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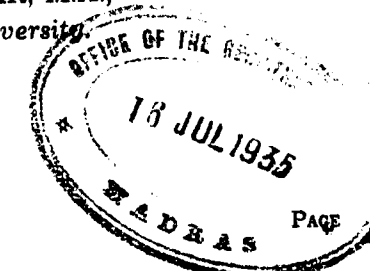
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CONTENTS.

	PAGE		PAGE
NEALOGY AND CHRONOLOGY OF THE VAKATAKAS—By Mr. M. Govind Pai ..	1	SOME PROBLEMS OF THE REIGN OF RAJADHIRAJA II—By Mr. S. K. Govindaswami, M.A. ..	39
THE ERAN INSCRIPTION OF ABOUT 350 A.D.—By Mr. Dasharatha Sharma ..	27	IMPERIAL TREASURY OF THE GREATER MUGHALS—By Mr. Abdul Aziz, BAR-AT-LAW ..	50
THE LOCATION OF KARTHPURA AND CONNECTED PROBLEMS—By Mr. Dasharatha Sharma ..	30	BENGAL UNDER JAHANGIR—By Prof. Sri Ram Sharma, M.A. F.R.HIST.S. ..	74
VARANA AND PARASIKA—By Mr. Jes Chandra Sircar, M.A. ..	34	ORGANIZATION OF CENTRAL GOVERN- MENT UNDER THE TURKISH SULTANS OF DIHLI—By Mr. M. Akram Makhdoomee, M.A. ..	96
ORIENTAL NEWS—'India—Minto—Morley'; 'A Guide to Elephanta'; 'The Hindu conception of the Deity'; Madras University Sanskrit Series ..	115		121
SELECT CONTENTS FROM ORIENTAL JOURNALS ..	131		131
EXCHANGES ..	143		143



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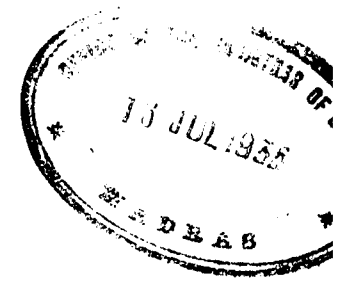
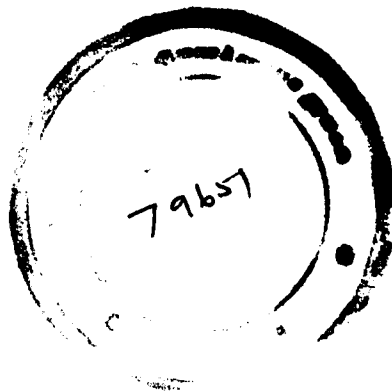
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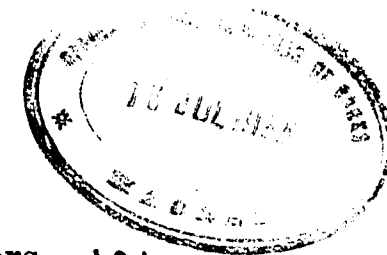
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CONTENTS

	PAGE
GENEALOGY AND CHRONOLOGY OF THE VAKATAKAS—By Mr. M. Govind Pai ..	1
ON THE ERAN INSCRIPTION OF ABOUT 350 A.D.—By Mr. Dasharatha Sharma ..	27
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EDITORIAL ..	115
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SELECT CONTENTS FROM ORIENTAL JOURNALS ..	131
OUR EXCHANGES ..	143



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134

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Journal of Indian History

Genealogy and Chronology of the Vakatakas

By

MR. M. GOVIND PAI.

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

Pravarasēna I
|
Gautamīputra
|
Rudrasēna I
|
Prithvishēṇa
|
Rudrasēna II + Prabhāvatī Gupta

Pravarasēna II (A)

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

1. Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions* (F.G.I.), No. 55.
2. Ibid., No. 56.
3. *Epigraphia Indica* (E.I.), III, pp. 260-62.

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

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

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

6. 'कृतमिषेका महिषी' (Amarakōśa : v. 544; Hēmachandra : v. 520).

