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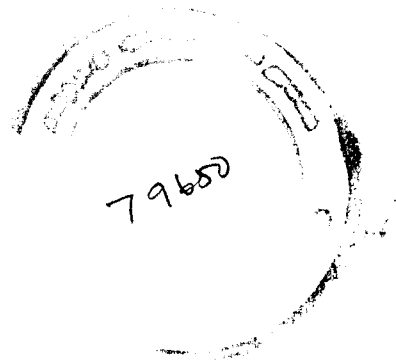
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Journal of Indian History

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 Panjāb 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, *Takhasīlaye 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 maharita*. 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 Kushāna 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 *Yāūa* 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.

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-ii-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-rada* inscribed on the Bīmarān vase,¹¹ or the *ja* in *Rajae* in (l. 4) the Kalawan plate.^{11-a} The word *jairajae*, it need hardly be said, is nothing if not the Prākṛit form of the Sāṃskṛit locative singular *Yuvarājyē* or *Yuvarāḥyē* 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 pasāsitam*', 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

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 Āmōhini 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-

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.

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 Indravarma.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

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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 *imtauhria*; 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 $\tilde{O}$, 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

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 or other 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

35. *Ibid.*, p. 578.

36. *Corpus*, p. xlviii.

37. *CHI*, pp. 434–55.

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 Kharoshthī 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 Kharoshthī is not met with in them. On the other hand the employment of Kharoshthī 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.

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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

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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

65. *Parthia*, p. 95.

66. *HHW*, p. 51.

67. *Parthia*, p. 114.

68. *HHW*, p. 61.

69. *Parthia*, pp. 115-16.

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 Kāpisa, 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 Kābul valley and the country north of the Kābul 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 Kharoshthī 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 Kharoshthī legends on his coins, which, it need hardly be said, are our only reliable guides in the matter.

Now if the Kharoshthī 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*-आ) 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*;⁹⁹ Hebrew *Ēsāu* (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 Kharoshthī 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*=*Bazedēo* (*RIC*, plate II. 12); *Vonones* (Graecized form of the Avestan *Vanāna*)=Onōnēs (*CHI*, pp. 578, 592, plate VIII. 50); and the Parthian (Pahlava) name *Avadagaśa*=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 Corneilīan,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 Jamālgaṛhī 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

—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* (ϐ), 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 *Māa* (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 *Māa* 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

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.

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 *Māvakaśa*, or with the vocalisation of *va* as *Māikaśa*, 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* *Mahamitasa* 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

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 *Jamālgarhī* 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 *Āshāḍha*.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*. 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* (ᱛ), *ṭi* (ᱠ) or possibly *pha* (ᱯ).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.

da in *Chadāśilae* (l. 2) in the *Kalawān* copper-plate (*EI* XXI p. 259 & plate opp.);

ḍa in *Makadaka* in Mount Banj inscription (*Corpus* p. 57, plate XI);

du in *eḍuo* in Kala Sang inscription (*Corpus*, p. 54, Pl. XI. 1);

ḍu in *Sabhadusa* in Shahdaur I (*Ibid.*, p. 16, Pl. III);

da in *Svedavarma* on the Kurram Casket (*Ibid.*, p. 155, Pl. XXVIII);

dre in *Hodreṇa* in Dharmarājika No. 2 (*Ibid.*, p. 91, Pl. XVII);

ti in *Kuṭimbini* in Sui Vihār plate (*ibid.*, p. 141, Pl. XXVI);

pha in *Utaraphagune* in Zeda inscription (*Ibid.*, p. 145, Pl. XXVI);

and

in *Mahiphatiena* on the Kurram Casket.

117. *CSHI*, p. 68.

118. *RIC*, Pl. II. 3, p. 9.

119. *CHI*, p. 589, Pl. VII. 26.

120. *Corpus*, pp. 28-9.

