the subsequent genitive read as *Mogasa*, and accordingly he has been identified with king Mauas or Maues, whose name is found in the genitive singular (g.s.) *Mauou* in the obverse Greek legends, and has been read as *Moasa* (g.s.) in the reverse Kharoshthi legends on his coins,² which are found in the Panjab only.³ Evidently, the year 78 cannot well be the 78th year of his reign, and the parallel genitives *maharayasa mahamtasa* can not therefore mean otherwise than 'in the year of the reign of the Great King.' It is thus conclusive that the year cannot but be the year of some unspecified era which was then current in the locality, when of course that king was on the throne. This document records a benefaction made in the town of Taxila, *Takhasilaye nagare*, by the great gift-lord, *Maha-danapati*, Patika, who was the son of Liaka Kusuluka, who again was the *Kshaharata* and the *kshatrapa*, satrap, of Chukhsa, which has been identified with the present Chach lying in the immediate neighbourhood of ancient Taxila.⁴ Liaka Kusuluka was thus the ruler of some or several

1. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. II, Part I (*Corpus*), p. 28.

2. *Cambridge History*, Vol. I (*CHI*): pp. 587, 592, Plates VI. 8, 12, VIII. 48.

3. Rapson: *Indian Coins (RIC)*, p. 8; *Journal of Indian History* Vol. XII (*J.I.H.*), p. 20.

4. *Corpus*, p. 25.

provinces including Taxila under that *maharaya mahanta*. The record mentions Patika apparently without any official title before or after his name when it first occurs in the 2nd line, though no doubt later on in the 4th line he has been described as *maha-danapati Patika*, the great gift-lord Patika, which however is no official title. Presumably the last word in the 4th line has not been rightly read: it must have something to tell us about the official position of the person who has been honoured with no less a high-sounding epithet than *maha-danapati*. Prof. Lüders⁵ suggested, to read it *jaiivaraye*; but Prof. Sten Konow objected on the ground that the reading *jaiivañaye* was beyond doubt. He further held that the last part of the word corresponded to Skt. *ājñayā* (=by order), and the whole of it construed with the preceding word *Patikasa* meant 'at the *jaiiva*-order of Patika',⁶ and comparing the unusual word *jaiiva* with the well-known title *yavuga* used about the first Kushāṇa ruler Kujula Kadphises,⁷ he explained that *jaiiva* as a doublet of *yavuga* was an old Saka title, and as Patika the son of a kshatrapa bore it, the position as *jaiiva* was inferior to that of kshatrapa.⁸ When later on, however, Prof. Thomas proposed⁹ that the words in question—*Patikasa jaiivañae*—must be read as *Patika saja uvajhae (na)* and connected with the next word *Rohiṇimitreṇa* standing first in the next, fifth, line, Prof. Sten Konow, accepted that reading and explanation, admitting that there was no mention of the title *jaiiva* as formerly proposed by him, and suggesting only that it would be preferable to explain *Saja uvajhae (na)* as 'together with the *upādhyāya*' (*Saja*=Vedic *Sachā*^{9-a}=together with) rather than as 'at present *upādhyāya*' (*Saja*=Skt. *Sadyas*=at present). But then the 4th line contains no letter, not even a trace of it, after its final *e*, and even if a *na* could be read into it as its last akshara, the passage would be hardly sensible, because, as has been established by Prof. Sten Konow,¹⁰ the 5th line is never a part of the original record but clearly a later addition made 'by Rohiṇimitra himself, or at his request, after the

5. *Ibid.*, p. 27.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 29.

7. For *Yavuga* or *Yāia* on the coins of Kujula, vide *Corpus*, p. lxiii, and *RIC*, Plate II, 7.

8. *Corpus*, p. 27.

9. *JIH*, p. 20 f.n. 39; *Epigraphia Indica (EI)* XXI, p. 257, f.n. 6.

9-a. But then the Vedic preposition *sachā* is always used with the locative and never with the instrumental (Macdonell's *Vedic Grammar* pp. 423-24).

10. *Corpus*, p. 28.

CHRONOLOGY OF SAKAS, PAHLAVAS & KUSHANAS 311

plate had been forwarded from Liaka's office,' and so long as this fact has not been disproved, nor even disputed, with valid reasons, its initial word *Rohiṇimitreṇa* can on no account be connected and construed with the final word, now in question, of the 4th line which is thus the last word with which the original document comes to its natural end.

Now so far as can be made out from the plate itself (Plate V. 1) the last five aksharas clearly stand out as *ja-ū-ra-ja-e*: the middlemost akshara exhibits a clear trace of the top-stroke, and is thus a *ra* र rather than a *va* व and the penultimate akshara is surely as good a *ja* ज as the initial, or even better, as will be readily borne out by comparing it with the *ja* in the word *Mumja-vada* inscribed on the Bimarān vase,¹¹ or the *ja* in *Rajae* in (l. 4) the Kalawan plate.^{11-a} The word *jaiirajae*, it need hardly be said, is nothing if not the Prākṛit form of the Sāṃskṛit locative singular *Yauvarājyē* or *Yuvarājyē* both of which alike mean 'in the principality, or the territory ruled over by a *Yuvarāja*, i.e., a prince.'¹² Against Prof. Sten Konow's objection that Skt. *y* never becomes *j* in north-western dialects,^{12-a} it might well be urged that the Skt. word *Mayūra* (peacock) is found as *majura* in Shāhbāzgarhi and Mānsērā texts of Asoka's Rock Edict I,^{12-b} which are composed, as is well known, in the north-western dialect. Considering that, though at a later date, when Nahapāna was a kshatrapa, the title by which he was known in the inscriptions of his son-in-law, Ushavadāta, is *rājan*,¹³ and also that at an earlier date, close to that of the Taxila plate, as we shall soon see, the Saka Damijada, who was a subordinate ruler and also a satrap like Liaka Kusuluka, bore the same title *rājan* in the first Shahdaur inscription¹⁴ *rajano Damijadesa Sakasa*, the next sub-title *Yuvarāja* will be readily seen to accord well with the position of the heir-apparent of a kshatrapa. Patika was thus the *Yuvarāja*, evidently in charge of the principality of Taxila, under his father who was then the satrap of Chukhsa; and if

11. *Ibid.*, p. 52, Pl. X.

11-a. *EI* XXI p. 259 and Plate opp.

12. Cf. *EI*, XX, p. 79.—Hāthīgumphā inscription (l. 2): '*nava vasāni yovarājam pasāsitaṃ*', for nine years the principality consigned (to him) as *yovarāja* was administered.

12-a. *Corpus* p. 27.

12-b. Woolner's *Asoka Text and Glossary* Part I, p. 2.

13. Lüders' list Nos. 1131-1134.

14. *Corpus*, p. 16.

he should be described, as he has been, as a *maha-danapati*, he could not well be less than at least 25 to 30 years of age at that time.

Then there is the undated Kharoshthi inscription on the Mathurā Lion Capital,¹⁵ which, as has been recorded there, was set up in honour of the whole Sakastāna, *sarvasa Sakastanasa puyae*. Several Saka chiefs have been mentioned in it, two of whom are *mahā-kshatrapa* Kusuluka Patika and *kshatrapa* Śuḍasa the son of *mahā-kshatrapa* Rajula; but then there is no mention of a King of Kings (*rajatiraja*) or a King (*maharaja*), whether by name or by title, and this can not be accidental, as we shall see later on. Of these the *mahā-kshatrapa* Kusuluka Patika has usually been identified with Patika the son of the *Kshatrapa* Liaka Kusuluka, and the donor of the above Taxila plate, and the identical Kusuluka in either case is very strongly in favour of the identification.¹⁶ *Mahākshatrapa* Rajula is no doubt the same as the *mahā-kshatrapa* Rajuvula of the Brāhmī inscription on the stone-slab from Mora,¹⁷ and he is further known from his coins bearing the Brāhmī legend¹⁸ *Mahākhatapasa Rajuvulasa* (g.s.), while his son the *kshatrapa* Śuḍasa is certainly identical with the *kshatrapa* Śoḍāsa whose coins¹⁹ bear the Brāhmī legend *Mahākhatapasa putasa khatapasa Śoḍāsasa* (g.s.) which must have been therefore struck while he was yet a *kshatrapa* under his father who was then a *mahā-kshatrapa*. The title *Yuvarāja* also occurs on the Lion Capital, and now that we know from the Śoḍāsa coin that the son of a *mahā-kshatrapa* was a *kshatrapa*, there is no doubt that the *Yuvarāja* stood next in order to the *kshatrapa* and was in fact a prospective *kshatrapa*. Now Patika was only the *Yuvarāja* of a *kshatrapa*, when the Taxila plate was issued in the 78th year of some unspecified era, whereas when the Lion Capital came to be erected he was already a *mahā-kshatrapa*. A fairly long interval of 25 to 30 years must separate the Lion Capital from the Taxila plate to make it possible for the *yuvarāja* Patika to become first a *kshatrapa*, evidently of Chukhsa after the demise of his father, and then to become a *mahā-kshatrapa* at Mathurā. How and when he rose to that high position at Mathurā, we shall see

15. *Ibid.*, pp. 48-49.

16. *JIH*, p. 20; *Corpus*, p. xxxii.

17. Lüders' list No. 14.

18. *CHI*, p. 538, Pl. V. 9.

19. *Ibid.*, Pl. V. 10.

later on. Incidentally it may be remarked here that the title *mahā-kshatrapa* is met with for the first time perhaps on the coins of Rajula and the Mathura Lion Capital.

Subsequently Śuḍasa himself figures as a *mahā-kshatrapa* in the two Brāhmī inscriptions of Mathurā, *Svāmi mahā-kshatrapa* *Śomḍā sa* in the undated inscription from the Jail mound²⁰ and *Svāmi Mahā-Kshatrapa Śoḍāsa* in the famous Amōhini tablet²¹ dated in the year which has been read as 72 by Prof. Lüders and accepted as such by Prof. Sten Konow,²² while Prof. Rapson asserts²³ it is 42. As Śuḍasa, who had been a *kshatrapa* when the Lion Capital was installed, must have risen higher to have already become a *mahā-kshatrapa* when the tablet was inscribed, the tablet would necessarily be later than the Capital, which again is obviously later than the Taxila plate; and further whether the numeral on the tablet is 72 or 42, as in either case it discloses a lower number than 78 of the year of the Taxila plate, it need hardly be said that they will have to be referred to *two different eras*, of which the era of the tablet would necessarily be later than that of the Patika plate.

(2) The stratification at Taxila clearly shows²⁴ that Azes succeeded Mauas as the ruler there; and from the imperial coins in some of which Azes as the elder occupies the place of honour on the obverse with its Greek legend, while Azilises with the same titles in Kharoshthi occupies the reverse, whereas in others the same two names appear with the same imperial titles but with a change of position, Azilises occupying the obverse with the Greek legend and Azes the reverse with a Kharoshthi legend, it has been inferred that Azilises was associated with two kings named Azes, and according to the degrees of dignity or seniority undoubtedly indicated by these different positions, it would seem that Azes I was the predecessor and Azes II was the successor of Azilises²⁵ so that the order of their succession was Azes I—Azilises—Azes II. The stratification at Taxila further shows²⁶ that Gondopharnes was the immediate successor of Azes, and this is confirmed by the evid-

20. Lüders' list No. 82.

21. *Ibid.*, No. 59.

22. *EI*, XXI, pp. 27, 357 f.n. 1; *JIH*, p. 22.

23. *CHI*, pp. 575-6 f.n. 1; *Acta Orientalia*, XI, p. 260 ff.

24. *Corpus*, p. xxxix.

25. *CHI*, p. 572.

26. *Corpus*, p. xlv.

ence of the coins in which the two kings are associated with the same *stratēgos*, or commander-in-chief, Aspavarma son of Indra-varma.²⁷ Evidently the Azes, who preceded Gondopharnes, would be the second of that name, Azes II, and the chronological order of the succession from Mauas onwards would be: Mauas—Azes I—Azilises—Azes II—Gondopharnes.

The second Shahdaur inscription²⁸ reads in its first line, which is no doubt much defaced—... *Ayasa sam* ...; and before *Ayasa*, says Prof. Sten Konow,²⁹ there is exactly room for the word *maharajasa*, as is quite intelligible. If so restored, the line would read *maharajasa Ayasa sam* ..., and mean ('during the reign) of king Azes, in the year ...' for the coins of either Azes contain the word *Ayasa* (g.s.) in their Kharoshthi legends corresponding to the Greek genitive singular *Azou* in the obverse legends,³⁰ which means 'of Azes', whence it follows that the Kharoshthi form of his name is *Aya*, and *Ayasa*, which is its obvious genitive singular, means 'of *Aya*' i.e., 'of Azes'. He further says³¹ that what follows after *sam* may be the numerical symbols corresponding to 103, in which case the whole line would mean '(during the reign) of king Azes, in the year 103', and this year, it need hardly be said, could never be the year of his reign, but is undoubtedly that of some unspecified era.

The Takht-i-Bāhi inscription³² is dated in the 26th year of king Guduphara³³ i.e., Gondopharnes, in the year 103—*Maharajasa Gudupharasa vashe 26 sambatsarae tisatimae* 103. Here the year 103 is designated as *sambatsara* and the year 26 as *varsha*, evidently in order to distinguish them from each other. Clearly therefore the year 26 is the 26th year of the reign of Gondopharnes, who, as we have just seen, succeeded Azes II, and began therefore to reign in the 78th year of the era, in the 103rd year of which the inscription is dated.

It need hardly be said that the year 103 of the second Shahdaur record when Azes was king, whichever of the twain of that name

he might be, and the year 103 of the Takht-i-Bāhi inscription when Gondopharnes was in the 26th year of his reign, must certainly be two different 103rd years of *two different eras*, of which the era, in which the second Shahdaur inscription is dated, is unquestionably the earlier.

As might be expected these two eras could not be concurrent in at least the regions where these inscriptions have been found, but the younger era must have superseded the older soon after it was founded in those parts, or introduced into them. In that case since it was in the year 78 of the later era that Azes II was succeeded by Gondopharnes, as is evident from the Takht-i-Bāhi inscription, the Azes of the second Shahdaur record would evidently be Azes I, and it is fairly plausible that the later era must have made its appearance in the north-west of India in the reign Azes I, and the second Shahdaur inscription cannot therefore be much later than the first few years of his accession.

But we can not yet say whether Azes I succeeded Mauas as his own heir or his next of kin, or as his conqueror, as the two are nowhere associated with each other on coins, nor whether Azes I founded the new era or brought it with him into India. Now while it is only the round form of the Greek *O-micron* O that is found on the coins of Mauas, the square form □ appears side by side with the round form on those of Azes I; and if from the same change that took place in Parthia during the reign of Orodes I (54—37 B.C.), as Prof. Rapson says,³⁴ it is reasonable to suppose that on account of the constant communication that undoubtedly existed between Parthia and India at that period, 'this epigraphical change is due to a fashion which spread from one country to the other, and that the occurrence of the square *omicron* on a Parthian or Indian coin is an indication that its date is not earlier than c. 40 B.C.' (though no doubt he adds a warning that his chronological test must be applied with caution, as there are isolated instances occurring earlier), the accession of Azes I may well be placed between

27. *Ibid*; *CHI*, p. 577.

28. *Corpus*, pp. 16-17.

29. *Ibid*; *JIH*, p. 25.

30. *CHI*, pp. 590-592, Plates VII. 30, VIII. 45, 49.

31. *JIH*, p. 25.

32. *Corpus*, p. 62., Plate XII.

33. The 3rd akshara of the king's name in this inscription (*Corpus* p. 62, Pl. XII) has been read there as a double consonant *vha* ; but to me

however it appears as a clear *pha*  (vide Bühler's *Indischen Palaeographie*, Tafel I, *pha* in the 10th vertical line). Similarly Prof. Sten Konow, who once read the name in the 2nd line of the Taxila silver scroll as 'Imdaphria' in *EI*, XIV (p. 295) reads it in the *Corpus* (p. 77) as *imtavhria*; and in this case also the compound consonant in question clearly seems to be 'phri' (and not 'fri', as there is no fricative *f* in Kharoshthi) and accordingly I read it as 'Imdaphria'.

34. *CHI*, pp. 571-72.

circa 50 and 40 B.C. Equating the mean year 45 B.C. of these limits with the year 103 of the second Shahdaur inscription, it will be seen that the epoch of the older era will have to be sought for within a few years on either side of *circa* 45 B.C. + 103 = *circa* 148 B.C.

Prof. Rapson asserts³⁵ that some of the coins of Gondopharnes bear the peculiar symbol $\overline{\Omega}$, which is so characteristic of his rule that it is usually called by his name; and as this symbol is found counter-marked on the coins of the Parthian kings, Orodes I (54—37 B.C.) and Artabanus III (11—40 A.C.), it is not improbable that Gondopharnes conquered some of the Parthian dominions. We have just seen that the change from the round form to the square form of the *omicron*, which is first found in Parthia on the coins of Orodes I, is first found in India on those of Azes I, and between Azes I and Gondopharnes, we know, two kings, Azilises and Azes II, reigned. Gondopharnes therefore was contemporary with Artabanus III, and not with Orodes I. From the Takht-i-Bāhi inscription he is known to have come to the throne in the year 78 of the era in which it is dated, and to have been still living and ruling in the 103rd year of it. There is a unique coin of Gondopharnes³⁶ bearing the date *Sam* 20, while the rest of his coins so far obtained seem to bear no date. We may, however, assume as a working hypothesis that the 20th year of his reign, which is obviously the 97th year of the era, marks his conquest of the Parthian dominions, and the coin bearing the date of that event was issued in commemoration of it. Equating that year 97 of the era with 25 A.C. which is about in the mean year of the reign of Artabanus III (11—40 A.C.), it will be seen that the epoch of this other era will have to be looked for within a few years on either side of 97—25 A.C. = *circa* 72 B.C.

In the course of the internecine struggle between the generals of Alexander, Seleucus Nikator had established himself as satrap of Babylon after the partition of Triparadeisos in 321 B.C., when six years later his rival Antigonus drove him into exile. In 312 B.C. Seleucus recovered possession of Babylon and assumed the regal style and established the era known as the Seleucidan era. In 306 B.C. he attacked and subjugated the Bactrians. Now Bactria was the rich country between the Hindu Kush and the Oxus (Amu Daria) corresponding in large measure to northern

35. *Ibid.*, p. 578.

36. *Corpus*, p. xlviii.

Afghanistan; and beyond it, between the Oxus and the Jaxartes (Syr Daria), lay Sogdiana (Bukhārā). Both the provinces are known to have been thickly planted with Greek colonies by Alexander. Probably Seleucus had to encounter the determined resistance of the colonists as well as of natives, and must have thus experienced no little difficulty in getting his sovereignty acknowledged.³⁷ Sometime in the reign of his son Antiochus I (280—261 B.C.), a Greek named Diodotus was appointed satrap of Bactria, who gradually so strengthened his position that he may even have declared his independence. His son Diodotus II, however, was an independent king, and the independence of Bactria had already been achieved by the year c. 250 B.C.,^{37-a} when Antiochus II (261—246 B.C.), the grandson of Seleucus, was on the Syrian throne. Soon in c. 250 (or 248) B.C. the Parthians also followed suit and asserted independence under their national leader Arsaces, and therewith founded their own era of independence. In about 230 B.C., Euthydemus, a Greek from one of the cities called Magnesia, was on the throne of Bactria. Soon afterwards in 212 B.C., Antiochus the Great of Syria, (223—187 B.C.), having first defeated the Parthian king Arsaces III (214—191 B.C.), next attacked Euthydemus and besieged his capital Zariaspa or Bactra, the modern Balkh. At last, however, Antiochus had to give way. He recognised the independence of Bactria and gave his daughter in marriage to Demetrius, the son of Euthydemus. Thereafter Euthydemus appears to have extended his authority over Arachosia and the land through which Antiochus had passed. In about 190 B.C. Euthydemus died leaving his son the Bactrian kingdom which included modern Afghanistan. Demetrius extended his power into the Indian provinces over the Hindu Kush. While he was engaged in his new conquests, a certain Eucratides raised a successful rebellion in the c. 175 B.C. and made himself master of Bactria.³⁸ According to Justin³⁹—‘Almost at the same time, as Mithridates among the Parthians so Eucratides amongst the Bactrians, both princes of great merit, began to reign’—when Demetrius was the king of Indians, i.e., was ruling over the provinces he had conquered in India, no doubt after he had lost Bactria to Eucratides, and as Mithridates I is known to have ascended the

37. *CHI*, pp. 434–35.

37-a. *Ibid.*, p. 435.

38. Cambridge Shorter History of India (CSHI), pp. 63–64; Vincent Smith's Early History of India (EHI), pp. 236–37.

39. Historians' History of the World (HHW), Vol. VIII, Part XII, p. 50.

Parthian throne in 171 B.C., Eucratides may have begun his career between 175 and 171 B.C. Later on Eucratides also invaded countries to the south of the Hindu Kush and wrested from Demetrius and the princes of his house their dominions in the Kābul valley, in Ariana (Arachosia and Aria) and in north-western India, and assumed the title 'Great' some time before 162 B.C., a date fixed by the rebellion of Timarchus, the satrap of Babylon, who in 162 B.C., declined to acknowledge the authority of the Seleucid king Demetrius I of Syria, and copying the coins of Eucratides, issued his own coins in which he styled himself the Great King,⁴⁰ *Basileus Megas*.

Soon after Mithridates I (171—138 B.C.) ascended the throne of Parthia, he directed his first attack against the territories of his eastern neighbour Eucratides, which were then left comparatively unguarded, while their ambitious master, who had thrown all his strength into his Indian wars, was passing through Kābul into the Panjab region. Mithridates I then easily annexed several satrapies of Bactria to his kingdom. Eucratides does not seem to have retaliated. Absorbed in his schemes of Indian conquests, he let go his home provinces and sought compensation for them only in the far east.⁴¹ The Kharoshthi legend on a unique coin discloses his imperial title, *Maharaja Rajatiraja Evukratida*,⁴² the Great King of Kings Eucratides, as no other Greek ruler, before, or after him, ever bore. He must have borne it in direct defiance of the Parthian monarch Mithridates I, who was the first Arsacid king to assume the supreme title of *Basileōs Basileōn Megalou Arsakou Epiphanous* (g.s.) the Great King of Kings the illustrious Arsaces,⁴³ where *Arsakou*, the genitive singular of Arsaces, was the throne-name which most of the Parthian kings bore after the founder of their dynasty, Arsaces I,⁴⁴ whereas the predecessors of Mithridates I from Tiridates onwards took upon their coins the title *Basileōs Megalou Arsakou* (g.s.), the Great King Arsaces.⁴⁵ The legends, which the coins of the Parthian kings bear, are only in Greek, and Kharoshthi is not met with in them. On the other hand the employment of Kharoshthi in the coin-legends of Eucratides suffices to indicate

40. CHI, p. 457; CSHI, p. 64.

41. Rawlinson's *Parthia*, p. 69.

42. *Corpus*, p. xxix f.n. 1.

43. *Parthia*, p. 84.

44. *Ibid.*, pp. 50, 58.

45. *Ibid.*, p. 59.

that Arachosia in eastern Iran,⁴⁶ and further eastern provinces were included in his kingdom, and also that if his position as king of Bactria had suffered at that time, he had gained otherwise as King of Kings over his Indian provinces. While returning from his Indian expedition, when perhaps he would have avenged the loss of his territories he was slain, and was succeeded by his son Heliocles, who was probably also his murderer. Soon thereafter when Heliocles was *attacked by the Scythians from the north* and by the Indians on the east, Mithridates I rapidly overran his dominions and took possession of the greater part of them including Aria, Arachosia and Sakastāna, which had been recently conquered by Eucratides,⁴⁷ and thus made himself the master of the entire eastern Iran. The coins, however, show that Heliocles also ruled both in Bactria and India, and that after his reign Greek power in Bactria ceased. Henceforth the Greek provinces are found only in kingdoms south of the Hindu Kush, and they are divided into two rival dynasties, the successors of Eucratides in the Kābul valley and in north-west India, and the successors of Euthydemus in the eastern region of the Panjab.⁴⁸

Neither the Greek Seleucid king of Syria, under whom Timarchus was the satrap of Babylon, nor any of his predecessors was known with any higher title than *Basileus*, King, nor did Heliocles, the son of Eucratides, continue his father's title *Basileus Megas*, Great King, but more the usual title *Basileus*, King, as is evident from his coins.⁴⁹ If therefore Timarchus, when in 162 B.C. he declined to acknowledge the authority of his suzerain king of Syria and asserted independence, chose to assume the title *Basileus Megas* after Eucratides, a Greek like himself, and not the yet higher title, *Basileus Basileōn Megas*, Great King of Kings, of the barbarian Mithridates I, it is intelligible that he must have done so after the demise of Eucratides, so that he would be the only Greek Great King of the time. In that case the death of Eucratides and the accession of his son Heliocles must have taken place in or shortly before 162 B.C.

Though, thus, it might seem that the invasion of Mithridates I was the main cause of the final relinquishment of Bactria by the

46. CHI, p. 569.

47. *Parthia*, p. 73; CHI, p. 554.

48. CHI, p. 554.

49. *Ibid.*, pp. 587, Plate VI-8, and 590, Plate VI, 35.

Greeks, the immediate cause of the downfall of the Greek rule in Bactria was, however, the overwhelming invasion of the Saka hordes who had been driven off from their lands. Pompeius Trogus speaks of the Scythian peoples, the Saraucae and Asiani, who seized Bactria and Sogdiana, of whom according to Marquart the Saraucae, for which other texts have Sakaraucae, Sakarauloi, etc., occupied Bactria, and the Asiani Sogdiana.⁵⁰ Strabo mentions a Saka conquest of Bactria, when the Greek kings were ousted thence by the Scythian nomads, and some of those nomadic tribes are enumerated by him, notably the Asioi, Pasianoï, Tocharoi, and the Sakarauloi.⁵¹ From the Chinese chronicles⁵² it is known that in 176 B.C., Mao-tun, king of the Hiung-nu, or the Huns, sent a message to the Chinese emperor and stated that he had defeated the people, whom the Chinese called the Yüe-chi, who had been formerly living in the province of Kan-shu in north-western China.⁵³ After their defeat the Yüe-chi were compelled to migrate in search of pasture-grounds, when in the country of the Ili river they came upon a tribe called Wu-sun. The Yüe-chi routed the Wu-sun, slew their king, and then passed on yet westwards towards the Issyk-kul lake in search of more spacious pastures. Then they divided themselves into two bands, the smaller of which known as the Siao (Little) Yüe-chi went southwards and settled on the Tibetan border, while the larger section, the Ta (Great) Yüe-chi continued their westward march until they came into conflict with a people, whom the Chinese called the Sse, or Sai, or Sai-wang. These Sai are no doubt the Sakas or the Scythian nomads, who lived to the west of the Wu-sun and to the north of the river Jaxartes.⁵⁴ They seem to have then inhabited the country of the Jaxartes that lay to the north-east of Sogdiana and Bactria.⁵⁵ To judge from their denomination Sai-wang, which means the Saka-lords or Saka-chiefs,⁵⁶ they would seem to have been governed by their tribal chiefs. The Yüe-chi crossed the Jaxartes and taking possession of the country of the Sakas, conquered the whole of the Sogdiana and fixed their capital a little to the north of the Oxus.⁵⁷

50. *JIH*, p. 6.

51. *Corpus*, p. xxi.

52. *JIH*, p. 5; *Corpus*, p. liii.

53. *CHI*, p. 565; *EHI*, p. 263.

54. *CHI*, pp. 565-66; *EHI*, p. 264.

55. *CHI*, p. 459.

56. *JIH*, pp. 6-7.

57. *CHI*, p. 459.

The Sakas thus driven out migrated southwards, as in the west their course was stayed by Parthia, and occupied the country of the people known as the Ta-hia, or Bactria.⁵⁸ Later on when the infant son of the slain Wu-sun king, who had been adopted and brought up by the Hiung-nu, the ancient enemies of the Yüe-chi, had grown up to manhood and became king of the Wu-sun, he with the aid of his protectors led an expedition against the Yüe-chi and deprived them of the lands which they had taken from the Sakas.⁵⁹ When thus the Yüe-chi were driven into the country south of the Oxus, they necessarily expelled thence the Sakas, who had occupied it not long ago. There was thus a further dispersal of the Sakas, and according to the Chinese chronicles when the Yüe-chi were driven out by the Wu-sun, they went west and became the rulers of the Ta-hia sometime after 160 B.C., while the Sai-wang, i.e., the Saka-chiefs went southwards and became masters of Ki-pin.⁶⁰ The Yüe-chi then reduced to subjection the peaceful Ta-hia, who, as stated in the Chinese annals, were weak and timid, though skilful in trade.⁶¹ About 126 B.C. the Chinese envoy, Chang-kien, found the Yüe-chi to the north of the river Oxus, while the Ta-hia had their capital to the south of the river in the present Badakshān.⁶² But then there is no mention of the Sakas in the report of the Chinese envoy; and had they been yet in possession of the territories to the south of the Oxus, as they certainly were before they were expelled thence by the Yüe-chi, the envoy would have assuredly mentioned them in preference to the weak and timid Ta-hia. The Sakas therefore must have been already driven out from the Ta-hia country by the year 126 B.C., and the Yüe-chi must have forthwith come into possession of it, when also they defeated and subjugated the native Ta-hia.⁶³ If then in 126 B.C. the Yüe-chi had their headquarters on the north of the Oxus and the petty chiefs of the Ta-hia were still carrying on their rudimentary government on the south of it (for the Ta-hia had no kings or chiefs, but the various cities and towns put up small chiefs),⁶⁴ it must be evidently because the pastures on the northern side of the river sufficed for the wants of the Yüe-chi, who therefore when they had once driven out the whilom rulers the

58. *Ibid.*, p. 566.

59. *EIH*, p. 265.

60. *JIH*, pp. 6, 9-10; *Corpus* p. liv.

61. *JIH*, p. 9.

62. *Corpus*, p. liv; *JIH*, pp. 6, 10.

63. *Ibid.*, p. 9.

64. *Corpus*, p. lvi.

Sakas, and established their domination over the whole of the Ta-hia country, let the peaceful Ta-hia run their own subordinate government so long perhaps as they did not fail to pay them tribute.

The same conclusion is arrived at from the evidence of Parthian history. In c. 130 B.C. Antiochus Sidetes the Seleucid king of Syria, invaded Parthia to recover the province of Babylonia which had been wrested by Mithridates I in 147 B.C. Before meeting his Syrian foe, the Parthian king Phraates II (138—128 B.C.), the son and successor of Mithridates I, is said to have made an attempt to enlist in his service a body of Scythian auxiliaries from the regions lying beyond the Oxus known as the Scythae.⁶⁵ According to Justin, Phraates II 'was recalled by disturbances from Scythia to defend his own country; for the Scythians being invited by promises to assist the Parthians against Antiochus, having arrived after the war was ended, were frustrated of their promised reward under the idle pretence of their coming too late; and it made the Scythians so angry that they should have had so long a march for nothing, that they demanded either pay for their trouble or that some other enemy should be allotted them. The haughty reply given to this demand so enraged them, that they began to ravage the country of the Parthians'.⁶⁶ The Scythians attacked Parthia proper apparently from their seats in the Oxus region and in the war that followed they were victorious and Phraates II was among the slain.⁶⁷ They then devastated Parthia and returned home when, according to John of Antioch,⁶⁸ Artabanus I (128—123), the successor of Phraates II, paid them the tribute which his predecessor had withheld. Soon afterwards, when Artabanus I assumed the aggressive and invaded the country of the Tochari, one of the most powerful of the Scythian tribes, he also met with the same fate.⁶⁹

Accordingly when in c. 130 B.C. Antiochus Sidetes invaded Parthia, Phraates II was in Scythia, which was the country lying between the Oxus and the Jaxartes, and known to the Greeks as well as the Romans as the Skuthai or Scythae or Scythia. In order to reach Scythia he had to cross the Oxus, and if then the

65. *Parthia*, p. 95.

66. *HHW*, p. 51.

67. *Parthia*, p. 114.

68. *HHW*, p. 61.

69. *Parthia*, pp. 115-16.

Sakas were still in possession of the Ta-hia country lying to the south of the Oxus, he could not well have done so without first passing through their country and attacking them, if need be. But no such thing seems to have happened. Evidently therefore the people who lived on the south of the Oxus at that time were the peaceful Ta-hia, who were subject to the Yüe-chi; and the Sakas therefore had already been expelled thence by the Yüe-chi by the year 130 B.C. The Yüe-chi would thus seem to have been in possession of all the territories to the north and south of the Oxus, for the Scythians, whom Phraates II invited to assist him in 130 B.C., could not well be any other than the Yüe-chi themselves, who were then the masters of Scythia. They were not subject to Parthia, as in that case they should have rebelled against Parthia rather than made an invasion into it; nor would a subject people have to be invited by promise of reward inasmuch as the fixed relations between the suzerain and his subjects in those times implied implicit obedience on the part of the latter, nor again would a subject people have dared to disobey or delay obedience to the call of its suzerain, as the Yüe-chi did with regard to Phraates II.

The next Parthian king, Artabanus I, is said to have been killed while he invaded the country of the Tochari. Naturally he would have his revenge upon the Scythians for the death of Phraates II, and the appetite for retribution would be all the keener because of the tribute he had been compelled to pay them, though perhaps just in order to get rid of them for the time being. Though it is not implausible that had he been but successful against the Scythians he would no longer have spared the Tocharians, who formed one of the most powerful tribes of the Scythians, i.e., the Yüe-chi, the reason why he attacked the Tocharians first, is evidently because the route of his expedition lay through the country of the Tocharians so that without first conquering them he could march no further. In order to reach the Scythians who lived to the north of the Oxus, his expedition had to cross that river, or in other words it had to pass through the country that lies to the south of the Oxus, and that is surely where the Tocharians were when he attacked them and died at their hands in 123 B.C. It is thus certain that the Tocharians had now settled in the country to the south of the Oxus, where in c. 126 B.C. the Chinese envoy found the Ta-hia. The Ta-hia would thus seem to have been dislodged thence, or if they still remained there, they were now directly under their masters, the Tocharians, who seem to have been so called on account of their association with that country which belonged to Bactria and which to the Greeks and the Romans was

known also as Tochara and to the Chinese as Ta-hia.⁷⁰ This situation is well explained by the demand which, according to Justin, the Scythians are said to have made from Phraates II in 128 B.C. that, in case they were not paid their promised reward, some other enemy should be allotted them. Either the pastures on the north of the Oxus could no longer feed their increasing horde, or the Ta-hia on the south could not meet their growing demands. They plundered Parthia and also got the tribute from Artabanus I. They wanted more; and in order to widen their activities, they must have once again divided themselves, and one of their tribes, the Tocharians, which was perhaps a very large one as it was a very powerful one, now took possession of the territory to the south of Oxus, where the Chinese envoy in 126 B.C. found the Ta-hia living more or less undisturbed by the Yüe-chi, though no doubt subject to them. This must have therefore happened between 126 and 123 B.C.

We have seen that Eucratides died in c. 162 B.C. or shortly before it. But we do not know how long his son and successor Heliocles ruled. As from the numismatic evidence however Heliocles is known to have ruled also in Bactria, where the Greek power ceased after his reign, the Sakas must have conquered and occupied Bactria sometime after 162 B.C. Consequently the Scythians who, as we have seen, attacked the kingdom of Heliocles from the north, were no others than the Sakas themselves, who thus wrested Bactria from him. If now Phraates II, perhaps in anticipation of danger from Syria, should have himself gone to Scythia to invite the Yüe-chi to assist him against Antiochus Sides, the Yüe-chi must have already become a great power on his north-eastern frontier by the year 130 B.C., so that their conquest of Bactria and the consequent migration of the Sakas thence can not well be much later than c. 140 B.C. The exact date of the Saka occupation of Bactria will have therefore to be looked for between the years 162 and 140 B.C.