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

The Vākāṭaka genealogy given in the Poona plates is :

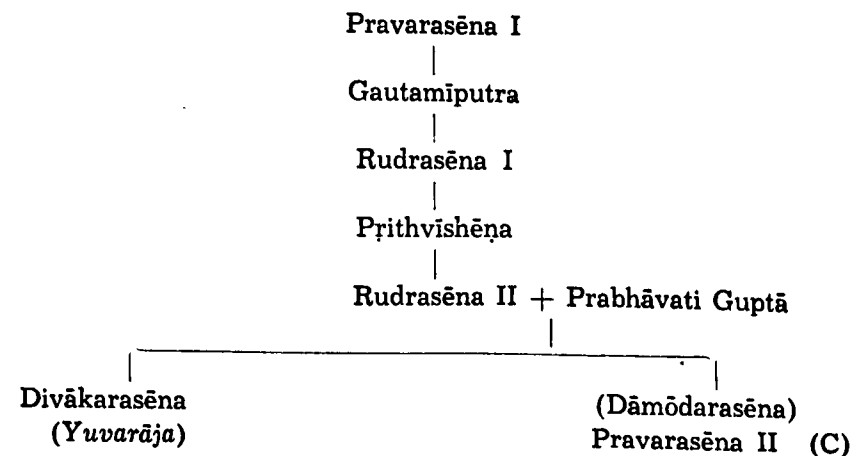
Chandragupta II
|
Rudrasēna II + Prabhāvatī Guptā
|
Yuvarāja Divākarasēna (B)

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

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

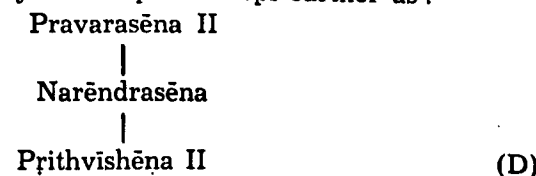
8. Mr. Jayaswal, however, holds (Jy. p. 63) that Yuvarāja Divākarasēna was in his 13th year, when the Poona plates were issued by his mother. This is hardly possible, as there is no instance of any grant having been dated in the years of the life of the donor or his (or her) ward.

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



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

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



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

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

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

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

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

11. Jy. (p. 17).

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

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

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

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

सर्वः कल्ये वयसि यतते लब्धुमर्थान् कुटुम्बी

पश्चात्पुत्रैरपहृतभरः कल्पते विश्रमाय ।

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

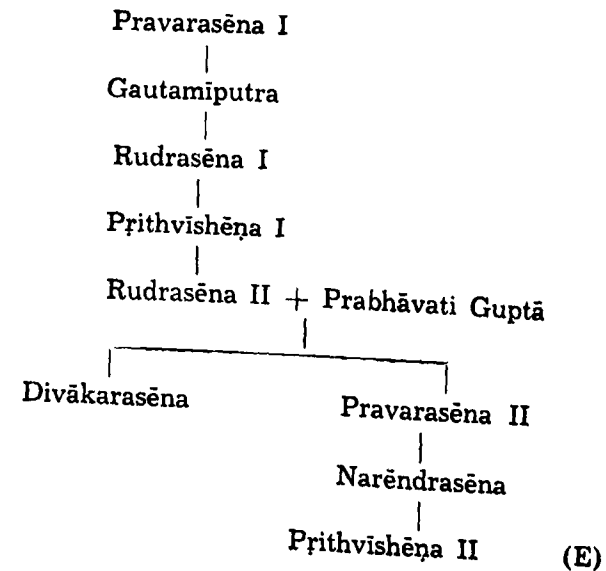
पश्चात्पुत्रैरपहृतभरः— where the word can hardly mean 'taking by force.' But Mr. Jayaswal seems to have just missed the right import of the word **अपहृत** and its proper application in this quotation; for it clearly applies here to the person who was relieved of his burden by his sons, and not to the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

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

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

an elder brother of Narēndrasēna, who as such was the nearer claimant to the throne of their father Pravarasēna II, had been passed over in favour of Narēndrasēna, when the latter was preferred on account of the greater confidence placed in him, no doubt by their father, as the fitter of the two brothers for the next kingship¹⁵ Narēndrasēna would thus seem to have been the immediate successor of his father Pravarasēna II.