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 Prakrit 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 māsasa*, 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—*Samvatsaraye aṭhasatati-mae* 78, *maharayasa maham̐tasa*, *Māgasa paḍamasa māsasa 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 Kharoshthi 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 Kharoshthi 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 Brāhmi legend,¹³¹ *Mahākhata-pasa*

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putasa Khatapasa Soḍāsasa (g.s.) the *kshatrapa Soḍāsa* the son of the mahā-kshatrapa, does not contain the name of the mahā-kshatrapa, under whom his son Soḍāsa was then a kshatrapa, while neither the coins of Spaliris,^{132a} on the obverse of which he styles himself *Spalirios dikaïou 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 Mahanta*, 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, *dikaïos*, righteous, *nikēphoros* or *nikator*, victorious, *aniketos* unconquered, etc., which are respectively rendered in the corresponding Kharoshthī legends as *tratara* or *tradara*, Skt. *trātā*, *prachacha* Skt. *pratyaksha*), *dhramika*, *jayadhara*, *apadihata* (Skt. *apratihata*),

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

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*.

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 *paksha* (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 *Liasa*, 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

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—*Takhasīlaye 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.

151. *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20.

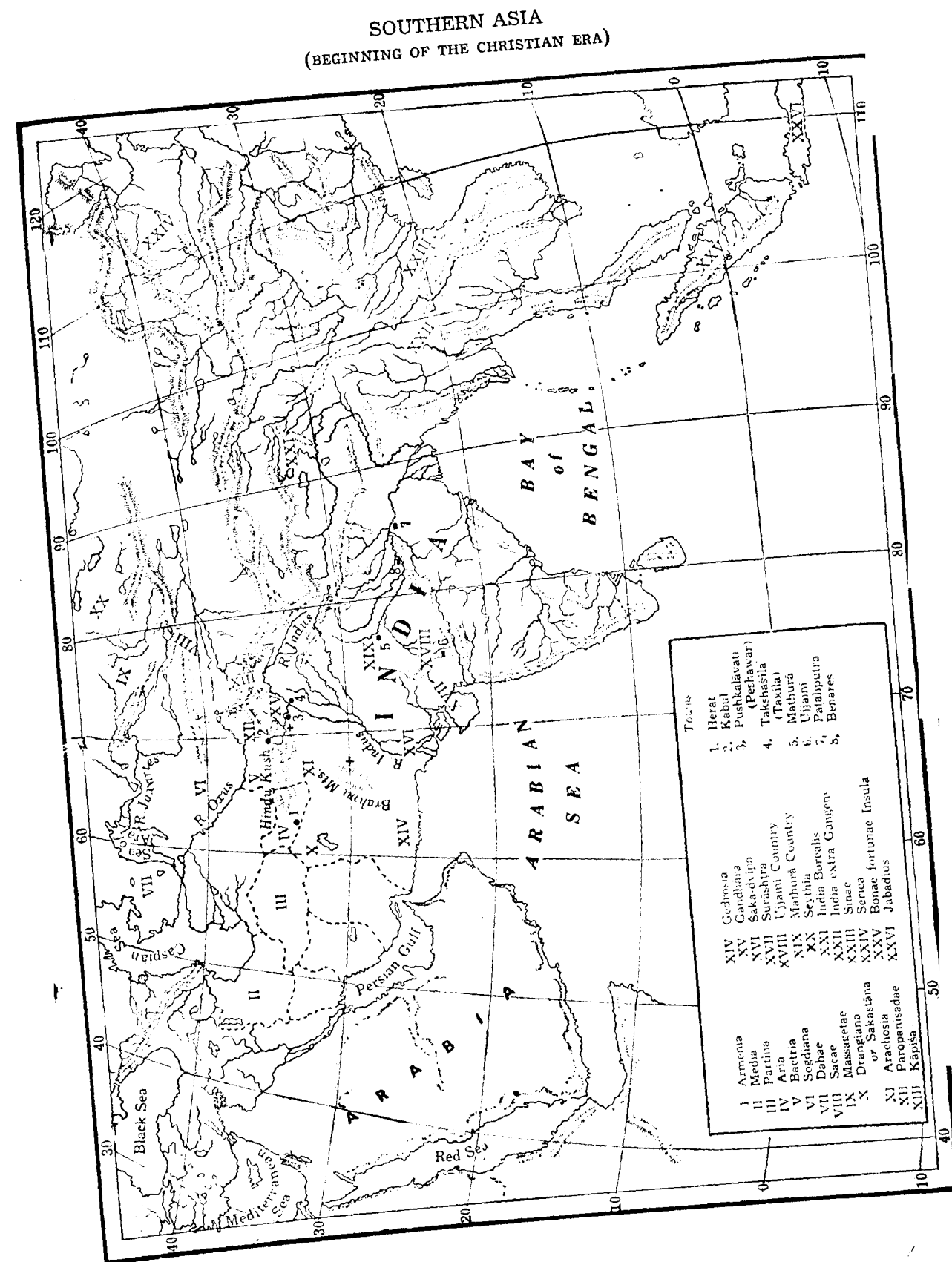
152. *Ibid.*, p. 48.