Though no doubt, thus, the Sakas would seem to have been in possession of Bactria for a brief period, they must have known by then that their predecessors there, the Greeks, reckoned time with perhaps the Seleucidan era of 312 B.C., which had been introduced into Bactria when Seleucus, the founder of that era, conquered it soon afterwards in 306 B.C. They must have further known that their new neighbours, the Parthians, on the other

70. *JIH*, p. 10.

hand, when they threw off the yoke of the Seleucids, abolished therewith the Seleucidan era, which they too must have adopted so long as they were subject to the Seleucids, and founded instead their own era of independence in 248 B.C. The example of the Asiatic Parthians could not well be lost upon the Sakas, and if, as might be expected, they likewise instituted an era of their own, it may not unreasonably be presumed to have been connected with their final setting up as rulers of Bactria, and its beginning therefore will have to be looked for between the years 162 and 140 B.C., when they became masters of Bactria. Furthermore, as has been already observed, if the word *Sai-wang* occurring in the statement found in the Chinese chronicles⁷¹ with regard to the migration of the Sakas into Ki-pin—the *Sai-wang* went south and became rulers of Ki-pin—is to be definitely understood as a plural, and not a singular meaning 'the king of the Sakas',⁷² or in other words if it expresses a collective idea, it can hardly mean *Saka-kings*,⁷³ as there could be no more than one king ruling over an aggregate people, but must mean *Saka-lords*, *Saka-chiefs*, as each tribe may well be supposed to have its own chieftain, all of whom together would then be the *Sai-wang*, i.e., the leaders or chiefs rather than kings of the Sakas. Perhaps the Chinese word *wang* means almost the same thing as the Greek *Koironos* (a ruler, leader), which is found in its gen. sing. *Koironou* on the coins of 'Miaus or Heraus'.⁷⁴ In that case the Sakas, when they migrated from Bactria, would seem to have been governed by a federation of their tribal chiefs.

From Bactria the Sakas are said to have gone south to Ki-pin. In the Chinese chronicles Ki-pin is stated to be to the south-east of the Great Yüe-chi, whose capital was then in Badakshān,⁷⁵ and to the north-east of Arachosia, i.e., Ghazni and Kandahār.⁷⁶ According to Prof. Rapson, however, Ki-pin is merely a geographical term, which is used as such in various senses by the Chinese writers, and would most naturally mean Kāpīśa, which again, according to the description given of it by Hiuen Tsiang, comprised modern Kāfiristān.⁷⁷ For a time their movement would be

71. *Ibid.*, pp. 6, 9-10.

72. *CHI*, p. 566.

73. *JIH*, pp. 6, 10.

74. *RIC*, p. 9, Plate II. 1.

75. *Corpus*, p. liv; *JIH*, p. 15.

76. *CHI*, p. 548.

77. *Ibid.*, pp. 555, 567.

successfully impeded by the Greek princes ruling in the Paropanisadae, i.e., the Kābūl valley and the country north of the Kābūl river, now known as Laghmān, Kōhistān and Kāfiristān,⁷⁸ when naturally the main current would flow westwards in the direction of Aria (Hērat)⁷⁹ and Drangiana (Seistan or Saka-stāna).⁸⁰ We have seen that Mithridates I took possession of the Greek provinces of Aria, Arachosia and Sakastāna, and made himself master of the entire eastern Iran. The reigns of his successors, Phraates II (138—128 B.C.) and Artabanus I (128—123 B.C.), were so disturbed by wars with the Syrians and the Yüe-chi that the Sakas, who had now occupied those Parthian provinces, could do so without any resistance, and may have easily made themselves masters there. The successor of Artabanus I, Mithridates II the Great (123—88 B.C.), according to Justin, 'carried on many wars against his neighbours with signal gallantry and added many provinces to the Parthian empire. Not satisfied with this, he often had war with Scythians; and by the victories he obtained over them, revenged the injury his father (Artabanus I) had received from them'.⁸¹ He is thus stated to have employed the whole force of the State upon his north-eastern frontier and in a series of successful engagements defeated the Scythians and avenged the disgrace of his predecessors. The acquisition of parts of Bactria from the Scythians, which is attested by Strabo, belongs to his reign.⁸² Scholars seem to be of one accord that the Scythians, whom Mithridates II overcame, are Sakas.⁸³ But I believe otherwise, for as we have just seen, all the traces of Saka power, whether in Bactria or elsewhere on his north-eastern frontier, had already been wiped out long before he came to the throne, nor had his predecessors met with their death at the hands of the Sakas. It was therefore the Yüe-chi settled on the north of the Oxus, and the Tocharians on the south of it in the Ta-hia country, whom Mithridates II overcame, and it was from the latter that he wrested parts of Bactria. Thereupon he is also stated to have extended his dominion over Saka-stāna, i.e., Seistan or Drangiana.⁸⁴ Now Sakastāna was a Parthian province ever since its conquest by Mithridates I, and if now Mithridates II extended his dominion

78. *Ibid.*, p. 541.

79. *Ibid.*, p. 542.

80. *Ibid.*, p. 548.

81. *HHW*, p. 51.

82. *Parthia*, p. 118.

83. *JIH*, p. 17; *CHI*, p. 567.

84. *Parthia*, p. 118.

over it, that dominion clearly means a re-conquest or re-establishment of the Parthian power, and implies that Parthia must have lost that province in the interval. Evidently the Sakas, who, as we have seen, had settled there during the intermediate reigns of Phraates II and Artabanus I, must have either occupied it as conquerors or eventually conquered it. It was thus on the occasion of his reconquest of Sakastāna, that Mithridates II first came face to face with the Sakas, and when he once wrested it back from them, he must have so firmly established his suzerain power over not only Sakastāna but all the eastern Iran that in order to secure it against any further loss, it is not inconceivable that he must have placed it in charge of a *vitaxa* (Parthian viceroy) preferably a scion of the royal house of the Arsacidae. The Scythian invasion of Mithridates II as well as his subsequent engagement with the Sakas will have to be assigned to a period between 123 and 100 B.C., as from the latter date he is known to have engaged himself with the affairs of Armenia.⁸⁵

The Sakas, on the other hand, who had so long been accustomed to their nomadic life of independence, or to the alternate life of migration, when they could not exercise their independence, could no longer endure the Parthian yoke, which moreover now sat on them by no means lightly, nor could they easily throw it off. The only chance for them to live on their free life lay in a further migration, now from the Parthian provinces, and, hemmed about as they were on all the other sides, the only way open to them was the way that led into the Greek provinces of north-western India. They had once ousted the Greeks from Bactria and must have again come into collision with some of the Greek princes in the course of their southern migration from Bactria. They knew now that they were as much, or more, disunited, and were nothing when compared to the Parthian mammoth. It was much easier to invade their territories than to live as the subjects of Parthia. As might be expected, some of the Saka tribes, if not all, must have started on their journey of invasion during the reign of Mithridates II, as is sufficiently borne out by the comparatively rudimentary title *Basileus*, King, in the Greek legend *Basileōs Mauou* (g.s.) appearing on the earliest coins⁸⁶ of the Saka chief who led that invasion, and assumed that title when he had carved out a kingdom for his people, for no Saka coins earlier than his

85. *Ibid.*, p. 125.

86. *CHI*, p. 588, Plate VI. 2.

have as yet been found in India.⁸⁷ He durst not yet assume the imperial style, Great King of Kings, *Basileōs Basileōn Megalou* (g.s.), which at that time was still the sole prerogative of the Parthian emperor, so long as the great Mithridates II was on the throne of Parthia. On the death of Mithridates II the Great in 88 B.C., that imperial title remained in abeyance in Parthia itself. As Phraates III (70—57 B.C.), the son and successor of Sinatruces, is said to have felt insulted, when the Roman general Cneius Pompeius in his written communications refused him his generally recognised title King of Kings,⁸⁸ he may have resumed it perhaps after he had recovered Media in 66 B.C.,⁸⁹ if not with his accession. But in the interval it was assumed in the west in defiance of Parthia by its great rival Tigranes II of Armenia in 77 B.C.;⁹⁰ and consequently its appearance in the east on the later coins of the aforesaid Saka king,⁹¹ when he too became Great King of Kings, *Basileōs Basileōn Megalou Mauou* (g.s.), will have to be duly assigned to a date, not of course earlier than 77 B.C. nor later than 66 B.C.

The name of this Saka king appears as *Mau-ou* in the genitive singular in the Greek legends on his coins, which are found in the Panjab only, particularly in the north-west.⁹² All the scholars are agreed that its nominative singular is *Mauēs*, but Mr. Vincent Smith has also suggested *Mauas*,⁹³ perhaps as a variant. To judge from the gen. sing. form *Mauou*, its nom. sing. may well be any one of the forms *Mauēs*, *Mauas* or *Mauos*.⁹⁴ His name in the Kharoshthi legends on his coins has been read as *Moa-sa* (g.s.), whence it follows that, if that reading is correct, the nom. sing. of his name must no doubt be *Moa*. Further the word occurring next to the parallel genitives *Maharayasa Mahamtasa* in the first line of the Taxila plate of Patika⁹⁵ has been read as *Mogasa* and explained as the gen. sing. of the name of the king, who on that account has been supposed to have been known also as *Moga*, which therefore has

87. RIC, p. 7.

88. Parthia, p. 140.

89. HHW, p. 27.

90. CHI, p. 569.

91. Ibid., pp. 587, 592; Plates VI. 9, 12, VIII. 48.

92. RIC, p. 8.

93. EHI, p. 242.

94. Cf. nom. sing. politēs (stem: polita=a citizen): gen. sing. politou; n.s. Andreas (stem: Andrea=proper name Andrew): g.s. Andreou; n.s. logos (stem: logo=speech): g.s. logou.

95. Corpus, p. 28, Plate V.

been supposed to be a variant of *Moa*. Considering how barbarously foreign names were spelt in Greek coin-legends, e.g., Huvishka=Gk. *Ooēshko*,⁹⁶ Vāsudēva=*Bazoa* (d) *ēo*,⁹⁷ etc., we shall first try to settle the correct form of his name as far as can be made out from how it appears in the Greek and Kharoshthi legends on his coins, which, it need hardly be said, are our only reliable guides in the matter.

Now if the Kharoshthi form of his name were *Moa*, it would certainly have been spelt in Greek as *Moaou* with either of the two o's of the Greek alphabet the short (o-micron) or the long *ō* (o-mega), according as the o-sound in it was short or long; but that it has not been so spelt should suffice to argue that his name did not contain any o-sound whether long or short. Nor could the *au* in his Greek name be a diphthong, for considering that he came from about eastern Iran, it is not inconceivable that it would be spelt as it was pronounced there, and so far as may be judged from the vowel-sounds found in Avesta, there were no diphthongs in the languages of Iran. Necessarily therefore the *au* in his name must represent two different vowels as *a-ū*, in which *a* may be long (*ā*-अ) or short (*a*-अ), and *u* may be a vowel (उ) or a consonant (*va*-व). But then the Greek *a* (alpha) is frequently long, when it is a medial, and the Greek *u* (upsilon), especially in spelling foreign names, stands for the consonant *va*, which the Greek alphabet totally lacks,⁹⁸ as will be evident from the following examples—Skt. Vitastā (river Jhelum)=Gk. *Udāspes*; Hebrew *Ēsāv* (proper name)=Gk. *Ēsāu*,¹⁰⁰ Heb. Levi (proper name)=Gk. *Leui*;¹⁰¹ Heb. Ragāv (proper name)=Gk. *Ragāu*.¹⁰¹ There is also the further evidence of the medial Greek *a* being long and the Greek *u* appearing as a consonant *vu* in Kharoshthi in the genuine Greek name Eucratides in the coin-legends¹⁰² of that king: obv.

96. Brown's Coins of India (BCI), Plate IV, 7-8.

97. RIC, Plate II, 12.

98. The consonant *va* व is sometimes also represented by the Greek consonant *b* as well as by the short o—Heb. *Dāvid*=Gk. *Dābid* (Luke III. 32); Vāsudēva=*Bazodēo* (RIC, plate II. 12); Vonones (Graecized form of the Avestan *Vanāna*)=*Onōnēs* (CHI, pp. 578, 592, plate VIII. 50); and the Parthian (Pahlava) name *Avadagasa*=Gk. *Abdagasēs* CHI., p. 592, Plate VIII. 54).

99. EHI, p. 82, f.n. 2. As the Greek *u*, when initial, is always an aspirate, it was seldom used to represent an initial *va* व of the words from foreign languages.

100. New Testament (NT): Hebrews, XII. 16.

101. NT: Luke, III. 24, 30, 35.

102. CHI, pp. 588, 591, plates VI. 3, VIII. 39.

Gk. Eukratidou (g.s.)=rev. Kh. Evukrātītasa (g.s.). If now the *u* in the stem of the name of this Saka king were a vowel, its nom. sing. would be *Maus* and the gen. sing. *Mauos*, like *Muos* the gen. sing. of the Greek word *Mus* (=mouse), or like *Anaos* the gen. sing. of *Anaus* (=shipless, having no ships); but then the gen. sing., as we have it, is *Mauou*. The *u* in his name therefore is evidently a consonant, and the correct form of its nom. sing. in Greek is *Mauēs* or *Mauas*, both of which alike have their stem as *Maua* and genitive singular *Mauou*.¹⁰³

Now again of the 4 coins of this king illustrated in the Cambridge History of India vol. I—A: Plate VI. 2; B: Plate VI. 9; C: Plate VI. 12; and D: Plate VIII. 48—A which is obviously the earliest, as we have already seen, contains no Kharoshthī legend, while all the rest are bilingual. Even the naked eye can very well perceive that in the Kharoshthī legends on C and D, the initial akshara M of his name differs in details from the only other akshara M in those legends, with which the preceding word *maha-tasa* begins; for while in the former case there is a regular curve (and not merely a slight stroke) which running down from the right bar of the akshara slants to the left beneath it, making the whole look like the lower half of a circle with a bit of a curvilinear tangent attached to it about its bottom, the other M is merely a concave semi-circle, as the Kharoshthī *ma* is, and has no other detail about it. It might be argued that this detail represents the slight bottom-stroke as is found with the *ma* in the Paris Corneilian,¹⁰⁴ which is no doubt often found with the plain *ma* without in any way affecting its vocal value.¹⁰⁵ But a comparison will at once convince that they are entirely different symbols and therefore represent different *mātrās*. This initial akshara of his name has been read as *Mo*, but so far as I can discriminate, this particular detail in that letter does not conform to any of the varieties of the *o*-strokes noted by Prof. Sten Konow,¹⁰⁶ but bears a sufficiently close resemblance to the arc of the *ā-mātrā* in the akshara *sā* of the word *Sāmisa* in the Jamālgarhī pedestal inscription.¹⁰⁷ Besides the *O-mātrā* seems to have been sedulously avoided in the coin-legends in representing even pure Greek names in Kharoshthī

103. Though no doubt the nom. sg. form *Mauos* has the same gen. sg. *Mauou*, its stem *Mauo* cannot bring out the precise *va*-sound contained in his name, and as such *Mauos* cannot be an alternative nom. sg. of his name.

104. *Corpus*, p. 7., plate I.

105. *Ibid.*, p. cxxiii.

106. *Ibid.*, pp. cxx-cxxi.

107. *Ibid.*, p. 114, plate XXII. 2.

—Gk. Appollodotos=Kh. Apaladata,¹⁰⁸ Apuludata,¹⁰⁹ Apuluduta¹⁰⁹; Gk. Diomedes=Kh. Diyumeda;¹¹⁰ Gk. Heliocles=Kh. Heliya-kreya;¹¹¹ Gk. Pakores=Kh. Pakura;¹¹² perhaps it was rarely in use in writing. I am therefore confident that this particular detail in the initial akshara of his name represents the *ā-matra* and no other, and the said akshara therefore has to be read as *Mā* (मा). The next akshara has been read as a short *a* (अ), and at first sight it might appear so. But considering the different shapes of this akshara, which appears as an arc or a semi-circle standing more or less on one of its ends in C (Plate VI. 12), while in B (Plate VI. 9) and D (Plate VIII. 48) it looks like a bill-hook with its left arm elongated far beneath the level of the right, and considering also that the corresponding letter in the Greek form of his name on the obverse sounds as *va* (va), as we have just seen, I am inclined to read this akshara as *va* with rounded head, as we have it on the Kurram casket¹¹³ ('*Avadunakasa*'; '*uvadana*'; '*bhava*'), and in the Shakardarra¹¹⁴ ('*kuvo*') and the Ārā¹¹⁵ ('*Vajheshka*') inscriptions. If thus it is a short *a* (अ), his name in Kharoshthī would be *Māā* (माअ), and if my reading is right it would be *Māva* (माव). At any rate since in its Greek form the 3rd letter is a consonantic *u*, even if in Kharoshthī the 2nd akshara be an *अ*, it is unavoidable to conclude that the original form of his name is *Māva* (माव) ending in the consonant *va*, which is represented in Greek by *u*, while in Kharoshthī it has been vocalised into a short *a* (अ), when his name was, so to say, Prākritized. His real name thus was *Māva*, which is represented correctly as *Mauas* in the nom. sing. in Greek and as *Māva* or *Māā* in Kharoshthī. At all events it could hardly contain, or even admit into itself, a guttural sonant *ga* (ग), and *Moga* therefore could never be any form whatsoever of his name, not even the remotest possible form of it.

But it may be argued that the name *Moga* is the same as *Mauakēs*, the name of the leader who commanded the Saka contingent in the army of Darius at the battle of Gaugamela,¹¹⁶ which

108. *CHI*, p. 586, plate VI. 4.

109. *Ibid.*, p. 587, plate VI. 6-7.

110. *Ibid.*, pp. 578, 591, plates VI. 11, VIII. 40.

111. *Ibid.*, p. 590, plate VII. 29, 35.

112. *Ibid.*, p. 592, plate VIII. 55.

113. *Corpus*, p. 155, plates XXVIII-IX.

114. *Ibid.*, p. 160, Plate XXXI.

115. *Ibid.*, p. 165, Plate XXXII.

116. *CHI*, p. 341; *EHI*, p. 242, f.n. 2.

is formed from the stem of *Mau-ēs* and the derivative suffix *ka*.¹¹⁷ In the case of the said Saka leader the final *ka* of his name was evidently so inseparably linked with the name itself as to become almost an integral part of it, exactly as is the case with the names *Patika*, *Kanishka*, *Vajheska*, *Huvishka*, *Jihonika*, etc., whereas it was never so in the case of the name of the Saka king *Mauas*; for had his name too ever contained that suffix and he was not known without it, we should have had his name in the gen. sing. on at least one of the sides, if not both, of one or other of his coins, as *Mauakou* in Greek and as *Māvakasa*, or with the vocalisation of *va* as *Māākasa*, in Kharoshthī, just as we have the name of the satrap *Jihonika* as *Zeionises* in Greek and a *Jihonika* in Kharoshthī on his coin,¹¹⁸ or the name of the Greek king *Lysias* as *Lysiou* (g.s.) in Greek and *Lisikasa* (g.s.) in Kharoshthī on his coin;¹¹⁹ but we have none of it on the coins of *Mauas*.

Now the word occurring next to the words *Maharayasa Mahamtasa* in the first line of the *Patika* plate has been read as *Mogasa*, and from its plausible dependence on those parallel genitives it has been explained as the gen. sing. of the name of the king who would thus seem to be the Great King *Moga*.¹²⁰ Neither this reading nor this explanation can be admitted to be correct. For with an ordinary magnifying glass, the initial akshara of the word read as *Masasa* in the same line of the second half of the plate can be readily perceived to reveal a line attached like a tangent to its left bar (quite unlike the slight bottom-stroke of the plain *ma*, which we have already noticed), as is distinctly found in a more marked way with also the initial akshara of the word read as *Mogasa*, while the final akshara of the word read as *pāñchame* in the second half of the same line and the 4th akshara of the word which has been read as *Sakamunisa* in the 3rd line clearly exhibit quite different details. The initial akshara of the word read as *masasa*, which is clearly not a plain *Ma*, is thus neither a *Me* nor a *Mu*, and as the word itself, as need hardly be said, stands for the Skt. word *māsasya* (=of the month), it can never be a *Mo*, but must certainly be *Mā*, wherefore the word can no longer be read as *Masasa* but will have to be duly read as *Māsasa*. Apriori therefore the word so long read quite incorrectly as *Mogasa* will have certainly to be read as *Māgasa*. If thus the *ā-mātra* is attached in these instances to the left bar of *M*, whereas in the case of the initial akshara of the king's name on his

117. CSHI, p. 68.

118. RIC, Pl. II. 3, p. 9.

119. CHI, p. 589, Pl. VII. 26.

120. Corpus, pp. 28-9.

coins,¹²¹ it is found with the right bar, we have only to remember that while the same *mātrā* found in the akshara *sā* of the word *sāmisa* in the *Jamālgaṛhī* pedestal inscription¹²² is an arc concave to the left, it is quite the other way in the case of the *kā* of the word *divasa-kāle* in the *Shakardarra* inscription,¹²³ and his almost a straight line slanting to the right in the initial *Rā* of the word *Rāthitarasa* in the *Pāthyār* inscription.¹²⁴ Then with regard to the word next to it, Prof. Sten Konow says¹²⁵ that Dowson was able to read *Panemasa*, but the 2nd akshara is now almost invisible. On the strength of that reading, the word has been explained as the genitive singular of *Panema*, i.e., *Panemos*, which is the name of the Greek (or Parthian) month broadly corresponding to the Indian month of *Aśhāḍha*.¹²⁶ To me however this reading also seems to be quite inadmissible. The first akshara which falls at the end of the first line of the first half of the plate is no doubt a *pa*, and the 3rd and 4th aksharas which occur in the 1st line of the 2nd half are also no doubt *ma* and *sa* respectively. But where the 2nd akshara occurs at the extreme right edge of the 2nd half of the first line on the 2nd half of the plate, I can well enough make out something clearly resembling the Tamil (ᱦ) *pa* ᱦ. Its left side is almost clearly visible to the naked eye, while its right side reveals itself better through a magnifying glass. This shape can have nothing to do with the Kharoshthī *na*, nor with any other Kharoshthī akshara than *ḍa* (ᱢ), *ṭi* (ᱦᱷ) or possibly *pha* (ᱦᱷᱚ).¹²⁷

121. CHI, pp. 587, 592, Plates VI. 9, 12, VIII. 48.

122. Corpus, p. 114, Plate XXII. 2.

123. Ibid., pp. 159-160, Plate XXXI.

124. Ibid., p. 178, Plate XXXVI.

125. Ibid., p. 24.

126. Ibid., CHI, p. 570.

127. Vide Bühler's *Indischen Paleographie*, Tafel I; and Cf.*ḍa* in *Chadāsilae* (l. 2) in the *Kalawān* copper-plate (EI XXI p. 259 & plate opp.);*ḍa* in *Makaḍaka* in Mount Banj inscription (Corpus p. 57, plate XI);*ḍu* in *eḍuo* in *Kala Sang* inscription (Corpus, p. 54, Pl. XI. 1);*ḍu* in *Sabhaḍusa* in *Shahdaur I* (Ibid., p. 16, Pl. III);*ḍa* in *Svedavarma* on the *Kurram Casket* (Ibid., p. 155, Pl. XXVIII);*ḍre* in *Hoḍreṇa* in *Dharmarājika No. 2* (Ibid., p. 91, Pl. XVII);*ṭi* in *Kuṭimbini* in *Sui Vihār plate* (ibid., p. 141, Pl. XXVI);*pha* in *Utaraphagune* in *Zeda inscription* (Ibid., p. 145, Pl. XXVI);

and

in *Mahipattiena* on the *Kurram Casket*.

But neither *ṭi* nor *pha* read between the preceding akshara *pa* and the succeeding aksharas *masa* could convey any sense in that so far as the context is concerned the word *paṭimasa* is hardly sensible, while in any case *paphamasa* is quite meaningless. But the case is different when the word is read with *ḍa* for its 2nd akshara, for then it at once stands out as *paḍamasa*, which is quite a significant Prākṛit gen. sing equivalent to Skt. *prathamasya*, meaning 'of the first'. The akshara, which has so long been misread as *na*, is thus unquestionably *ḍa*: the down-ward elongation of its right side has been obviously cut off as the plate is broken into two just at that point. The three words in question will now read as *Māgasa paḍamasa māśasa*, which at once means 'in the first month of *Māgha*'; and the whole of the first line *ab inito* as far as the word *purvaye* in it, would then read as—*Samvatśaraye aṭhasatati-mae 78, maharayasa maham̐tasa, Māgasa paḍamasa māśasa divase pañchame 5 etaye purvaye*—and be readily rendered as—In the year seventy-eighth (78), (during the reign) of Great King, on the fifth day, 5, of the first month of *Māgha*, on this afore (-said day). Necessarily therefore there was an *intercalation* of the Indian lunar month of *Māgha* in that 78th year. It may be remarked here that of the Kharoshthī inscriptions so far accessible to us, none whatsoever dated in either of the earlier foreign eras contains the name of any Greek month, whereas of those unmistakably dated in the later Kanishkan era, some no doubt do exhibit that peculiarity.

But then it might be objected that in case the word occurring next to *Maharayasa Maham̐tasa* is *Māgasa* and means 'of (the month of) *Māgha*', the inscription would not contain the name of that Great King. Quite so; for the mere mention of the actual ruler by his title sufficed for all practical purposes to those living in his dominions, who knew his name so well; and this is amply borne out by these other Kharoshthī inscriptions: the Taxila silver vase¹²⁸ contains no name of the *Maharaja*, while it names his brother (*Maharaja-bhrata*) Maṇigula as well as the latter's son Jihonika, the Panjtār inscription¹²⁹ does not mention the name of the *Maharaja Gushana* in whose reign it was inscribed, nor the Taxila silver scroll¹³⁰ that of the *Maharaja Rajatiraja Devaputra Khushana* whose health it anxiously prays for. Similar evidence is furnished also by some coin-legends, for the Brāhmī legend,¹³¹ *Mahākhatapasa*

putasa Khatapasa Śodāsasa (g.s.) the *kshatrapa Śodāsa* the son of the mahā-kshatrapa, does not contain the name of the mahā-kshatrapa, under whom his son Śodāsa was then a kshatrapa, while neither the coins of Spaliris,^{132a} on the obverse of which he styles himself *Spalirios dikaion adelphou tou Basileōs* (g.s.), the righteous Spaliris brother of the King, nor those of Spalirises^{132b} on the obverse of which he calls himself *Basileōs adelphou Spalirisou* (g.s.), Spalirises brother of King, and on the reverse *maharaja-bhrata dhramiasa S'paliris'asa* (g.s.), the righteous Spalirises brother of the King, mention by name the king or kings whose brothers they were.

So there was an intercalation of the Indian lunar month of *Māgha* in the year 78 of the era in which the Patika plate is dated. *Māgha* hardly becomes intercalary according to the true system, while by the mean system the intercalation of *Māgha* is no less frequent than that of other lunar months. Now according to the mean system, *Māgha* was intercalary in the years 77—76 B.C. and 58—57 B.C., not to speak of the yet earlier or later intercalations which evidently fall beside the scope of our enquiry. These intercalary years readily give us the years 155—154 B.C. and 136—135 B.C. respectively for the epoch of the era to which the said plate belongs. It is an undoubted Saka record, and though not that of the king himself, it is the record of the son and heir-apparent of a kshatrapa under that king. In the first Shahdaur inscription¹³³ of the 60th year, which is thus only 18 years earlier than the Patika plate, Damijada, who is called a Saka, bears the title *rājan—Rajano Damijadasa Sakasa*, (during the rule) of *Rājan* Damijada the Saka. Since Patika the son of a kshatrapa styles himself a *Yuvarāja*, crown-prince, as we have already seen, it readily follows that the style by which a kshatrapa would be known then is no other than *rājan*, as we have already said above. Damijada was thus certainly a kshatrapa, though he has not been spoken of as such in that private record, perhaps because that title was quite a recent innovation at that time in Indian administration. He has been so conspicuously called a Saka obviously to contra-distinguish the power which he represented from that which it dislodged from the country. The Sakas therefore were already in possession of the Greek provinces in the north-west of India by the year 60 of the first Shahdaur inscription. A yet earlier

128. *Corpus*, p. 82.129. *Ibid.*, p. 70.130. *Ibid.*, p. 77.131. *CHI*, p. 538, Pl. V. 10.132-a. *Corpus*, p. xli; *BCI*, Plate III. 10.132-b. *Corpus*, p. xli.133. *Ibid.*, p. 16.

inscription of the year 58, the Maira well inscription,¹³⁴ seems to contain the word which has been read as *Moasa* (g.s.) in its slab C, which might well be the name of the Saka king Mauas, though, it may be said once for all, it can serve no purpose in helping to determine the correct form of his name in Kharoshthī, inasmuch as the slab itself has disappeared, and Cunningham's rough plate, where the contents of the slab are now preserved, is, according to Prof. Sten Konow, 'too unreliable to make it advisable to attempt to read the line'.¹³⁵ Mauas must have therefore already invaded India and made himself king over the Greek provinces in the north-west before the year 58 of this inscription.

No Saka coins earlier than those of Mauas are found in India. He would thus appear to be the earliest Saka invader of India and the first Saka king.¹³⁶ We have seen that he can not have assumed the imperial style earlier than 77 B.C. nor later than 66 B.C. Now Patika, who was the crown-prince of a kshatrapa, was himself a Saka, as is once for all confirmed by the mention of his name later on as a mahā-kshatrapa on the Mathurā Lion Capital¹³⁷ set up in honour of the entire Sakastāna as we have seen—*Sarvasa Sakastanasa puyae*. From the Patika plate, the then reigning king, who also was therefore no doubt a Saka, is known as *Maharaya Mahamta*, Great King, which is *Basileus Megas* in Greek. In the case of his predecessors the Greek kings, however, *Basileus*, which was rendered by *Maharaja*,¹³⁸ was the customary regal title, which however was further enhanced in several instances by such different epithets as *Sōtēr*, saviour, *epiphanēs*, illustrious, *dikaioi*, righteous, *nikēphoros* or *nikator*, victorious, *aniketos* unconquered, etc., which are respectively rendered in the corresponding Kharoshthī legends as *trātara* or *tradara*, Skt. *trātā*), *prachacha* Skt. *pratyaksha*), *dhramika*, *jayadhara*, *apadihata* (Skt. *apratihātā*),

134. *Ibid.*, p. 12, Plate I.

135. *Ibid.*, p. 12.

136. *CHI*, pp. 554, 558.

137. *Corpus*, pp. 48-49.

138. It is unnecessary to render *Mahārāja* or *Mahārāya* by 'great king'. Its Greek equivalent, as is so well known from the coins of the Greek kings, or *mahata*, the whole has to be rendered 'great king', though on some of the coins of Eucratides (*CHI*, p. 591, Plate VIII. 39), however, the title on the obv. *Basileus Megas*, the great king, is rendered on the rev. simply by *Mahārāja*, and not *Mahārāja Mahata*.

etc., as is evident from their so many coins,¹³⁹ except however in that of Eucratides, who alone, from some of his coin-legends, is also known to have borne the higher title *Basileus Megas*, Great King, rendered by *Maharaja* on the reverse¹⁴⁰ while on a unique coin the imperial title coupled with his name in the Kharoshthī legend is *Maharaja rajatiraja*,¹⁴¹ as we have already seen. The Greek kings of Syria from Seleucus onwards called themselves *Basileus*, as is evident from their coins,¹⁴² and the Bactrian Greeks and their successors in India followed suit. When however the first few Parthian kings assumed the higher title *Basileus Megas*, Great King, and from Mithridates I onwards they styled themselves *Basileus Basileōn Megas*, Great King of Kings, Eucratides at least, if not the rest of the Bactrian Greeks, adopted this higher style. Now so far as is known from coins, Mauas seems to have had two styles, the earlier *Basileus* of his coins, which contain no Kharoshthī legend¹⁴³ and the later *Basileus Basileōn Megas*, right after the fashion of the Parthian emperors, with the Kharoshthī legend *rajatiraja mahata* on the reverse.¹⁴⁴⁻⁵ It is not implausible that he may have also borne like Eucratides the intermediate title *Basileus Megas*, which is higher than mere *Basileus* before assuming the yet higher imperial title *Basileus Basileōn megas*. It is this title *Basileus megas* that we have for the king in the Patika plate as *maharaya mahamta*, for from the various coin-legends of the Greeks, as we have just seen, *Basileus* is rendered by *maharaja*, which is just the same as *maharaya*, and it need hardly be said that the adjective *mahamta* or *mahata*, as can again be made out from those coin-legends, exactly renders the Greek adjective *megas*.¹⁴⁶ It is thus obvious that there was an intermediate stage in the career of Mauas, when having risen higher than *Basileus*, *maharaya*, he had not yet become the supreme *Basileus Basileōn megas*, *rajatiraja mahata*, but was known as *maharaya mahamta*, and that was when the Patika plate was issued. As we have seen, he can not have assumed the

139. *Corpus*, p. xxviii; *CHI*, pp. 586-91.

140. *CHI*, pp. 465, 588, 591; Plates IV. 5, VI. 3, VIII. 39.

141. *Corpus*, p. xxix, f.n. 1.

142. *CHI*, pp. 463-66.

143. *Ibid.*, p. 586, Pl. VI. 2.

144-5. *Ibid.*, pp. 587, 592; Plates VI. 9, 12, VIII. 48.

146. Accordingly the Kharoshthī legends on the *Basileus megas* coins of Eucratides containing neither *mahamta* nor *mahata* nor any other equivalent adjective for the corresponding Greek *megas* on the obverse, and thus leaving it unrendered on the reverse, are evidently defective in that respect.

highest title earlier than 77 B.C. nor later than 66 B.C. The Patika plate will have therefore to be assigned to a date before 66 B.C. Accordingly the epoch of the era in which it is dated can not be the year 136—135 B.C., as in that case the plate which is dated in the 78th year of that era would allot itself to 58—57 B.C. before when Mauas must have assumed the highest imperial title. *The true epoch of the era is therefore 155—154 B.C. and its year 1 is 154—153 B.C.*; and thus the precise date of the Patika plate, which is dated in its 78th year on the 5th Solar day of the first (intercalary) month of Māgha, is *Wednesday the 5th December 77 B.C.* It need hardly be added here that inasmuch as neither the *pakshā* (fortnight) has been mentioned in the plate nor the day has been called *tithi* (lunar day), nor even *pañchami* in the feminine, as it would justly be called in the case of a lunar day, but is stated to be *divase pañchame* (loc. sg.), 'on the fifth day, the calendar followed in this case is clearly and unmistakably *Pūrṇimānta* in which the dates are reckoned rather by the solar days (*divasa*)¹⁴⁷ than by lunar days (*tithi*), wherefore according to the *Amānta* scheme this day exactly corresponds to the 5th lunar day of the dark half of the *Amānta* month of Paushya.

The year 155—54 B.C. is thus the epoch of this era. As we have seen that the Saka conquest of Bactria was effected between the years 162 and 140 B.C., the institution of this era is clearly connected with that event, which must have therefore occurred in the year 154—53 B.C., i.e., the Year 1 of this era. Accordingly this era never originated in India, but was brought with him by the first Saka invader and introduced into those parts of India which came under his sway, when he had conquered them from the Greek rulers. In order to avoid confusion, this era may well be designated the *first Saka era*, as we have to deal with yet another or even two other Saka eras, one of which at least originated in India.

147. Prof. Sten Konow is certainly not right in rendering the phrase *etaye purvaye* in this inscription (*Corpus*, pp. 28-29), as also *etra purvae* in the Manikiala Inscription (*Ibid.*, p. 150), and similar phrases occurring in other inscriptions, as 'on this first (*tithi*)', because (1) almost all of these inscriptions having been obviously dated according to the *Pūrṇimānta* system, the days mentioned there are *not tithis* but *divasas* (i.e. solar days), as expressly stated in the inscriptions themselves, and also because (2) the days in question are invariably *not* the first days, but different other days of their respective months as is evident from the respective inscriptions. The correct translation of this phrase is therefore *on this afore(-said day)*.

The Maira Well inscription of the 58th year, which seems to disclose the name of Mauas and is the earliest available inscription dated in this era, allots itself to the year 97—96 B.C., and the first Shahdaur inscription of the 60th year, which is evidently the next in point of time, belongs to the year 95—94 B.C. In the latter inscription Damijada has been so expressly and no less justly described as a Saka—*Rajano Damijadasa Sakasa*, (during the rule) of *rājan* Damijada the Saka—as is due in a record of an early year after the occupation of the country by a new foreign power. It may be here said once for all that the word *Sakasa* occurring in the effaced passage standing between *Damijadasa* on the one hand and the word read as *Shashṭihae* on the other in the first line of this inscription must refer to its preceding word *Damijadasa* and not to the succeeding, and even if the subsequent word is *vatsāre*, (in the year), as might well be assumed, it can not be taken along with its preceding word *Sakasa* and explained as *Sakasa vatsāre*, in the Saka year, but will have to be referred to its next following word *Shashṭihae*, sixty, and the whole passage *ab initio* will have to be read as *Rajano Damijadasa Sakasa, vatsāre shashṭihae*, and rendered as (during the rule) of *rājan* Damijada the Saka, in the year 60. For the era in which this inscription is dated, though no doubt it started from the Saka conquest of Bactria, was never characterized as the Saka era or the era of the Sakas, as is so patent from the fact that the Taxila silver vase inscription¹⁴⁸ of the year 191, which is more than 200 years later than this inscription and belongs to quite a different era, which, far from being the era of the Sakas, readily superseded it in India, as we shall soon see, begins with the word *Saka* (and not *Sakasa* as proposed by Prof. Sten Konow¹⁴⁹), which having thus nothing to do with the Sakas, can never mean the Saka year or the Saka era, as we shall explain in its proper place. Now already in the Maira Well inscription of 97—96 B.C., there is the name of Mauas, and from the further fact that Damijada has been called a Saka in the first Shahdaur inscription of 95—94 B.C. the presumption is clear that the Saka conquest of the Greek provinces in India must have been then a very recent event, which therefore may well be placed between the years 105 and 100 B.C. The first syllables *Dami* of the name Damijada are sometimes found on the coins of king Mauas.¹⁵⁰ Damijada was therefore the Saka ruler in the Agror valley where his Shahdaur inscription stands, of the rank of a

148. *Corpus*, p. 82.