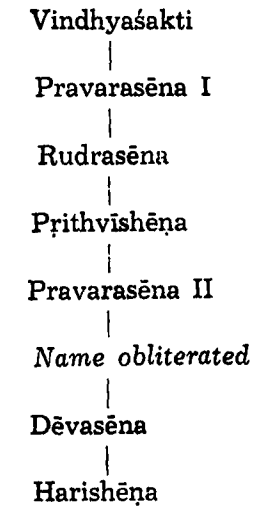
Consolidating C and D, we have—



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

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

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



A comparison of these two tables E and F shows

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

19. Kālidāsa's *Raghuvamśa* (II. 33). See also *Indian Antiquary*, XIV, p. 98, where Śivadēva I, king of Nepal, is described as **लच्छविकुलकेतु** 'the banner or the glory of the Licchavi race, and the Skt. poem, *Nava-sāhasāṅka-charitam* (III, 28), where the Paramāra king Sindhurāja is called **परमारवंशकेतु**, the glory of the Paramāra dynasty,

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

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

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

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

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

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

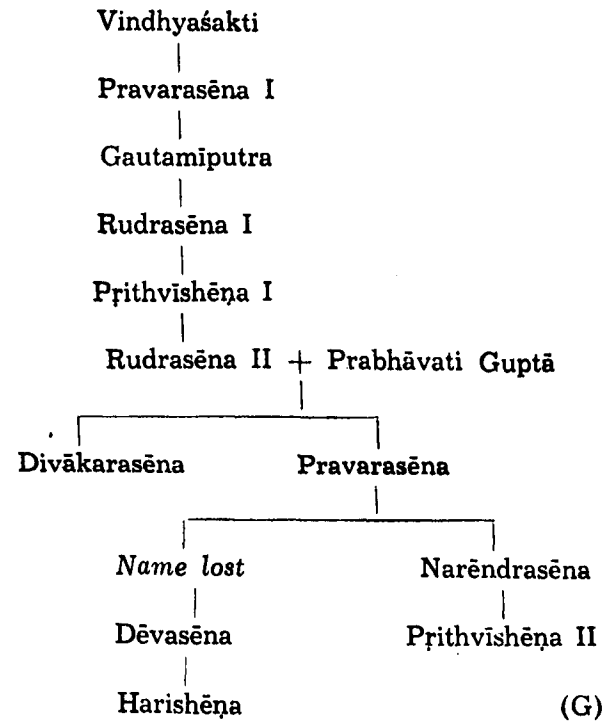
20. Of these two words, **अष्टाब्दिकः** and **अष्टाब्दिकम्**, the former is explained by Pāṇini IV. 3. 11, and also cf. *Manusmṛiti* III. 1 **षट्त्रिंशदाब्दिकं चर्यं गुरौ त्रैवेदिकं व्रतम्** I, and *Dakṣaśmṛiti* (*Anandāśrama* Series, No. 48, p. 84) VII, 43 (f.n. 6) **संचितं यद्गृहस्थेन पापमात्मानं आब्दिकम्**;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

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

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

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

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



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

विन्ध्यशक्तिसुतश्चापि प्रवीरो नाम वीर्यवान् ।

भोक्ष्यते च समाः षष्टिं पुरीं काञ्चनकां च वै ॥

यक्ष्यते वाजिमेधैश्च समाप्तं वरदक्षिणैः ।

तस्य पुत्रास्तु चत्वारो भविष्यन्ति नराधिपाः ॥²²

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

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

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

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

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

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

23. Chammak, Siwani, Dudia and Balaghat plates.

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

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

(2) Śrī *Vindhyavardhana Mahārājasya Mahēśvara-Mahāsēnātīṣṭhī-rājyasya Vṛishadhvajasya*²⁵ *Gautamīputrasya* : undated (seal No. 25);

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

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

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

24. Jy. (pp. 228-31).

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

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

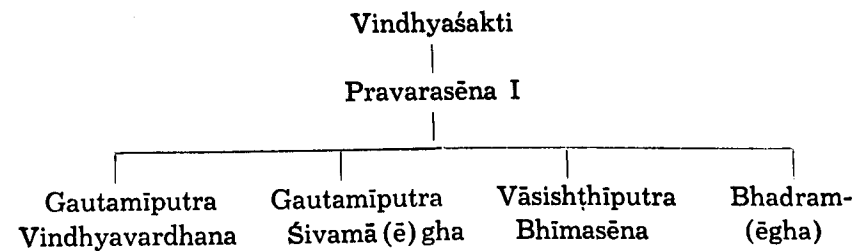
tama gōtra. The third seal is that of Śivamāgha, who also was a *Gautamīputra* i.e., another son of Pravarasēna I by the same queen, perhaps her second son. There is a stone inscription of this Śivamāgha (or Śivamēgha, as he is there called) at Kōsam,²⁷ whence it would appear that he must have been the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