153. *Ibid.*, p. 26; *CHI*, p. 591, Pl. VIII, 42.

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 Surāshṭra. 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?



Date of Kadamba Mrgesavarman

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. Mrgeśavarman 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 Mrgeśavarman'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 Mrgeśavarman. It is however almost certain that Mrgeśavarman did not begin to rule earlier than A.D. 415.

Mrgeśavarman'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 Mrgeśavarman's and the beginning of Harivarman's reign, Mrgeśavarman could not have ended his rule before (538—35=) 503 A.D. Thus we see that the reign of Mrgeśavarman must have fallen in the period between A.D. 415 and 503.

Now, a grant of Mrgeśavarman (*Ind. Ant.*, VII, pp. 635-36) gives a verifiable date. The grant is said to have been made *rājyasya tṛtīye 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 Mrgeśavarman'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 Mṛgeśavarman 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 Mṛgeśavarman'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 Mṛgeśavarman'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 Daulatpore 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 Chōḷa 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] nālilē*' in line 10 of this record. Between the words *eḷundaruḷi* and *nālilē* 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 *eḷundaruḷ[na] nālilē* and translates it as 'on the day that Periyadevar left'. This translation is faulty because *eḷundaruḷi* can never mean "left" and *eḷundaruḷina-nālilē* 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*, *pārttu*, *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 Rājarāja 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—Rājarāja'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 vīrasimhāsanattu vīṇṇirundaruḷiya*) 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 Rājarāja 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 Rājarāja dated in Śaka 1091 (A.D. 1169) and 23rd regnal year, and quotes my remarks in extenso, viz., 'we know that Rājarāja 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 'Rājarāja 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 Rājarāja 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 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'. Thus it will be seen that he contradicts himself by first stating that Rājarāja 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 Rājarāja 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 Neriyaḍaipperumāl 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 Nasiruddin 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 Baqi Chaghāniani. 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 Firūz 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 Gwālior 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 Karani, 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 Firuza already granted during Bābur's march through the Punjāb to the battlefield of Pānīpat. Since Firishta 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 *Shahrukhi* 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 Iskan-dar 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 *shahrukhi* contained one *misqal* which is slightly less than ½ a tola of silver. According to Mirza Haider, one *shahrukhi* 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-Salātīn-i-Afghāna*,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. Firishta, 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 Ali, 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.

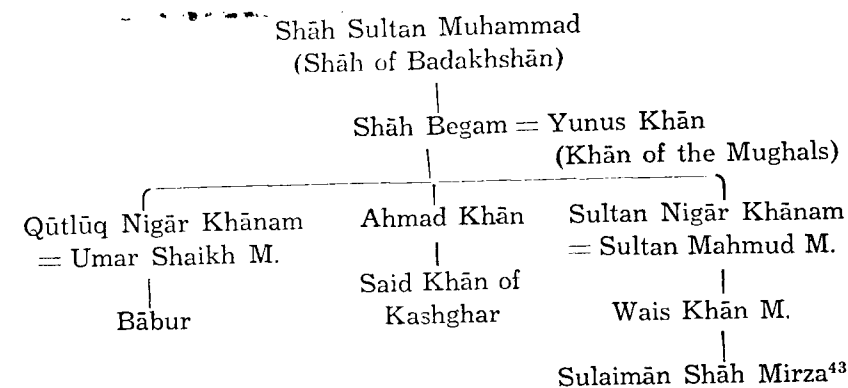
39. B. N., 626.