149. *JIH*, p. 3.

150. *Corpus*, p. 14.

kshatrapa, as is evident from his title *rājan*, under the Saka king Mauas. It is thus certain that it was Mauas himself who led the first Saka expedition into India in 105–100 B.C.

The word *Liāsa*, which stands first in the 3rd line of the Mānserāh inscription¹⁵¹ of the year 68, evidently of this era and therefore of the year 87–86 B.C., is apparently the genitive singular of *Lia*, which as Prof. Sten Konow suggests,¹⁵¹ might well stand for *Liaka* in the whole name *Liaka Kusuluka*, of the father of Patika and the kshatrapa of Chukhsa, as we know from his son Patika's Taxila plate of 77 B.C. But comparing his name *Liaka Kusuluka* and his son Patika's name *Kusuluka Patika* as it appears on the Mathurā Lion Capital¹⁵² (G.1), the conclusion is clear that the first name in each of these double names is the personal name of the bearer's father while the next name in them is that of the bearer himself. In that case *Lia* or *Liaka* would be the name of the Kusuluka's father, i.e., Patika's Grandfather, who would thus seem to have been living in the year 87–86 B.C. of the Mānserāh inscription. From the Patika plate, however, it is evident that he had been dead by its year 77 B.C. and succeeded by his son Kusuluka, i.e., *Liaka Kusuluka*, as kshatrapa. There are also coins of *Liaka Kusuluka*¹⁵³ struck in direct imitation of one of the issues of Eucratides, the *Pilei of the Dioscuri* type and bearing the Greek legend *Liako Kozoulo*, but without any title coupled with the name, though from his son's Taxila plate he is no doubt known to have been a kshatrapa. It is thus again certain that Damijada, whose name appears as *Dami* without any title on some of the coins of Mauas, was likewise a kshatrapa, and the title *rājan*, therefore, coupled with his name in his Shahdaur inscription, is undoubtedly the due title of kshatrapa; and it further follows that satraps could issue their own coins or have their names struck on those of their kings. The Saka king referred to merely by his title as the *maharaya mahanta* in the Patika plate of 77 B.C. could of course be none else than Mauas, who invaded India in 105–100 B.C., and later on assumed the highest imperial title *Basileus Basileōn megas* in Greek and *Rajatiraja mahata* in Kharoshthī on his later coins.

The invasion led by Mauas between 105 and 100 B.C. was the first Saka invasion of India, for as we shall see later on, there was

151. *Ibid.*, pp. 19–20.

152. *Ibid.*, p. 48.

153. *Ibid.*, p. 26; *CHI*, p. 591, Pl. VIII, 42.

yet another Saka invasion by a different route, which took place about a quarter of a century later. The date of the first Saka invasion thus clearly falls in the reign of Mithridates II the Great (123–88 B.C.). We have seen that Mithridates II reconquered Sakastāna and firmly established his sovereignty over it, and also that that event must have occurred between 123 and 100 B.C., as after the latter date he was engaged with the affairs of Armenia. As might be expected therefore the Saka expedition led by Mauas must have started from Sakastāna or Seistan (Drangiana)¹⁵⁴ as is further evident from the fact that his earliest coins¹⁵⁵ as we have seen, contain no legend in Kharoshthī, which was restricted then in eastern Iran to the province of Arachosia (Ghazni and Kandahār),¹⁵⁶ and passing through Arachosia, which was the eastern limit of the Parthian empire¹⁵⁷ into Paropanisadae (the Kābul valley),¹⁵⁸ whence along the line in which the Greek dominions lay, it must have reached Gandhāra, where conquering the two great kingdoms of Pushkalāvati (Chārsadda in Peshawar district)¹⁵⁹ to the west of the Indus and Takshasilā (Taxila) to the east,¹⁶⁰ which were till then ruled over by Greek princes, he finally established himself as king, assuming the style *Basileus* after the fashion of the Greek rulers whom he had just overthrown. Several of his coins are copied from those of the Greek rulers of both the houses, the house of Eucratides in the western Panjab and that of Euthydemus in the eastern Panjab.¹⁶¹ This evidence coupled with that of the coins of his satrap of Chukhsa, *Liaka Kusuluka*,¹⁶² which bear the type *Pilei of the Dioscuri*, as represented on those of Eucratides and some of his successors, and the fact furthermore that the grant of Patika, the son of *Liaka Kusuluka*, was made in the city of Taxila¹⁶³—*Takhasilaye nagare*—must suffice to prove the certainty of Mauas' conquest of the western Panjab as well as that of the extension of his rule over the eastern Panjab. So far as can be judged from his coins, which are said to be found only in the Pan-

154. *CHI*, p. 548.

155. *Ibid.*, p. 586, Plate VI. 2.

156. *Ibid.*, p. 569.

157. *Corpus*, p. xxxviii.

158. *CHI*, p. 541.

159. *Ibid.*, p. 545.

160. *Ibid.*, pp. 558–9.

161. *Ibid.*, p. 570.

162. *Ibid.*, pp. 556, 591, Plate VIII. 42.

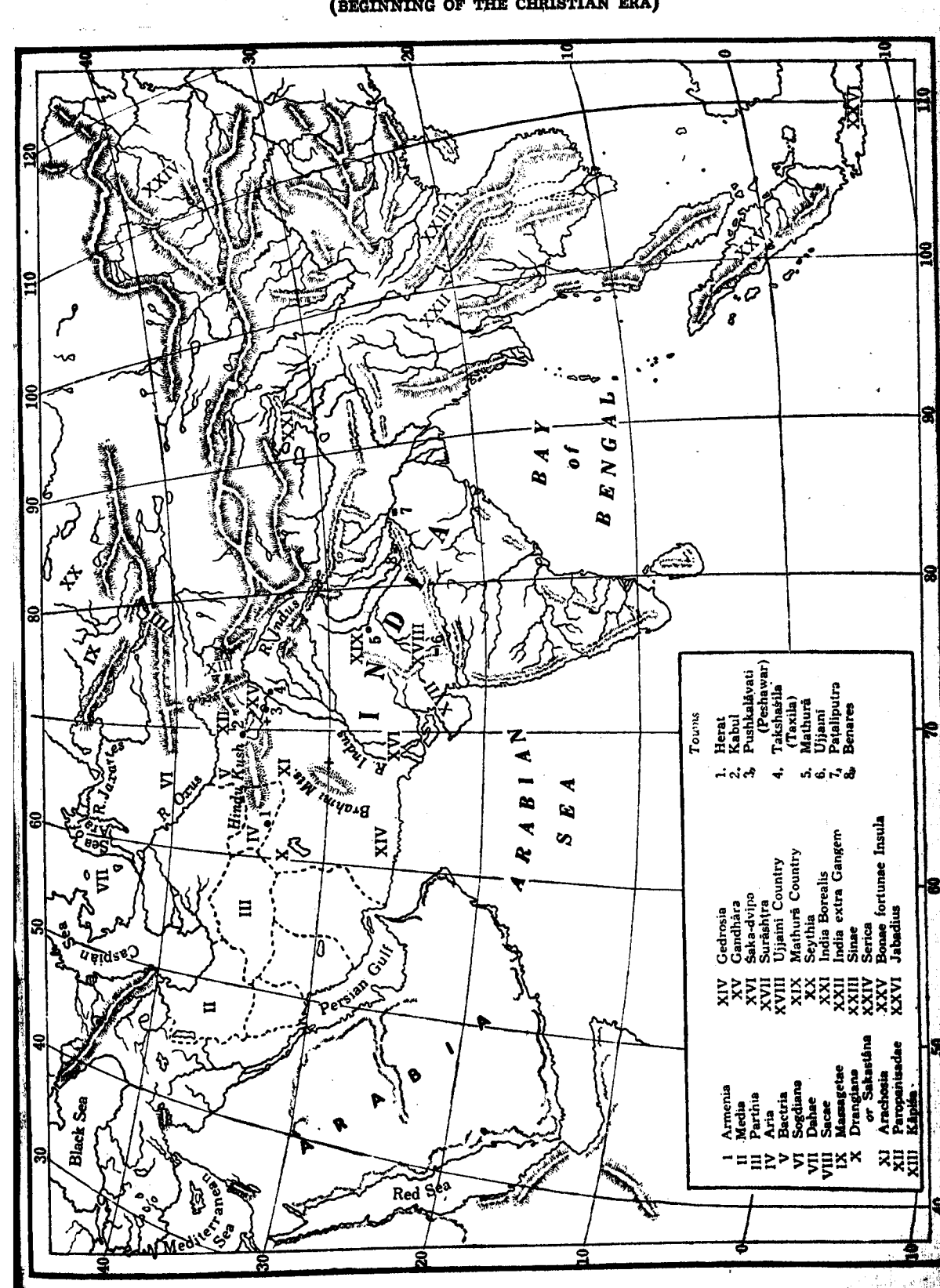
163. *Corpus*, p. 28.

jab and not in Afghanistan,¹⁶⁴ his rule would seem to have been confined to that province, and not to have extended beyond it nor therefore to have reached to Mathurā or Ujjayinī or to Sindh or Surāshtra. These other provinces therefore never came under his sway, whence it must follow that his expedition never passed through them, but took a different route, as indicated above, when it forced its way into the Panjab. In order to invade the Panjab his expedition from Sakastāna must have evidently passed through Afghanistan; and if nevertheless his coins are not found in Afghanistan, it would appear that either he made no conquests on his way before he reached Gandhāra, or if he did make any, they must have been soon lost. Mauas had no other Saka conqueror in India as his predecessor, as his are the earliest Saka coins found in India, nor did the imperial Saka power, which he had thus established, survive him, as we shall soon see. He was thus the first Saka king as well as the last, as he was the only imperial Saka who held sway in the Panjab.

(To be continued.)

164. RIC, p. 8; JIH, p. 20. But the late Prof. R. D. Banerji, however, says in his *Prehistoric, Ancient and Hindu India* (p. 123) that the coins of Mauas are found all over Afghanistan and the Western Panjab. Is he right?

SOUTHERN ASIA (BEGINNING OF THE CHRISTIAN ERA)



Date of Kadamba Mrgešavarman

By

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IN my paper on the *Date of Pallava Śivaskandavarman* (*J. I. H.*, XIII, p. 297ff), I have tried to show that Śivaskandavarman ruled in the first quarter of the fourth century A.D. Elsewhere (*Ind. Cult.*, I, p. 502) I have also suggested that a comparison of the language of the Chandravalli inscription (*Mys. Arch. Surv.*, A.R., 1929, p. 50) with that of the Mayidavolu and Hirahadagalli grants would place the reign of Kadamba Mayūraśarman some time later than the accession of Śivaskandavarman (circa 300 A.D.).¹ The use of ś (1.1), and the numerous double-consonants like *mma* (1.1), *tr. ll* (1.2), *sth, nd* (1.3), etc., appear to prove that the Chandravalli record was engraved after, but not long after the execution of the grants of Śivaskandavarman. I therefore think that scholars (see *Anc. Hist. Dec.*, p. 95f.; *Kadambakula*, chart opp. p. 15) are justified in placing Mayūraśarman about the middle of the fourth century A.D. We may not therefore be far from the mark if we suppose that the date of Mayūraśarman's accession fell somewhere between A.D. 320 and 350.

According to the evidence of the Talgunda inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 31ff.) of Śāntivarman, this Mayūraśarman was followed by his son Kaṅgavarman, grandson Bhagīratha and great-grandson Raghu; Raghu was succeeded by his brother whose name was Kākusthavarman. Supposing that Mayūraśarman's reign began about the middle of the 4th century A.D. and that the reign-periods of the four predecessors of Kākusthavarman (viz., Mayūraśarman, Kaṅgavarman, Bhagīratha and Raghu) together covered about a century, we arrive at about the middle of the 5th century for the period of Kākusthavarman. Moreover an inscription (*Ind. Ant.*, VI, p. 22) is known to be dated in the 80th year of Kākusthavarman when he was still a *Yuvarāja*. The era to which the 80th year is referred is supposed to be counted from the date of the

establishment of Kadamba power by Mayūraśarman. Kākusthavarman's reign thus falls more than eighty years after Mayūraśarman's accession (between A.D. 320 and 350). The record issued when Kākusthavarman was still a *Yuvarāja* seems to have been inscribed sometime between A.D. 400 and 430.

Kākusthavarman was succeeded by his son Śāntivarman during whose reign the Talgunda inscription was engraved. Mrgešavarman was the son and successor of Śāntivarman. Thus the two reigns of Kākusthavarman and of Śāntivarman intervened between the date of the former's inscription (between A.D. 400 and 430) and that of Mrgešavarman's accession. But since we do not know the precise date of Mayūraśarman's accession, nor the exact reign-periods of Kākusthavarman and Śāntivarman, it is difficult to conjecture any definite date for the accession of Mrgešavarman. It is however almost certain that Mrgešavarman did not begin to rule earlier than A.D. 415.

Mrgešavarman's last known date is year 8. He was succeeded by his son Ravivarman, whose last known inscriptional date is year 35. Ravivarman's son and successor was Harivarman whose Sangoli grant (*Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 165 ff.) is dated in his 8th year. The date of this record is calculated to be either Tuesday, 22nd September, A.D. 526 or Thursday, 21st September, A.D. 545. So Harivarman ascended the Kadamba throne either in A.D. 519 or in A.D. 538.² Since Ravivarman's reign of not less than 35 years intervened between the end of Mrgešarvarman's and the beginning of Harivarman's reign, Mrgešavarman could not have ended his rule before (538—35=) 503 A.D. Thus we see that the reign of Mrgešavarman must have fallen in the period between A.D. 415 and 503.

Now, a grant of Mrgešavarman (*Ind. Ant.*, VII, pp. 635-36) gives a verifiable date. The grant is said to have been made *rājy-asya trītiye varṣe pauṣe saṃvatsare kārttikamāsa-bahula-pakṣe daśamyām tithau uttara-bhādrapada-nakṣatre*. The time is therefore, Pauṣa year; month of Kārtika; Bahula or the dark fortnight; tenth lunar day; Uttara-Bhādrapada nakṣatra. This date fell in the 3rd year of Mrgešavarman's reign. It must first be observed that

1. That Mayūraśarman ruled some time later than Śivaskandavarman has been shown in my forthcoming work, *The Early Pallavas* (in the press), pp. 35-36.

2. Mr. K. N. Dikshit who has edited the Sangoli grant (*Ep. Ind.*, XIV, pp. 105 ff) prefers the second date, viz., 538 A.D.

Bahula-pakṣa here is apparently a mistake for Śukla-pakṣa. Nakṣatra Uttara-Bhādrapada may have chance to occur on the tenth lunar day of the bright, not of the dark, half of the month of Kārtika. We are therefore to find out a Pauṣa year in the period between A.D. 415 and 503, in which the lunar mansion Uttara-Bhādrapada occurred on the tenth *tithi* of bright half of Kārtika.

Between A.D. 415 and 503, Pauṣa years counted according to the twelve year cycle occurred in A.D. 425, 437, 448, 460, 472, 484 and 496. But calculations show that the lunar mansion Uttara-Bhādrapada occurred in Kārtika-śuklā-daśamī only in A.D. 437 and in 472. On October 24, A.D. 437, Śuklā-daśamī continued till 2-5 A.M., in the night, and Uttara-Bhādrapada began about 12-15 P.M., in the day. On October 27, A.D. 472, Śuklā-daśamī continued till 8-57 P.M. in the night, and Uttara-Bhādrapada began about 2-31 P.M. in the day. It is therefore certain that Mrgeśavarman ascended the Kadamba throne either in A.D. 435 or in A.D. 470.

Scholars (see *Anc. Hist. Dec.*, pp. 95-96; *Kadambakula*, loc. cit.) generally place Mrgeśavarman's accession in circa 475 A.D. They would therefore prefer the second alternative (A.D. 475, given in their works) as the date of Mrgeśavarman's accession; but the date 475 should be corrected to A.D. 470.³

3. I am indebted, for some calculations, to Mr. D. N. Mukerji of the Daulatapore College.

Date of Rājādhirāja II

By

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IN the April issue of the *Journal of Indian History*, (Vol. XIV, part 1, pp. 39 ff.) Mr. Govindaswami tries to fix the initial year of Rājādhirāja II in A.D. 1172 as against the accepted date A.D. 1163. In this attempt he seeks the help of the Pallavarāyanpēṭṭai record of Rājādhirāja II which I also happened to edit in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXI, p. 184 ff, but, unfortunately he misses the vital point stated in it by interpreting that the selection of Rājādhirāja to the Chōla throne was made after the demise of Rājarāja II, and not by the latter during his life time. He is evidently led into this error by losing sight of the word *irunda* in the phrase '*Periyadēvar eḷundaruḷi [irunda] nāḷilē*' in line 10 of this record. Between the words *eḷundaruḷi* and *nāḷilē* there is a gap for only 4 letters which are damaged on the original stone, but which from the context and the actual space in the gap, can, with certainty be filled up with the word *irunda*. Moreover, *eḷundaruḷi* requires an auxiliary word to complete the sense; therefore in this gap we cannot substitute any other word except *irunda*. Mr. Govindaswami also indicates the existence of a word in this gap by accepting seven dots, but in the literal rendering given on p. 48, he ignores this fact altogether, takes the phrase as *eḷundaruḷi[na] nāḷilē* and translates it as 'on the day that Periyadevar left'. This translation is faulty because *eḷundaruḷi* can never mean "left" and *eḷundaruḷina-nāḷilē* is not the inscriptional phrase to denote the death of a person. Mr. Govindaswami accepts that with *irunda*, the phrase can give my meaning, but without reading my article more closely, he remarks 'in the absence of *irunda*, it may not give that meaning' (p. 49), when actually I have suggested this word in footnote 13 on p. 189, *Ep. Ind.* vol. XXI. If he did not accept my suggestion, he should at least have stated so. Further, his comments on my interpretation of the words *Parigarittu*, *pārṭtu*, *maṇḍai-kavippittu*, etc., are misleading.

Next let me examine his proposed date A.D. 1172 for Rājādhirāja II. This date is unacceptable for the following main reasons:

1. A record from Tiruppāchchūr in the Chingleput district couples the Saka date 1095 with the 9th regnal year which gives

A.D. 1163 as the initial date of Rājādhirāja II and not A.D. 1172 (A.R. No. 134 of 1929-30).

2. Inscriptions beyond the 19th regnal year are not found for Rājārāja II in the Tamil districts over which he directly ruled. Inscriptions in the Chōla country carry his reign only up to A.D. 1165. The real position, according to the Pallavarāyanpēṭṭai inscription, would be as follows:

A.D. 1163—Rājādhirāja's nomination,

A.D. 1164-65—Rājārāja's death, and

A.D. 1166—Rājādhirāja's coronation.

3. Kulōttuṅga-Chōla III began to issue records as an independent monarch in his own name from his 2nd year onwards, i.e., A.D. 1179. In fact, a record of the next year (i.e.) A.D. 1180 mentions him as a crowned monarch (*muḍi śūḍi vīrasimhāsanaṭṭu vīrīrundaṛuliya*) S.I.I. III. p. 209. The previous king Rājādhirāja II must therefore, have died by this date and we cannot have inscriptions of both the rulers in the same locality after A.D. 1179. Since inscriptions of Rājādhirāja II run to his 14th regnal year, his initial year cannot be placed in A.D. 1172.

4. If we accept A.D. 1172 as the initial year, the 12th regnal year of Rājādhirāja II would be A.D. 1184, which would run into the reign of Kulōttuṅga-Chōla III, because the accession of the latter, according to Nos. 57 and 60 of 1907, would be A.D. 1178. In this case the continuance of the war of the Pāṇḍyan Succession by the Chōla general Ammaiappan *alias* Anṇaṇ Pallavarājaṇ mentioned in a 12th year record of Rājādhirāja II (A.R. No. 465 of 1905) must be placed in the reign of Kulōttuṅga-Chōla III which is impossible on the face of it. If to get over this difficulty, it is suggested that Kulōttuṅga-Chōla was a crown prince then, this position cannot be upheld, especially because Kulōttuṅga's connection with the war of the Pāṇḍyan Succession in its *early* stages is nowhere mentioned in his inscriptions.

5. Even the Pallavarāyanpēṭṭai record dated in the 8th year of Rājādhirāja II, must, if A.D. 1172 is accepted, be placed in the reign of Kulōttuṅga-Chōla III.

6. The acceptance of this date leads Mr. Govindaswami to inconsistencies and contradictions.

(a) He states that Rājārāja II died in A.D. 1168 (p. 42), though his records are found in A.D. 1169 (A.R. Nos. 324 and 351 of 1893) and A.D. 1172 (No. 704 of 1920). This position is inconsistent

with his own remark made on p. 49 that 'no grant made after the death of a king in his name would be valid'.

(b) He is not satisfied with my explanation for the chronological difficulty presented by a copper-plate record of Rājārāja dated in Śaka 1091 (A.D. 1169) and 23rd regnal year, and quotes my remarks in extenso, viz., 'we know that Rājārāja II was not alive in A.D. 1169, and that the Chōla country was then ruled by Rājādhirāja II'. In quoting me he draws prominent attention to the sentence 'Rājārāja II etc., was not alive in A.D. 1169' by putting it in italics. But his comment on this record is 'that we do not know that Rājārāja II was not alive in his 23rd year, i.e. Śaka 1091=A.D. 1169. This is quite inconsistent with his own observations made on p. 42, viz., 'as the war began about 1168 A.D., the death of Rājārāja II and the first coronation of Edirilāpperumāl might have taken place in that year. For the next four years, the latter might have ruled in the name of the former, as the name Rājādhirāja was conferred on him only after the expiry of the term'. Thus it will be seen that he contradicts himself by first stating that Rājārāja died in A.D. 1168 and subsequently that he was alive in A.D. 1169.

The apparent difficulty which Mr. Govindaswami finds in accepting A.D. 1163 can easily be explained. We find that no uniformity was adopted in the dating of Rājādhirāja's inscriptions, because they are dated from the year of his nomination and of his coronation, i.e., A.D. 1163 and 1166. Further No. 209 of 1932 of Rājādhirāja II states that his 12th year was also the 14th year. The 5th year of the Ārpākkam grant need not, therefore, be A.D. 1168.

The date proposed by Mr. Govindaswami has, therefore, to be rejected, since it conflicts with the history of the period, leads to the anomaly of dual rulership in the Chōla country, and is not also warranted by the inscriptions found in the Tamil districts including the one from Pallavarāyanpēṭṭai.

I may also point out here that Mr. Govindaswami's identification of Rājādhirāja II as the son of Kulōttuṅga-Chōla II is not convincing. If Rājādhirāja II was a brother of Rājārāja II, this direct relationship would straightway have been mentioned in the record without tracing it from two generations back. On the other hand I believe that Neriyuḍaipperumāl must have been a brother of Kulōttuṅga-Chōla II—possibly younger—and not Kulōttuṅga-Chōla himself.

Humayun, the Prince—1508-30

By

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BABUR was the ruler of Kābul when a son was born to him on March 6, 1508.¹ The king had a chequered career in the past. He succeeded his father, Umar Shaikh Mirza, as the ruler of Farghana in 1494, was immediately after involved in a desperate struggle with his two uncles, in which he was providentially saved by the spread of an epidemic in the enemy's camp and by the successive deaths of the two uncles later on. Two years later, he became the ruler of the far-famed Samarqand, only to lose it immediately after. Once more fortune smiled on him and in 1500, he again was proclaimed the chief of Samarqand. A much more powerful enemy had however stepped in now. Shaibani Khān, the head of the Uzbeks, defeated Bābur at the battle of Sar-i-pul, and drove him away from Samarqand, 1501-2. Three years later, October 1504, he obtained possession of Kābul and Ghazni; and it was at Kābul that two years later his eldest son Nasiruddīn Muhammad Humāyūn Mirza was born. The birth of the son was of some significance to the father. The Timurids were scattered over the whole of the Central Asia, and one by one, every one of them was succumbing to the Uzbek onslaughts or domestic foes. The last to fall was Sultan Husain Bāi-qara (1506) and his sons (1507). In fact, in the beginning of 1508, Bābur was the only Timurid who could pride on himself being a chieftain over a considerable area. His rule had been popular and he had asserted himself against Muqīm Arghūn, and his minister Baqī Chaghānī. Now, in March 1508, the birth of a son stabilised his throne still further. He would not be a meteor-like adventurer to restore peace and order for a while and then pass away into oblivion. The birth of a son now ensured the continuity of his family and the principles of his government. This would explain his rejoicings and assumption of the higher title of Padshah instead of the former one of Mirza. Bābur thus describes the occasion, "All the begs, small and great, brought gifts; such a mass of white tankas was heaped up as had never been seen before." The Chrono-

1. 4th Zilqada, 913.

grams² 'Shah-i-Firuz Qadr,' Shah of the victorious opulence, and 'Badshah-i-Saf-Shikan,' (rank-breaking king) explain the significance of the birth of the son to Bābur.

Mrs. Beveridge misses the connection between the birth of Humāyūn and his assumption of the title of Padshah.³ It is not clear to us how she could maintain her contention and reject the explicit statement of Gul-badan Begum, Humayun's sister and the talented authoress of the contemporary work, *Humayun Nama*, 'That same year His Majesty was pleased to order the Amirs and the rest of the world to style him Emperor (Badshah). For, before the birth of Emperor Humayun, he had been named and styled Mirza Babur In the year of His Majesty Humayun's birth he styled himself badshah.'⁴

Humāyūn's mother was Māham Begam. Bābur married her in Herat (1506) when he was on a visit to Sultan Husain Bāi-qara. She was a relation of the Sultan and was descended from Ahmed of Turbat-i-Jām, a distinguished saint of Khurasan. These two facts indicate that she was a Shia⁵ The difference of sect did not mar the cordial relations of the husband and wife, for, according to Mrs. Beveridge,⁶ she was to Bābur, what Ayisha was to Muhammad. We shall consider the surmises of Mrs. Beveridge as to the ignoble birth of Maham in the following chapter.

We are not given the details of the commencement of the prince's study but we know that a Muslim child begins his studies at the age of 4 lunar years, 4 months and 4 days.⁷ A scholarly family like that of Bābur, may be expected to follow the usual custom. Humāyūn was Bābur's favourite child. Gul-badan Begam quotes the words as uttered by Bābur, 'Maham! although I have other sons, I love none as I love Humāyūn.'⁸ So he paid

2. Other chronograms were (i) *Sultan Humayun Khan*, (ii) *Khush bad. Khush bash* as given by some, would be wide of the mark by nearly 3 centuries.

gives only 853. Beveridge proposes to add in

(= he) to make it 913.

3. See Bābur-Nāma, 344 (Mrs. Beveridge's edition).

4. p. 90.

5. Sultan Hussain was an ardent protagonist of Shiaism. See Brown's *Literary History of Persia*, Vol. IV, 63.

6. Gulbadan Begam's *Humāyūn Nāma*, 256.

7. See Law's *Promotion of Learning in India*, Vol. I, 128 and Herklot's *Islam in India*, Ch. IV.

8. G. H. N., fol. 17-a.

some attention to his education. In *Bāburnama* we get glimpses of this interest in his son's studies, e.g., when in January 1526, before the Battle of Pānīpat, he captured Milwat,⁹ he presented some of the books of Ghāzī Khān Lodi's library to Humāyūn. Again, in his letter to his son,¹⁰ he corrects the word *al-amān* as applied by Humāyūn to his newly-born son, next criticises his last letter, its style and spellings, and advises the abandonment of the ornamentations as they obscured the meaning. As he says,¹¹ 'In future write without elaboration, use plain clear words. So will the trouble to thy readers be less!' He sent on other occasions,¹² some of his own compositions to the prince.

Humāyūn is supposed to have picked up four different languages, Turki, Arabic, Persian and Hindi. Turki was his mother tongue and spoken by most of his relations, male and female, who all had recently migrated from Turkistan. The study of Arabic was compulsory for every Muslim; in fact, the initiation to studies was made through Arabic Quran.¹³ Every child learnt it by rote and recited its verses in religious assemblies. In Persian, we are left with a *Dīwān* of his, in which a large number of ghazals and rubais have been included.¹⁴ In several of the Persian works—*Akbar Nama*,¹⁵ *Turab Ali's Tarikh-i-Gujrat*,¹⁶ *Ferishta's General history*¹⁷ and others, may be found stray verses of the prince. He also had taste for mathematics, philosophy, astronomy and astrology.¹⁸

But literary studies did not form the sole occupation of the prince. When Bābur directed his campaign against the Lodis of India, Humāyūn was expected to take full share in them. On the battlefield of Pānīpat, fought on April 20, 1526,¹⁹ he commanded the right inner wing and with him were other tried warriors like Khwājā Kalān and Hindu Beg. How the battle was won by noon

9. In the Jhelam District. Jarrett calls it Malot, see Vol. II, 325.

10. *Bābur-Nāma*, 624-8, written in November 1528.

11. *Bābur-Nāma*, 627.

12. e.g., January 1528.

13. See Herklot's *Islam in India* by Crooke, Chap. IV.

14. One such may be seen in the Bankipore Library.

15. See pp. 127, 179, 271, 278, 362, 368.

16. Ross's edition, 7.

17. Newal Kishore Press edition, 243-4.

18. The subject will be taken up more fully in dealing with his character and learning.

19. 8th Rajab, 932.

by Bābur's artillery and tactics, may be read elsewhere. We shall be content with the remark that Humāyūn bore an honourable part in bringing about the victory.

After the battle, the prince was sent to take possession of the city of Agra, one of the twin capitals of the Lodi Empire. He reached there on May 4, and finding that the enemy—Malik Dad Karānī, Milti Sūrdūk and Fīrūz Khān Miwāti—intended to resist, he prepared for a siege till the arrival of Bābur. Though the town and its treasury were at his disposal, he stopped outside the town merely guarding the roads leading from the city, thus preventing his own people, somewhat wanting in discipline since the battle of Pānīpat, from plundering the inhabitants.

A day or two later, he obtained a victory over Bikramājī of the Gwālīor family, the Raja falling dead in the battle-field. They offered him 'the famous diamond which Alāuddīn must have brought,' now identified with the Koh-i-nūr. When the prince offered it to Bābur, the latter generously allowed it to be retained by him. Bābur gives the details about the diamond. He says it was 8 misqāls in weight and was appraised as equal in value to two and a half days' food for the whole world. Since he himself gives the Indian weight-measures of his time,²⁰ the weight of the diamond comes to 3½ tolas. When Bābur arrived a few days later and the garrison surrendered, he at first intended to capitally punish the chiefs of the garrison; but when others interceded for one of them, Malik Dad Karānī, Bābur in his characteristic fashion pardoned all of them, restored their goods and took them into favour. Another noted instance may be mentioned. Ibrāhīm's mother, who was also a captive, was granted a pargana worth seven lacs of double dams or 35,000 rupees a year.

When he had occupied the region commanded by Delhi and Agra, he set about to reward his followers. Humāyūn as the eldest son got the highest reward, viz., 70 lacs, an uncounted treasure house and the Jāgīr of Sambhal in addition to Hisar Fīruza already granted during Bābur's march through the Punjāb to the battlefield of Pānīpat. Since Fīrishta mentions the same amount to be 3½ lacs of rupees,²¹ it is clear that Bābur was counting in double dams.²² All the other generals and soldiers were rewarded

20. See B. N., 517.

21. N. K. Press edition, 206.

22. For a full discussion of Bābur's coins see Erskine, *History of India*, Vol. I, appendix E.

according to their rank and distinction in the battle. But Bābur did not stop here. After dealing with his immediate followers, he sent other rewards to his relations in Samarqand, Khurasan, Kashghar and Iraq, the holy men of Samarqand, Khurasan, Mecca and Medina and, as if these were not enough, he sent 'one *Shahrūkhi* for every soul in the country side of Kābul and the valley side of Varsak,²³ man and woman, bond and free, of age or non-age.²⁴ This extravagance earned for him, according to Firishta, the title of 'Qalandar' or dervish, and Bābur seems to have accepted it with good grace; for at the Ajudhia mosque is inscribed the line: 'Bābur, the Qalandar, is well known in the world as king.' The extravagance was deprecated by the Indian nobles,²⁵ and it caused financial embarrassment to the king 2½ years later. Bābur himself records, 'By this time (October, 1528) the treasure of Iskandar and Ibrahim in Delhi and Agra was at an end.' He had to tax the stipendiaries to the extent of 30%. This empty treasury was one of the chief causes of Humāyūn's troubles in his reign. Humāyūn never realised it, but went on imitating the generous instincts of his father and further depleted the resources of the state.

After the battle of Panipat, Humāyūn was busy in an eastern campaign against the Afghans. Bābur had two problems, each of which demanded immediate attention: one, the Afghan affairs in the east, and the other the Rajput affairs in the south-west. Humāyūn by volunteering to undertake a campaign against the former, relieved his father considerably. He was given an independent command, and he proceeded rapidly to meet the enemy who had collected at Jājmau near Cawnpore under Nasir Khan and Maruf Farmuli. The Mughal valour was appraised at such a premium,²⁶ that at the prince's approach, the Afghans melted away. They behaved in so cowardly a manner, that Humāyūn could pursue them for a full distance of 200 miles or more.²⁷ At Kharid, he halted and retraced his steps to Jaunpur, the Mughal headquarters near the eastern frontiers. He tried to do further service by conciliating the Afghan chief Fateh Khan Sarwani and sending

23. In Badakhshan.

24. B. N., 523. There is a description of the arrival of these presents at Kābul in Gulbadan's Humāyūn Nāma. Farishta points out that one *shahrūkhi* contained one *misqal* which is slightly less than ½ a tola of silver. According to Mirza Haider, one *shahrūkhi* equals 5 double dams.

25. G. H. N., fol. 9-b.

26. For Sultan Bahadur's opinion see *Abu Turab Wali*, 5 and *Arabic History of Gujrat*, 229.

27. From Jajmau to Kharid in Ballia District.

him to Bābur in the company of Mehdi Khwaja. If Fateh Khān left the Mughals for Mahmūd Lodī of Bihār,²⁸ it was because he was not satisfied with the title Khān-i-Jehān but craved for his father's title of Āzam Humāyūn. This Bābur was not willing to grant because of the anomaly that would arise in calling his eldest son Humāyūn, while an Afghan nobleman, Āzam, or the greater Humāyūn. Other desertions followed, e.g., of Biban, Bayezid and Shēr Khān; but their specific reasons for doing so have not been mentioned. At least in one case Humāyūn's success may be recorded. He was able to satisfy Jilal Khān Jigat's son, Ālam Khān and bring him along with him to Agra.

At the commencement of the new year 1527, he was recalled by Bābur to his aid against Rana Sāngā, who was rapidly approaching the Mughal frontiers at Biāna. On January 6, he rejoined his father at Agra.

At the battle of Khānwah (Khānua), he retained the chief command of the inner right wing and after the battle, was rewarded by the grant of the 'contents of the Alwar treasury.'

Almost immediately afterwards, the prince was ordered to proceed to Badakhshan, acquired since the death of his cousin Weis Khan Mirza in 1520. During the previous seven years, the administration of the province had been more or less neglected and now an effort to rectify the defect was made. There were two other reasons for his appointment. Humāyūn's soldiers who had fought at Khānwah mostly came from the other side of the Hindukush and were unwilling to stay in India; hence in order to retain their services, he had to transfer their commander. Secondly, Bābur always entertained a hope for the reconquest of Balkh, Hissār and Samarqand and desired Humāyūn either to accomplish it by himself²⁹ or wait for his arrival. Hence his appointment as governor of Badakhshan was made.