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

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

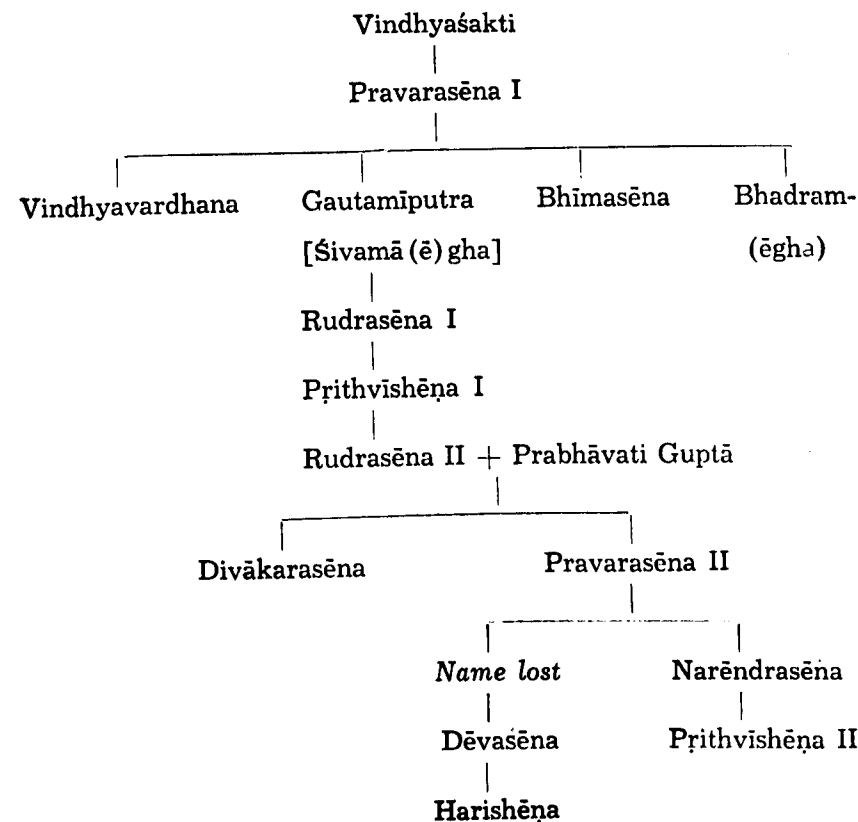
29. E. I. (III. p. 302); Lüders' List No. 906.

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



(H)

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



THE VAKĀṬAKA ERA.

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

GENEALOGY AND CHRONOLOGY OF VAKĀṬAKAS 19

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

GENEALOGY AND CHRONOLOGY OF VAKAṬAKAS 21

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

By whom then was the Chēdi era founded ?

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

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

38. E. I. (X. p. 53).

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

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

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

40. Jy. (p. 111).

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

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

The name Chēdi era, which perhaps was the earliest name which the era came to be known by, must have accrued to it evidently from its provenance in the Chēdi country i.e., Bundēlkhand, which was then undoubtedly included in the Vākāṭaka kingdom, as is manifest from the fact that the lithic records (which as such are not liable to any change of place) of the feudatory prince Vyāghradēva at Nachnā in Bundēlkhand⁴³ speak of his paramount sovereign Prithvīshēṇa, who is assuredly one of the two Vākāṭaka kings of that name. Mr. Jayaswal has rightly identified Uchchakalpa, the capital of the princes Jayanātha and Sarvanātha, with the modern Uchahara in Nagaudh state,⁴⁴ and the fact, that it stands within a few miles of Nachnā, leads to the inevitable conclusion that the Uchchakalpa princes were the feudatories of the Vākāṭakas, and that therefore the Vākāṭaka feudatory Vyāghradēva of the Nachnā stone inscriptions must in all likelihood be the *Mahārāja* Vyāghra, who is spoken of as the father of Jayanātha in all the aforesaid Uchchakalpa records.⁴⁵ If however all the Uchchakalpa records are dated in the *Pūrṇimānta* months and on the solar days thereof (exactly as the Parivrājaka records are),

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

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

44. Jy. (p. 111).

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

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

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

(to be continued)

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

47. Jy. (p. 111).

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

On the Eran Inscription of about 350 A.D.