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 Muttra, 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 '*Fa'il*' 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 *Hadrat* 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 Humāyūn 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

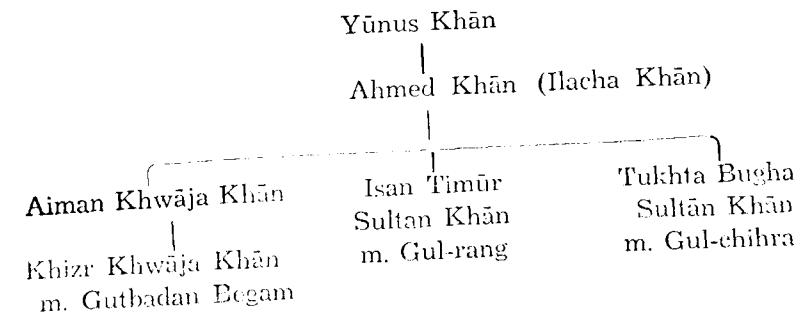
During the few months, yet vouchsafed to the king, he celebrated the marriages of two of his daughters, Gul-rang and Gul-Chihra Begams, with Isān Timur Sultan and Tūkhtā Būghā Sultan respectively. The genealogy of the Sultans may be given.

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 Jamadul-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 Mubārika.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 Jehāngir.

53. B. N. 710.

Portraits of the Greater Moghuls

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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 Jehāngir, is in the Bodleian Library entitled *The Dying Man*. Ms. Ouseley, Add. 171-b, 4v.

3. E. Blochet, *Muselman 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.

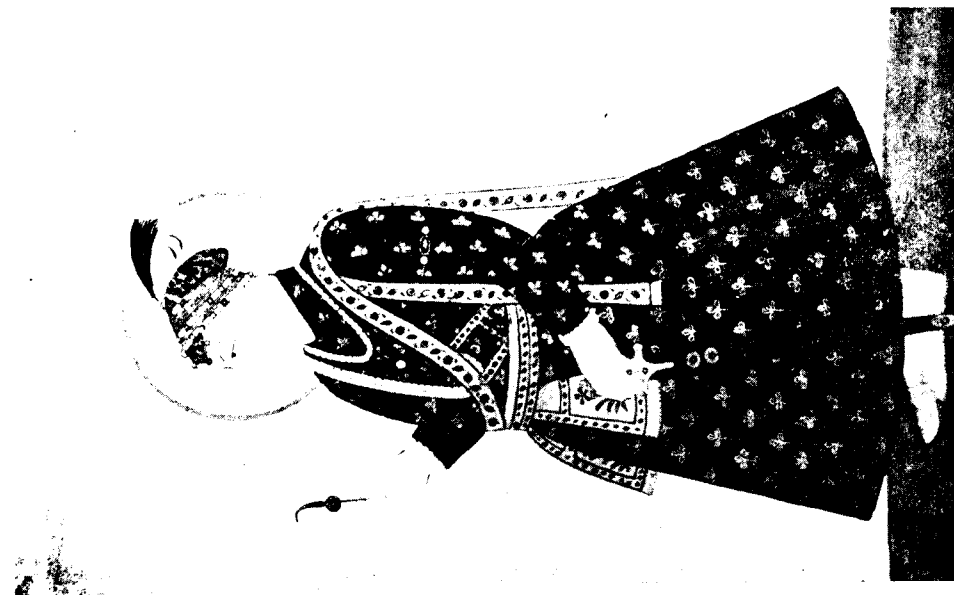
There are many portraits of Bābar, and one of the best is in the Collection of M. Vever, Paris.⁴ This picture shows Bābar seated in his court on a golden throne, surrounded by his officials and others. It was painted by Farrukh Eeg of Central Asia, and is most probably an illustration from the "Bāburnāma". 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.