Historians point to one of Humāyūn's discreditable actions at Delhi. He opened 'several treasure-houses and without permission took possession of their contents.' Bābur severely reproached him for this unseemly conduct. Mrs. Beveridge considers this misconduct as one of the valid reasons for Khālifa to doubt the administrative capacities in him and to propose a change of the ruling dynasty at Bābur's death.³⁰

28. B. N., 652.

29. Bābur-Nāma, 625.

30. This question is discussed later on.

The prince stayed in Badakhshan for more than two years,³¹ (1527-29), tried to introduce orderly government and organise an expedition against Samarqand. But the period of his stay was too short to bring about substantial success. The raiders and disturbers of peace continued to exist. The expedition too did not achieve full success. Humāyūn in combination with the local chiefs, Sultan Weis Kolabi and his younger brother Shāh Quli, collected 40,000 men and captured Hissar and Qabādiān, both situated on the north side of the Amu river (Jan. 1529). This was probably the northern most point ever reached by any Mughal prince of India. The subjugation of Central Asia was a favourite theme with the Mughal rulers till Shah Jehan's time; but the actual success achieved was much less than what was secured by Humāyūn now.

In July 1529, Humāyūn had left his post and was seen at Agra paying homage to the king. Erskine and Mrs. Beveridge accuse the prince of desertion and suggest the complicity of his mother Māham Begam in this move. They think that Māham wanted Humāyūn's presence at the capital to prevent any plot or intrigue against him.

First of all, let us take up the question whether he exposed the frontier by his departure. We have already seen that he had formed local ties by enlisting Sultan Weis and his brother in his interests. The Sultan's daughter was married to a Mirza³² and an extension was made beyond the River Amu, so long the northern boundary of the Mughal territories. Before Humāyūn crossed the Indus, he had sent Mirza Hindāl as his substitute and of course his tutor Fakhr Ali. Between his departure from Badakhshan and Hindāl's arrival, there was an interval of a few days only. Fakhr* Ali's presence ensured an orderly government and so long as Sultan Weis was attached to the Mughal cause, no fear need have been entertained in that quarter.

The Akbarnama mentions an attack from outside during Hindāl's regime, but it came from an unexpected quarter. Saīd Khan of Kashghar, son of Sultan Ahmed, Bābur's maternal uncle and hence his cousin, seeing that the province was being ruled by a boy of ten, formed the ambition of annexing it, and forthwith

31. Akbar-Nāma, 114, makes it one year. It is likely that the earlier half of his time be spent in Kābul.

32. Whose daughter Haram Begam was married to Mirza Suleiman, Weis Mirza's son.

marched against it. He besieged Qila-i-Zafar for three months, and then realising the hopelessness of his task, abandoned the siege and returned to Kashgar. We do not know of any other attack on Badakhshan in Bābur's reign. Hence it is safe to conclude that Humāyūn did not expose the frontier province to any danger at his departure.

Next, the question arises whether he had any valid reason for leaving his post and going to Agra. It could not have been due to his mother's instigation, for she was away from Bābur for some time past.³³ Haidar Mirza, a contemporary author and a relation of Bābur,³⁴ who ruled in Kashmir for ten years, gives the following reason for the prince's departure. 'Babur Padshah recalled Humayun Mirza into Hindustan He sent for Humayun in order that he might have one of his sons (continually) by him so that if he were to die suddenly, there would be a successor near at hand.'³⁵ Erskine and Mrs. Beveridge disbelieve this statement, as they do not think it possible for a wise ruler like Bābur to withdraw the governor from a frontier province without making adequate provision. Similarly relying on Ahmad Yādgār's *Tarikh-i-Salātin-i-Afāghina*,³⁶ they disbelieve the statement of Bābur's protracted illness and give him at least one year's good health and activity before final breakdown and death. The first argument we have already refuted. Bābur must have realised that in recalling Humāyūn and allowing him to make some make-shift arrangement he was not running too great a risk.

The second needs closer attention. When did Bābur finally break down? According to Firishta,³⁷ Bābur was ill from Rajab 936 (February 1530) and died ten months later on 5th *Jamadi ul awwal* 937, (26th December, 1530). Taking the statements of Ahmed Yādgār and Firishta together, we may allow good health to Bābur till February 1530, when he finally broke down and died ten months later. So that in July, 1529, when Humāyūn returned from Badakhshān Bābur was in good health.

33. See B. N., 686-6, where the arrival of Mahan is mentioned.

34. Being son of his mother's sister, Khub-nigār Khānam. See B. N., 21-2.

35. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, 387. Edited by Ellias and Ross. For text see Or. 157.

36. Elliot, Vol. V., 40, 42, 43. Ahmad Yadgar's father was Mirza Askari's minister in Gujrat. The history was written in Jehangir's reign.

37. Farishta, Nawal Kishore Press Edition, 211.

Then, had he any reason to send for the prince? According to Gul-badan Begam and Akbarnama,³⁸ he was yearning for Humāyūn's return, not due to ill health but to the death of a favourite son called Anwar or Alwar. There was also another reason. Humāyūn had in several of his letters, referred to retirement, and Bābur felt annoyed and admonished him for any such idea, in these words 'As for the "retirement", "retirement", spoken of in thy letters—retirement is a fault for sovereignty; . . . retirement matches not with rule'.³⁹ In order to persuade him to abandon his futile whims, he desired him to return to him. Of course, the ostensible reason mentioned in his letter was that he was getting weary and infirm and desired the presence of a son by him. Some time before the prince's arrival, he had already spoken of abdicating the throne in favour of his eldest son.⁴⁰ A life-long adventurer like Bābur, may be excused, if the continuous strife of more than 30 years made him think of resigning his kingdom to his son, who now had reached his majority, being 22 years in age. The proposal of resignation prompted by the dervish-like temperament of Bābur, should surprise no one. Could any other king compose the lines?

"Though I be not related to dervishes,
Yet am I their follower in heart and soul.
Say not a king is far from a dervish,
I am a king but yet the slave of dervishes."

If any further proof was needed for Bābur's approval of the prince's return, it is forthcoming in the feasts arranged by the king at his arrival and the praise bestowed on his son as 'an incomparable companion.'

Bābur did not neglect the Badakhshān affairs. After a while, when his fatherly yearnings were satisfied by the prince's stay, he thought owing to state exigencies, of sending back one who had already achieved some success and had extended the Mughal territories beyond the Oxus. But Humāyūn refused to go to such a distance and Bābur, it appears, very willingly accepted the refusal. The king's next choice Khālifa, Sayyid Nizāmuddin Alī, too refused. Then he made the only solution possible, viz., to hand over the province to Weis Mirza's son, Sulaimān Mirza. Sulai-

38. G. H. N., fol. 16-a; A. N., 115.

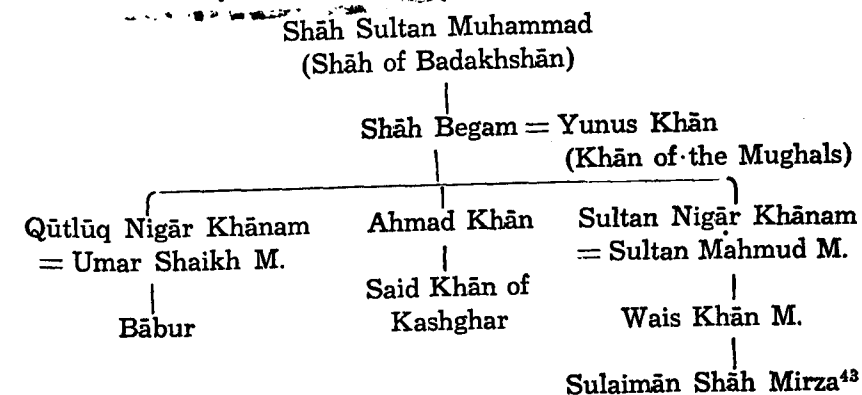
39. B. N., 626.

40. G. H. N., 15-b.

41. See Erskine: Babur and Beveridge Akbar-Nama p. 279.

mān had a hereditary claim, going according to the author of Tarikh-i-Rashidi,⁴² as far back as 3000 years.

His immediate ancestry may be indicated thus,



Bābur took further action in Sulaimān's interest. He rebuked Said Khān of Kashghar for molesting one who was a son to both of them and asked him to leave him alone. In handing over the province to a relation, he still had his old scheme in view, viz., the reconquest of Central Asia. He hoped Sulaimān would allow him a free passage through his dominions. It is possible that the march to Lahore in 1529-30, mentioned by Mrs. Beveridge on the authority of Ahmad Yādgār, was a part of this scheme. That he could not carry it out, was due to reasons which cannot be discussed here.

After a stay for some time with his parents, Humāyūn was allowed to go to his fief in Sambhal. For six months he remained there, at the end of which period, he fell seriously ill.

It became imperative to remove him at once to Agra, where the best medical aid was available. He was first taken to Delhi, and thence to Agra by boat. On the way, at Muttrā, he was met by his distracted mother⁴⁴. At Agra, the patient was placed under

42. p. 203.

43. He claimed to be a Shāh from his distant ancestor, Sultan Shāh Muhammad. He was a Mirza through his father's side. He was also a Khān through his father's mother, Sultan Nigār Khānam. Bābur refers to the tradition that the family claimed descent from Alexander of Macedon. See B. N., 22.

44. Gulbadan describes the meeting as between Jesus and Mary.

the treatment of the best physicians of the day, but it was of no avail. Mir Abul Baqua,⁴⁵ a prominent 'Fazil' of the day, who was highly respected by the king, and later on by his son, suggested the bestowal in charity of some precious article which the prince loved most, meaning, of course, the diamond, which he had obtained from Gwālior. Bābur accepted the suggestion; but instead of the diamond, considered himself to be the most beloved object to his son, and hence proposed to sacrifice his own life.

The actual ceremony by which the malady was transferred, has been described by the king's daughter.⁴⁶ He walked round the prince's bed while prayers were offered to Hazrat Ali in words like 'O. God! If a life may be exchanged for a life, I who am Bābur, give my life and my being for Humāyūn.' Next day, he resorted to fasting as an aid to the sacrifice; and it is said that, shortly after, he felt that his prayers had been accepted. Bābur gradually fell more and more ill, while Hūmāyūn slowly recovered. At last he fully recovered and met the king, who was lying ill in his bed.

It was a protracted illness for Bābur which ended in his death after ten months, if Farishta is to be believed. The prince, an inexperienced youth of 22, did not take his father's illness seriously, and went on an expedition to Kālinjar. The following is an inscription on one of the rocks there, 'Muhammad Humāyūn, Bādshāh-i-Ghāzī, dated the last day of the honoured month of Rajab 936.'⁴⁷

When his father's condition grew worse, he was recalled. On his return, he found the king had grown very feeble. Regretting his absence from the king's side, he broke down and spoke to the physicians in attendance, earnestly requesting them to cure his father.⁴⁸

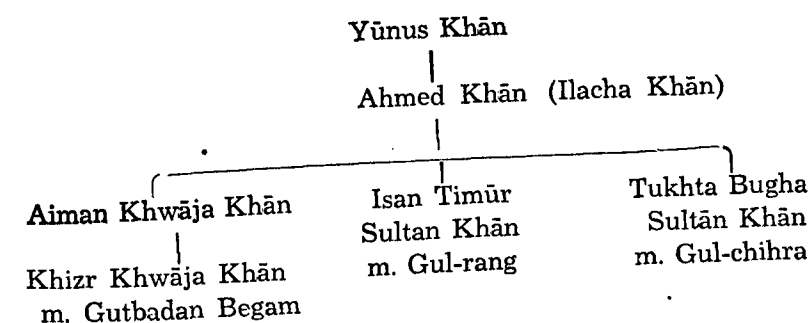
During the few months, yet vouchsafed to the king, he celebrated the marriages of two of his daughters, Gul-rang and Gul-Chihra Begams, with Isān Timūr Sultan and Tūkhṭā Būghā Sultan respectively. The genealogy of the Sultans may be given.

45. Connected with Khwājā Khwand Mahmūd (Khwājā Nura) of Kashmir. See *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, 478.

46. Gulbadan must have been then a child of eight years.

47. = 30th March 1530.

48. G. H. N., 17-b.



These were two of his last acts for the good of the family. Afterwards his malady increased. Realising that his end was approaching, he gathered all his chiefs—Abul Fazl specially mentions Khwājā Khālifa,⁴⁹ Qambar Ali Beg, Tardi Beg and Hindu Beg—placed Humāyūn on the throne of sovereignty in their presence, and desired all to acknowledge him as his successor and to be faithful to him. Turning to Humāyūn, he entrusted to him, the welfare of his kinsfolk and people. His last directions were, 'Do naught against your brothers, even though they may deserve it'.⁵⁰ Three days later, on December, 26, 1530,⁵¹ he expired.

The chronology of the last 19 months may be given here.

1. Arrival of Humāyūn from Badakhshān, July, 1529.
2. The prince's stay in Agra, July and August, 1529.
3. The prince repairs to Sambhal, August, 1529.
4. Stay at Sambhal (Bābur at Lahore for a while), August to January, 1530.
5. The prince falls ill at Sambhal, January, 1530.
6. The prince removed to Agra end of January, 1530.
7. Bābur's sacrifice, February, 1530.
8. Humāyūn recovers, March, 1530.
9. Humāyūn at Kālinjar, March to August, 1530.
10. Humāyūn recalled to Agra, August 1530.
11. The celebration of Gul-rang and Gul-chihra's marriages, September, 1530.

49. Syed Nizamuddin Ali, Deputy of the King.

50. A. N., 117.

51. 5th Jamādul-Awwal, 937.

52. B. N., 687.

12. Humāyūn nominated as successor, 23rd December, 1530.
13. Bābur's death, 26th December, 1530.

On the question of Bābur's sacrifice of life for his son, the following observations may be made :

(a) It was a common belief in Mediaeval times that a malady could be transferred from one person to another by prayers and intercessions. The belief still persists in some parts of the world.

(b) Bābur besought Ali's intercession. It shows his breadth of view, for generally a Sunni avoids Ali's selection out of the four early Khalifs.

(c) The transfer of malady was a slow process. Humāyūn took several weeks to recover, while Bābur took several months before the gravity of his disease was discovered.

(d) It was not the prince's malady that was transferred. He suffered from high fever while Bābur's complaint was disorders in the intestines. His physicians considered them to be the effect of the poison administered by Sultan Ibrāhim Lodi's mother, four years previously.

Bābur was buried in Chār Bagh or Arām Bagh at Agra. His corpse was, in Shēr Shāh's reign, removed to Kābul, by his Afghan queen, Bibi Mubārīka.⁵³ The tomb now lies on a terraced garden on the slope of a hill called Shāh-i-Kābul. It is the beauty spot of Kābul and forms the rendezvous of holiday-makers. His relations lie buried around him. His descendants have embellished the burial garden, and Shāh Jehān may be specially mentioned for constructing the beautiful mosque in the neighbourhood. 'The tomb-stone itself is a low grave-covering, not less simple than those of his relations'. The standing slab has an inscription put up by Jehāngīr.

53. B. N. 710.

Portraits of the Greater Moghuls

By

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THERE certainly can be no denial to Mr. Vincent Smith's statement about Moghul India : " It may be doubted if any other country in the world possesses a better series of portraits of the men who made history."¹ It is not only kings who have been portrayed by hundreds, but also 'nawābs', officials, whether high or low, down even to the personal servant of the ruler.² "The works of the Indo-Persian draughtsmen and painters furnish a gallery of historical portraits, lifelike and perfectly authentic, which enable the historian to realize the personal appearance of all the Mughal emperors, and almost every public man of note in India for more than two centuries". Painting thus was a very highly developed art during the Mughal period. This art of painting, we may say, had its origin in Persia, which in turn derived its technique from the Central Asian districts. Even these Central Asian districts could not be said to have originated this technique, for in the words of M. Blochet, of the Bibliothèque Nationale, "the clans in Central Asia never possessed a single form of art born of their own thought".³ Indeed, these provinces looked to China which "formed the staple element in Central Asian culture and civilisation". However, Moghul art came directly from Persia, for it was Humāyūn who, during his stay of one year in Persia, first retained two Persian artists in his service. Shāh Tahmāsp of Persia, Humāyūn's kind host, was a great patron of art, and some of the finest painters of Asia—amongst whom may be mentioned the great Mirak—enjoyed his official patronage. From the accounts of Humāyūn's life given by his sister, Gul-Badan Begam, we know definitely that Humāyūn too had some admiration for painting, and that, during his stay in Persia, he availed himself of every opportunity to visit and study all the splendid gard-

1. *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, p. 478.

2. A remarkable picture of Ināyat Khān, an attendant of Jehāngīr, is in the Bodleian Library entitled *The Dying Man*. Ms. Ouseley, Add. 171-b, 4v.

3. E. Blochet, *Musalman Painting. XII-XVII Century*, translated by C. M. Binyon, p. 75.

ens, the magnificent building erected by Sultān Hussain Mirzā, and lastly the old and venerated buildings—a heritage of glorious past kingdoms. Shāh Tahmāsp saw to it that Humāyūn had facilities to visit all these; in short Shāh Tahmāsp placed all the resources of the kingdom at Humāyūn's feet. The Persian monarch's hospitality left a very vivid impression on Humāyūn, and when finally the Moghul emperor did leave the Persian soil, he carried away with him the Persian monarch's love of art in general and of painting in particular. The life of this Moghul school of painting was, indeed, a short one extending over two hundred and fifty years only, and it may very rightly be referred to not exactly as a school but only as a brilliant chapter in the history of Indian art. From the aesthetic point of view Moghul art may not be interesting, but certainly it has a fascination and charm that is more human and more real. It began as the art of a court, was fed and nursed by official patronage, and only gradually did it assimilate Hindu ideas and Hindu traditions. Humāyūn's—predecessor, Bābar, led a very strenuous life, and whenever he was unoccupied by warfare he was occupied in hunting and in the forbidden practice of wine-drinking. Naturally his interest in painting was slight; Humāyūn had more leisure than his father, and with his reign the Moghul school of painting began.

There are many portraits of Bābar, and one of the best is in the Collection of M. Vever, Paris.⁴ This picture shows Bābar seated in his court on a golden throne, surrounded by his officials and others. It was painted by Farrukh Beg of Central Asia, and is most probably an illustration from the "Bāburnāma". Whether this picture was painted in India or whether it was painted in Kābul when Farrukh Beg was working under Mirzā Muhammad Hakīm, is not certain. But the picture is decidedly foreign in technique, having more the characteristics of the Persian style, and this too though the picture seems to be painted about fifty years after Bābar's death. Mr. Percy Brown believes this picture to have been painted in India about 1586, and he finds "the treatment of some of the figures in the foreground... suggestively Indian".⁵ Bābar was a very enthusiastic wine-drinker, even though his religion forbade it. In his youth he "had a strong lurking inclination",⁶ but later on he began to drink wine openly. A picture of

4. P. Brown, *Indian Painting under the Mughals*, plate XIV.

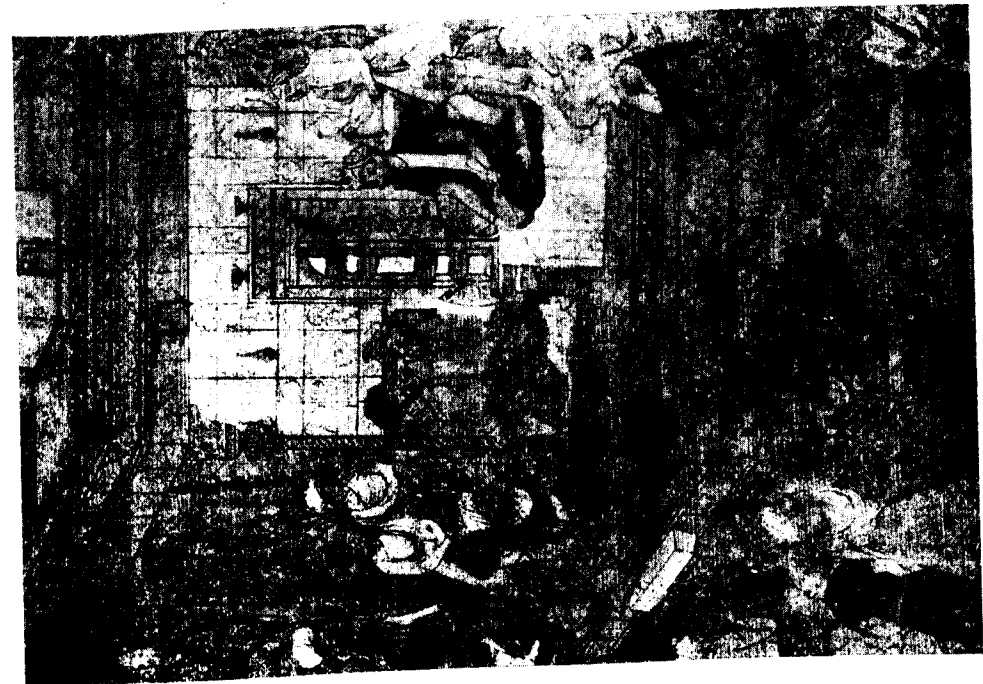
5. *Indian Painting under the Mughals*, p. 65.

6. *Memoirs of Zehir-ed-Din Muhammed Bābur*, translated by Leyden & Erskine, and revised by Sir Lucas King, Vol. II, p. 11.

II



I



By kind permission of the Curator, Central Museum, Lahore

Bābar indulging in wine is in the Louvre, Paris.⁷ Bābar is holding a levee and is seated under a canopy, surrounded on one side by his officials. Seated to his left is an official who looks, more or less, exactly like Bābar; perhaps it may be Humāyūn, for the likenesses of these two figures are exactly similar to those of Bābar and Humāyūn in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.⁸ Bābar has a cup of wine in his hand as also one or two of the officials. A servant is busy pouring wine in a cup in front of him, and in the foreground are two musicians. In the right background there are servants with some more wine (or is it rose-water)?, and the canopy under which the emperor is seated is graced by a peacock on its roof. There are niches in the wall of the canopy, and half of the door—leading out of the canopy is also open, thus giving us a view of the garden behind. This picture seems to have been painted a few years after the preceding one, and is as good as, if not better than, the first. Yet another picture of Bābar sitting in 'darbar' is in the Lahore Museum.⁹ (Mus. I) As usual, Bābar is surrounded by his officials. In this picture, too, half of the door of the canopy is open. The figure to Bābar's left is clean-shaven, and looks as if he is pleading for some one. However, the picture does not command as much admiration as the first two. Another picture of the Moghul emperor in the same Museum¹⁰ shows him seated on a throne with a hawk on his right hand. The emperor's throne has a peculiar umbrella-like shelter above the head. The Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, possesses a similar picture¹¹ of the Moghul emperor seated on a throne with a hawk on the left hand. The throne which is of gold, stands on a carpet on what looks like a terrace. Bābar is leaning on a purple cushion whose ends are tipped green. The same Museum exhibits a picture of Bābar¹² which is not of the Moghul emperor at all. Bābar (?) is seated on a throne under a canopy and in full court. He has a hawk on his right hand which has a red glove on, and he is sheltered by the state umbrella above his head. The features of this figure, which is supposed to represent Bābar, are extremely girlish; hence it is doubt-

7. E. Blochet, *Muselman Painting. XII-XVII Century*, translated by C. M. Binyon, plate CLXXXVII.

8. No. 372.

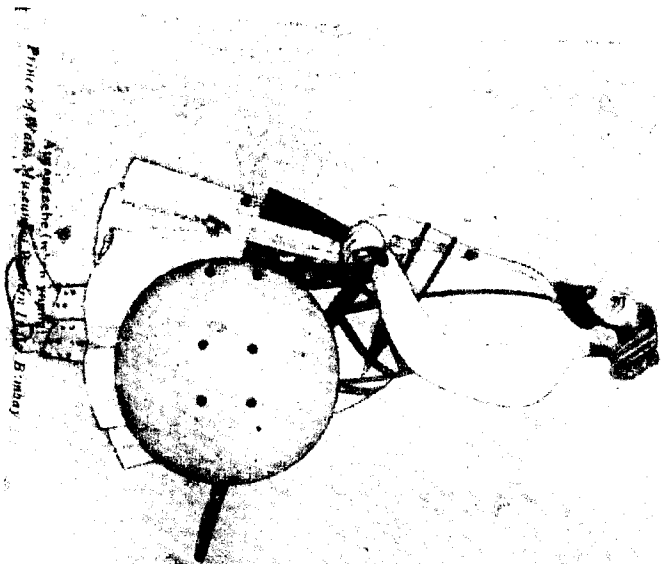
9. *Loan Exhibition of Antiquities, Coronation Durbar 1911*, plate XXXII (a).

10. *Loan Exhibition of Antiquities, Coronation Durbar 1911*, plate XXXIV (b).

11. No. 475.

12. No. 483.

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III



IV

ful whether it represents Bābar at all. There is a portrait of Bābar in his youth in the British Museum,¹³ in which he is shown seated on a chair in a garden and reading from a book. The trees in the garden are tastefully painted, and the beauty of the garden is heightened by the flocks of birds above. One particular thing to be noticed in this picture is the design of the cloth of Bābar's coat, which is full of pictures of running deer and flowers. There must be something amusing in the book he is reading, for he seems to restrain an artful smile. Evidently this portrait was painted at Kābul about 1505, probably at the time of his campaign against Kandahār and India. The Rāmpur State Library possesses a portrait of the Emperor dictating his "Memoirs" to a scribe.¹⁴ The Emperor is seated on a carpet in an open space (it does not look like a garden) with two servants behind him. The scribe is seated almost in front of the Emperor, while one attendant is standing behind with fly-whisk, and the other with a sword wrapped in a piece of cloth; the latter's feet are painted extraordinarily thin. Bābar is depicted with an unkempt beard, and the background is occupied by mountains. The picture has a simple border, and on the whole lacks in appeal.

We all know that Bābar was very fond of gardening. "In Hindustān there is a great variety of flowers",¹⁵ he states in his "Memoirs", and then he proceeds to describe the flowers of Hindustān in detail. A picture of Bābar laying out a garden is in the Victoria and Albert Museum London.¹⁶ The picture was painted by two of Akbar's painters, Nānhā and Bishan Dās. The former painted the faces, while the latter prepared the sketch and painted the rest of the picture. An illustration from "Bāburnāma"¹⁷ shows Bābar visiting the palace of Jalāl Khān near Agra. Bābar is on horseback followed by his retinue. Some common people are seen in the right hand corner drawing water from wells. The picture has got the name of Dhanraj inscribed on it and shows some people at the door of the castle probably to receive the Emperor. To the right of the picture can be seen a Hindu temple with some ruins(?).

13. E. Blochet, *Musalman Painting. XII-XVII Century*, translated by C. M. Binyon, plate CIX.

14. P. Brown, *Indian Painting under the Mughals*, plate V.

15. *Memoirs of Zehīr-ed-Dīn Muhammed Bābur*, translated by Leyden & Erskine and revised by Sir Lukas King, Vol. II, p. 236.

16. L. Binyon & T. W. Arnold, *the Court Painters of the Grand Moguls*, plate IV.

17. P. Brown, *Indian painting under Mughals*, plate XXXII.

In the temple there is a small image, squatted and with hands folded in prayers. Flocks of birds grace the sky, while we also notice that the elephant and the heads of the horses are drawn very disproportionately. However, the picture is of a fairly high standard, and was either painted by Dhanraj or Dasraj c. A.D. 1575. There is yet another picture of Bābar supervising over his gardeners in the Victoria and Albert Museum, "and delightful as it is, the painting has not the intimacy and freshness of the similar subject treated on a double page in another manuscript".¹⁸

In almost all the paintings we have studied so far, the Persian element is supreme; there is as yet no distinct visible trait of anything decidedly Indian. Again, from a study of the paintings, we may describe Bābar as an average-sized man with Mongolian features and having a close well-kept and pointed beard. He does not look stout in any of the paintings, and appears everywhere to be plainly dressed.

It is said that Humāyūn "and his little son Akbar took lessons in drawing, and interested themselves generally in the subject of painting".¹⁹ But Humāyūn; with all his love of art, had to think of other things than art. He was continuously 'on the move', and when at last he did succeed in regaining his lost kingdom, he was only to enjoy the fruits of his labour for a few months only.

The portraits of Humāyūn's time too show signs of foreign influence. There is one picture of Humāyūn in the British Museum belonging to this class. Here Humāyūn is seated on a square carpet with his head bowed and his hands joined devoutly.²⁰ In front of him are two dervishes invoking God's blessing on the emperor. Two young trees, one of which is blossoming, together with a flock of birds, all that forms the background of the picture. In the left hand corner, i.e. on Humāyūn's right, are two nobles whose names are inscribed above their shoulders. Their names are Mizā Shaham and Lashkar KHān. Behind Humāyūn stands a page, and his name is given as Khusāl Beg. This picture was painted by Bhagavati, one of the famous Hindu artists of Akbar, and clearly shows Persian influence. M. Blochet has reproduced in his book

18. L. Binyon & T. W. Arnold, *Court Painters of the Grand Moguls*, p. 49.

19. P. Brown, *Indian Painting under the Mughals*, p. 54.

20. L. Binyon & T. W. Arnold, *Court Painters of the Grand Moguls*, plate V.

a picture²¹ of a Mongol prince surrounded by his court. The prince is seated under a canopy, and "is represented with the features of Humāyūn." The central figure in this picture, which is in the Pozzi Collection, Paris, does resemble Humāyūn to some extent. The Victoria and Albert Museum, London, is lucky to possess some fine pictures of Humāyūn. There is one in the Museum which shows the Emperor Humāyūn and his brother Kāmran hunting amidst the mountains of Kābul.²² The heads of six attendants emerge from the rocks. The picture, which was painted by Farruk Beg, is not artistic, and the only pleasing feature is the outer border of the mount which is decorated with gold flowers on a background of indigo-blue. The same Museum possesses one beautiful picture of Humāyūn²³ showing the emperor seated on a jewelled throne in the great courtyard of the 'Diwan-i-ām', and receiving envoys in full court. The figure right in front of the emperor is saluting him by putting his hand to his turban, a Persian custom which was much disliked by Aurangzēb later on. The picture was painted by Alam, and "is strangely similar to that of a painting in a MS. History of Bābar (Waqiat-i-Bābari) now in the British Museum (Or. 3715). In the latter, which was executed by one of Akbar's artists in about 1590, Bābar is represented sitting in durbar at Kābul." The picture has a border decorated in colours and gold with the usual flowering patterns. A comparatively modern picture of Humāyūn was exhibited in the Exhibition of Antiquities, Coronation Durbar, at Delhi in 1911.²⁴ It shows the Moghul emperor with a hawk on one hand and with an attendant opposite to him. The two figures are standing on a terrace, whilst in the background can be seen a fight between two elephants, which is the centre of our attraction. The elephants are surrounded by a ring of soldiers and efforts are made to separate the beasts. Two mounted soldiers (or attendants) help others in this matter. The British Museum possesses a large picture, part of which shows Humāyūn and his three successors.²⁵ Humāyūn is seated under a pavilion on the right, and opposite him are

21. *Musalman Painting. XII-XVII Century*, translated by C. M. Binyon, plate CLXXXIII.

22. Victoria and Albert Museum Portfolio, *Thirty Mogul Paintings of the School of Jahāngir*, plate 3.

23. *Ibid* plate 2, No. 2.

24. *Loan Exhibition of Antiquities, Coronation Durbar 1911*, plate XXXIII (c).

25. L. Binyon & T. W. Arnold, *The Court Painters of the Grand Moguls*, plate XIII.

Akbar, Jahāngir and Shāh Jahān. Outside the pavilion stands a handsome youth who is Prince Parviz, Jahāngir's second son. There are four other figures in the picture, probably attendants. Akbar has in his hands a book, and it looks as if he is about to hand it over to Humāyūn. Behind the pavilion are trees of which some are blossoming. The Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, possesses an interesting picture of Bābar and his son Humāyūn.²⁶ The picture shows the two emperors standing, and evidently in some close argument. Bābar is clothed in a slate-coloured robe and wears a turban coloured purple and gold. Humāyūn wears a robe embroidered in gold flowers and has a book in his left hand. He has a sword in a white scabbard, and has a dagger inserted in his belt; the turban, however, is white. In the background of the picture is a city, and the clouds are painted gold. A few small flowering plants are shown in the foreground, otherwise the picture is bare. The likenesses of the two emperors are very good, but the picture is spoiled by a large border which is not at all artistic.

Now we come to the beginning of the glorious period of Moghul painting. It is from this time that Moghul art was emerging itself out of the Persian influence. Akbar encouraged painting to such an extent that "over a hundred artists worked in the school organised by Akbar".²⁷ This attitude of Akbar towards painting may be attributed to his absolute rejection of Muslim tradition condemns painting on the ground that the mortal man thereby assumes the divine function of the Creator, for on the day of the judgment, He will call upon the painter to put life into his work, and the painter failing to do so is straightway sent to hell. On the other hand, the great emperor defends the painter by saying that since the painter is unable to give life to his work he is forced to think of God and thus to acknowledge Him as his superior. From this we may conclude that "self-glorification was certainly not the main motive in Akbar's mind when he set himself to encourage painting in defiance of strict Muhammadan orthodoxy".²⁸ Abul Fazl informs us that Akbar from his earliest youth developed a great love for painting. So very enthusiastic is Abul Fazl about painting under Akbar that he rarely economises in the use of the

26. No. 372.

27. P. Brown, *Indian Painting under the Mughals*, p. 108.

28. L. Binyon & T. W. Arnold, *Court Painters of the Grand Moguls*, pg. 40.

superlatives ; we would have believed all he says, were it not for the fact that Abul Fazl is a flatterer 'par excellence'.

Portraits of Akbar and Jahāngīr exist by thousands, and here it is only possible to enumerate a few. As Vincent Smith says, "the portraits of Akbar are too many for specification in detail".²⁹ A very fine portrait of Akbar is in the possession of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.³⁰ It shows the great Moghul attended by Prince Salim and his two younger brothers, and an 'amir', receiving two Mansabdārs in private audience in a garden. Two deer, one of which has a peculiarly painted coat, are shown in the foreground; and the 'amir' stands, as usual, with crossed hands. The picture is painted by Manohar who attained great renown as court painter during the reign of Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān, and may be placed about the earlier part of the XVII Century. The 'amir' in this picture resembles Rājā Birbal to a very great extent.³¹ The border of this picture is decorated in gold brush-drawing with the usual flower-plants motives. On the reverse is an illuminated panel of calligraphy. Jahāngīr tells us that Akbar could manage vicious elephants very well.³² Abul Fazl has devoted pages over his master's ability to control mischievous elephants, and he sums up by saying ; "For deeds which could not come within the mould of speech, and which could not be weighed in the balance of reason were displayed by this enthroned one. Riding upon 'mast', men-killing, driver-throwing elephants, the sight of whom melted the gall-bladder of the iron-livered ones of this art were exhibited by this holy personality".³³ There is a picture which shows Akbar mounted on a furious elephant who is madly pursuing another over a bridge of boats.³⁴ The damage done to the bridge by the infuriated elephants is great, and all round people are fleeing for their lives. The picture is an illustration from the "Akbar-nāmā", and both Basawan and Chatar collaborated in its production. Painted at the end of the sixteenth century it is one of the most vigorous of the whole series ; it is now housed in the

29. *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, p. 480.

30. Victoria and Albert Museum Portfolio, *Thirty Moghul Paintings of the School of Jahangir*, plate 6.

31. Compare the portrait of the 'amir' in this picture with that of Birbal reproduced on Plate XLII (c) in *Loan Exhibition of Antiquities, Coronation Durbar 1911*.

32. *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, translated by A. Rogers, Vol. I, p. 38.

33. *Akbar-nāmā* of Abul Fazl, translated by H. Beveridge, Vol. II, p. 112.

34. P. Brown, *Indian Painting under the Mughals*, plate XXXIX.

Victoria and Albert Museum. The elephants, as is usual in all Indian paintings, are drawn with some force, but the painter has somewhat failed to represent properly the smashing of the bridge as well as the running water. There is a fine unfinished drawing of Akbar mounted on a raging elephant in the possession of the Bodleian Library.³⁵ The elephant has evidently broken loose from its bonds, and the broken ends of the chains are seen hanging from its rear legs. The background of this picture is purely Indian, and the drawing shows us the influence of the Hindu style which crept in the Moghul art towards the close of Akbar's reign. "The ease and vigour with which movement and gesture are represented are remarkable. But in style it certainly belongs to the time of Jahāngīr, and some may think it represents Jahāngīr himself, rather than his father".³⁶ However this picture is not as spirited as the first.