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

By

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

1. In verse 4², it is words in the instrumental, and not those in the nominative case, that refer to Samudragupta. He, alone, could be described by the words भक्तिनयविक्रमतोषितेन and परमतुष्टिपुरस्कृतेन, the deciding words here being भक्ति 'devotion', and परमता³ 'supreme satisfaction'. It is easy to think of Samudragupta getting pleased by the devotion and valour of some feudatory and granting him the title of Rājan or even Mahārāja³. But how could he, who was a king already and

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

2. (- -) न भक्तिनयविक्रमतोषितेन
यो राजशब्दविभवैरमिषेचनाद्यैः ।

(- -) नितः परमतुष्टिपुरस्कृतेन
(- -) वोनृपतिरप्रतिवार्यवीर्यः ॥

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

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

2. Verse 5 cannot refer to Samudragupta's wife. Mr. Jayaswal thinks that it does so. He writes, 'Wife was never so honoured, as Samudragupta honoured Dattā Devī. In the greatest moment of his triumph at Eran, the Emperor of All-India proudly remembered his life-partner and the day of his marriage when her dowry consisted of only the manliness of her lord, and whose grandeur now consisted in being the ideal Hindu woman, the *kulavadhū* and the Hindu mother surrounded by sons and grandsons⁴.' But as pointed out years ago by Fleet, the metre prevents Dattādevī being mentioned by name in this verse. Further, if she were the woman referred to here, she would not have been described as surrounded by sons and grandsons. Kumāragupta, the son of Chandragupta II, was begotten on Dhruvadevī, and was therefore born after Chandragupta's seizure of the Gupta throne about 380 A.D. Chandragupta's brother too had, most probably, no son. At least the extant extracts from the *Dēvi-Chandraguptam* do not refer to any. These, on the other hand, lead us to infer that both Chandragupta and his brother were young men about 380 A.D., and therefore mere infants and not fathers of children about 348 A.D. when the Eran inscription is believed to have been incised. The year of Chandragupta's death too leads us to the same conclusion. If he died at the ripe age of seventy, he would have been four years old in 348 A.D. It may, therefore, be concluded that verse 5 refers, not to Dattādevī, but to the wife of the feudatory chief, who is described in verse 4, and who was according to it, and as proved above, given the title of *Rājan* by Samudragupta. It was this feudatory, and not his overlord who had the record

4. History of India, 150 A.D.—350 A.D., p. 208.

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

A NOTE ON THE WORD **स्वभोग**

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

विप्रैरथान्यैर्वर्णैर्वा भोग्यो ग्राम उदाहृतः

एको ग्रामणिको यत्र सभृत्यपरिचारकः ।

कुटिकं तद्विजानीयादेकभोगः स एव तु

जनैः परिवृतं द्रव्यक्रयविक्रयकारिभिः ॥

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

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

The Location of Kartrpura and Connected Problems

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

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

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

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

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

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

3. Sachau—Alberuni's *India*, ii, 6.

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

5. *Strīveśānihnutaḥ Chandraguptaḥ śatroḥ skandhāvaram Alipuram Śakapativadhāyāgamat*. Extract quoted in *Mālaviya Commemoration Volume*, p. 206.

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

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

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

दत्त्वा रुद्रगतिः खसाधिपतये देवीं ध्रुवस्वामिनीं
यस्मात् खण्डितसाहसो निवृत्ते श्रीशर्मगुप्तो नृपः ।
तस्मिन्नेव हिमालये गुरुगुहाकाणकणक्किन्नरे
गीयन्ते तव कर्तिकेयनगरस्त्रीणां गणैः कीर्तयः ॥⁸

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

6. *Śakānamācharyah Śakādhīpatih, Chandraguptabhṛātrjāyam Dhruvadevīm prārthayamānaś-Chandraguptena Dhruvadevi-veśadhārīna stri-veshajana-parivṛtena vyāpādita iti.* Extract from Śaṅkarārya's commentary quoted in *Mālavīya Commemoration Volume*, p. 206.