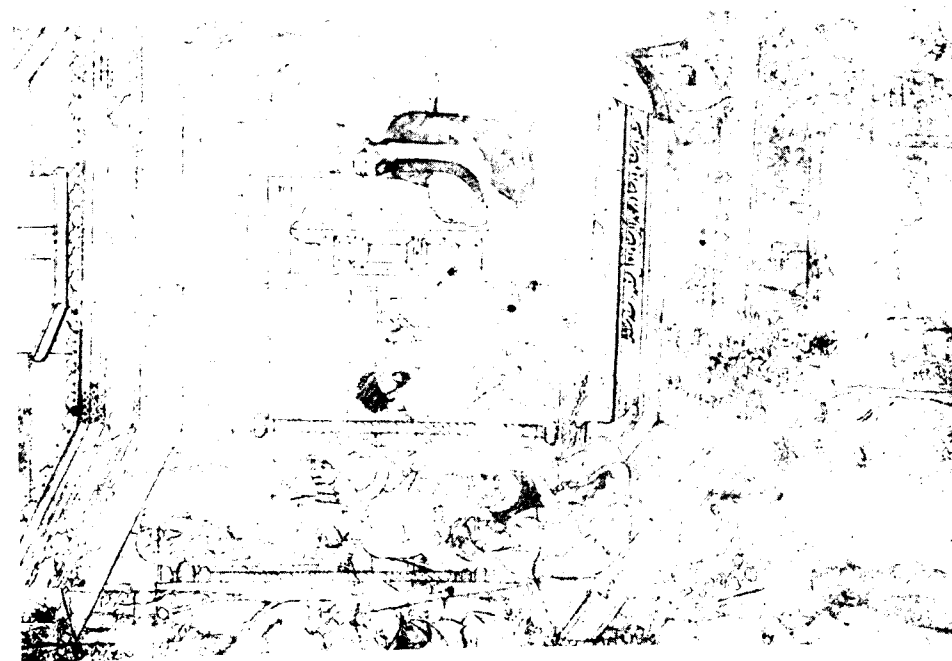
5. *Indian Painting under the Mughals*, p. 65.

6. *Memoirs of Zehīr-ed-Din Muhammed Bābur*, translated by Leyden & Erskine, and revised by Sir Lucas King, Vol. II, p. 11.

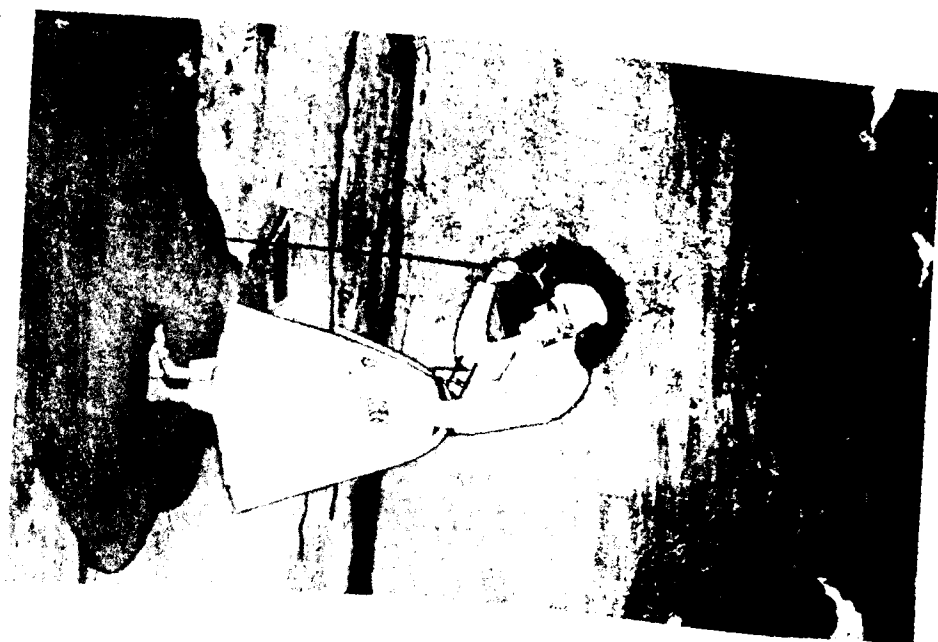
II



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, *Musalman 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.

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 Bhagavatī, 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 Ālam, 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 Jahāngīr*, 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, Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān. Outside the pavilion stands a handsome youth who is Prince Parvīz, Jahāngīr'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 condemning 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. *Tūzūk-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 Selim Chishti. 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 Selim 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 Moghuls*, 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 Moghuls*, 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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By kind permission of the Trustees, Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay.

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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 Faqirullah 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. 286.

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 SHāhinshāh 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.

dhan 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.

School".⁵⁵ 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, CXCII.

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 an 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. *Tūzūk-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 Jahāngir, attended by five persons, drinking wine underneath a canopy in a garden.⁷⁰ Jahāngir 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 in which two birds, that look like ducks, are making merry. But perhaps the most remarkable thing in this picture is that two of Jahāngir'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 Jahāngir, this time showing him crossing a lake.⁷¹ Jahāngir, 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; Jahāngir 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. Jahāngir, 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. Jahāngir himself was so much pleased with the work of one European artist (goldsmith) that, to use his own language, "Hun-armand, 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-Jahāngirī*, translated by A. Rogers, Vol. II, p. 82.