It was Akbar's dream to build a city near the place of his spiritual 'guru' Shaik Selīm Chishtī. In the words of Abul Fazl ; "Inas-much as his exalted sons had taken their birth in Sikrī and the God-knowing spirit of Shaik Selīm had taken possession thereof, his holy heart desired to give outward splendour to this spot which possessed spiritual grandeur. Now that his standards had arrived at this place, his former design was pressed forward, and an order was issued that the superintendents of affairs should erect lofty buildings for the special use of the *Shāhinshāh*".³⁷ One picture of Akbar supervising the construction of Fathpur-Sikrī is in the Victoria and Albert Museum.³⁸ In the picture Akbar is giving instructions to one of the masons. In the middle of the picture are men preparing cement mixture, and near them are the labourers busy carrying the mixture to the masons. In the foreground are some stone chisellers, whilst on the right side are some officers, presumably "engineers". The picture shows us the city in an advanced stage of construction, but destined to be abandoned in 1575. The inscription below the picture informs us that the production was the work of three painters, all belonging to Akbar's time ; they are Tulsi who was responsible for the outlines, Bandi who painted over the outlines, and Mādhū the Younger who worked on the faces.

35. L. Binyon & T. W. Arnold, *Court Painters of the Grand Moguls*, plate XI.

36. *Ibid* p. 53.

37. *Akbar-nāmā* of Abul Fazl, translated by H. Beveridge, Vol. II, p. 530.

38. L. Binyon & T. W. Arnold, *Court Painters of the Grand Moguls*, plate IX.

The portraits of the Moghuls were represented by two methods, one in rigid profile and the other by a method of drawing by which they are shown in three-quarters view. An example of the latter style is in the India Office Library.³⁹ It is a very fine pencil head of the Emperor Akbar, and it is so charming that it looks as if it was surely drawn from life. In this lovely study we see nothing of the "fleshy mole, very agreeable in appearance, of the size of half a pea", which, according to Jahāngīr, adorned the face of Akbar.⁴⁰

Akbar was a fearless hunter, and many pictures exist which go to confirm this. Not only that, Akbar experimented with wild beasts too. Jahāngīr very amusingly relates how his father kept 100 cheetahs, and how he (Akbar) desired that they should pair.⁴¹ A picture of Akbar going out hunting is in the possession of H. H. Maharānā Saheb of Udaipur.⁴² It shows the emperor, with one of his sons, mounted on an elephant. There are three attendants in front, the first with a hawk, the second with a matchlock, and the third with a sword. The 'mahawat', as usual, sits on the neck of the elephant, whilst an attendant with the fly-whisk sits on the rear portion of the huge creature. Flocks of birds grace the sky, but the countryside is entirely barren. The picture has nothing to commend, and is quite different from the one in the British Museum⁴³ which shows the emperor mounted on horseback and in deadly pursuit of deer. In the foreground an attendant is seen following the deer with a hound, and his difficulty in controlling the dog is very realistically shown. He is checking the dog in its speed with his one hand whilst with the other he tries to set his turban right. In the background, amidst a cluster of trees, is what looks like a mosque. There are three timid deer in the rocks to the left, whilst to the right are three attendants, of whom one is carrying a spear and another is mounted on horseback and with a hawk on his right hand. The foreground of the picture shows a tract of land full of flowering plants, otherwise the scene is devoid of any vegetation. The legs of the hound are very clumsily drawn, but the artist has succeeded very well in showing the frightened look

39. P. Brown, *Indian Painting under the Mughals*, plate LXV, fig. 2.

40. *Tūzūk-i-Jahāngīrī*, translated by A. Rogers, Vol. I, p. 33.

41. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 240.

42. *Loan Exhibition of Antiquities, Coronation Durbar 1911*, plate XLIV, (a).

43. L. Binyon & T. W. Arnold, *Court Painters of the Grand Moguls*, plate XII.



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of the deer and the eager and excited look of the hound. M. Cartier of Paris is the lucky owner of an extremely beautiful portrait of Akbar, painted under the direction of Muhammad Faqīrullah KHān, head artist at the court of Shāh Jahān.⁴⁴ The expression of the face leaves nothing to be desired. The emperor is standing with his left hand resting on a sword; the head has the usual halo behind it. What heightens the beauty of the portrait is the richness of the border which is full of flowers, animals and figures. The actual portrait is surrounded by a flowering border, and this border has another outer border which is full of things mentioned above. The right hand side of this outer border is again full of flowering designs. The top of the border shows us two angels and the bottom one three very graceful deer. The left hand side of the border is most interesting and shows three figures, the topmost one carrying an umbrella, the middle one carrying a sword which is wrapped up in cloth, and the lower one carrying a shield. Coming to the portrait itself, it is undoubtedly a faithful portrait of the great emperor. The emperor wears a striped coat, a pearl necklace, and has a 'katar' in his belt. The portrait shows the emperor as an aged man.

Another good portrait of Akbar as an old man is in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.⁴⁵ The portrait shows the emperor leaning on a long sword. He is wearing blue *pygamas*, a brown coat full of flowering designs, a white and gold sash, two rows of necklace, a gold turban, and has a small dagger hanging from his belt. The face of the emperor is wrinkled. The background of the picture is plain, and there are only a few flower plants in the foreground. The same museum possesses another portrait of Akbar as an old man,⁴⁶ and it shows the emperor resting against a pillow with his hawk perched on the thumb of his left hand. He is attended by a servant who is busy keeping the flies away from the emperor. The picture is only partly coloured; the pillow is coloured blue with its ends painted green. The emperor wears a plain white dress and three rows of necklace. The dress is only coloured near the shoulders, but the expression of the face is good. However, the hawk is painted more like a dove. An excellent portrait of Akbar was exhibited in the Coronation Durbar Exhibition at Delhi in

44. P. Brown, *Indian Painting under the Mughals*, plate XXVI.

45. No. 288.

46. No. 500.

1911.⁴⁷ The portrait shows the emperor wearing a great amount of jewellery and holding a big jewel (pearl?) in his right hand. His sword, 'katar', as well as his sash are all jewelled. "The picture is probably a most excellent and characteristic likeness of Akbar". The same Exhibition also exhibited a portrait of Akbar and his favourite Rāja Birbal. The emperor is seated on a throne which has an umbrella-like shelter above the head. Akbar has a hawk on his right hand which is gloved for the purpose. He has a dagger in his belt, and he holds a sword in his left hand. The throne seems to be on a terrace of a building, for tops of trees are seen in the back ground. Two birds of paradise grace the sky above. Birbal is standing to the left of the emperor and has an extraordinary long sword in his hands; it cannot be a staff for the top of it is shaped like the hilt of a sword. One very important picture from point of history is in the Chester Beatty Collection.⁴⁹ It shows two Jesuits, one Ridolfo Acquaviva and the other Antonio Monserrate, sitting in the House of Worship, 'Ibadatkāna', in Akbar's presence arguing, no doubt, with the 'moulvis'. The Jesuits, true to their training, exhibit a calm and cool face, whilst the 'moulvis' betray an eager—rather hasty—look on their faces. Akbar's face, however, is drawn somewhat stiff. It looks as if the discussion is going on at night time, for a pale moon is visible in the left background. Books are, and as they ought to be, too prominent in this picture, and another thing that catches our eye is the exquisite pattern of the beautifully tiled floor. A delightful picture of Akbar receiving from Abul Fazl the second volume of his work, the "Akbar-nāma", is in the same collection.⁵⁰ This precious historical account was written at Akbar's command, for, as Abul Fazl himself says: "At this time, the Great Ruler, the Shāh of the world, commanded the writing the account of his rule. Wings came to my soul, and strength came to my tongue, and in an admirable manner I brought the hidden things of the heart from the soul's ocean to the shore of paper. The duty of obedience was performed, and the thanks due for favours received were in part paid".⁵¹ Attributed to Govar-

47. *Loan Exhibition of Antiquities, Coronation Durbar 1911*, plate XXX, (b).

48. *Loan Exhibition of Antiquities, Coronation Durbar 1911*, plate XLVII, c.

49. E. Blochet, *Musalman Painting. XII-XVII Century*, translated by C. M. Binyon, plate CLXXX.

50. E. Blochet, *Musalman Painting. XII-XVII Century*, translated by C. M. Binyon, plate CLXXXII.

51. *Akbar-nāma* of Abul Fazl, translated by H. Beveridge, Vol. II, p. 553.

ghan the picture shows the great flatterer reverently presenting his book to the emperor in full court. Akbar is seated on a golden throne under a canopy, and the latter is full of niches with decorative vessels placed in each, a type of Persian decoration existing at that time. The study of this picture at once brings one thing to our mind, and that is all the figures in the picture are cleanshaven. This is due to an order of the emperor who, in 1591, compelled all his courtiers to shave off their beards. Again, we will also notice that, at this stage of Moghul art, the stiffness so noticeable in the paintings of Humāyūn's time has disappeared, and in its place has appeared the realism of the Akbar School.

But perhaps the most remarkable of all the paintings is the one on cotton-cloth painted by Abdus Samad, probably at Akbar's command, and entitled "Princes of the House of Timur".⁵² It is one of the most valuable portrait groups of the Moghul period, and is now housed in the British Museum. The picture has been to some extent described in the first part of this article. To add to the description, Akbar forms the central figure in the picture which is much damaged. The group of figures in the picture contains Akbar's ancestors as well as some of his successors. Every figure has its name inscribed near it and this makes it possible for us to identify all the figures. All the persons depicted in the picture seem to be enjoying in a garden.

Dr. Coomaraswamy has in his possession a tracing on skin⁵³ showing a group consisting of Akbar, Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahan. "The suavity of the line and the posing of the figures exhibit marked Persian influence; the well-expressed character of the several emperors is typical of Mughal portraiture and is rather a Chinese and Central Asian than a Persian (Sefevidean) element. The emperors' names are inscribed in Nagari and Persian characters".⁵⁴

We may now say that by this time Moghul art had practically emerged from the Persian influence. Over and above that, ".... naturalistic drawing, shading, soft colouring, improved landscape backgrounds and other advanced methods introduced by the Akbar School finally replaced the stiff drawing, the somewhat crude colouring, and the conventional mannerisms of the Humāyūn

52. P. Brown, *Indian Paintings under the Mughals*, plate LX.

53. *Indian Drawings*, Vol. II, plate XXV.

54. *Ibid.* Vol. II, p. 32.

School⁵⁵ Certainly Moghul art even during Akbar's reign was only the art of a court. The art was very little known outside the court limits. The most successful artists thrived at the court, and even these would have been unknown to us had not Abul Fazl supplied us with very valuable details of their lives and works. Another very peculiar thing about painting during Akbar's time was that very often one picture was executed by more than one artist. If one drew the outlines—and this was usually done by the chief artist—another painted in them, whilst a third, who may claim to be an expert in painting faces, painted in the faces. This, in the words of Mr. Percy Brown, ". . . seems to suggest that the painting of Mughal pictures was more a craft than a fine art . . ."⁵⁶ Another thing we notice in the paintings of Akbar's time is that the Hindu element is very strong, specially during the second half of his reign. The conventional bearded faces of Humāyūn's time disappeared entirely, and in their place appeared the smooth-shaven and chubby chins of the Akbar School. The cause of this disappearance of the much-prized beard of the Moghuls lay in Akbar's order setting a new fashion by which he compelled all his courtiers to shave off their beards.

Now we come to absolutely the most glorious period of Moghul art, for it was during Jahāngīr's reign that Moghul art attained its highest perfection. "Jahāngīr was an all-round patron and art critic, and there are ample evidences in his 'Memoirs' of his gift of thinking pictorially."⁵⁷ Undoubtedly he knew more of art than his predecessors. He himself boasts in his "Memoirs": "As regard myself, my liking for painting and my practice in judging it have arrived at such a point that when any work is brought before me, either of deceased artists or of those of the present day, without the names being told me, I say on the spur of the moment that it is the work of such and such a man. And if there be a picture containing many portraits, and each face be the work of a different master, I can discover which face is the work of each of them. If any other person has put in the eye and eyebrow of a face, I can perceive whose work the original face is, and who has painted the eye and eyebrows."⁵⁸ In this statement we may, perhaps, see the

55. Victoria and Albert Museum Portfolio, *Thirty Moghul Paintings of the School of Jahangir*, p. 2.

56. *Indian Painting under the Mughals*, p. 110.

57. W. E. Gladstone Solomon, *Essays on Mogul Art*, p. 31.

58. *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, translated by A. Rogers, Vol. II, p. 20.

vanity of the man, but at the same time it proves to us that Jahāngīr had a passion for paintings.

One of the best portraits of Jahāngīr as a prince is in the Collection of M. Cartier, Paris.⁵⁹ It shows the young prince standing with a hawk on his right hand—which is gloved for the purpose—and a small bird in his left, evidently brought by the hawk. Jahāngīr, or to be more correct Prince Salim, wears a coat with the usual flower patterns, a sash in which he has inserted a dagger, and half-slippers. The hawk is secured with a chain attached to the prince's belt. The features are very smooth, young and healthy, and a small Chinese-like moustache adorns his youthful face. Evidently this portrait depicts Jahāngīr before he had drowned himself in vices and pleasures. There are a few shrubs on the ground, otherwise the picture is quite bare. The most noticeable thing in this portrait is the ear-ring. Jahāngīr from his early youth liked to wear ear-rings, and this fashion was later on followed by all his courtiers. Another picture of Jahāngīr as a youth was exhibited in the Coronation Durbar Exhibition at Delhi,⁶⁰ and it shows the prince mounted on a horse which is very elegantly painted. The features of the prince, however, are very girlish. There is practically no background except for the clouds which are very well painted. The same exhibition exhibited another picture of Prince Salim, this time seen drinking water at a well, a favourite subject for the Moghul painters. The features of the prince resemble the features of the prince in other pictures, though not to a great extent. Seven women cluster round a well in front of a cluster of trees, and one of them pours out drinking water to Prince Salim. Two more women are seen carrying away water in earthen pots. It looks as if Salim has returned from a hunt, for he has two attendants immediately behind him one carrying a gun and the other a hooded hawk. In the background a city is plainly visible. A beautiful picture of Jahāngīr as a prince is in the Album of Shāh Jahān in the Chester Beatty Collection, London.⁶² It shows the prince leaning against a pillow in an open garden and indulging in his favourite past-time, wine-drinking. M. Blochet wrongly des-

59. P. Brown, *Indian Painting under the Mughals*, plate XVII, fig. 2.

60. *Loan Exhibition of Antiquities, Coronation Durbar 1911*, plate XXXV, (a).

61. *Loan Exhibition of Antiquities, Coronation Durbar 1911*, plate XLI (a).

62. E. Blochet, *Musalman Painting. XII-XVII Century*, translated by C. M. Binyon, plate, CXCI.

cribes him as conversing with soldiers, for those round about the prince—except one—hardly look like soldiers. Most probably they are Jahāngīr's friends—the flatterers who led him so much astray later on in life. There are two musicians in the right foreground entertaining the young prince. In the distance, and in another part of the garden, a servant is preparing a comfortable seat under a canopy meant certainly for the prince. The garden is beautifully laid out. Jahāngīr wears a long pearl necklace and another with a pendant hanging from it. This painting is attributed to Bichitr, the celebrated artist. In fol. 18 of *Dārā Shikoh's Album* is a very beautiful picture of Jahāngīr as Prince Salim.⁶³ Jahāngīr is seen talking to a holy man on a carpet which is full of exquisite flower patterns. A cat is very comfortably settled on the right of Jahāngīr, and a city is shown in the left background. Flocks of birds heighten the beauty of the picture, and the trees behind the two figures are very beautifully painted. The clouds too are painted faultlessly. Jahāngīr's pleading attitude is in sharp contrast with the calm and grave face of the hermit. Some books are scattered in front of the hermit, and it looks as if Jahāngīr has made an offering of flowers to the holy man. The painting is really very beautiful.

A very interesting portrait of Jahāngīr is to be found in a pictorial document of great interest⁶⁴ discovered by Muni Jinvijayaji of Ahmadābād in the Collection of Muni Hansvijaya. The roll, which is 13 feet long and about 13 inches broad and in two pieces, portrays a historical event, viz. the granting of a firmān by Jahāngīr due to the efforts of a deputation led by Vivēkaharsha, Udayaharsha and Rājā Rāmadāsa. The roll portrays a large number of persons who have got their names inscribed near them in black ink. It is a durbar scene, though not a magnificent one. Jahāngīr is receiving a glass of wine, and Shāh Jahān stands on the left; Rājā Rāmadāsa is presenting the petition on behalf of the deputation. In the foreground of the picture, and also somewhat in the middle, we see a mixed crowd of Arabs, Turks and Persians. A little above the elephant in the middle stands what looks like a Jesuit, for the dress he wears is very similar to those worn by the two Jesuits in a picture in the Chester Beatty Collection.⁶⁵ (See page 14). The

63. V. Smith, *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, plate CXIX.
64. N. C. Mehta, *Studies in Indian Painting*, plate Nos. 28-29.
65. E. Blochet, *Musalman Painting, XII-XVII Century*, translated by C. M. Binyon, plate CLXXX.

foreground of the picture shows three musicians playing for all their worth. The picture is painted by Ustād Sālīvāhan, and, though very interesting, yet lacks in appeal.

It is said of Jahāngīr that he always moved about with a staff of painters, and he used to order them to paint any interesting thing that crossed his eye, and when "on the 14th, the assembly of Gulāb-pāshi (sprinkling of rose-water) took place"⁶⁶ he commissioned Govardan to make a picture of the assembly. The picture,⁶⁷ which is in the possession of the Rampur State Library, can be described as nothing short of a marvel, and shows Jahāngīr seated on a jewelled golden throne, elegantly dressed and with profuse jewellery on his person, and surrounded by his courtiers. In front of the emperor are the high officials of the state, of whom one is offering a 'mā' ul-lahm' (preparation of almonds) to the emperor. Immediately below are a group of female musicians, and next to them on the right is a 'bhisti' who squirts a jet of water on to one of his fingers for some purpose known to him alone. Next to him is a 'reporter' taking down all the important events occurring in the assembly. Behind the emperor are the lower officials of the court, and two or three attendants are busy sprinkling the rose-water on those present in the assembly. The principal figures in the assembly have got their names inscribed very minutely near them; I 'timād-ud-daula, Jahāngīr's father-in-law, is also there in an orange-coloured turban. Right in the background are two figures who look typically European. "A glance at the picture will show that the throne is of unusual construction, and one of its principal accessories, the overhead canopy decorated with gold embroidery in velvet, is by its design presumably of Italian manufacture. The pattern on the cushion against which the emperor is leaning is also not Indian in character".⁶⁸

The Lahore Museum possesses a portrait of Jahāngīr⁶⁹ showing him standing with a hawk on the right hand which is gloved for that purpose. Jahāngīr's coat is made of very transparent material, for his trousers are wholly seen. He carries a sword as well as a dagger in his belt and the hawk is secured to Jahāngīr's right hand by means of a chain. Jahāngīr's face is rather stiff, and the

66. *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, translated by A. Rogers, Vol. I, p. 265.
67. P. Brown, *Indian Painting under the Mughals*, frontispiece.
68. P. Brown, *Indian Painting under the Mughals*, p. 172.
69. *Loan Exhibition of Antiquities, Coronation Durbar 1911*, plate XXXIV (a).

portrait seems to contain a large element of Hindu influence. There is nothing particular to recommend in this portrait. The British Museum possesses a good picture of Jahāngīr, attended by five persons, drinking wine underneath a canopy in a garden.⁷⁰ Jahāngīr sits on a golden throne, holds the cup of wine in his right hand—his left resting on his sword—and wears two necklaces, one a large-sized jewelled one and the other of three stones only which are hung either by a thread or a gold chain. Nearby is a servant standing with a tray full of sweets (?). In front of the canopy is a fountain in which two birds, that look like ducks, are making merry. But perhaps the most remarkable thing in this picture is that two of Jahāngīr's servants, one the fly-wisk bearer and the other the one who gives the wine-cup, wear large jewelled necklaces and even large-sized ear-rings which none of the other three do. Lastly, some birds are seen perched in the trees behind the canopy. The same museum possesses another picture of Jahāngīr, this time showing him crossing a lake.⁷¹ Jahāngīr, who seems to be in the full bloom of youth, is going on a hunting trip, for some of the attendants have several hawks in their charge. Six boats and thirty-seven figures are shown in the picture; Jahāngīr is seated on a reserved seat in the royal boat and is protected from the burning rays of the sun by a covering above his head. An island stands in the middle of the lake, and on it, amidst the dense foliage, can be seen a pretty large house. The background is full of mountains, and "instead of a Persian influence we now find traces of a European influence. I should not be surprised if the drawing . . . owed something in its landscape background to some European print. The shading of the mountain-masses on the horizon is Western in its character".⁷² This statement cannot be denied, for the picture does contain some European influence. Jahāngīr, during his reign, entertained many Europeans in his kingdom, and they had a powerful influence on the art existing in the Empire at that time. Jahāngīr himself was so much pleased with the work of one European artist (goldsmith) that, to use his own language, "Hunarmand, the European who had made the jewelled throne, I presented with 3,000 'darb', a horse and an elephant."⁷³

70. L. Binyon and T. W. Arnold, *Court Painters of the Grand Moguls*, plate I.

71. L. Binyon and T. W. Arnold, *Court Painters of the Grand Moguls*, plate XIV.

72. *Ibid.*, p. 67.

73. *Tūzūk-i-Jahāngīrī*, translated by A. Rogers, Vol. II, p. 82.

The Victoria and Albert Museum possesses a picture of Jahāngīr⁷⁴ showing him seated on a jewelled throne and inspecting an image in the presence of his 'amirs' and officials. The figure right in front of the emperor is saluting him in the Persian style, i.e., by putting his hand to his turban; perhaps he is the person who has brought the image. Jahāngīr, who here seems to be in the prime of life, as well as the other figures in this picture are a bit disproportionately painted, more specially Jahāngīr's legs which are painted extraordinarily shapeless. Two deer in front of the pavilion is all that completes the picture which is not at all artistic.

Jahāngīr was very fond of hunting, and he rarely allowed any hunting trip to be unportrayed, due, no doubt, to his desire to be classed as a great hunter by posterity. Besides, scenes of hunting expeditions were quite a favourite subject with the Moghul painters. An excellent picture of Jahāngīr shooting a large tiger is in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.⁷⁵ Evidently this hunt is the one referred to in his "Memoirs", for he says, "Of all the tigers I have shot from the time when I was a prince until now I never saw a tiger like this for size and majesty and the symmetry of its limbs. I ordered the artists to take its portrait according to its real form and body. . . ."⁷⁶ But if it is a tiger that Jahāngīr says he shot the picture depicts it like a lion without its mane. Probably the painters must have painted this scene after receiving oral accounts of the hunt from those who were actually present there, though it is a bit hard to believe that they utterly forgot to paint the stripes. It may be that the supernatural accounts given by the courtiers about the skill of Jahāngīr in shooting the beast may have resulted in this strange product. The picture shows the emperor, accompanied by his retinue, mounted on an elephant and exhibiting his pride in shooting so large an animal. Three of his officials are on elephants, and the rest on horses, whilst the menials are all on the ground. Every figure seems to congratulate the emperor on his skill, and the latter himself cannot hide his vanity from them. The tiger is, however, very poorly painted, and one cannot understand why Mr. Percy Brown considers it as the best painted figure in the whole scene, "the death throes as the beast rolls over being very realistically rendered".⁷⁷ The figures best painted are the

74. Victoria and Albert Museum Portfolio, *Thirty Moghul Paintings of the School of Jahāngīr*, plate 5, No. 6.

75. P. Brown, *Indian Painting under the Mughals*, plate XLII.

76. *Tūzūk-i-Jahāngīrī*, translated by A. Rogers, Vol. II, p. 284.

77. P. Brown, *Indian Painting under the Mughals*, p. 133.

'shikari' who runs towards the emperor excitedly pointing at the beast, and that of the emperor who turns his face towards his officials with the deliberate intention of receiving some flattering praise. The actual death of the beast takes place in open ground, but some thick growth of trees is seen in the right background. However, it does not look like the type of a forest that would suit either a lion or a tiger.

Another picture of Jahāngir at a shooting expedition is to some extent curious.⁷⁸ The picture shows the emperor about to shoot a deer in the foreground, but in the middle of the picture we see a deer being killed by a cheetah (?) which is probably trained to do this. In the left foreground a servant is carrying the carcass of a deer on his back, and all round the picture are figures whose attention is directed more towards the cheetah than towards the emperor. But a more exciting picture of Jahāngir out hunting is in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.⁷⁹ The picture shows a tiger charging at Jahāngir who, by the way, was then only a prince. The scene is very exciting and can be best described in Jahāngir's own words: "... A powerful tiger appeared out of the wood. I fired at him from the elephant, and the tiger in great fury rose and came on the elephant's back, and I had not time to put down my gun and seize my sword. Inverting the gun, I knelt, and with both hands struck him with the stock over the head and face so that he fell to the ground and died".⁸⁰ The elephant, frightened to some extent, begins to run. The 'mahout' crouches down on the elephant's neck to escape the claws of the tiger, whilst an attendant is in the act of jumping from the elephant's back. Two of Jahāngir's armed attendants, both of them mounted, rush to their master's aid, one with a spear and the other with a sword. However, Jahāngir is shown hitting the tiger with the barrel of his gun and not with the stock as he mentions in his "Memoirs".

Jahāngir was interested in many things besides wine-drinking, and his "Memoirs" abound with descriptions of things historical, scientific, curious and artistic. Any object that interested Jahāngir was at once put on canvas by his artists, for "on the Imperial journeys the artists are an integral unit of the sovereign's escort, and at all times and seasons he calls upon their services."⁸¹ One

day, on returning from Kābul, Jahāngir "saw near 'Ali Masjid and Gharīb-khāna a large spider of the size of a crab that had seized by the throat a snake of one and a half gaz in length and half strangled it." Jahāngir "delayed a minute to look on at this, and after a moment it died (the snake)".⁸² Jahāngir at once commissioned his painters to paint this scene, and that picture is now in the possession of the Rampur State Library.⁸³ Unfortunately, the picture is too damaged to be criticized. Jahāngir is mounted on a horse, and all his officials are standing behind him. They all look, with great interest, at the deadly fight between the spider and the snake. The picture shows clearly the huge spider having the neck of the snake firmly gripped in its mouth. The mountains, which form the background, are nicely painted; they seem to be bare apart from an occasional cluster of trees here and there. In the foreground we see a city wall which looks as if it has long fallen into disuse. The picture is much damaged, but the figure of Jahāngir is almost fully preserved. The emperor wears three rows of necklace, and has another row of jewels in his turban. His look is very intense, for the fight he is witnessing is very unusual.

Jahāngir made many trips to Ajmēr, and there are many pictures recording his stay in that city. One of the best of these, however, is in the Prince of Wales' Museum, Bombay.⁸⁴ Illus. V. The picture, which is pretty large, is described by its custodian as "a marvel of art and the best example I have seen of several similar subjects".⁸⁵ The picture shows Jahāngir seated under a canopy and surrounded by his officials. In all forty eight other figures are painted besides those of the emperor and the peacock. Immediately in front of the emperor squat three men who, by their looks, look more like religious men than officials. One of the officials is receiving some order from the emperor who, as usual, is profusely bedecked with jewellery. In the left foreground there is a crowd of poor people to whom some food is being distributed by the servants of the emperor, and the eagerness of the poor people to be served first is very beautifully depicted. In the background of the picture is the shrine of K̲H̲wāja Mu'in-ud-din Chishtī, the saint, and immediately behind it is the city. "... The monarch is shown (as usual) in profile, and so are the courtiers behind him;

78. P. Brown, *Indian Painting*, plate 5.

79. P. Brown, *Indian Painting under the Mughals*, plate XLIII.

80. *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngirī*, translated by A. Rogers, Vol. II, p. 270.

81. W. E. Gladstone Solomon, *Essays on Mogul Art*, p. 29.

82. *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngirī*, translated by A. Rogers, Vol. I, p. 117.

83. P. Brown, *Indian Painting under the Mughals*, plate XIX.

84. W. E. Gladstone Solomon, *Essays on Mogul Art*, plate VII.

85. *Ibid.*, p. 22.

but the units of the crowd in the foreground are drawn in three-quarter and full view easily".⁸⁶ Jahāngīr had great regard for the great saint KHWāja Mu'in-ud-dīn Chishtī, "from the blessing of whose illustrious soul great advantages had been derived by this dignified family ...",⁸⁷ and when he went to Ajmēr he took the earliest opportunity to pay homage to the saint "whose venerable shrine I had not visited after my accession to the throne". A picture showing Jahāngīr paying homage to the shrine of this holy man is in the Rampur State Library.⁸⁸ It shows the emperor Jahāngīr and his son very reverently approaching the entrance to the tomb, and being received (?) there by four holy custodians. Alms are generously distributed—at Jahāngīr's command, of course—to the poor in the foreground of the picture. In the background are depicted a few buildings of which one looks more like a mosque. . . . The details of the upper part . . . are reminiscent of some of the illuminations in the early fifteenth-century manuscripts of the English school."⁸⁹

Portraits of Jahāngīr in his old age are but too numerous. An excellent one, however, is in the collection of Bharat Kalā Parishad, Benares,⁹⁰ and it shows the emperor standing with a flower in his right hand. The drawing is absolutely unpainted except at two places, on the lips and the ruby in the necklace. The likeness is very good and the portrait is drawn with some force; the border, however, is very simple. Another portrait of Jahāngīr in old age is in the Chester Beatty Collection, London,⁹¹ and shows the emperor, supporting himself on two women going towards the royal bed. The scene is evidently laid in the harem, for the picture is full of women, in all twenty-five with Jahāngīr as the solitary male. The women seem to be making merry, for some of them are playing on musical instruments, some are busy squirting some colourful mixture (?) on to others, whilst we actually see one woman forcing some liquid down the throat of another. All the women are bedecked with jewellery, and so is Jahāngīr. The royal bed is jewelled too. It is a beautiful picture on the whole, and gives a possibly correct idea of the royal harem. Lastly, we may examine

86. *Ibid.*, p. 38.

87. *Tūzūk-i-Jahāngīrī*, translated by A. Rogers, Vol. I, p. 249.

88. P. Brown, *Indian Painting under the Mughals*, plate XX.

89. *Ibid.*, p. 134.

90. N. C. Mehta, *Studies in Indian Painting*, plate No. 35.

91. E. Blochet, *Musalman Painting, XII-XVII Century*, translated by C. M. Binyon, plate CXIV.

an unfinished portrait-sketch of Jahāngīr as an elderly man⁹² when his vices began to leave visible marks on his face. Suffering is clearly visible on his face, and the artist has succeeded very well in showing the emperor crushed by dissipation and worries.

Can there be any mention of Jahāngīr without any mention of Nur Jahān? To complete Jahāngīr without Nur Jahān is like completing a book without reading its last chapter. Nur Jahān's portraits are not uncommon, but many critics have refused to accept these likenesses as true on the ground that the artists were never allowed to enter the 'zenana'. The argument, no doubt, is sound, but we must not forget that an artist may have succeeded in having an occasional glimpse of the fair queen in the course of his services at the court. One of the best pictures of this type is in the Victoria and Albert Museum.⁹³ It shows the queen entertaining Jahāngīr and Prince Khurrām in her private quarters. They are all squatting on the special carpets on the ground; Khurrām is painted very much alike his father. Nur Jahān is offering something to Jahāngīr who holds (?) something very awkwardly in his right hand. Nur Jahān and Jahāngīr are leaning against comfortable cushions, but so Khurrām. There are eight other figures besides these three, and all of them are women. Two maid servants approach the royal family with delicious dishes. The queen wears such a trans-royal family with delicious dishes. The queen wears such a transparent dress that she appears bare-breasted. The design of the carpet on which the three royal figures are sitting is very much Chinese. The likeness of the queen, however, is very much alike the likeness shown in another portrait in the collection of Bābu Gogonendronath Tagore⁹⁴ where "the chiselled purity of outline in the portrait . . . gives it an almost unique position even amongst Indian drawings."⁹⁵

On the death of Emperor Jahāngīr Moghul Art started on its downwards career. Moghul art depended essentially on patronage, and once that patronage was withdrawn, the foundations of the art began to shake, finally to bring down the whole "edifice" a few more years later. Truly Jahāngīr was a passionate lover of painting and a very generous patron of artists, and it would really have been impossible "to rejuvenate Indian painting without the sen-

92. P. Brown, *Indian Painting under the Mughals*, plate XXI.

93. Victoria and Albert Museum Portfolio, *Thirty Moghul Paintings of the School of Jahāngīr*, plate 5, No. 7.

94. Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Indian Drawings*, Vol. I, plate XIV.

95. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 16.

sitive guidance of Jahāngīr".⁹⁶ The paintings of Jahāngīr's time are wholly Indian in character. Persian influence disappeared for good, but a new influence gradually crept up with the Indian type, and that influence was the European influence. The second half of Jahāngīr's reign really saw a large number of foreigners in his kingdom, and they exerted a noticeable influence on the art of the time. Another peculiarity about the paintings of Jahāngīr's reign is that very few of them are signed, a practice quite contrary to the practice of Akbar's painters who usually signed their works. Again, during Jahāngīr's reign portraiture was encouraged much more than large paintings. "With Jahāngīr's advent the Hour and the Man had come once more for Indian painting; and at his passing, there passed with him one of the brightest phases of Mogul art."⁹⁷

The advent of Shāh Jahān on the Moghul throne of India also witnessed the advent of those forces that contributed to the "fall" of the Moghul art in India. To give justice to Shāh Jahān, it cannot be said that he was against art; on the contrary, Shāh Jahān loved art very dearly. This love, however, was directed in a different sphere, for Shāh Jahān loved to see exquisite buildings rather than exquisite paintings, he patronised great architects rather than renowned painters. Henceforth Moghul art had to reckon without a patron, and in the words of a renowned art critic, "there MUST be patronage or there will not be art".⁹⁸ Shāh Jahān's reign, from point of view of Moghul painting, is noticeable for one thing. Individual portraiture had begun to be the fashion of the day in Jahāngīr's time, and this fashion was developed to its utmost limit by painters during Shāh Jahān's reign. Some of the finest portraits of Shāh Jahān are individual portrait studies, and to these we shall now return.

One of the finest portraits of Shāh Jahān is, at present, housed in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.⁹⁹ The portrait shows the emperor seated on an exquisitely-jewelled throne, accommodated under a pavilion in the garden, holding a rose in his right hand and resting his left on the 'katar' in his belt. The emperor has rows upon rows of costly necklaces round his neck, with one or two more in his turban; even his ear-ring consists of two large-

96. W. E. Gladstone Solomon, *Essays on Mogul Art*, p. 10.

97. *Ibid.*, p. 34.

98. *Ibid.*, p. 10.

99. Victoria and Albert Museum Portfolio, *Thirty Moghul Paintings of the School of Jahāngīr*, plate 10.

sized jewels. The top of the canopy is graced by two dancing peacocks, but the fan-like formation of the birds' tails is not naturally drawn. The outer border of the picture has got the usual gold brush drawing with the Moghul flower-plant motives. Unfortunately, we have no evidence to establish who the painter of this excellent portrait is; suffice it to say that it is one of the finest creations of Moghul art, and a work extremely pleasing to the eye. A very similar painting lies in the Collection of Baron Maurice Rotschild of Paris.¹⁰⁰ It shows the Moghul emperor seated in practically the same position as in the picture described above. The difference between the two portraits lies in several minor details. In the first portrait, Shāh Jahān rests his left hand on a 'katar' in his belt, whereas in the second portrait his left hand rests on what looks like a dagger. In the first picture Shāh Jahān wears rows of necklaces made up of very large-sized stones, while in the present picture the size of the jewels is comparatively smaller. In the first picture Shāh Jahān wears a turban decorated with jewels, not so in the second picture. The trousers of Shāh Jahān, in the first portrait, are made up of a cloth with flower patterns, the material of the trousers in the second portrait is a muslin of striped design. Both the pictures show Shāh Jahān in the prime of life, but the most noticeable object in both the pictures is the throne occupied by the Moghul emperor. In general design the two thrones are very much similar, but a careful comparison brings out many differences. For instance, the mounting stool attached to the throne is a very plain piece in the first picture, but a work of art in the second. The shape of the legs of the throne vary in the two pictures, and so do the supports of the canopy overhead. The setting of the jewels in the two thrones differs absolutely. The top of the canopy of both the thrones show two peacocks with spread-out tails, but each of the peacocks in the present picture "had a large ruby in front of the breast, from whence hangs a pear-shaped pearl of 50 carats or thereabouts, and of a somewhat yellow water."¹⁰¹ This part of the description by Tavernier tallies with what is in the present picture, but what follows does not agree at all with the picture. Tavernier says, "Upon the four feet, which are very massive, and from 20 to 25 inches high, are fixed the four bars which support the base of the throne, and upon these bars are arranged twelve columns, which

100. P. Brown, *Indian Painting under the Mughals*, plate XXV.

101. J. B. Tavernier, *Travels in India*, translated by V. Ball, Vol. I, p. 383.

susatin the canopy on three sides, there not being any on that which faces the court."¹⁰² These columns are not visible in both the pictures. The columns must have attracted more than ordinary attention from Tavernier, for later on in his description he mentions, "But that which in my opinion is the most costly thing about this magnificent throne is that the twelve columns supporting the canopy are surrounded with beautiful rows of pearls, which are round and of fine water and weigh from 6 to 10 carats each."¹⁰³ In other respects the description given by this French traveller tallies with the description of the throne in the second picture. Tavernier, no doubt, in this description alludes to the famous Peacock Throne, and in the light of this account of an eye-witness, the opinion of Mr. Percy Brown that the throne shown in the second picture is the famous Peacock Throne is unacceptable. Again, Tavernier describes another part of the throne which is not at all in our present picture. In his own words, "On both sides of the peacock there is a large bouquet of the same height as the bird, and consisting of many kinds of flowers made of gold inlaid with precious stones."¹⁰⁴

Another fine portrait of Shāh Jahān was exhibited in the Coronation Durbar Exhibition at Delhi in 1911.¹⁰⁵ The picture shows Shāh Jahān, again shown in his early life, mounted on a beautiful horse and carrying a lance in his left hand. The picture is unfinished, but the hints to final colouring are very faintly indicated. Both the rider and the horse are drawn with some force. The Prince of Wales' Museum, Bombay, has in its collection a very good portrait of Shāh Jahān,¹⁰⁶ but in this portrait the emperor is depicted as conquered by age and, no doubt, by worries. The emperor, as usual, holds in his left hand the Moghul symbol of sovereignty, viz., the rose. Dressed in plain white, the emperor has a few necklaces round his neck, and a few jewels in his turban. There are only a few flowers round about the emperor, but these are drawn with great delicacy, while the clouds in the background indicate a bright day. However, not even the beauty of the flowers or the brightness of the sun seems to take away the expression of care and worry from the face of

102. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 381.

103. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 384.

104. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 283.

105. *Loan Exhibition of Antiquities, Coronation Durbar 1911*, plate XLV, (a).

106. W. E. Gladstone Solomon, *Essays on Mogul Art*, plate XIII.

this noble emperor. Perhaps he is thinking too much about Aurangzēb, perhaps he remembers his beloved Mumtāz. There is another fine portrait of Shāh Jahān¹⁰⁷ showing him in middle life, with all the sternness of the Moghul emperor depicted in his face. The portrait is painted against a very dark background, and shows the emperor simply dressed in white, with two rows of necklaces round his neck and a 'katar' in his belt. The emperor stands bare-footed. Balchand, Shāh Jahān's court painter, has drawn a portrait of the emperor¹⁰⁸ showing him standing in full state dress. He holds a fly-whisk in his left hand and a sword in his right. He has profuse jewellery round his neck, and some more in his turban and in his belt. The emperor is dressed in plain white, and his features are those of a middle-aged man. Two birds of paradise grace the sky, whilst the foreground is decorated with a few delicately painted flowers. The painting, which has a broad border, is rather stiff and there is nothing particular about it worth noticing.

The British Museum possesses an excellent picture of Shāh Jahān consulting a holy man.¹⁰⁹ The Moghul emperor, very plainly and simply dressed, is seated before the holy man who is equally plainly dressed. The scene is laid in the simple countryside, and the emperor and the holy man are sheltered from the burning sun by a very crude canopy overhead. The 'mulla' is seen offering a rose to the emperor who is attended by one of his warriors squatting a little behind him. The background shows four women busy drawing or carrying away water from a well, whilst the foreground shows three other persons, only one of whom seems to be interested in the emperor. Two storks beautify the picture in the right foreground, and so do two or three birds seated on the branches of the tree in the background. The middle of the picture is occupied by a poor farmer, he, too, busy drawing water from a well with the help of his bullocks. The whole scene is bathed in charming simplicity, not even overlooking the emperor who looks to be advanced in age.

M. Blochet reproduces in his book a composition picture¹¹⁰ painted by Bichitr, being one in the Album of Shāh Jahān, of three

107. P. Brown, *Indian Painting*, plate 13.

108. Victoria and Albert Museum Portfolio, *Thirty Moghul Paintings of the School of Jahāngir*, plate 9.

109. L. Binyon and T. W. Arnold, *The Court Painters of the Grand Moghuls*, plate XVII.

110. E. Blochet, *Musalman Painting, XII-XVII Century*, translated by C. M. Binyon, Frontispiece.

Moghul emperors, whom the learned custodian of the Bibliothèque Nationale describes as Jahāngīr, Akbar and Shāh Jahān. M. Blochet is, no doubt, correct about the first two emperors, but as regards the third he is entirely mistaken, for what he describes as Shāh Jahān has been definitely identified as Prince Khusrū. A little description of the picture will certainly strengthen this statement. The picture shows the three Moghul emperors, Akbar in the centre, Jahāngīr on his right, and Shāh Jahān on his left, all the three seated on three identical thrones accommodated under a graceful canopy. In front of the three emperors are three persons who have been identified as Shāhnawāz KHān, Khān-i-Āzam and Asaf KHān, the first two reading something from a scroll, and the third seen standing with his hands resting on a long sword. Akbar is depicted with Mongolian features, but not so the other five figures. However, the most arresting thing in the whole picture is the action taking place between the three emperors. Akbar is seen handing over a crown to Prince Khusrū who holds forth his hands in but too plain an eagerness. Jahāngīr resents this, and in his anger he has almost drawn his dagger from its sheath. We know definitely from history that Akbar at one time felt so disgusted with his unworthy son Jahāngīr that he thought of giving his kingdom to Prince Khusrū. Hence Shāh Jahān is absolutely out of this picture, and one fails to understand how a scholar of the calibre of M. Blochet could have made such a serious mistake. An exactly identical painting is in the Prince of Wales' Museum, (Illus. VI) Bombay. The latter is quite modern and painted on ivory. With the exception of a few colouring details the two pictures are very much alike. The first painting has got an absolutely barren background whereas the one in the Bombay Museum has got the background of a beautiful garden. The features in the first painting are more naturalistic; those in the latter are somewhat stiff. Curious as the picture is, it is one of the best and well worth studying.

There are many beautiful pictures showing Shāh Jahān in full durbar. One of the best of this class is in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.¹¹¹ It shows Shāh Jahān in full durbar in the 'Diwan-i-Ām' receiving a Persian Embassy. The embassy consists of many Persians, the chief of whom is seen saluting the emperor in the true Persian style. The Persians' dress is so different from the dress of the Moghuls that they are easily marked out in the picture. Behind the Persian officers are their attendants carrying trays full

111. P. Brown, *Indian Painting under the Mughals*, plate XXIV.

of valuable presents to the Great Moghul. Shāh Jahān is seated on an elevated throne, and behind him is an attendant. Facing the emperor, but on the same high level are the emperor's two sons, Dārā Shikoh and Shuja, and their aged guardian; the two princes showing extreme obedience by their docile look and their folded hands. Immediately below the emperor are two fly-whisk bearers. To the right of the picture are the Moghul officers, and the foreground shows five horses, being, no doubt, presents from the Persian king. Many of the courtiers are wearing jewelled pendants which contain minute portraits of the emperor, a fashion introduced and enforced by the pleasure-loving Jahāngīr. This fine picture, however, shows many signs of European influence. The scene painted on the marble dado below the throne, viz., the scales of justice and the ox and the lion (the lion painted more like a bloodhound) drinking at a pool are typically European. But more definitely European are the winged figures floating in the air painted in the frieze above the throne. The emperor's features are depicted like those of a middle-aged man. The central figure in this fine picture seems to have been a cause of worry to many of its admirers. Mr. Percy Brown mentions that "the original picture is erroneously inscribed 'Jahangir Padshahi' in the writing of a later hand", but more amazing is the mistake of Messrs. L. Binyon and T. W. Arnold who have classified this central figure as Aurangzeb.¹¹² This central figure is undoubtedly Shāh Jahān and no one else, for an exactly similar face appears in the Bodleian Library picture of a durbar scene of Shāh Jahān¹¹³ and the British Museum picture of a similar scene,¹¹⁴ both the pictures being reproduced, strangely, by Messrs. L. Binyon and T. W. Arnold in their book a few pages before. Again, the features of Shāh Jahān in the two portraits in the Victoria and Albert Museum¹¹⁵ tally exactly with the features of the central figure in this picture.

Another similar painting lies in the collection of Bābu Sitaram Sahu of Benares.¹¹⁶ It shows the emperor in the 'Diwan-i-Ām' in full court and receiving a European embassy. The emperor is, as usual, seated on the elevated throne and has, on the same plat-

112. L. Binyon and T. W. Arnold, *Court Painters of the Grand Moguls*, plate XXXVI.

113. *Ibid.*, plate XXI.

114. *Ibid.*, plate XX.

115. Victoria and Albert Museum Portfolio, *Thirty Moghul Paintings of the School of Jahāngīr*, plates 9 and 10.

116. N. C. Mehta, *Studies in Indian Painting*, plate No. 39.

form, four princes—two in the front and two in the rear—whom it is rather difficult to identify. Each group of two princes is accompanied by a guardian or tutor. Immediately below the emperor are two fly-whisk bearers. The middle of the picture is occupied by Moghul court officers and the European embassy is shown in the bottom left hand corner. The embassy consists in all of fourteen figures of whom at least seven are women, all elaborately dressed. The two figures who head this group are seen carrying valuable presents, but the nearer of these two looks more like a woman. The upper portion as well as the portion below the throne is quite simple in this picture and is quite different from the preceding one which shows these portions highly decorated. Shāh Jahān, who looks a bit young in the preceding picture, looks more advanced in age in the present one. Simple as it is, the picture is as beautiful, as, if not more, than the preceding one. The Bodleian Library possesses another picture of Shāh Jahān holding a *darbar*¹¹⁷ and is very similar to the preceding two pictures described above. Shāh Jahān occupies the throne which is as usual on an elevated platform; here the Moghul emperor faces the right of the picture and not the left as he does in the last two pictures. This picture, too, shows his sons standing obediently before him, but they are only three in number. The elevated platform in this picture is much higher than the one shown in each of the last two pictures, so much so that the two fly-whisk bearers stand on the backs of two elephants, an effect that is more comic than impressive. The scales of justice that we saw in the first picture is here absent, and in their place we see a sword, a bow and other things; the two animals, however, are there again though in a different pose. At this place the hall is fenced off, and the foreground of the picture shows a great number of persons with their heads all shown in profile. The wall behind the throne is decorated in purely Moghul style.

But perhaps the most extraordinary picture of a *darbar* scene of Shāh Jahān's reign is in the British Museum.¹¹⁸ It is an unfinished picture—a drawing to be more correct—showing Shāh Jahān seated on a throne in the centre and surrounded by no less than fifty-one officials the majority of whom have got their names inscribed on them. This magnificent picture, showing in all fifty-two figures, is of very great historical interest, for we are enabled

117. L. Binyon and T. W. Arnold, *Court Painters of the Grand Moguls*, plate XXI.

118. *Ibid.*, plate XX.

by it to identify the many unknown portraits in the different collections. The most prominent man in the group is Asaf KHān who is seen offering a necklace (?) to Shāh Jahān. The emperor's sons Dārā Shikoh, Shujā and Aurangzēb stand immediately to the emperor's left whilst the unfortunate Murād stands immediately below the emperor. Another interesting figure is that of Mir Jumla who stands third from left in the front line. So exquisite is the drawing of the faces that it is no wonder the artist did not feel tempted to paint this masterpiece in colours. Every face in this picture shows force and character, not omitting even the eight minute faces in the right background which are unnamed.

Shāh Jahān was overthrown by his third son Aurangzēb, who now ascended the Moghul throne. The decline in Moghul art which was a bit unnoticed in Shāh Jahān's reign was clearly marked in the reign of Aurangzēb. This puritanical monarch was too zealous a Musalmān to ever think of patronising art, let alone think of allowing it to continue. He did his utmost to discourage art, and never cared to extend his patronage to an art that was so tenderly nourished by his four predecessors. "When he took possession of the throne he proclaimed that it was with the design of insisting upon the law of Muhammad being observed in all its strictness, as it had been relaxed during the reigns of Shāh Jahān his father and Jahāngīr his grandfather."¹¹⁹ Probably Aurangzēb was a well-meaning man, but his religious fervour even went so far as to destroy other arts. His destruction of Hindu temples and their gods and goddesses annihilated the sympathy of his Hindu subjects, and Aurangzēb's long reign was a reign of warfare between Mohammedanism and Hinduism. The latter ultimately won, and thus proved the wise and diplomatic policy of Akbar the Great.

A very fine portrait of Aurangzēb as a young man is exhibited in the Prince of Wales' Museum, Bombay.¹²¹ (Illus. III.) It is a fine drawing showing the emperor standing against a very plain background. Dressed in a simple coat, wearing a simple turban and an equally simple pair of sandals, this strong-willed

119. J. B. Tavernier, *Travels in India*, translated by V. Ball, Vol. II, p. 177.

120. One of the most painful examples of this vandalism of Aurangzēb, in the opinion of the writer, is the destruction of all the heads of the figures carved in the two temples in Gwalior Fort, known as the Shas Bhāu temples. The most inaccessible and the most minute figure in these two temples has had its head smashed at Aurangzēb's orders.

121. W. E. Gladstone Solomon, *Essays on Mogul Art*, plate XVI.

monarch looks the very picture of health. The turban is coloured golden, and so is the sash; the sandals are coloured orange. The emperor has a very big 'katar' in his belt, a curved sword hanging from it, and what is strange, a big round shield hanging from his shoulder by means of a strap; equally strange is the fact that the emperor is shown without any jewellery on his person. One feels that the emperor has deliberately posed for this portrait, so beautiful is his face study. This fine face is again reproduced, though to a much lesser extent, in another fine picture of Aurangzēb as a young man.¹²² The emperor, or to be more correct, the prince, is wearing a heavy chain armour with all its accessories and an iron helmet, and mounted on a white horse on whom embroidered trappings are laid. The horse has also got a peculiar covering over the head and the ears, which fits the head so snugly that it (covering) must be made either of cloth or of leather. The prince rests a naked sword on his right shoulder, and has a quiver of arrows by his side. Evidently he is riding towards a battle, for in front of the horse, and in the distance, can be seen artillery and cavalry marching in a line, and nearby some hills crowned with forts. The prince is accompanied by five attendants, one of whom is carrying the fly-whisk made of peacock feathers; another, who is behind the prince and towards his right, carries a bag, presumably, of coins, and this is a bit odd considering the general idea running through the picture. But the figure that attracts our attention the most, more even than that of the prince, is the figure of the attendant in the right hand corner of the picture. This figure is supposed to be turning a bit towards the prince, and the result is that a grotesque figure is painted with the upper part of the body facing the prince and the lower part facing us. One fails to understand this horrible slip on the part of the artist, for the other figures are tolerably well painted. The prince, however, is painted very stiff.

A better portrait than the last one is in the British Museum.¹²³ It is a very fine drawing, particularly the head which is drawn with real force. This portrait also looks as if it was taken during Aurangzēb's youth, but Aurangzēb's nose is a bit too prominent in this portrait. Mr. Percy Brown, however, hesitates to accept this portrait as Aurangzēb's, but a comparison with other definite portraits of Aurangzēb makes us brush away this doubt. A very

122. *Loan Exhibition of Antiquities, Coronation Durbar, 1911*, plate XLVIII.
123. Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Indian Drawings*, Vol. I, plate V, No. 1.

different type of a portrait was exhibited in the Coronation Durbar Exhibition at Delhi in 1911¹²⁴ which shows a very small bust of Aurangzēb in his very early youth. This small portrait is surrounded by a vast amount of elaborate designs. The Prince wears a fur-edged coat, a small necklace, and he also has a row of jewels in his turban. But better than all these portraits is the one in the Prince of Wales' Museum, Bombay,¹²⁵ which shows Aurangzēb as a young man dressed in a purple coat with another fur-edged coat above it. He has two rows of jewels in his turban and wears two pearl wristlets on the two wrists. He has two rings in the right hand, and another ring (?) on the thumb of the same hand; on his left he has three. The emperor stands against a very simple background with a flower in one hand and a sword in another. There are also a few flowering plants at his feet. Another drawing in the same museum¹²⁶ shows Aurangzēb receiving homage from a deputation. Aurangzēb, strangely, is without a beard and mounted on an elephant. Behind him are seven other elephants, and before him, prostrating low on the ground, is the leader of the deputation. In the right background can be seen a city and some hills nearby. The elephants are beautifully drawn, and the only sign of colouring is a little bit of grey in the hills and a little pink in the elephant's trappings. The picture has an inner border of a design of gold leaves on a background of dark blue, and a big outer border of orange colour. H. H. the Maharānā Sahēb of Udaipur, possesses another striking portrait of Aurangzēb¹²⁷ which shows him in early advanced age. Aurangzēb stands leaning on a long sword, is plainly dressed, has a dagger in his belt and only a little jewellery on his person. The background is very plain and only a few flowering plants decorate the portrait. The inner border is simple but the outer border is grand, both being full of Moghul flower-plant motives.

We now come to the durbar scenes of Aurangzēb. A very fine picture of such a durbar is in the possession of H. H. the Maharānā Sahēb of Udaipur.¹²⁸ Aurangzēb, who is shown in early old age, is shown sitting on a high platform with Bahādur Shāh,

124. *Loan Exhibition of Antiquities, Coronation Durbar 1911*, plate XLVII, (a).

125. No. 517.

126. No. 219.

127. *Loan Exhibition of Antiquities, Coronation Durbar 1911*, plate XXXVI (b).

128. *Ibid.*, plate L, (a).

his successor, to his right and Prince Āzam, his third son, to his left. The durbar is full of many officials and the names of the majority of them are inscribed near them. For instance, the figure reading the petition in the middle is Asad KHān, the Prime Minister. Opposite the Prime Minister is the fly-whisk bearer, and behind him are Nawāb Rohilla KHān, Khalīlullāh KHān and Sipahdār KHān; the fourth is unnamed. Behind the Prime Minister stand four other officials; but the names of only two are inscribed, viz., Amīr KHān, who is second, and Fatehāllāh KHān, who is fourth. Similarly the names of the majority of the ten other officials in the outer enclosure are inscribed on them. At this stage of the scene there is a railing to mark off the officials of the lower rank from those of the higher rank. The picture reaches a high level, most of the faces being painted very delicately. H. H. the Maharānā Sahēb yet possesses another picture of a durbar scene of Aurangzēb.¹²⁹ It shows the Moghul emperor seated on a golden throne in the centre of a courtyard and surrounded on all sides by his officials and attendants. Behind the emperor are seen attendants carrying the scales of justice and other symbolical emblems. Only a few officials are in the courtyard where the throne is, but there are many more beyond the railing. The top of the picture shows attendants bearing the 'māhī-o-marātib', and four elephants two of which carry the 'haudaḥs'. This portion of the scene is fenced off from the courtyard, and so is another portion which fences off eleven menial servants and four musicians, the latter displaying their talents for all their worth. This picture is not so elegant as the first, and the faces in the picture sadly lack expression, except that of Aurangzēb which is a very true likeness.

Aurangzēb spent the greater part of his life in fighting, specially in the South. The Rampur Durbar possesses an excellent picture of Aurangzēb conducting the siege of Bijāpur.¹³⁰ It is a battle-scene, the central figure in it being Aurangzēb before whom stand two figures in an attitude of surrender; probably they are the leading persons instrumental in withholding the Moghul onslaught for so long a time. Aurangzēb wears a fur-edged overcoat, carries a long spear in his right hand and a shield supported on his left shoulder. Round about him is his cavalry, and further back is his efficient artillery seen pounding away at the massive walls of the fortress in deadly earnest. But much more majestic than the

129. *Ibid.*, plate L, (b).

130. P. Brown, *Indian Painting under the Mughals*, plate XXX.

emperor or his army is the mighty fortress of Bijāpur in the background. Its very walls denote a solidarity which Aurangzēb bitterly experienced in the siege. The Bijāpur soldiers crowding on the top of the battlements seem to be feverishly interested in the scene enacted in the foreground, for perhaps they feel themselves doomed as a part of the walls of the fortress looks as if it has been battered down by the Moghul artillery. Aurangzēb conducted this siege in person, but to say that "Aurangzēb was possessed of the human weakness of vanity, and was fond of seeing himself occupying a prominent position in the pictures of some of the stirring episodes of his career, especially his arduous campaigns in the Deccan"¹³¹ . . . is to rob the emperor of his due, for he was a great and stubborn soldier and loved to see battle. This is a typical Moghul picture, and devoid of any European influence which Mr. Percy Brown finds in it.¹³²

Golconda was another state conquered by Aurangzēb, and a picture showing him at the siege of Golconda was exhibited in the Coronation Durbar Exhibition at Delhi in 1911.¹³³ The emperor is shown so old that he is carried about in a litter; he is reading something very interesting from a book, for his whole attention is focussed in the book, and not even on the principal prisoner who is brought before him by two soldiers. The Archaeological Department says that he is reading the 'korān'; this is rather hard to swallow, for no one would expect any person to be so much engrossed in the holy book in the midst of such surroundings. Perhaps someone may suggest that it was prayer time; if it had been so Aurangzēb would have been severely left alone in his meditations and not disturbed by the presence of the prisoner who is being led before him. Again, there is another figure, an old man, standing right in front of the litter and who looks as he is pleading for something. Can a man read the 'korān' in such surroundings? Behind the unfortunate prisoner walks another Moghul soldier with the severed head of some one in his hand, and displaying the gruesome object with all the pride and expectation of winning credit and reward. To Aurangzēb's right is the fly-whisk bearer, and another attendant with the state umbrella walks in front of the emperor much further than he ought to. In the line of officers behind Aurangzēb can be seen a European who is but

131. *Ibid.*, p. 102.

132. P. Brown, *Indian Painting under the Mughals*, p. 178.

133. *Loan Exhibition of Antiquities, Coronation Durbar 1911*, plate XLIX.

too prominent with his cocked hat and breeches. In front of the emperor, and towards his left, is a whole battalion of European mercenaries led by a Moghul officer. To the left of this battalion, but facing the fort in the background, is the Moghul cavalry, whilst in the distance can be seen the Moghul artillery in action. Elephants are, and as they ought to, but too prominent, and one elephant is actually seen putting a gun in position. The fort is poorly painted and not at all impressive as the Bijapur fort. Indeed, the whole picture lacks that vitality which is so visible in the last picture.

Aurangzēb died a very old man—he was eighty-eight when he died—hence it is but natural that all the portraits of the Moghul emperor in extreme old age should show him as gaunt and stooping very low. One of the best of such portraits is in the Prince of Wales' Museum, Bombay¹³⁴ (Illus. IV.) The poor emperor can hardly support himself, so bent is he. He is dressed in pure white, supports himself on a long staff, is devoid of any jewels on his person, and carries a rosary in his hand. Perhaps he is now repenting his severity, or perhaps he foresees the Empire's fall; for he looks very much crushed in spirits, and one feels he is really waiting for the end. What a change from the conqueror of Bijāpur and Golconda, from the presider of brilliant durbars! These same features are reproduced in another portrait in the Johnson Collection¹³⁵ showing the aged emperor at a window, white-bearded and his whole attention focussed in a small book. The window curtain is rolled up and secured by means of a string. Actually the portrait occupies a very small space of the whole picture, the rest of the space being full of borders of different designs. There is another identical portrait¹³⁶ but much simpler in execution. The emperor is reading from a book at a window which is quite plain when compared with the other windows.

Aurangzēb died at Ahmadnagar in 1707, and was succeeded by his son Bahādur Shāh who got the throne only after severe fighting in which both Āzam and Kāmbaksh lost their lives. A portrait of Bahādur Shāh is in the Lahore Museum,¹³⁷ and shows

134. W. E. Gladstone Solomon, *Essays on Mogul Art*, plate III.

135. V. Smith, *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, plate CXXX.

136. *Loan Exhibition of Antiquities, Coronation Durbar 1911*, plate LII, (b).

137. *Ibid.*, plate LIII, (b).

him as a short and stout man dressed in a profuse amount of clothes. (Illus. II.) He must have been a very short man, for he holds in his left hand a ridiculously short sword. He is white-bearded, wears three rows of necklaces, and has three rows of jewels in his turban. The background is plain, and there are not even the customary few flowering plants at his feet. An exactly identical portrait of this Moghul emperor is reproduced in another picture¹³⁸ which shows him chatting with one of his nobles on what looks like a terrace. Here to the emperor is dressed in the same type of clothes. The scene in the background is very barren, and the expression of both the figures is blank. Bahādur Shāh's reign ended in 1712, and with it ended a glorious chapter of Indian art.

However, an art that reached such dazzling heights could not disappear so soon, and after Bahādur Shāh's reign the nawābs and the princes continued to extend their patronage to it; but the result of this patronage was as poor as the emoluments which the painters received from them. After Aurangzēb's death Moghul painting lingered on at bit under the rule of his feeble successors, but the art began to degenerate more and more as one feeble monarch succeeded another. A brave attempt was made by the Nawābs of Oude, but it was only for a short time. "Originating in the atmosphere of imperial state, its existence depended largely on artistocratic patronage, and when this was withdrawn the end came. Its roots never penetrated the subsoil of India proper, but as a splendid pictorial record of Moghul pageantry and power it holds a prominent position in the history of Indian painting."¹³⁹

138. *Ibid.*, plate LV, (a).

139. P. Brown, *Indian Painting*, p. 48.

The Army of Maharaja Ranjit Singh

PART VI.

DEDUCTIONS, FINES AND REWARDS.

By

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(Continued from Vol. XIII, part 3, page 379)

I.

INTRODUCTORY.

WITH a view to enforce discipline in his army, Maharaja Ranjit Singh seems to have instituted an elaborate system—I will not call it a code—of punishing delinquencies of various kinds and degrees and showing his appreciation of conspicuously meritorious conduct on the part of his soldiers by special marks of recognition. I should like to explain at the outset that, throughout my examination of the Khālsa Darbar Records, extending over a period of about forty years, I have not come across any set rules regulating punishments or rewards.¹ All the information that I have, so far, been able to gather, in spite of a fairly long continued search for it, is contained in a few slips of papers headed as *Ain-i-Waza'at* (the rules governing deductions), and the regimental account books of various sorts² which here and there contained bare entries showing deductions on account of absence from duty, overstaying leave or other lapses. It is from these references to the bare items of deductions as also from enrolment sheets of new recruits, that I have been able to construct consistent account of the principles on which, I imagine, these awards were made. As the deductions are uniform in more or less identical cases, it is reasonable to infer that the staff of the Pay Office was guided by definite rules with which they were familiar, although I have not been able to discover any statement of them. Even where a brief explanatory note is given along

1. In a previous article of the present series which appeared in the Journal of Indian History, Vol. V, I have had occasion to devote a couple of pages on the subject of punishments awarded to men in the army for insubordination, neglect of duty, breach of discipline and other similar offences.

2. A detailed description of the nature and form of these "Records" will be found in my Article No. IV of the present series, vide J.I.H., Vol. V.

with an item of deduction, the language is so brief that it has not been found possible to say with certainty what exactly the reason for some of the deductions was; while in a few cases, to which I will specifically refer later on, the entire nature of the fee charged is obscure. Under these circumstances, I have contented myself to reproduce in the following paragraphs, such information as I have been able to collect on the subject.

RECURRING AND NON-RECURRING CHARGES

It will be convenient, for the sake of clearness, to refer to the deductions or *Waza'at* under two separate major heads, namely, the non-recurring and the recurring deductions. The former, of course, are almost in the nature of fees of fixed charges made on certain specified occasions such as the first enrolment in the army, transfer to another unit either at one's own request or on promotion, etc.

NON-RECURRING CHARGES

These may again be divided into three separate groups namely, (A) *Kasrat Nau Mulazmi*, (B) *Kasrat Izafa Mansab*, (C) *Kasrat Badli*.

(A) The fees under the head *Kasrat Nau Mulazmi* comprise the following eight items and appear to have been charged at fixed rates:

(i) *Nau Mulazmi*—a deduction amounting to fifteen days' pay on entrance to service in the case of an infantry soldier, and one month's pay from a trooper.

(ii) *Mohr-i-batlah*. I have not, so far, been able to understand the significance of this item of deduction, but the records show that a uniform fee amounting to fifteen days' pay was charged both in the case of a foot-soldier and a cavalry man. From a couple of references to this term in Sohan Lal's Diary of Ranjit Singh, I am inclined to infer that "*Batlah*" was a sort of provisional pay-roll of recruits who had yet to undergo some further test of fitness.

(iii) *Nazrana or Nazr rusum daftar*. This was apparently a sort of presentation-fee or *douceur* made by the new entrants. The charge under this head is sometimes also called *Sarwārna*, in which case it would signify a sort of charity offered by a subordinate to ward off an evil omen from his superior. The amount was invariably equal to fifteen days' salary in the case of a trooper, while a foot-soldier was required to pay a fixed charge of Rs. 6.

(iv) *Wardi*. One month's pay was deducted on account of uniform from a cavalry man. A corresponding item of deduction from the pay of an infantry soldier is shown under the head *Kurti* (Jacket) and is charged at rupee one only.³

(v) *Mohrāna* (literally fee for fixing the seal). A sum of Rs. 8 is shown charged under this head in the case of a trooper, and half the amount from an infantry soldier on the first salary drawn by them.⁴

(vi) *Nazr Kitāb*. This charge appears to have been a sort of enrolment fee, the amount of which was Rs. 2 charged from a trooper and Re. 1 from a foot soldier.

(vii) *Nau Bātlah Nawīs*. As in the case No. (ii) above the meaning and object of the deduction under this head is not quite clear. The amounts of deduction were Rs. 2 in the case of a trooper and Re. 1 in that of an infantry soldier.

(viii) *Dāgh*. This deduction was, of course, made as a fee for branding cavalry horses and amounted to Rs. 5 a horse.

Note. It may be mentioned that a gunner (*golandāz*) was treated as a foot-soldier for purposes of deductions. The non-combatants attached to the Regular Army were also subject to the above-mentioned deductions.

The *Nau Mulāzmi* deductions were made not only from the pay of recruits joining the Regular Army, but also of those admitted to the Irregular Cavalry and the Garrison Infantry force (*Sāir Jama'āt*).

It will be convenient to give the deductions under various heads in a tabular form:—

3. All deductions under heads from (i) to (iv) were subject to the administration of the military department and were credited to regimental account of the regular army. Nos. (v) to (viii) were assigned to the civil account. Some of the latter may, therefore, be taken to signify some sort of office charge.

4. It is necessary to explain that a much smaller percentage was made, under the head *Mohrāna*, on all payments made by the treasury. Even the items of the personal expenditure of the Maharaja himself were not exempt from this deduction whenever these were made from the treasury. In a few cases, especially in the case of charities and gifts to the priests and other religious persons, it is specifically mentioned that the charge on account of *Mohrāna* is remitted.

DEDUCTIONS CHARGED.

Units.	Nau mulāzmi.	Mohr bātlah.	Nazr rusum dafar.	Wardi or Kurti.	Mohrāna.	Nazr Kitāb.	Nau bātlah nawīs.	Dāgh.	Average rate of monthly salary.	Total approximate deductions.
Regular Army.										
Infantry.	15 days	15 days	Rs. 6 to Rs. 5	Re. 1	Rs. 4	Re. 1	Re. 1	..	Rs. 7	3 months pay
Cavalry.	1 month	15 days	15 days or Rs. 10	1 month	Rs. 8	Rs. 2	Rs. 2	Rs. 5	Rs. 20	4 months pay
Artillery.	15 days	15 days	Rs. 6 to Rs. 5	Re. 1	Rs. 4	Re. 1	Re. 1	..	Rs. 7	3 months pay
Irregular cavalry.	1 month	..	..	..	Rs. 4	Rs. 2	Rs. 2	..	Rs. 20	Rs. 28*
Garrison infantry.	1 month	..	..	..	Re. 1-8	Re. 1	Re. 1	..	Rs. 6	1½ months pay**
'Amla or non-combatants.	1 month	..	..	..	Re. 1-8	Re. 1	Re. 1	..	Rs. 5	1½ months pay***

* Besides the fees given above, an irregular cavalry soldier was charged special fees under the heads *Hasb-ul-amr*, *Kasur-Kāthi*, and *Hasht rōza* which amount approximately to Rs. 12 per annum, and are explained under the major head of Recurring Deductions.

** The garrison infantry were paid for 10 months during the year—the pay for two months being deducted under the technical head *bar sālī kasur do shāhr*.

*** The non-combatants like the soldiers of garrison infantry class were paid only for ten months during the year.

It may be pointed out in this connection that the modern practice of distributing the salaries at the end of each month was not known under the Sikh Government. The salaries were paid, as a rule, about six months after the due date.⁵ As such, the deductions made on the first appointment were obviously distributed over several months, and were thus not so burdensome as the tabular statement given above would lead one to infer.

(B) A second category of fixed non-recurring charges is designated in the Khālsa Darbār Records as *rusumāt izāfa* or customary fees to be charged on promotion to higher grade or rank of service. The directions laid down for the amount of *rusum* to be deducted from military officers of various grades, as given in a slip of paper dated sambat 1900 (A.D. 1842-43) are :

In the case of an officer promoted to the rank of a General, the fee claimed by way of *nazrāna* was Rs. 1,500 ; while in the case of officers promoted to the ranks of a Colonel, a Commandant or an Adjutant, the fee levied amounted to one-half, one-third, and one-sixth of that charged in the case of a General.⁶

Roughly speaking, the amount of *nazrana* on account of *rusūm mansab* comes up to about three months' pay of an officer. This calculation is based on the average salaries for the Sambat year 1900 (A.D. 1842-43) to which the slip refers. The following tabular statement will give, at a glance, the amount of deductions and the monthly salaries of the officers and the proportion which one bears to the other. It may be mentioned that the scale of pay of all grades of officers and men in the army was raised by Maharaja Shēr Singh in 1841 A.1

5. For fuller details on this subject see Article No. IV on the Army of Ranjit Singh, J.I.H., Vol. V.

6. بابت اضافہ منصب - جزیل الصغار - کرنیل - کیران صما - ایجنٹ - ۶۰۰ -

Rank.	Fee claimed. on promotion	Monthly Salary.	Remarks.
	Rs.	Rs.	
1. General	1,500	400-500	Approximately 3 months' pay.
2. Colonel	750	250-350	do.
3. Commandant	500	160-180	do.
4. Adjutant	250	60- 90	do.

With regard to the Company Officers, the rule about the fee charged on account of *rusūm izāfa* or increment of pay is simple : in all such cases an amount equal to one month's pay is claimed by the State from every officer of the rank of a *Sūbedār* down to a *Nāik* (*az Subadār tā Nāik yak mäh*).

The following statement gives the rules of *rusūm izāfa* in the case of privateers or *Sāir mulāzmin* : on account of *nazrāna* an amount equal to one month's increment in the salary ; on account of *mohrāna*—one month and a half ; on account of *Bātlah nawis*—one to two rupees per head ; on account of *nazar kitāb*—one rupee.

Note. Ordinarily the increment allowed at a time to a privateer did not exceed rupee one.

(C) Still a third set of non-recurring deductions was made when an officer was transferred from one unit to another. These were known as *Kasrāt badli*. The rules under this head are explicitly laid down and read as follows :

(i) When an incumbent himself applies for transfer, a deduction equal to his two months' pay shall be made.

(ii) When he is transferred under orders of government and on the same salary and in his own grade—no deduction.

(iii) When he is transferred under orders of Government, but on promotion to a higher grade—deductions equal to three months' salary shall be made

(iv) When he is transferred under orders of Government but to a lower position he shall lose two months' salary.⁷

RECURRING DEDUCTIONS

Besides these non-recurring deductions, which, as I have explained, were made only on a soldier's first appointment in the army or subsequently on his promotion, transfer, or degradation under special circumstances, certain recurring deductions seem also to have been made, throughout the period of his service, whenever, in fact, he had to draw his salary from the treasury. So far as I have been able to discover, four of these recurring deductions are indicated in the pay rolls of the army.

(i) *Kasur mohrāna*, *hashtāni* and *toshākhāna*: Under these three heads a deduction of about six to eight per cent was made from the pay of every member of the army. Indeed, a uniform fee under this head seems to have been charged on all cash disbursements made from the central treasury.

(ii) *Hashtroza*: As the name signifies, this was a deduction of 8 days' pay in the year and was peculiar to the irregular cavalry only.

7.