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

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

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

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

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

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

11. परोक्षे लिट् Pāṇini, 3, 2, 115.

Yavana and Parasika

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*yavanās = cīna-kāmbojā dāruṇā mleccha-jātayaḥ
sakṛdgrahāḥ kulatthās = ca hūnāḥ pārasikaiḥ saha.*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Some Problems of the Reign of Rajadhiraja II

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

5. Ep. Ind. ix, p. 210

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

10. Geiger's *Culavamsa* II, pp. 65-67.

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

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

RAJADHIRAJA'S RELATION TO RAJARAJA II.

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

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

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

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

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

SOME PROBLEMS OF THE REIGN OF RAJADHIRAJA II 43

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

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

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

16. *ibid.* p. 44.

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

18. The "Rājārājasōḷanulā", a contemporary poem by the court poet of Rājārāja II states that the latter was the son of Kulōttuṅga II who is again said to be the son of Vikrama Chōla by the "Kulōttuṅgasōḷanulā" and the "Kulōttuṅgasōḷanpillaṭṭamil".

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

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

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

20. 165 of 1925.

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

22. 88 of 1914.

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

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

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

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

PALLAVARĀYA AND SAMBUVARĀYA.

Tiruchchiṟṟambalamuḍaiyāṇ Perumāṇambi²⁷ alias Piḷḷai Pallavarāya appears from a study of the inscriptions of the reigns of Rājādhirāja II and Rājarāja II as a dignitary of great eminence and authority in the state and of unbounded influence with the ruling family. Tonḍamaṇḍalam enjoyed an enviable reputation as the cradle of distinguished men²⁸ and Pallavarāya was born in Kārigai-kuḷattūr,²⁹ a village in that part of the country. He entered the service of the Chōḷas early in the reign of Rājarāja II, who was not certainly stinting in his appreciation of his talents as is evident from his elevation to the highest office of the state, that of the confidential minister and trusted general. The king bestowed on him the title of 'Piḷḷai', the greatest honour that a Chōḷa king could confer on his servants.

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

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

28. "Tonḍaimaṇḍalam-sāṇṇōr-uḍaittu."

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

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

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

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

SOME PROBLEMS OF THE REIGN OF RĀJĀDHIRĀJA II 47

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

A NOTE ON THE PALLAVARĀYANPĒṬṬAI INSCRIPTION OF RĀJĀDHIRĀJA II.¹

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

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

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

30. Ibid. p. 9.

31. Ibid. p. 9.

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

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

2. Ibid., p. 185.

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

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

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

1. 8. gaiyāl Āyirattali-paḍaivīḍum viṭṭup = pōdavēṇḍip = pōdugira-iḍattu = tiruva-antapuramum

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

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

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

1. 13. ṇṇu tiru-abhishēgam paṇṇuvittu "

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

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

SOME PROBLEMS OF THE REIGN OF RĀJĀDHIRĀJA II 49

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

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

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

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

4. Op. cit. p. 186, fn. 1.

5. Op. cit. p. 188.

The Imperial Treasury of the Greater Mughals

By

MR. ABDUL AZIZ, BAR-AT-LAW.

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Part II : Jewel Treasury

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

ROCK-CRYSTAL

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

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

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

IMPERIAL TREASURY OF THE GREATER MUGHALS 51

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

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

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

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

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

Jahāngīr

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Aurangzeb

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

IMPERIAL TREASURY OF THE GREATER MUGHALS 55

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

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

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

HYACINTH

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

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

AMETHYST

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

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

On exposure to heat amethyst generally turns yellow.

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

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

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

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

AGATE

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

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

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

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

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

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

IMPERIAL TREASURY OF THE GREATER MUGHALS 57

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

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

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

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

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

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

LOADSTONE OR MAGNETITE

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

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

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

CORAL

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

5. *Ibid.*, p. 259.

6. *Letters Received*, I, 307.

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

8. *Letters Received*, III, 10.

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

IMPERIAL TREASURY OF THE GREATER MUGHALS 59

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

Prices of coral beads in Bengal ran as follows:—

Beads of 12 beads to a *tānk* at 6 *tānk*s for a rupee,

"	6	"	2	"	"
"	4	"	$1\frac{3}{4}$	"	"
"	3	"	$1\frac{1}{2}$	"	"

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

13. *E.F.I.* 1618-1621, p. 285.