The Victoria and Albert Museum possesses a picture of Jahāngir⁷⁴ 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. Jahāngir, 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 Jahāngir'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.

Jahāngir 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 Jahāngir 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 Jahāngir 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 Jahāngir 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 Jahāngir*, plate 5, No. 6.

75. P. Brown, *Indian Painting under the Mughals*, plate XLII.

76. *Tūzūk-i-Jahāngirī*, 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 Jahāngīr 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 Jahāngīr out hunting is in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.⁷⁹ The picture shows a tiger charging at Jahāngīr who, by the way, was then only a prince. The scene is very exciting and can be best described in Jahāngīr'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 Jahāngīr's armed attendants, both of them mounted, rush to their master's aid, one with a spear and the other with a sword. However, Jahāngīr is shown hitting the tiger with the barrel of his gun and not with the stock as he mentions in his "Memoirs".

Jahāngīr 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 Jahāngīr 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, Jahāngīr "saw near 'Alī 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." Jahāngīr "delayed a minute to look on at this, and after a moment it died (the snake)".⁸² Jahāngīr 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. Jahāngīr 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 Jahāngīr 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.

Jahāngīr 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 Jahāngīr 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-dīn 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. *Tūzūk-i-Jahāngīrī*, translated by A. Rogers, Vol. II, p. 270.

81. W. E. Gladstone Solomon, *Essays on Mogul Art*, p. 29.

82. *Tūzūk-i-Jahāngīrī*, 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 CXCIV.

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 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 barefooted. 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 Jahāngir, 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, Jahāngir 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-Azam 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. Jahāngir resents this, and in his anger he has almost drawn his dagger from its sheath. We knew definitely from history that Akbar at one time felt so disgusted with his unworthy son Jahāngir 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 Jahāngir. 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 Jahāngir*, 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, Khalilullāh 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 'haudahs'. 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

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.

129. *Ibid.*, plate L, (b).

130. P. Brown, *Indian Painting under the Mughals*, plate XXX.

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 Moghal 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 aristocratic 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-Wazā'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.

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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 *Wazā'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) *Kasrāt Nau Mulāzmi*, (B) *Kasrāt Izafa Mansab*, (C) *Kasrāt Badh*.

(A) The fees under the head *Kasrāt Nau Mulāzmi* comprise the following eight items and appear to have been charged at fixed rates:

(i) *Nau Mulāzmi*—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-bātlah*. 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 "Bātlah" was a sort of provisional pay-roll of recruits who had yet to undergo some further test of fitness.

(iii) *Nazrāna* or *Nazr rusūm 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.

79650

(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 Nawis*. 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.

Units.	DEDUCTIONS CHARGED.										Total approximate deductions.
	<i>Naumūlāzmi</i> .	<i>Mohr Bātlah</i> .	<i>Nazr rusum dattar</i> .	<i>Wardi or Kurti</i> .	<i>Mohrāna</i> .	<i>Nazr Kitāb</i> .	<i>Nau Bātlah nawis</i> .	<i>Dāgh</i> .	Average rate of monthly salary.		
<i>Regular Army</i> .											
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 Khālśa 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.D.

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 - جرنیل الصلحہ - کرنیل حمامہ - کمندان صما - ایجنٹ حمامہ -

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 nawīs*—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- هر که طلبکار برلی خود شود - دو ماه + ۲- آنچه بموجب حکم سرکار و عمده برستور
برلی شود - معاف + ۳- آنچه بموجب منصب حسب الحکم برلی باشد - سه ماه +
۴- آنچه بموجب کمی منصب برلی باشد - دو ماه +

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 *Kasrūt badli*:

برکردارم منصب دار بے تعصیر از یک پلشن در پلشن دویم بموجب ارشاد حضور یا پروانگی
افسر کلاں یا تہور پناہ کورٹ صاحب داخل شدہ باشد - کثرات یک ماہ تبدیلی وضع
نخواہر 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 Samba 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.