۱- ہرکہ طلبگار برلی خود شود۔ دو ماہ + ۲- آپنے بموجب حکم سرکار و عمدہ برستور
برلی شود۔ معاف + ۳- آپنے بموجب منصب حسب الحکم برلی باشد۔ سہ ماہ +
۴- آپنے بموجب کمی منصب برلی باشد۔ دو ماہ +

These rules are dated Sanwan 32', 1900 (14th August, 1843). Another note dated Har 26', 1889 (7th July, 1832), which I came across amongst the Pay-rolls of the Year A.D. 1832-33, would seem to suggest that the *a'in* or rule No. (ii) was made some time in that year; and that before this date even if the transfer was ordered by the Government under normal conditions a deduction amounting to one month's pay was charged from an officer, under the head *Kasrat badli*:

ہرکہ نام منصب دار بے تقصیر از یک پلشن در پلشن دویم بموجب ارشاد حضور یا پرواگی
افسر کلاں یا تہور پناہ کوٹ صاحب داخل شدہ باشد۔ کثرت یک ماہ تبدیلی وضع
نخواہد ساخت۔

(iii) *Kāthi*. This deduction amounting to Rs. 3 per annum was made from a trooper of the irregular horse, and as the name shows was confined to cavalry men.

(iv) *Hasb-ul-Amr*. The charge under this head ranges between Rs. 4 and Rs. 5 and is made up of two or three small items. This fee was also limited to the irregular cavalry.

I have spent a considerable time in trying to trace the origin and the purpose of some of these recurring deductions, but have failed altogether. My own view, however, is—and I give it for what it may be worth—that they are connected with some old customary charges derived from the feudal basis on which the irregular horsemen (*Ghorcharrah* force) of Ranjit Singh were maintained.⁸

I have not, of course, included in the above classification of recurring and non-recurring deductions certain occasional fines, such for instance as absence from duty (*ghair hāzri*), overstaying leave (*rukhsat*), desertion (*farrāri*) etc; which were clearly laid down and strictly enforced except when satisfactory explanation was forthcoming. Overstaying long leave, or furlough, and absence from the general annual muster at the time of the Dussehra festival,⁹ was considered particularly serious and was visited with severe penalties than other minor breaches of discipline or neglect of duty. But here also, the first nine days after the expiry of long leave were treated as if the soldier was on leave without pay. But beyond that period the penalty increased in proportion to the days of absence. The regulation dated *Sambat* 1895 (A.D. 1838-39) which was reiterated in A.D. 1841-42, and again in A.D. 1843-44, states that, if a man did not return to duty ten days after the date of expiry of his leave, the penalty was one month's pay and if he overstayed for twenty days the penalty was one and half month's pay, and it was further raised to two months if the period of absence exceeded from three to four weeks. After one month's continuous absence, a man was automatically discharged from service, and was to be treated as *nau mulāzim*

8. For fuller details of the organisation of this army of the Khālsa forces and the use made of it see Article No. III, Army of Ranjit Singh, J.I.H. Vol. II, pp. 179-200.

9. This festival falls at the end of the monsoons early in October. The time selected was particularly convenient for a general muster and review of troops previous to their taking the field.

Not quite unconnected with the question of deductions which we have been considering is the interesting fact that the pay and allowances of a trooper in the regular army were, to a certain extent, regulated by the condition of his animal. Whenever it was declared unfit for service (*nākārah*), the trooper was required to provide himself with another suitable animal, and so long as this was not done he was liable to be put on half-pay.¹¹ In the event of the death of his horse a trooper of the regular army was allowed to draw the pay of a foot-soldier, till he provided himself with another. The rules governing the irregular cavalry were, however stricter. An irregular cavalry man forfeited two-thirds of his salary for the period for which his horse was declared "unfit", and such a horse was,

10.

نارسیده از رخت کلال

۱- حاضران بموجب آئین نفاذت ۹ یوم برابر + ۲- اگر بعد از وعده قرار ۱۰ یوم حاضر
 نه شد- یکماه وضع بود + ۳- اگر از قرار وعده بست یوم نه برآمد- یکمین ماه وضع سازند
 ۴- ۱۱ نفاذت ۳۰ یوم- دو ماه وضع سازند + ۵- آئینده بعد از موت یکماه یک روز
 ایزاد نه برآمد- نو ملازم +

The rules governing *razá* or long leave or furlough were very explicit. The officers were allowed six weeks' leave during the year, while the privateer (*sáir sipáh*) were given eight weeks on full pay. Short leave was

but if one
ہر قدر رخصت کہ شود نصف طلب وضع کند - granted on half pay
overstayed the leave originally sanctioned, he had to forfeit two days' pay
for each day of absence

از رخصت ہر قدر کہ حاضر نہ شود۔ دو چنڈاں غیر حاضری وضع شود۔

In actual practice, however, the rules were not very strictly enforced, and the officer commanding the brigade was authorised to condone absence in excess of short leave, if he was satisfied. In that case, he had to issue a certificate of condonation to the disbursing officer. During my examination of the Pay Rolls, I have come across scores of entries to this effect.

11. The pay rolls show that some consideration was shown to the men of the Special Brigade (*Fauj-i-Khass*) in whose case this deduction did not exceed about 20%.

It must, however, be mentioned in this connection that, when the animal was killed or disabled in action or on duty, no *kasrāt* or deductions were made from the pay or allowance of a mounted soldier.¹³

12.

۱۔ اول پیر زائیدگی مبلغ ۵ روپیہ - ۲۔ اگر بار دیگر حاملہ کنیز ضبط خواہد شد

13. Several cases of this kind are met with in the army records of the Khālsa Government. In November 1821, during the siege of Mankera, for instance, when the salary of the troops was distributed, Ranjit Singh issued instructions to the effect that "of those who are present at the time should get their pay; while the undisbursed salaries of those who have been killed in action should be given to their relatives in accordance with the rules (viz., less the charges for cremation or burial); such of the mounted soldiers who joined the expeditionary forces without their horses shall receive no pay; whereas those who lost their animals during the march should get their pay and should be definitely told to provide themselves with a suitable animal."

طلب ہر کس کہ خود حاضر باشند۔ برہمند۔ و ہر کس کہ در ہنگامہ بکار آمدہ باشیم۔ موجب اس
موجب آئین لواقع ہا مشارالہا برہمند۔ آنکہ پیادہ رفتہ باشند۔ نخواہند داد۔ و آنہ
اسپ در سفر سقط باشد اورا طلب دادہ تاکید نمائند کہ اسپ عمدہ حاضر سازند۔
جنگ منیکرہ۔ مورچال منیکرہ ۱۸۴۴

Again, in March, 1824, when a division of the army was ordered to cross the deep and swift current of the river at Attock with a view to reinforce the troops engaged in action against the Afghans, a large number of horses were drowned or carried away by the current. The entries in the Pay and Descriptive Rolls of the *Sambat* year 1880 (1823-24 A.D.) show that no deductions were made on account of the loss of the animals and that a remark to this effect is made against the names of the troopers whose horses were lost while crossing the stream.

اسی بروقت عبور دریائے انک غرق شدہ کسرات معاف۔

It may be of interest to present to the reader a concrete case of the deductions to which reference has been made in the preceding pages. The following schedule contains the dues paid off to a troop of thirty-seven irregular horsemen who had been originally enrolled as Jāgirdārs and were attached to the contingent of Sardār Jawala Singh Pidhania but who were, on the latter's death, brought on the list of *naqdīdārs* or *cash-salaried* men. The Pay Rolls cover a period of eighteen months from Asuj 1890 to Phagon 1891, viz. September 1833 to February 1835 A.D.

	Rs.	A.	P.	per
(A) Total number of men on the rolls	37 @	8,685	0	0 annum.
(B) Total salary for 18 months from Asuj 1890 to Phagon 1891 (September, 1833-February, 1835)	37 @	13,027	8	0*

Details of (A) above as given in the regimental rolls are:

(i) Number of men compared and verified from the Descriptive Rolls in the army office	33
(ii) Number of men recruited by Sardar Jawala Singh himself and certified to be present at the general muster taken at Peshawar, by Mian Labh Singh	4
	—
	37
	—

Details of disbursements in (B) above:

	Rs.	A.	P.
(i) Cash payments made to the troops in Kharif 1890 viz., autumn 1833 A.D.	3,600	8	0
(ii) Cash payment made in Har or Rabi 1891 viz: June 1834 A.D.	1,000	0	0
(iii) Cash payment (date not stated)	3,050	0	0
(iv) Cash payment at the time of transfer	2,579	5	6
(v) Amount credited to Government on account of deductions:	2,797	10	6**
	13,027	8	0*

(a) Mohrāna, Hashtāni, etc ..	860	4	0
(b) Dāgh Aspān ..	499	8	0
(c) Hashtroza ..	289	8	0
(d) Kāthi ..	166	8	0
(e) Sarwārna or Nazrāna ..	180	0	0
(f) Nāqārah aspān (unfit horses for 8 men) ..	147	13	9
(g) Badli aspān (renewal or horses, 19 men) ..	379	9	0
(h) Iwazi (substitutes; 4 men).	73	4	9
(i) Fateh Singh dismissed from service ..	201	3	0

Total¹⁴ .. 2,797 10 6**

REWARDS AND DISTINCTIONS

Along with the Persian language of the Moghuls and their administrative machinery, Ranjit Singh also adopted the whole system of their Court etiquette and ceremonial with only slight modifications here and there. Like them the conferment of the *Khila'at* (robe of honour), the grant of jāgirs, honorary titles and monetary gifts were regarded as special marks of favour and further incentive to work, on the part of the Maharaja to deserving persons. Not only was this mark of favour shown in the case of those who were in the civil and military service of his own Government, but also to other distinguished individuals such as representatives of other States or private persons of weight and moment. *Khila'ats* (Robes of Honour). The *Toshākhāna* papers of Kālsa Darbar Records¹⁵ and Sohan Lal's Diary of Ranjit Singh's rule abound with references to the grants of *Khila'ats* for distinguished services to the Government by civil and military officers as well as to other eminent persons presented at the Court. In fact, the conferment of a *Khila'at* formed an essential part of the ceremony of

14. The amount under the head of Recurring Deductions, from Nos. (a) to (c) works out on an average Rs. 36 per trooper per year or in other words about 14% of his pay. This is also corroborated by a similar reference which I came across amongst Pay Rolls for the year *sambat* 1902 (1844-45 A.D.) In this case, the total recurring deductions are stated at Rs. 32 per annum per trooper which comes to a little more than 13%.

15. See Writer's 'Catalogue of the Khālsa Darbar Records,' Vol. II, pp. 304-315. Lahore. 1927.

the appointment to the posts of high dignity and responsibility at Ranjit Singh's Court, as it was at the court of the Moghul emperors of Delhi. Distinction was, however, made according to the rank or position of the receiver. The value of a *Khila'at* was naturally judged from the number, variety, and quality of the pieces of garment comprising it. The biggest *Khila'at* which I have seen mentioned in the records was that conferred on a certain occasion on Captain C. M. Wade, the British Political Agent at Ludhiana. It comprised twenty-two pieces together, with five jewelled ornaments, an ornamented sword, a dagger, a richly-caparisoned horse, and an emerald ring. The Rājā of Nābha was honoured with a similar *Khila'at* of twenty-one pieces together with jewelled ornaments, a horse, and an elephant. As a rule, a *Khila'at* consisting of eleven pieces was regarded as of the first class, and was given to high officials, whereas a fifteen-piece *Khila'at* was looked upon as a special distinction and was only bestowed upon persons of importance on very special occasions. Prince Nau Nihāl Singh, the grandson of the Maharaja, for instance, was awarded such a *Khila'at*¹⁶ on his departure for Peshāwar (May 1837) in command of the reinforcements from Lahore in support of Sardar Hari Singh Nālwa when he was hard pressed, on the frontier by the Afghans. Again Diwān Sanwan Mal, the famous governor of Multān, was honoured on one occasion with a fifteen-piece *Khila'at* along with three jewelled ornaments and an elephant with a howdah. Similarly, Diwān Mohkam Chand, Misar Diwan Chand, and Sardar Hari Singh Nalwa, three of the renowned generals of the Khālśa army, were also each granted, on different occasions, the special *Khila'at* together with a *kalghī* (aigrette), an ornamented sword, and a caparisoned horse.

General Avitabile received an eleven-piece *Khila'at* together with a pair of gold bracelets on his appointment as Governor of Peshāwar, in June 1837. A similar *Khila'at* with an elephant and a silver howdah, two horses, and two pieces of jewelled ornaments was conferred on the Barakzai Sardars of Peshāwar, (May 1837). The conspicuous heroism shown by Sardār Dal Singh Nahērna in the Dera Ismail Khān campaign, (October 1821), was also honoured with the distinction of a *Khass Khila'at* comprising rich

16. This *Khila'at* comprised 15 pieces of garments, 5 jewelled ornaments, and one elephant with a golden howdah, together with Rs. 12,000 for travelling expenses (*kharchi-i-bahla*). See p. 394 Sohanlal's 'Diary of Ranjit Singh,' Dafter, III. p. 394.

Kashmir shawls, an elephant with a howdah, a pair of gold bracelets, a *Jigha* and a *Kalghi*. Instances of smaller *khila'ats* comprising from seven to three pieces mentioned in the Records are too numerous to be referred to here.

The official chroniclers make no detailed mention as to the character of the several pieces comprised in a *Khila'at* bestowed on various persons. They content themselves with merely referring to the number of *pārchas* (pieces) of which it was comprised. By looking up the official records relating to the *toshākhāna* department of Ranjit Singh's government, I have been able to obtain fuller particulars as to the character of various pieces which were, as a rule, included in the various grades of *Khila'ats*. The more important garments included in a *Khila'at* were (i) *doshāla* (Kashmir shawl); (ii) a piece of *Kimkhwāb* (brocade); (iii) a *dupatta* (scarf); (iv) a *dastār* (turban); (v) a piece of *gulbadan* (a kind of striped silk cloth); (vi) a *rumāl* (kerchief); (vii) *jamāwār* (a kind of shawl cloth for a *chogha* or long coat); (viii) a *kamarband* (a sort of scarf for the waist). Of the jewelled weapons and ornaments that often formed part of a *Khila'at*, the following may specially be mentioned: (i) *Karā* (Gold bracelet); (ii) *Kanṭha* (Gold necklace); (iii) *Kaṅgan* (Gold bangles); (iv) *Mālā marvārīd* (a gold chain-set with pearls); (v) *Bāzu band* (gold armlet); (vi) *Kalghī* (aigrette); (vii) *jīgha* (a turban ornament); (viii) *Sarpech* (also a turban ornament); (ix) *Shamsher Murass'a* (Sword with its handle inlaid with gold); (x) *Kard* (a dagger with ornamented handle); (xi) *Tabr* (a sort of battle axe?); *Tarkash* (ornamented quiver for arrows).¹⁷

As we have noticed above, horses and elephants with gold and silver trappings were also bestowed along with the *Khila'at* upon officials of high rank and position. In a few cases, *pālki mukalif* or palanquins with cover fringed with gold lace were also presented to high officers as a mark of special favour. Such grants of horses, elephants, palanquins, etc. were, in fact, looked upon as a special privilege and a mark of the receiver's high social or official position. Thus Misar Diwan Chand was honoured with the distinction on the occasion of his promotion to the rank of an

17. It is worthy of note that the various pieces of garments as well as some of the additional gold ornaments and jewelled weapons mentioned in the above list were also included in the *Khila'ats* bestowed by the Mughul emperors. Cf. The Army of the Indian Moghuls by William Irvine, p. 29.

artillery general (November 1819).¹⁸ A similar privilege was conferred upon his brother, Misar Sukh Dial, when he was appointed to succeed him in A.D. 1826. I have also come across mention of the grant of a *naqárah* (kettle drum) to Lala Sukh Dial (not to be confounded with Misar Sukh Dial, brother of Misar Diwan Chand) on his appointment as Chief Officer of the Customs Department, (1813-14 A.D.). He was also honoured with the command of 500 troopers.¹⁹

It is worth noticing that such special marks of favour as the *Khila'ats* and the other tokens of dignity to which I have referred were generally conferred immediately after the announcement. When, for instance, the Maharaja was away from the capital, a special department called the *toshákhána bahla* (a sort of small service treasury) always accompanied him for this and other emergent purposes.

It may also be mentioned here that, whenever an official was brought under disgrace, such special marks of favour and dignity were wholly or partially resumed by the State.²⁰

III

TITLES

Like the Moghuls, again, Maharaja Ranjit Singh adopted a fairly elaborate system of granting titles for conspicuously meri-

18. Sohan Lal's Diary of Ranjit Singh, Daftar II, p. 24. For a fuller note on the life and achievements of Misar Diwan Chand, see Article No. V, Army of Ranjit Singh, J.I.H., Vol. XIII, part 3.

19. See Zafarnama Ranjit Singh, Edited by the present writer, p. 80. A similar reference will be found in Irvine's 'Army of Indian Moghuls' p. 30, showing that the Moghul emperors "granted as a mark of special favour, kettledrums (*naqqárah*) and the right to play them (*naubat*) to a subject. But he must be a man of the rank of 2,000 Sawárs or upwards." It is difficult to say whether the privilege granted to Lala Sukh Dial was the relic of a similar custom prevalent in the times of the Moghuls.

20. When, after two years of trial in his new post in the Artillery Department, Misar Sukh Dial proved unworthy of the honour and was succeeded by Sultan Mahmud Khān, the special privileges granted to him on his appointment were resumed. Sohan Lal, Daftar II, pp. 376-77.

بہذا فیل وپنیں وچند راس اسپان وغیرہ اسباب از مشاہدہ گرفتہ از کار و بار موجودہ نرول فرمودہ۔

torious services as an incentive to loyal and faithful work. In connection with the grant of the titles, it will not be without interest to mention that new titles were often coined to suit a special occasion. For instance, when Misar Diwan Chand conquered Kashmir the words *Fateh-o-Nusrat Naşib*²¹ were added to his previous title of *Zafar-jang Bahádur*. The titles were, of course, suited to the profession, life and conduct of the receiver. The titles granted to military men were necessarily different from those bestowed upon persons of the civil department or those of the priestly order. Thus the military titles referred to qualities of bravery, courage and so forth; while civil titles praised honesty, sagacity and industry. Similarly, ecclesiastical titles were based on qualities of spirituality, nobility of life and conduct, etc.²²

Some of the titles were a jumble of Persian, Arabic, and Sanskrit words in which an attempt was made to produce euphony which is regarded as an important characteristic of classical Persian literature. As an example of this I may mention the title conferred upon Bhai Ram Singh and Bhai Gobind Ram which read as Bhai *Sáhibán*, *Kirpa Niddhán*, *Tarntáran do Jahán*. The title *Ujjal didár*, *nirmal buddha*, *Sardar ba wiqar hizbr-jang*, conferred upon Sardar Lehna Singh Sindhanwalia, in A.D. 1837, is another interesting example of mixed language of titles granted by the Sikh Government.

The title of Diwan, also an old Moghul title, is so seldom referred to in the Sikh record that it would seem it was sparingly bestowed and was, perhaps, the highest title given on the civil side, excepting the title of Raja which was reserved for very special cases.²³ The title of Sardar both for military and civil officers

21. Literally, one upon whom victory and success always attend.

22. It may be found of some interest to give below a few examples of titles in each case:

(a) Military titles:—*Hizbar-Jang* (the lion in fight), *Zafar-Jang* (victorious in war), *Samsám-ul-daulah* (Sharp sword of the State), *Shujáh-ul-dauláh* (valour of the State), *Tahawwur-panáh* (asylum of bravery), etc.

(b) Civil titles:—*Diyánat-panáh* (abode of honesty), *Firásat-dast-gáh* (sagacious), *Mashákhat-panáh* (refuge of greatness), etc.

(c) Ecclesiastical:—*Brahma-Mu'rat* (image of divinity), *Ujjal di'dar* (of bright looks), *Nirmal-buddha* (of pure intelligence), etc.

23. Some of the military officers were also granted the title of Diwan, such as Diwan Mohkam Chand, Diwan Devi Sahai, Diwan Hukma Singh Chimpi, etc. But this was an exception rather than the rule. Of the more prominent amongst the civil officers who were awarded this title by the

was considered one of considerable distinction but was almost always conferred upon Sikhs. Some of the greatest Sikh generals of Ranjit Singh's forces like Hari Singh Nalwa, Gurmukh Singh Lamba, Dal Singh Naherna, etc., never got any thing more than this title or *i'záz-i-sardári*, as it was called. If at all a couple of Persian or Hindi words expressive of a Sardar's exalted dignity or position were prefixed to this title, by way of *alqáb*, in official correspondence.²⁴

The three Dogra brothers of Jammu, Mian Gulab Singh, Mian Dhian Singh, and Mian Suchet Singh, rose in high favour of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. All the three were honoured with the title of *Rājā*, along with grants of extensive *Jāgirs* and other marks of special favour. The eldest of them, Raja Gulab Singh, occupied high administrative positions, while the second brother, Raja Dhian Singh, rose to be the Prime Minister of the Maharaja.²⁵

Maharaja or were permitted to retain the title of Diwan on their entering the Sikh service were Diwan Bhiwani Das, Diwan Ganga Ram, Diwan Sanwan Mal, Diwan Dina Nath and Diwan Rattan Chand.

24. Such prefixes as *ba vīqār*, *'azīm-ul-shā'n*, *'a'li itqīdār*, etc.

25. As he rose higher in power, additional high sounding titles were betowed upon him such as *Raja-i-Ra'jga'n*, *Raja Hindpat*, *Raja Dhian Singh Bahādur*. See *Zafarnama Ranjit Singh* p. 184. Again, in Har. 1895 (June 1839), shortly before his death when Ranjit Singh nominated his eldest son, Prince Kharak Singh, as his successor, Raja Dhian Singh was formally and publicly appointed as the Minister-in-Chief with the additional title of *'muqqarab ba'rga'h-kha'ss*, *na'ib saltanat*, *'azmat khair Khwa'h sami'mi daulat*, *Sarka'r-Kubra*, *Wazi'r-i-A'zam*, *dastur-i-muaz'zam*, *mukhta'r-ul-mulk*, etc. These additional titles were conferred upon him in a sort of semi-Darbār, in the presence of all the leading courtiers, and the fact was gazetted throughout the Sikh kingdom by issuing *parwānas* to this effect to all the civil and military officers of the State. The document as

The youngest brother, Raja Suchet Singh, was placed in command of the irregular horse called *Chahāryāri derah*, and was a special favourite of the army.²⁶ Of the younger members of the family, Hira Singh, the son of Raja Dhian Singh, was in particular favour of the Maharaja as much for his intelligence as for his graceful manners and handsome appearance. On the 20th Mangh, 1892 (31st January, 1836) the Maharaja was pleased to bestow upon him the singular title of *Farzand-i-Khass*.²⁷ For this occasion a special Darbār was held, at which the courtiers and other officers,

reproduced by the official historian, Sohan Lal, on page 147, dafter iii, Part V, of his Diary reads as follows:—

دو... باز اشتبهار نامه بنام سرداران عالیشان خود و کلاں و کرنیلان و جرنیلان و کمندانان و افسران و عمره داران پلاش و رجب و توپخانه و جاگیرداران و دفتریان و اهلکاران و کارداران و تھانہ داران خود و کلاں تمام ملک محروسہ قلمی شدہ کہ دریں وقت بفضل سرئی اکال پور کھجی، مشایخہ خیر خواہی و نمک حلائی قدیم و بذل اشفاق و الطاف جناب اشرف اعلیٰ اقبالہم از ابتدائی لغات حال بحال مقرب بارگاہ خاص الخاص راجہ کلاں بیادر کہ روز مزید و دوز افزوں است۔ بنا بریں نوازشات بنیایات و تفقدات مابروست ہم بدستور سابق حضور والا بر او جل دیدار مقرب بارگاہ از دل و جان معرفت فرمودہ بالقاب نائب السلطنت عظمت خیر خواہ صمیمی دولت سرکار کبریٰ۔ وزیر اعظم۔ دستور معظم۔ مختار ملک محاسب التجویز عیشیدہ ایم و مقرر کردہ داوہ ایم۔ کہ مطابق آئین پسندیدہ حضور والا دام اقبالہم۔ ہر حکم و ارشاد کہ خواہد بود۔ بہ مقرب بارگاہ شرف صدور خواہد یافت و احکامات عالیہ مقرب بارگاہ بشمار خواہد رسانید بایذ۔ کہ ہمہ ہا از دل و جان در بجا آوری خدمات تفاوت و تخلف نہ سازند۔ و بریں غافل نہ باشند۔

26. The strength of this corps is recorded at 1690 men in A.D. 1823, and it swelled to more than 2,500 men in the following 12 years. For fuller details see 'Catalogue of the Khalsa Darbar Records,' Vol. I, pp. 113-14.

27. In his informal talk with the young chief, the Maharaja would often address him familiarly as *bachhiyān* (my son).

both civil and military of the State, who were present in Lahore, were ordered to present nazars first to the Maharaja and then to the *Farzand-i-Khāss*. The other officers of the State, stationed outside Lahore, were also instructed to present the usual *nazars* first to the Maharaja, and then to Raja Hira Singh through his tutor, Misar Jalla, when they happened to come on State business to the capital. At the close of the presentation, the Maharaja himself conferred upon Hira Singh with his own hands (*dast-i-mubarak*) the robe of honour (*khilāat*) appropriate to the occasion.²⁸

28. The following is the full text of the document, dated 20th Mangh, 1892, (31st January, 1836). It also gives the details of the amount to be presented to Raja Hira Singh.

ارشاد والدہ بنا خطاب فرزند بی خاص و گزرا نیدن نذرات مرقوم ۲۰ مانگہ ۱۸۹۲
 دیں آوان فرزندہ اقران از حضور فیض گنجور اشرف اعلیٰ از مناب والا بہ نور چشم
 بلند تخت نجمتہ اختر بر خود دار اقبال آثار فرزندہ خاص راجہ ہیر سنگہ جی عطا و جنت
 فرمودہ و ارشاد فیض بنیاد از پیشکامہ جناب محلہ در ساعت سجد و وقت صبح شرف
 اصدار یافتہ کہ تمام اہلکاران و متوسلان و ملازمان و سرشتہ داران ممالک محروسہ و
 کارپردازان افواج بحر امواج سرکار فیض موار خالصہ جیو و تھانہ داران و بھمداران تمام
 قلجات حضور پرنور بہار گاہ آسمان جاہ ہر گاہ بہ گزرا نیدن حسابات و غیرہ امورات
 حاضر شونہ اول بموجب معمول نذرات و پیشکش در جناب فیض ماب اشرف اعلیٰ
 بگذارند و بعد از آن در خدمت بر خود دار اقبال آثار فرزندہ راجہ ہیر سنگہ جی عطا و جنت
 بر ہمدست بندت جہلا مقرر خاص فرزندہ ممدوح حاضر گردیدہ وجہ نور بموجب ارشاد
 مفصل ذیل کے گزرا نیدہ باشند۔

Then follow the details of the amounts of *nazars* to be presented which I reproduce in English for the convenience of the readers:

- (1) Customs Officers, Amritsar; 5 golden *butki's*; (2) Customs Officers, Lahore; 2 golden *butkis*; (3) Diwan Sanwan Mall, Governor of Multan, 51 golden *butkis* and 5 horses; (4) Sardar Lehna Singh Majithia:—(a) for the province of Kangra, 11 golden *butkis*; (b) for the District of Rehlu, 7 golden *butkis*; (c) for other districts under his jurisdiction, Rs. 65 and 2 horses; (5) Faqir Aziz-ud-Din, for his districts of Wazirabad, etc., Rs. 126

IV

DECORATIONS

About two years before his death, or more exactly on the occasion of the marriage of his grandson, Prince Nau Nihal Singh (March, 1837), Maharaja Ranjit Singh instituted an Order of Merit after the fashion of Western nations. It would seem that in this he was influenced by the French officers in his employ. The Order and the medal which was the insignia of the Order have all the appearance of being largely instituted after the style of the *Legion de Honour* instituted by Napoleon Bonaparte in 1802 A.D. Even some of the phraseology used in describing the Order appears to have been taken from the French original²⁹

and one horse; (6) Misar Rup Lal, (Governor of Jallundar and Hoshiarpur), Rs. 98 and one horse; (7) Misar Beli Ram, for the districts under his charge, Rs. 12; (8) Raja Lal Singh, for his districts, Rs. 10 and one horse; (9) Misar Ram Kishen, Rs. 5; (10) Officers of Dera Ismail Khan, 21 golden *butkis* and one horse; (11) Officers of Tonk, 5 golden *butkis* and one horse; (12) Officers of Kalabagh, Rs. 11 and one horse; (13) Sardar Sultan Muhammad, (Tributary of Peshawar), one horse; (14) Sher Baz Khan of Punch, Rs. 21 and one horse; (15) Officers of Kohistan (Hill district), Rs. 56 and 9 horses; (16) Governor of Kashmir, 101 golden *butkis* and one horse; (17) Remaining districts, 17 golden *butkis* and 7 horses. In regard to the rest—namely, the Irregular cavalry, the Regular army, the Artillery, the Garrison infantry, the Officers of the Secretariat, the Officers of the stables, etc.—the document furnishes no details but simply states that officers and men of all grades in civil and military departments will present *nazars* according to their pay and rank from rupee one to rupees five (*az yak rupaya ta panj rupaya nazar ba qadr-i-khud bi dihand*). On page 297, Daftar iii, part II, of his book, Sohan Lal also refers to this event. He gives 23rd Mangh (3rd February, 1836), as the date of the actual performance of the ceremony, viz., 3 days later than the date given in the official document. Sohan Lal also gives a few items of the *nazars* presented on the occasion which agree with Nos. (1) to (5) reproduced in my note above, except that in the case of Fakir Aziz-ud-Din (No. 5), Sohan Lal gives 11 golden *butkis* and one horse (*yāzdaḥ butki-o-yak rās asp*), whereas the official document has, in that case, Rs. 126 and one horse. The value in rupees of a golden *butki* did not exceed rupees six.

29. Some of the contemporary references on this point are rather conflicting. A chance remark of the French Naturalist, Victor Jacquemont, corroborates the view I have expressed above. "Ventura and Allard," he says, "persuaded the Maharaja to create a military decoration; but he soon made it so cheap that they got him to suppress it." (Translation of Jacquemont's Journal, by Mr. H. L. O. Garrett.) But this would seem to suggest that the decoration referred to by Jacquemont was different from the one under re-

The title of the Order was *Kaukab-i-Iqbál-i-Punjab* (Star of the prosperity of the Punjab); and the Grand Master of the Order was Prince Nau Nihal Singh.³⁰ It was represented by a large gold medal of three different classes depending upon the nature of the precious stones with which they were ornamented. These three classes correspond to the three grades of the Order which they represented. The following is a brief description of the three classes of the medals (*taghma*). It may be mentioned at once that all the three bore an effigy (*pratima*) of Ranjit Singh in bust in the centre on one side, while on the other side the names of the Maharaja was artistically engraved in the *minákári* work. The medals were provided with a slik riband of gold and scarlet colour (*surkh-o-Zard*), and the recipients were expected 'to wear them round their neck' (*dar gulu áwézánkhwáhand bud*), so that the medal itself rested on the breast of the wearer. As the name indicates, all the three medals were in the shape of a star with ten rays radiating from the centre. Five of these rays were longer, and the other five somewhat smaller, and the long and short rays alternated. The size of the medals of the first and second class were the same, measuring $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches (*yak girah*) along the largest diameter. I have not been able to come across any reference to the size of the medal of the third class, but I presume all the three

ference, since the French traveller visited the court of Ranjit Singh in A.D. 1831, that is, six years before the Order of Merit was instituted. In the records of the Sikh government, however, I have not come across a mention of any other Order or decoration except the Order of Merit under reference.

Again, Cunningham in his History of the Sikhs, observes that, "the object of the Maharaja was simply to gratify his English neighbours, and advantage was accordingly taken of Sir Henry Fane's presence to establish the "Order of the auspicious Star of the Punjab" on a purely British model. This view of Captain Cunningham seems also to receive support from a couple of letters of Captain C. M. Wade which he addressed to the Government of India. Captain Wade, it appears further from these letters, had also something to do with the drawing up of the rules and regulations of the Order for the Sikh Government. Since these letters are so informing and throw so much of additional light on the whole scheme of instituting this Order of Merit that I have thought it worth while reproducing these in full, at the end of my paper.

30.

سرخیل این خطاب مستطاب و محافظ این رسم بمنیت انتساب قره باهره شهبازی
کنود نوبال سنگه بیو باشند۔

medals were of equal size, the difference in the value and importance of the three medals being, as I have mentioned above, in the number and character of the precious stones set in them. (*Murrasa' ba almás*).

Medal of the First Class was ornamented with a diamond

Medal of the Second Class had two precious stones set in it, namely a diamond and an emerald (*almás-o-zumurrud*). Presumably these were smaller stones than the single stone set in a medal of the First Class.

Medal of the Third Class contained a single stone emerald set in it without any other kind of stone

The document which gives details of the three grades of the Order (with the three corresponding classes of the medal) shows that the admission to the Order of the First Grade was limited to the members of the family of the Maharaja, and a small number of distinguished chiefs and noblemen who had given proof of their devotion and, fidelity to the person of the Maharaja and his House. Order of the Second Grade was bestowed upon loyal courtiers, notable Sardars, governors of provinces, generals of the army and ambassadors or very high officials in political service. The Order of the Third Grade was open to (a) military officers of the rank of Colonel, Major or Captain who had earned distinction for bravery, resourcefulness, alertness and faithfulness; (b) civil servants distinguished for ability and honesty, and (c) other persons enjoying confidence and worthy of greater confidence and honour.³¹

31.

دبعل لال منخر است. بخاندان سرکار و روسا و امیران نامدار که به رالطه اخلاص و ضابطه
اتحاد معروف و مشهور اند۔ و دویم بمقریان با رگاه و سرداران بلند پایگاه و ناظران و جزیلین
و منیران ارادت و اخلاص آگاه که به نمک حلالی به خیرخواهی و با اخلاص مندی مستمر باشند
سویم با فسران اصا کرمانند کرنیل و میجر یا کپتان که از خدمات آنها دلائل بختیاری و تابع داری
و جوانمردی مقرر باشند و کارپردازان که بلیاقت و دیانت موصوف باشند۔ یا مقبران که
لایق مزید اعتبار و اعزاز باشند بدرجه بزرگتم ممتاز میتوان شد۔

In this connection see also Sohan Lal, Daftar III, Part IV, p.431.

It is worth mentioning that the admission to the Order was accompanied by an award of a title as well as an appropriate *Khila'at*. Thus an Order of the first grade was accompanied by the award of the title of the Raja and a *Khila'at* comprising a sword, a shield, a pair of gold bracelets, a golden chain set with pearls (*māla-marwārid*) and a *sarpech* for the turban. Similarly, admission to the second grade carried with it the title of Sardār together with a *Khila'at* consisting of a sword, a shield, and a pair of gold bracelets while the title of Bahādur and *Khila'at* of a sword and a pair of gold bracelets was bestowed upon persons of the last grade of the Order.³²

The recipient was also presented with a long document (as a sort of certificate) in which his official position as well as his services and qualifications for the grant were recounted in great detail.³³ A duplicate copy of this document was preserved in the *toshakhāna* Department of the State. At the same time, a brief entry of the gist of this document was made in a special bound book kept in the custody of the Diwan's Office. The fact of the award was duly notified to the officers of the various government departments as well as to the public.

The decoration, the document further states, 'is revokable by the State in case of misconduct on the part of the grantee.' More than this, in case of the misconduct of the grantee not only was

32.

ہکسانیکہ تہہ درجہ اول مرحمت خواہد گردید یک قبضہ شمشیر و یک قبضہ سپر و یک جوڑی کنگن طلا و یک مالا مروارید و یک سرپیچ و بہ اشخاص درجہ دوم یک قبضہ شمشیر و یک قبضہ سپر و یک جوڑی کنگن طلا و بدرجہ سوم یک قبضہ شمشیر و یک جوڑی کنگن طلا نیز عنایت شود۔ و اشخاص درجہ اول بلقب راجہ دوم بہ سردار و درجہ آخر بلقب بہادر محرز و مقرر باشند۔

It appears that at this time, the Maharaja was contemplating to systematise the award of medals, titles, and *Khila'ats*, but, probably, indifferent health and the frontier complications during the two short years of life left to him did not allow him to carry out his intentions.