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

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

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

LAPIS LAZULI

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

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

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

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

MOTHER-OF-PEARL

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

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

IMPERIAL TREASURY OF THE GREATER MUGHALS 61

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CHINESE PORCELAIN

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

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

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

IMPERIAL TREASURY OF THE GREATER MUGHALS 63

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CHINAWARE IN MUGHAL INDIA

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

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

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

IMPERIAL TREASURY OF THE GREATER MUGHALS 67

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

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

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

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

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

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

14. Roe, 445 and 459 (bottom).

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

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

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

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

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

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

15. See below.

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

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

16. Māchīn, a popular corruption of Mahāchīn, is a very old Hindu name. It means Great China, and was vaguely used for the Chinese empire.

With Persian writers Mahāchīn, strictly, is South China, while KHatā (English, Cathay) is North China; but Chīn Māchīn is often used in the vague sense of China. And that is how it is used here.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

6 basins and ewers of Cheney.

100 small coffa dishes [coffee cups].

.....

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

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

IMPERIAL TREASURY OF THE GREATER MUGHALS 71

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

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

IVORY

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

ELEPHANT IVORY

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Bengal Under Jahangir

PART III

BOOK SECOND

By

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

ZAFAR KHAN'S RETURN TO BIHAR.

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

IBRAHIM BEG'S APPOINTMENT AS GOVERNOR OF BIHAR

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

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

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

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

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

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

KUCH PRESENTS TO THE EMPEROR.

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

QUARREL BETWEEN HOSHANG AND QASIM KHAN.

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

QASIM KHAN'S ASSUMPTION OF GOVERNMENT

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

DETENTION OF RAJA LACHHMI NARAIN AND PARICHHAT NARAYAN.

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

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

MUGHAL OCCUPATION OF KACHHAR.

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

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

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

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

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

PROMOTION FOR SERVICE IN KUCH.

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

AN IMPERIAL COMMISSIONER TO BENGAL.

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

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

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

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

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

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

REBELLION IN KUCH AND THE MUGHAL MEASURES FOR ITS SUPPRESSION.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE MUGHAL EXPEDITION TO KACHHAR.

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

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

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

* Not found in the MS.

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

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

AFFAIRS IN BENGAL PROPER.

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

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

ARRAKANESSE INVASION OF BENGAL

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

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

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

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

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

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

DISTURBANCE IN KUCH

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

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

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

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

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

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

MUGHAL EXPEDITION TO ASSAM.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

QASIM KHAN AND THE EMPEROR.

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

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

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

MUKHLIS KHAN'S APPOINTMENT TO BENGAL

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

ARRAKANESSE INVASION AND DEFEAT.

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

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

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

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

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

NEW APPOINTMENTS MADE BY MUKHLIS KHAN.

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

MUGHAL EXPEDITION TO ASSAM AND ITS DISASTROUS END.

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

35. Cf. Talish in Sarkar, 147.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

MUGHAL-MAGH CONTESTS.

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

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

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

QUARREL BETWEEN THE GOVERNOR AND THE DEWAN.

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

DISTURBANCE IN KUCH.

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

THE EIGHTEEN RAJAS OF PANDU.

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

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

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

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

RECALL OF QASIM KHAN.

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

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

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

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

QUARREL BETWEEN THE OUTGOING GOVERNOR AND HIS SUCCESSOR.