(fresh recruit) if he cared to rejoin¹⁰ Very much similar rules were laid down for *taqsirāna* or delinquencies from sentinel duties.

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 رخصت کلال

- ۱- حاضران بموجب آئین نفاذت ۹ یوم برابر + ۲- اگر بعد از وعده قرار ۱۰ یوم حاضر نشد یکماه وضع بود + ۳- اگر از قرار وعده بست یوم نه برآمد یکینم ماه وضع سازند
- ۴- ۱۲ نفاذت ۳ یوم - دوماه وضع سازند + ۵- آئینه بعد از مدت یکماه یک روز ایزاد نه برآمد - نو ملازم +

The rules governing *razā* or long leave or furlough were very explicit. The officers were allowed six weeks' leave during the year, while the privateer (*sāir sipāh*) were given eight weeks on full pay. Short leave was

but if one granted on half pay برقرار رخصت که شود نصف طلب وضع کند -

overstayed the leave originally sanctioned, he had to forfeit two days' pay for each day of absence

از رخصت هر قدر که حاضر نشود - دو چیز از 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-Khāss*) in whose case this deduction did not exceed about 20%.

in fact "removed from the muster-roll of cavalry horses" (*asp az jamā berūn kashhīdah*). Special strictness was shown in the case of mares. The rules, probably, forbade their being made to produce an off-spring. The neglect of this rule was punishable by a fine of fifty rupees in the first instance, and in case of repetition the animal was liable to confiscation, and the trooper's pay was reduced to that of a foot soldier.¹²

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 بچه زائیدگی - پنج ص روپیہ - ۲- اگر بار دیگر حامله 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 undischarged 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 هر کس که خود حاضر باشد - برهنه - و هر کس که در جنگ کشته شده باشد - بموجب آئین موافق با مشارالیهان برهنه - آنکه پیاده رفته باشد - نخواهند داد - و آنچه اسب در سفر سقط باشد او را طلب داده تاکید نمایند که اسب عمده حاضر سازند - جنگ منیکره - مورچال منیکره سم 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.

اسب بروقت عبور دریائے انک فرق شده - بکرات موافق -

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 Pidhanīa but who were, on the latter's death, brought on the list of *naqdidārs* 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 annum.
(A) Total number of men on the rolls	37 @	8,685	0	0
(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) Hashthroza ..	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
Total ¹⁴ ..	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 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 Nālwa, three of the renowned generals of the Khālsa 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 Nahēra 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 *Kalghī*. 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 Khán, the special privileges granted to him on his appointment were resumed. Sohan Lal, Daftar II, pp. 376-77.

بند انیل وپیس وچند راس اسپان وغیرہ اسباب از مشارالہ گرفتہ از کار و بار موجودہ منزل و فوؤد۔

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 Nasib*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:—*Diyáinat-panáh* (abode of honesty), *Firásat-dast-gáh* (sagacious), *Mashúkhat-panáh* (refuge of greatness), etc.

(c) Ecclesiastical:—*Brahma-Múrat* (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 Chimni, 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

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-mubārak*) 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 والد بنا خطاب فرزند بی خاص و گزرا نین نذرات مرقوم ۸۹۲ سالگی
 دریں آوان فرزند اقران از حضور فیض گنجور اشرف اعلیٰ از مناب والا به نور چشم
 بلندخت نجمتہ اختر بر فرودار اقبال آثار فرزند خاص راجہ ہیر سنگہ جی عطا ہو
 فرمودہ و ارشاد فیض بنیاد از پیشکاه جناب محلے در مساعت رسید و وقت حسنہ شرف
 اصدار یافتہ کہ تمام اہلکاران و متوسلان و ملازمان و سرشتہ داران محاکم محروسہ و
 کارپردازان افواج بحر امواج سرکار فیض مدار خالصہ جیو و تھانہ داران و بھمداران تمام
 تلبجات حضور پرنور بہار گاہ آسمان جاہ ہر گاہ بگزارانیدن صوابات و غیرہ امور
 حاضر شونہ اول بموجب معمول نذرات و پیشکش در جناب فیض مآب اشرف اعلیٰ
 بگزارنہ و بعد ازاں در خدمت بر فرودار اقبال آثار فرزند راجہ موصوف موصوف
 بر ہمت پندت جہلا مقرر خاص فرزند ممدوح حاضر گردیدہ وجہ نور بموجب ارشاد
 مفضل ذیل بگزارنیدہ 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 (*yāz dāh 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-Iqbāl-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 *minakari* work. The medals were provided with a silk riband of gold and scarlet colour (*surkh-o-Zard*), and the recipients were expected 'to wear them round their neck' (*dar gulu āwānkhawāhand 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 نقاب مستطاب و محافظ این رسم بمنیت انتساب قره باهره شهبازی
کنور نوبال سنگھ میو 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.