33. One such document I came across while examining the records of the year Sambat 1893, (1836-37 A.D.). It is a long document and is dated 28th Sanwan 1894. It is a copy of the certificate granted to Monsieur Avitabile at the time of his admission to the Order.

a line drawn across all the entries (*qalam-i-nahi bi kushad*), but also the man was publicly disgraced. His titles were forfeited, and both copies of the document, viz., the one in his own possession and the other in the State office were torn to pieces in the presence of all the courtiers, and "if the man belongs to the army, he will be subjected to similar punishment on the parade ground in the presence of his own camp or *paltan*."³⁴

We learn from Sohan Lal³⁵ that the first recipients of the Order were Princes Kharak Singh, Nau Nihal Singh and Shēr Singh. Next came several Sardārs prominent among whom were Raja Gulab Singh, Raja Dhian Singh or Raja Kalān, as he was popularly known, Raja Suchet Singh, Raja Hira Singh, Jamadar Khushal Singh, Sardar Attar Singh Sindhanwalia, Sardar Dhana Singh Malvai, Sardar Lehna Singh Majithia, and several others of high rank and position. After these came the turn of a large number of high officials of the State including Diwan Sanwan Mal, Diwan Dina Nath; Generals Avitabile, Court and Allard, Faqir Aziz-ud-Din, Lala Jawahar Mal, Mian Illahi Bakhsh, and several others of the artillery department.

We also learn from the Diarist, whom we have just quoted, that the four officers, namely the Commander-in-chief (Sir Henry Fane), Captān Sahib (Captain C. M. Wade), Mackeson Sahib (Lt. Mackison) and Wahi (?) Sahib had not been permitted to wear the medals (*taghma ha dar 'unaq na andakhtah*) awarded to them

34.

بناعلم از برکس امر که خلاف اوصاف مسبوق الذکر سرزد۔ سرزنش آنست کہ منصب و خطاب او چیز قمری در آرند۔ اگر شخصی مرتکب سرزوار این خطاب و منصب و اسناد متعلقہ او سر در پار محضور جمیع سرداران و مصاحبان کشیدہ اسنادش چہ در دفتر معلی و چہ نزد آن شخصہ پارہ نموده شود۔ دیوان اعظم نیز در کتاب مفوضہ خود بنام شخصہ مذکور قلم نہی بکشند و ہر گاہ از عہدہ داران و افسران افواج باشند در آن صورت بالمواجبہ کمپو ویا پلاٹن کہ بدان متعلق باشند بسر قواعد گاہ موردیم سر باشند۔

35. Diary of Ranjit Singh, daftar iii, part IV, pp. 490-91.

pending the approval of the sovereign of England. On the Governor General informing the Maharaja of this fact, the latter appreciated His Excellency's point of view.

It was my intention to close this paper with a facsimile of the *Kaukab-i-Iqbál-i-Punjab*, but with all my efforts I have failed to come across the medal or even a portrait of it. In a photograph of General Allard taken from some old oil painting and reproduced in the life of Alexander Gardner, I find two star-shaped decorations worn by that renowned officer. On examination of the details of the two decorations in the picture I am inclined to believe that the upper and the bigger one represents the ten-rayed Star of the Punjab whereas the other probably signifies Napoleon's Legion of Honour which Allard had received when he was in the service of the French Empire.

Since the above was written, a portrait of the medal presented to Captain C. M. Wade has been received by the Keeper of the Records of the Government of the Punjab, and he has very kindly permitted to make use of it for my article.

LETTERS OF CAPTAIN C. M. WADE*

SECRET CONSULTATIONS, 24 APRIL, 1837

No. 11.

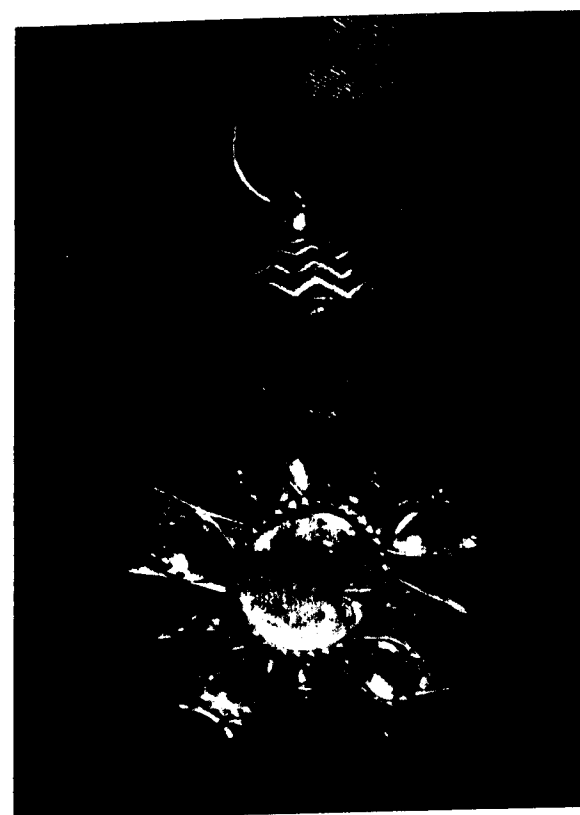
To.

W. H. MACNAGHTEN ESQUIRE,
Secretary to the Government of India,
FORT WILLIAM.

Secret Department.

Para 21st. Ranjit Singh has chosen the late event of his grandson's marriage and the number of distinguished persons which it assembled at his Court as an appropriate occasion for giving effect to an idea which he had long ago entertained of establishing an Order of Merit. At the audience of leave H. Highness conferred the decoration of it on the Commander-in-Chief and myself (Wade). In investing His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief with it, he requested that he would obtain the sanction of his sovereign to wear it. He mentioned also to me his intention of sending one to the Right Honourable the Governor General and another to Sir Ch. Metcalfe who are, I hear, preparing for despatch. Five other

*I am indebted to Mr. H. L. O. Garrett, I.E.S., Keeper of the Records of the Government of the Punjab, for permission to reproduce these two letters and other documents from English and Vernacular records.



By courtesy of the Government of the Punjab

decorations of the same grade as my own were to have been conferred on Colonels Beresford, Sumley, Churchill, Tarrens and Dunlop, but one only was prepared in sufficient time to be presented which was sent for Col. Beresford, who was formally invested with it by His Excellency. The Maharajah has entrusted to me the designation and the framing of the rule and regulations of the order in consultation with the Commander-in-Chief, and His Excellency having kindly agreed to afford me his aid I propose with the permission of government to concert with him the best mode of carrying the wishes of His Highness into effect.

Camp, Ferozpur,
7th April, 1837.

(Sd.) C. M. WADE,
Br. Agent.

No. 961.

To

W. H. MACNAUGHTEN, Esq.,
Secretary to the Government of India,
With the Right Honourable the Governor-General.

SIR,

With reference to your letter of the 2nd October last to my address forwarding a *Khrita* from the Governor-General of India for Maharajah Ranjit Singh, conveying His Lordship's congratulations on the occasion of His Highness instituting his late Order of Merit, I have the honour to transmit the Maharajah's reply together with a copy of a letter, dated the 15th of January last, which I wrote to Lieut. Mackison, who was then at Lahore and that officer's reply giving effect to the instructions contained in your letter.

I forward at the same time a draft of the rules and regulations which I prepared at Ranjit Singh's desire for the institution of his Order agreeably to the 7th paragraph of your letter of the 24th of April, 1837, to my address.

The asterisks shew the place where the one finally adopted differs from the original.

In compliance with your request it now only remains for me to state that the decoration of the Order in question is an enjewelled star composed in part of diamonds and in part of emeralds set in gold and having ten points, five large and five small. In the center of it on the obverse is the effigy of the Maharajah and on the reverse His Highness's name and title. Its estimated value is not more, I learn, than five hundred rupees.

I return the one which has been presented to me pending the reference on the subject which His Lordship has expressed his intention of making both to Her Majesty's Government and to the Hon'ble the Court of Directors.

Ludhiana,

I have, etc. etc.,
(Sd.) C. M. WADE,
Pol. Agent.

Reviews

ON ANCIENT CENTRAL-ASIAN TRACKS

By SIR AUREL STEIN, K.C.I.E.,
Macmillan & Co. Ltd., London.

This is the latest account by the well-known archaeologist and explorer, whose larger works, *Ancient Khotan*, *Serindia* and *Innermost Asia*, not to mention others, are very well known. This, the latest work of his so far, contains a brief narrative of the three expeditions that he undertook in that little known part of Asia comprising the vast extent of the country, bounded by the empire of China on the one side, and the Tibetan plateau and the Himalayas on the other, and also comprising the also vast extent of country included in the term Central Asia. The work is based upon a course of lectures that he delivered in the Lowell Institute, Boston, Mass. The work is welcome as coming from the author, and presents in quite a readable form the narrative of Stein's explorations in the three expeditions that he undertook. The more so, the larger works having become more or less inaccessible. The difficulty of compressing such a vast amount of matter in a small compass is to some considerable extent removed by the large number of illustrations provided in the book from previous publications of the author. Even so, it would have been difficult for any one else to have presented such a clear and interesting narrative except by the author himself in the compass of a little over 300 pages and with 150 illustrations. The interest of the narrative is sustained throughout, assisted as the whole is by a very good map provided at the end of the work. The work is prefaced with about 50 pages of preliminary matter giving the main geographical features of the locality, the general history of Asia throwing light upon the vicissitudes that came over that locality and on account of the regions travelled. Then follows a detailed exposition of the particular spots visited and the discoveries made. Naturally the region of Khotan which played its own part in Indian Buddhist history comes in for a good share. But a similar tale is unfolded by the discoveries that Sir Aurel was able to make in other interesting sites, of which the principal ones are the Niya site including that of a locality near about going by the name Endera; and then an important site Miran, taking it forward to the next one Lou-lan in the middle of the desert. Investigations here gave the first hints in regard to the lines of fortification built by the Chinese rulers for the purpose of keeping the Central Asian nomads out of the frontier.

The fortified posts connected by a line of wall have been discovered intact in various places and provided in addition a considerable mass of material, archaeological, artistic and literary which throws a flood of new light upon the historical vicissitudes of the basin itself, and, what is more, upon the general history of the surrounding civilised regions including the mutual influences of the different civilizations, Iranian, Chinese and Indian. Evidence is also forthcoming that classical and Christian influences have had their share. Farther east than Miran, the most important site happens to be Tun-huang, containing the thousand Buddhas as it is called. The investigations carried on into the Nan-shan and the journeys undertaken from there northwards presenting the walls and the sites through which the ancient commercial and military routes passed is another important feature. In fact the book provides a clear, reliable, well authenticated account of the commercial intercourse, embodying the course of the silk trade, together with the various necessary expansions of the Chinese power at different times. The military and commercial routes are thrown into full relief. Sow-chou and Kan-chow constitute a part of China, which comes into touch with the eastern extremity of this desert region from where a northern and southern route are traceable, the northern being the more exposed to the depredations of the nomadic tribes across the Tien-shan mountains. The whole of this northern route is now traced clearly for us starting from An-hsi, proceeding through Hami and Turfan Kara-shahr, Kucha, Aksu round to Kashgar; and thence through Yarkhand to Khotan, thus completing the whole circuit. But the journey to reach Kashgar from India through the mountain mass that constitutes the roof of the world, is another interesting adventure in exploration and the different routes taken on the three expeditions by the author are also expounded with a wealth of detail that makes the difficult subject interesting reading.

Sir Aurel Stein's explorations in the Tarim basin were not only fruitful of great geographical results such as the marking of the routes of ancient and mediaeval commerce and communication between China and the rest of the world, but had also resulted in the acquisition of a vast mass of material throwing light upon the inter-action of the different civilisations and the influences each one of which exercised upon the others. This mass of material, the Tun-huang finds easily taking the leading place, although important contributions were made by other centres that he visited, is still under investigation, and the results of work so far done have been incorporated in the various volumes published by him and elsewhere. While in the realm of art, commerce, and politics, there is

evidence of a very considerable and brisk exchange of material and exercise of influence, in the realm of literature, the interconnection is perhaps much more important. In this vast region as elsewhere, the contact of cultures is about the same in point of character. Works of art and commerce show borrowing almost on equal terms. In the realm of literature and religion India seems to have contributed the most. The documents recovered are all of them in Sanskrit, and the greatest number of them bear on Buddhism of the Mahāyāna type. It is pleasing to note among these several valuable pieces of literature that were hitherto regarded as being completely lost. Of course in this region as in the others, Indian culture is found more or less as super-culture, and is responsible for a vast influence in religious life and in the creation of literature bearing on religion. Some of the works of Āśvaghoṣha were recovered from here. Besides these numbers of inscriptions have been discovered in the Kharoṣṭī character mostly, although some prominent examples of the Brāhmī script as well have been found. These inscriptions throw a valuable light upon history, and prove to be the means of recovering for India the history of a very important period. Apart from these inscriptions in Indian languages and script, several documents in Chinese characters have been found of greater importance as providing us much needed dates which provide the means of settling even Indian chronology in respect of important epochs. The Tang annals receive valuable support from the documents here discovered and bear dates. It is hardly necessary to say more than merely to recommend that the book will amply pay perusal for those that are curious to know more.

The illustrations throughout are simply magnificent and well chosen to make the understanding of the narrative easy. The map leaves nothing to be desired. The work provides a summary narrative of the work for the general reader, and is undoubtedly a welcome addition to the literature on the subject, the greater works embodying the more systematic accounts of these explorations notwithstanding.

THE SĀṆKHYA-KĀRIKĀ OF ĪŚVARA KRṢṆA

EDITED AND TRANSLATED

By MR. S. S. SURYANARAYANA SASTRI, M.A., B.Sc., BAR-AT-LAW,

Department of Philosophy, University of Madras.

Second edition—revised. 1935. Price Rs. 2/- or 4 Sh.

This excellent edition of the *Sāṅkhya-Kārikā* places within the easy reach of University students the text and English translation

of the earliest authoritative work on classical Sāṅkhya. On account of the concise and lucid exposition it presents of the Sāṅkhya doctrine, it has justly been described as 'the pearl of the whole scholastic literature of India'. Its exact date, as in the case of other philosophical works, is quite indefinite; but it is certain that it cannot be later than the fifth century A.D., because, at about 550 A.D., Paramārtha, the Buddhist monk, translated the Sāṅkhya-Kārikā, along with a commentary on it into Chinese under the name 'the Golden Seventy Discourse'. There is difference of opinion with regard to the identity of this commentary. In all probability, the *Māthara Vṛtti*, with which it is sometimes identified, is a much later work. There have been several commentaries on the *Sāṅkhya-Kārikā*, of which the most important is Vācaspati Miśra's *Sāṅkhya-tattva-Kaumudī*. A comparatively recent and hitherto unpublished commentary, a manuscript of which is to be found in the Adyar Library, is named *Sāṅkhya-taru-vasantāḥ*. Its author, Muḍumba Narasiṃhasvamin, tries to show that the Sāṅkhya is much closer to the Vedānta than is usually supposed. In this edition, Mr. Suryanarayana Sastri has incorporated much interesting information from this commentary. His translation is eminently readable and faithful. The notes given at the end of each verse contain very useful discussions on the problems raised by the text. The introduction gives a critical exposition of the Sāṅkhya doctrines. The student will find the discussion of the relation of the Sāṅkhya to the Upaniṣads and to Buddhism and of the correspondence between the Sāṅkhya account of evolution and the modern scientific view of the same very instructive. Tabular statements indicating the evolution of Prakṛti and the creation of intellect, and, verse, index considerably add to the value of the book.

R. R.

THE MATSYA PURANA—A STUDY

By

V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR, M.A.,

Lecturer in Indian History, University of Madras, Published by the Madras University, (1935) Price Re. 1/-.

The wealth of historical material which the Purāṇas yield at the hands of a competent historian is well borne out by the book under review. It is gratifying to note that Mr. V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar is continuing his critical study of the Purāṇas. I had

occasion to review his first work on the Purāṇas "*Some Aspects of the Vayu Purāṇa*" in this Journal. That work, as well as the one under review, shows clearly that much historical material lies scattered in the pages of the Purāṇas, which has not been brought out by scholars till very recently. Such critical studies as these on the Purāṇas are sure to dispel many misconceptions about them, and throw a flood of light on the culture and civilisation of Ancient India.

In this book modestly entitled "A Study" Mr. Dikshitar has covered a wide field though he does not pretend to have exhausted all that could be said on the materials contained in the Matsya Purāṇa. The first chapter is on the flood legends. After a careful and comparative study of the legend-histories of the ancient world, the author concludes that the original place of the flood was South India. His criticism, in this connection, of Frazer's remark on the form of the story in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa may be accepted as sound. After speaking of the origin of the Purāṇa he critically examines the concept of the Daśāvatāra in the light of the evolutionary theory, where we find much new matter. The chapter on the date of the Purāṇa shows much painstaking and research. The date assigned by the author seems reasonable and acceptable.

Equally interesting is the chapter on the polity as described in the Purāṇa. The view is taken, perhaps rightly, that the author of the Purāṇa has largely followed the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya in dealing with the political and administrative institutions. Here, as elsewhere, he has emphasised that the Hindu king was a constitutional monarch and not a self-willed autocrat. This chapter is concluded with a reference to the sixteen *mahādānas* developed from the Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa to a very late period of Vijayanagara history.

The most original part of this book is the chapter on Architecture. At the outset a summary account of the origin of Indian Architecture is furnished on the authority of the Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa. Referring to the Śikhara style of architecture Mr. Dikshitar is inclined to the view that it is much more ancient than even that of the Gupta period. The author is to be congratulated on the string of convincing arguments he has set forth to prove that brick and stone were in use for architectural purposes in India from pre-historic times, and thus to falsify the theory of Fergusson that "it would be in vain to look for any early architecture of any importance in India before Aśoka's time."

P. S. S.

HISTORY OF POLITICAL THOUGHT FROM RAM-MOHUN TO DAYANANDA (1821-84)—VOL. I. BENGAL

By BIMANBEHARI MAJUMDAR, M.A.

Published by the University of Calcutta—1934—pp. XI & 509.

This book claims to evaluate the original thought of modern Bengali political thinkers and politicians and to prove that some of their ideas were in advance even of contemporary European concepts. Of course conscious thought began to develop with Raja Rammohun Roy who pursued the inductive and historical method, and was influenced largely by Montesquieu, Blackstone and Bentham. The Raja advocated new legislation to take the place of customary law only when the latter was not reasonable, nor consistent with public welfare. Our author claims that the Raja forestalled Austin in the discovery of the distinction between law and morality. In matters of individual liberty, freedom of thought, equality of all in law and liberty of the press, the Raja was as thorough-going as any Western individualist, though he was not totally *laissez-faire* with reference to the activity of the State. Many ideas have been culled by our author from the writings and papers of those Bengalis who were deemed to follow Rammohun's ideas and political school. One of them was influenced by French Revolutionary doctrines and upheld the theory of natural rights which it was the duty of Government to maintain. Akshoy Kumar Datta inherited from the Raja the spirit of philosophical speculation, expressed his support of the contractual theory of the origin of government and followed the deductive method. In some particulars, however, this writer seems to have been Montesquieuan, inter-relating the character of society with the nature and form of government. Again he felt no hesitation in invoking the aid of government in effecting social reforms. He put forward a complete theory of education in his *Dharmanīti*. His theory of punishment is very modern; and above all he stressed upon the Englishman's duty to the Indian. The latter idea was furthered by Dwarkanath Tagore, who initiated the policy of subsidising British public men to agitate for Indian reform. Other writers stressed on the importance of separating the executive and judicial functions and on the freedom of the individual from arbitrary imprisonment and detention without open trial. In the second half of the nineteenth century the influence of Bankin Chandra Chatterji was conspicuous among others. He enunciated a vigorous theory of nationalism which was promoted by a strong reaction against Western religion and civilisation as well as by a revelation

of the country's glorious past and a repercussion of Western nationalism. He was influenced, likewise, by Bentham, Comte and Mill; and he laboured hard to raise nationalism to the dignity of a religion and to make the motherland both the mother and the goddess whose strength should be derived from the entire population. In his *Dharmatattva* he modified Comte's religion of humanity and held that the love of humanity is the love of God, and patriotism should be based on the love of humanity. He was aware of the value of history for rousing national consciousness. Apart from his other ideals about the State and other concepts, he tackled the problem of mass education with right earnestness.

Raja Kristo Das Pal has been termed by the author "the father of the policy of progressive realisation of self-government"; and Sisirkumar Ghosh, the genius of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, can claim credit as the first exponent of the Extremist school of Indian politicians. He was an exponent of middle-class democracy and boldly demanded a Parliament for India as early as 1870. He had an all-India outlook and laboured to appeal to the British and American middle-classes. His idea of the responsibility of the voter was very thorough; and his theory of punishment was based on the elimination of the death sentence which he justified by having recourse to Locke's philosophy. His plea for the freedom of the press is well known. He held that imperialism was harmful not only to the conquerors but to the subject peoples also.

A chapter on the Muslim school of thought is put in; therein we read that the agitation for separate consideration for the Muslim community originated with the Bengal and Bihar Muhammadans. Mahomed Yusuf claimed in 1883 separate representation for Muslims and, what is more remarkable, advocated women's franchise for the first time in India.

The treatment of the political thought of the post-Congress era should comprehend the ideas of men like Surendranath Banerjea put forth in the pre-Congress era. A more marked line between the thought of leaders as such and their political activity may be adopted in the succeeding volume.

C. S. S.

BOMBAY IN THE DAYS OF GEORGE IV: MEMORIES OF SIR EDWARD WEST.—WITH HITHERTO UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS

By F. DAWTREY

With illustrations—(Second edition, revised and enlarged).

Longmans, Green & Co. London: pp. XVIII & 342—price 10/6 net.

Sir Edward West, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court at Bombay, was appointed by George Canning to the Recordship of Bombay in 1822 and became the first head of the Supreme Court established in the Western Presidency in May 1824. In that epoch there was a scarcely disguised hostility between the Company's government and the King's Judges which, in the words of Mr. Drewitt, a grand-nephew of the hero whose letters to his sister, Mrs. Lane, have been utilised, was "the opposition of the old order of society in India, especially in Bombay, with its old standards of public morality, which made the position of a king's judge who remembered his oath a difficult one." Mr. George Norton, Advocate-General at Bombay at the time, refused to conduct a prosecution for contempt of court, when asked by a judge, on the ground that he was not bound to prosecute offenders against the court unless ordered to do so by the Governor; Mountstuart Elphinstone himself turned a position to the advantage of the Executive and threw the blame on the Supreme Court, so that his biographer, Sir T. E. Colebrooke, wrote years afterwards that "one of the first acts of the Court was to appeal to the Executive to deport an unfortunate editor"; and Sir James Douglas, in his *Glimpses of Old Bombay* (1894) states that West himself deported Fair, the editor. Sir James Mackintosh who was not happy at Bombay during his tenure of the Recordship, complained of Bombay society and had to write that "the constitution of the Anglo-Indian government is founded in opposition to the most demonstrated principles of political science"; also he had to complain that Government did not put down indecent reflections on the administration of justice. In an action arising out of the settlement of the Deccan by Elphinstone, the King's Court gave in 1825 a judgment against his decision. An appeal to the Privy Council against the judgment got it reversed on the ground that the Court had no jurisdiction.

Sir Edward West complained against the police regulations in his charge to the Grand Jury who deemed them, however, to be expedient, even if illegal. West refused to sanction a proposal of Elphinstone to prohibit the publication of any newspaper except by persons licensed by the Governor. Nor was the situation eased

when Sir John Malcolm succeeded to the Governorship; the latter wrote, on the death of West, to the Board of Control that the next Chief Justice should be one who "must view himself as an aid to the Company"; and to his wife that he would not allow his government to be trampled upon "not by honest fellows with glittering sabres, but quibbling quill-driving lawyers."

By 1826 things had come to such a pass that Elphinstone challenged West to a duel—all arising out of a most trivial accident—which ended peacefully by the Governor cleverly managing to convince the Judge of his good intentions, even to the satisfaction of Lady West. Thus we get from Lady West's Diary and Journal, the letters to Mrs. Lane and the letters from Archdeacon Barnes who was with Bishop Heber in Bombay, glimpses of the European society in Bombay in those days when tempers were frail and life was monotonous and methods of executive administration were swift and sharp. Mr. Drewitt has nothing but full-throated condemnation for the Company's administration and says that men like Silk, Buckingham and Richards and the short-lived King's Judges in the Presidency Towns were "their Eumenides." We cannot support him in his conclusion (p. 341) that "it must have been greatly due to the work done by the King's Judges that the three presidency towns stood by the British during the Sepoy Mutiny."

The struggle between the Bombay Government, now under Malcolm, and the Supreme Court continued after the death of West—Sir John Peter Grant the sole surviving judge for a time holding that he had the power exercise the jurisdiction of the Court of the King's Bench over all territories subject to the Presidencies, and Malcolm using force to oppose the service of the writ of *Habeas Corpus*. Malcolm triumphed for the moment and got new judges appointed, "two tame elephants to lead the wild ones," as Lord Ellenborough, President of the Board of Control, wrote in a confidential letter.

Remarks on the sidelights of Bombay's social life occur in the letters of Lady West. The dismissal of W. Erskine, the oriental scholar and the translator of *Babar's Memoirs* from the office of Master in Equity by West, turned the opinion of the Presidency against the latter and led to a debate in the Commons in which Brougham and Sir James Mackintosh took part. West endeavoured to separate under-trial prisoners from convicts and to improve the position of debtors. Bishop Heber spent four months in Bombay and seems to have created a fresh moral atmosphere, his visit proving a blessing to all. The book is marked by a few lapses

like the statement, "the great Buddhist temple of Juggernaut at Orissa." (p. 97). It can serve as a useful complement to the *Life of Sir James Mackintosh* who, in the words of J. Douglas, "still appears the most splendid character in the whole range of Bombay history."

C. S. S.

Select Contents from Oriental Journals.

Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. 54, No. 4 (December 1934).

Berthold Laufer (1874-1934) (an eminent Sinologist and a former President of the A. O. Society)—Obituary Notice and Bibliography.

(2) A Hittite Text on the Duties of Priests and Temple Servants by E. H. Sturtenant (with transliterated text and complete critical apparatus and a few suggestions.

(3) Dr. Chiera's List of Duplicates to De Genouillac's *Textes Religieux Sumeriens* by S. N. Kramer.

Journal of the American Oriental Society.—Vol. 55, No. 4. Decr. 1935.

(1) Angel and Titan: An Essay in Vedic Ontology—by Ananda K. Coomaraswamy. The Devas and the Asuras, Angels and Titans, though distinct and opposite in operation—are in essence consubstantial, the distinction being not of essence but of orientation, revolution or transformation. This paper is complementary to the author's *Darker Side of Dawn* in Vol. 94 of Smithsonian Miscellaneous Publications, where the problem is approached on the feminine side.

(2) The Horses of T'ang Tai Tsung and the Stele of Yu by Helen E. Fernald—treating of the stone reliefs of the famous horses, two of which are now in the University Museum of Philadelphia.

(3) New Nuzi Texts and a New Method of copying Cuneform Tablets by E. R. Lacheman.

(4) Notes to Recently Published Nuzi Texts. The Nuzi records are very important for the study of the legal practices, the social and economic conditions and the cultural background of this East Tigris area, an interested witness of the Amarna age.

(5) The Magic Holly in Japanese Literature by Shio Sakamishi.

(6) The Garrett Shadic Monument of St. Luke by H. S. Gehman—showing the importance of the ms. in the study of the Coptic Gospels; this ms was copied in the 6th century.

(7) Ignazio Guidi—Selected Bibliography by Richard Gottheil, the great custodian of the Vatican Numismatic collection and Hebrew and Semitic scholar.

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The Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.—Vol. XIII; Part III—Journal, December 1935.

Trengganu Malay, by C. C. Brown—a treatise on a Malayan dialect which is much akin to the Kelantan dialect and less influenced by foreign words than other dialects of Malay.

Journal Asiatique—Tome CCXXVI, No. 2—April-June 1935.

(1) Essai sur La Phonétique des Emprunts Iraniens en Aramiën Talmudique by S. Telegdi.

(2) Simples Notes sur Le Pays de La Mer et L'Arabie, by Ch. F. Jean.

(3) *Melanges*
Répartition des Monnaies Anciennes en Afghanistan by J. Hackin.

La Première Ville D'Angkor by Victor Goloubew.

Sur le Nom "Tankaloucha" by A. Borissow.

Journal of the Asiatic Society of the Bengal Letters—Vol. I, 1935, No. 2.

(1) Mahmūd Gāwan by S. Wajahat Husain. This stresses on the effect of his death on the fall of the Bahmani dynasty and vindicates his loyalty to the Sultan.

(2) Life and Conditions of the People of Hindustan (1200-1550 A.D.)—mainly based on Persian sources by Kunwar Muhammad Ashraf.

The thesis treats of the Sultanat and its reactions on Muslim society, the court and court life, the economic condition of the masses and standards of life and the social conditions.

The Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. XI. No. 4, Decr. 1935.

(1) Balasore Copper-Plate Inscription of Sri Bhanu by Haridas Mitra.

(2) The Dasavaikālika-Niryukta by A. M. Ghatage.

(3) Zabita Khan, the Ruhēla Chieftain by Sir J. N. Sarkar.

(4) The Financial Administration of Lord William Bentinck by Ishwar Sahai.

(5) Kingship and Nobility in the 14th Century by Anil-chandra Banerjee.

(6) Racial and Cultural Inter-relations between India and the West at the Dawn of the Age of Copper by Panchanan Mitra.

(7) The Buddhist Meditation by Nalinaksha Dutt.

(8) The Dhammapada and the Udānavarga by P. K. Mukherjee.

(9) Prātisākhyas and Vedic Sākhās by M. Ghosh.

- (10) The Antiquity of Pandharpur by B. A. Saletore.
- (11) The Kharataragaccha Pattāvali compiled by Jinapāla, etc., by Dasarath Sharma.
- (12) On Gaudapāda Āgama Sastra by A. Venkatasubbiah.
- (13) Gauli by A. Venkatasubbiah.

The Journal of the Burma Research Society—Vol. XXIV, Part II, Aug. 1934.

- (1) The Early History of the Malay Archipelago by J. C. Furnivall. This account is largely based on Dr. N. J. Krom's Hindore—Javansche Geschiedenis (Ind. ed., 1931) and notices the earliest Indian colonisation, the rise of the Sailendra Kingdom of Srivijaya, Mataram, Kediri, Majapahit and the intrusion of Islam.
- (2) Lower Chindwin Nats, (3) Myin-byushin, (4) Komyoshin by R. R. Langham-Carter.
- (3) The Brahmanical Gods in Burma by R. P. C. The writer, in reviewing the book with the above title by Mr. N. R. Ray, supports the statement that though the Brahman with his knowledge of astronomy and law, played an important part in the royal court and in some of the ceremonies of the householder, had no influence beyond the immigrant colonies.

The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society—October-December, 1935.

- Chola Invasion of Bengal.—A. C. Banerji.
- A Note on the Allahabad Pillar of Asoka—C. S. Krishnaswamy Rao Saheb and Amalananda Ghosh.
- On the Form of the Bhagavadgītā contained in the Kashmirian Mahābhārata—F. Otto Schrader.
- The Punch-marked Coins: A Survival of the Indus Civilization—K. P. Jayaswal.

The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society—Vol. XXI, part 3.

- Astronomical Evidence on the Age of the Vedas—Gorakh Prasad, D.Sc.
- Location of Dantapura—Professor S. Levi.
- Some Old Accounts of Bhagalpur—Prof. K. K. Basu, M.A., Bhagalpur.
- Early Signed Coins of India (Additions and Corrections)—K. P. Jayaswal.

Journal of the University of Bombay—Vol. IV, Part 1.

- Two unpublished Fragmentary Valabhi Grants—A. S. Gadre.

Islamic Art and Architecture.—Ernst Cohn-Wiener.
The Parsis of Bombay and Parsi Charities.—P. A. Wadia.

The Indian Historical Quarterly—Vol. XI, Parts 3 & 4.

- Some unpublished Papers relating to Indo-British History and Administration from 1790-98.—Kalikinkar Datta, M.A.
- Cult and Cult-acts of Kēraḷa.—Prof. K. R. Pisharoti, M.A.
- An Old-Javanese Praśasti from Surabaya of the Śaka year 956.—Himansu Bhushan Sarkar, M.A.
- Pre-Historic Copper Celt.—Dr. Girindra Nath Mukherjee, B.A., M.D.
- Two Short Remarks on Ancient Indian History.—Prof. Dr. Jarl Charpentier, Ph.D.
- Humayun's Succession to the Throne.—Prof. S. K. Banerji, M.A., D.Phil.
- Events Leading up to the Battle of Panipat, 1761.—Sir Jadunath Sarkar.
- Balasore Copper-Plate Inscription of Sri Bhanu.—Haridas Mitra, M.A.
- Zabita Khan, the Ruhēla Chieftain.—Sir Jadunath Sarkar.
- The Financial Administration of Lord William Bentinck.—Iswhar Sahai, M.A.
- Kingship and Nobility in the 14th Century.—Anilchandra Banerjee, M.A.
- Racial and Cultural Inter-relations between India and the West at the Dawn of the Age of Copper.—Dr. Panchanan Mitra, M.A., Ph.D.

The Journal of Oriental Research—Vol. IX, part 3.

- Tanḍivāḍa plates of Prthvi Mahārāja.—Dr. M. Venkataramana Aiyah.

The Muslim University Journal, Vol. II, No. 3.

- An Arab account of India in the 14th Century (Being a translation of the chapters on India from al-Qalqashandi's Subh-ullā'isha).

The Journal of the Greater India Society, Vol. II, Nos. 1 & 2.

- Decline and Fall of Śailēndras.—Prof. Dr. R. C. Majumdar, M.A., Ph.D.
- The Śailēndravamśa.—Prof. J. Przyluski, D.Litt.
- An Old-Javanese Inscription from Penampihan of the Śaka year 1191.—Himansu Bhushan Sarkar, M.A.
- Identification of Śri Viṣṇuvarman of the Perak-Seal.—Dr. Bahadur Chand Chhabra, Ph.D.
- Contributions from the Mahāwamśa to our knowledge of the Mediaeval Culture of Ceylon.—Dr. Wilh. Geiger, Ph.D.

Veda and Avesta.—Dr. Batakrishna Ghosh, Ph. D., D.Litt.
 The Influx of Indian Sculpture into Fu-nan.—Dr. Ludwig
 Bachhofer, Ph. D.
 The Old-Javanese Copper-Plates from Sidoteka of the Śaka
 Year 1245—Himansu Bhusan Sarkar, M.A.

The Journal of the Assam Research Society, Vol. III, No. 3.
 The Kalitas.—Śrījut Kaliram Mehdi, M.A.
 The Date of Bukhtiyar's Invasion of Assam.—Dhirendra Nath
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 The Ancient Tripura Kingdom in the Kapili Valley.—K. L.
 Barua.
 The Koch Hero of the Seventeenth Century.—K. L. Barua.

Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, Vol. VIII, part I.
 Dated Chinese Manuscripts in the Stein Collection, II.—Lionel
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 Ray.
 A History of the Caliphate in the Hayat-al-hayawan of ad-
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 Nadir Shah's Campaigns in 'Oman, 1737-1744.—Laurence
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Notes on the Sakas.—Dr. Sten Konow, Ph.D.
 The Siege of Chitore, 1533-35, A.D.—Mr. Rajendra Chandra
 Hazra, M.A.
 Ala-Ud-Din Khalji's Deccan Expeditions.—Mr. Anilchandra
 Banerjee, M.A.

Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Vol. XXV, No. 4 and
 Vol. XXVI, No. 1.

Administration of the British in India in the first half of the
 Nineteenth Century.—Dr. K. N. Venkatasubba Sastri, M.A.
 Two Centuries Wadeyar Rule in Mysore (1565-1761).—N.
 Subba Rao, M.A.
 Karuvur or Vanjimanagaram.—S. V. Viswanatha, M.A.
 Population of the Mughal Empire in the Sixteenth and Seven-
 teenth Centuries.—C. S. K. Rao Saheb.
 Some South Indian Poetesses.—K. Raghavacharyulu, M.A., B.L.
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 manyan, M.A., L.T., and K. Venkataranga Raju.
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 Chengalvarayan.

OUR EXCHANGES

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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 Uni-
versity, 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.
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Ashrama", Luz, Mylapore.
12. *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*,
Bombay.
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ing, Sprott Road, Bombay.
15. *Le Monde Oriental*, Kungl : Universitetets Bibliotek, Uppsala.
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29. *The Telugu Academy Journal*, Cocanada.
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33. *The Gaekwad's Oriental Series*, Oriental Institute, Baroda.
34. *The Superintendent*, Government Museum, Madras.
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38. Verlag Der Asia Major, Leipzig C1, Scherlstr. 2.
39. *The Indian Literary Review*, D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co. 210, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay.
40. *Triveni*, Editor, Y. M. I. A. Buildings, 9, Armenian Street Madras.
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48. *Indian Culture*, The Indian Research Institute, 170 Manicktola St., Calcutta.
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