Medal of the First Class was ornamented with a diamond (*Murrasā' ba almās*).

Medal of the Second Class had two precious stones set in it, namely a diamond and an emerald (*almās-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.

درجه اول منحصر است. بخاندان سرکار و رؤسا و امیران نامدار که به رابطه اخلاص و ضابطه
اتحاد معروف و مشهور اند۔ و دویم بمقریان بارگاه و سرداران بلند پایگاه و ناظران و جزئیین
و سفیران ارادت و اخلاص آگاه که به نمک طلایی به غیر خواهی و با اخلاص مندی مستمر باشند
سویم با فسران اصا که مانند کرنیل و سیر یا کپتان که از خدمات آنها دلائل پوشیداری و تابع داری
و جوانمردی مقرر باشند و کار پردازان که بلیاقت و دیانت موصوف باشند۔ یا معتبران که
لایق مزید اعتبار و اعزاز باشند بدرجه ہذا ہم 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 Bahādūr 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.

به کسانیکه تنه درجه اول مرحمت خواهد گردید یک قبضه شمشیر و یک قبضه سپر و یک جوڑی کنگن طلا و یک مالا مروارید و یک سرپیچ و به اشخاص درجه دوم یک قبضه شمشیر و یک قبضه سپر و یک جوڑی کنگن طلا و بدرجه سوم یک قبضه شمشیر و یک جوڑی کنگن طلا نیز عنایت شود. و اشخاص درجه اعلى بلقب راجه دوم به سردار و درجه آخر بلقب پیرادر و سرز 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 Jawaher 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.

بناعله از برکس امر که خلاف اوصاف مسبق ذکر سرزد. سرزنش آنست که منصب و خطاب او نیز قرقی در آرند. اگر شخصی مرتکب سرز او را پس خطاب و منصب و اسناد منتظمه او سر در پار محضور جمیع سرداران و مضاجبان کشیده اسنادش چه در دفتر معلی و چه نزد آں شخص پاره نموده شود. دیوان اعظم نیز در کتاب مفوضه خود بنام شخص مذکور قلم نمی بکشد و هرگاه از عهده داران و افسران افواج باشند در آن صورت با مواجیه کمپو و یا پلاٹن که برال متعلق باشند بسر قواعد گاه مورد بیس 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 Aśvaghōṣa were recovered from here. Besides these numbers of inscriptions have been discovered in the Kharoṣṭī character mostly, although some prominent examples of the Brāhmi 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 *Māṭhara 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-vasantah*. 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 Taittirīya 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 Cuneiform 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 Sakanishi.

(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.

SELECT CONTENTS FROM ORIENTAL JOURNALS 437

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 Dasavaikālīka-Niryukta by A. M. Ghatage.

(3) Zabita Khan, the Ruhela 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) Prātisākhya 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 Prthvī 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-ul-Āsha).

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 Śrī Viṣṇuvarman of the Perak-Seal.—Dr. Bahadur Chand Chhabra, Ph.D.
 Contributions from the Mahāvamśa to our knowledge of the Mediaeval Culture of Ceylon.—Dr. Wilh. Geiger, Ph.D.

- Veda and Avesta.—Dr. Batakrisna 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.—Śrijut Kaliram Mehdi, M.A.
 The Date of Bukhtiyar's Invasion of Assam.—Dhirendra Nath Mukherji.
 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 Giles.
 Bhāgavata Purāṇa and the Kārikas of Gauḍapāda.—Amarnath Ray.
 A History of the Caliphate in the Hayat-al-hayawan of ad-Damiri.—Joseph de-Somogyi.
 Nadir Shah's Campaigns in 'Oman, 1737-1744.—Laurence Lockhart.
- Indian Culture*, Vol. II, No. 2.
 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.
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