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

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

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

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

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

Organization of Central Government under the Turkish Sultans of Dihli

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A DETAILED study of the political institutions of the Turkish empire of Dihli has not yet been attempted. The task is most baffling. Contemporary historians have not treated the problem systematically, and a modern writer has to throw away book after book without feeling any the wiser on the subject. The king's personality, affairs of the court, stories of war and conquest, really matter to the medieval historian: little about society, almost nothing of governmental system, will be found in his work. Vague and disconnected remarks here and there are all that one has to build his structure upon, and very often one has to face disappointment on suddenly coming upon a statement, which dashes to the ground a theory built with the greatest care and diligence. Another difficulty is that it is impossible to generalise about a period extending over two centuries when so much depended upon the whims of the ruler. What was true of one reign might or might not be true of the others. Moreover, very often a person held more than one office at the same time, and it becomes difficult to judge in what capacity he performed a particular duty: Qiwām-ud-dīn, Kaikubād's minister of correspondence (Dabīr), was also his ¹Nāeb-i Vakil-i Dar; Malik Qer-bak held fourteen offices in Mubārak Khaljī's reign,² and the Qāzi-ul-Quzzāt also acted as the ³Uhdādār-i-Darhā, i.e., the officer in charge of the palace gates and keys. 'Sometimes the same office was called by different names. It is doubtful, therefore, if it is at all possible to construct an edifice finished and complete, that will satisfy a twentieth century scholar's sense of precision; some amount of confusion will always remain. The present article gives a skeleton of the central gov-

1. B. 181.
2. B. 379.

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

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

The Sultan was the fountain of all authority. Divine qualities were ascribed to him and he was supposed to possess an 'inspired mind. Amīr Khusrau even calls him 'the 'Lord's Deputy' and often refers to Alāud-dīn as the Caliph of 'Islam. He was the supreme governor of the realm, the final court of appeal, the chief law-giver and the chief commander of forces. In theory, the Shariat was his guide; in practice, his word was law. While a great autocrat like Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī sacrificed religious law to political expediency, a sincere Musulmān like Firoz Tughluk never deviated from the path of religion. The King was elected by the nobles—the Khāns, Maliks, amīrs, ālims, Shaikhs and ⁸Sayids. But the election was a mere ceremony, as the King's nominee was almost always elected.

The King discussed all important State affairs, executive, legislative and financial, in a Council called the ⁹Majlis-i-khalwat (Privy Council) to which only the most trusted officials and ¹⁰friends were invited. The ¹¹four ministers generally always attended; others enjoying this privilege were known as 'royal counsellors' (rāi-zan-i ¹²Dargāh). None, however, could attend as a matter of right. Firoz Shah used to hold meetings of this Council in a special palace called the ¹³Mehl-i-Chhajjā-i-Chobīn (the Palace of the Wooden Balcony). The councillors could express their views when their opinion was asked, and, although the decisions of the Council were not binding on the Sultan it exercised a fair degree of influence on his policy. Even Alā-ud-dīn had to give up his cherished dreams of world-conquest and religion-founding on the bold advice of the Kotwāl of Dihli. The ship of State could not move without the crew; the nobles were the props of the empire. "However wise and able a King might be," declares an early medieval Indian writer, "he cannot do without the minister and the advice of the wise, the learned, well-wishers and counsellors. Even the Prophet, the wisest of all men, took ¹⁴counsel."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

23. Kh. 62.

25. B. 379.

24. I. B. 103.

26. B. 247.

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

28. I.B. 212-13.

30. B. 26.

29. T.N. 192.

31. B. 131.

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

32. B. 171.

33. T.M.S. 61.

34. B. 238.

35. B. 374.

36. A. 453.

37. B. 259, 389.

38. B. 85.

39. B. 509.

40. B. 252-4.

41. B. 493.

42. B. 174, 202.

43. B. 241, 381.

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

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

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

44. A. 404.

45. Ad. 60 b.

46. The Saracens had, in their turn, borrowed from and improved the Persian and Byzantine systems.

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

48. B. 133.

52. B. 374.

49. B. 131.

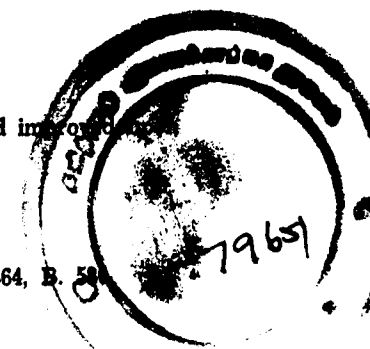
53. B. 153.

50. B. 169.

51. B. 153.

54. A. 279, 364, B. 58.

55. A. 455.



Diwān-i Bandagān or the Department of ⁵⁶Slaves, which was formerly under the Amīr-i ⁵⁷Ghilmān, was included among the four ministries, the Department of Justice being again pushed down to a less important position. The head of the Slaves' Department, who seems to have lost his high status after Firoz Shah's death, has been referred to as the Uhdā-dār-i Bandagān-i Khās under Nusrat Khān Tughluk. Each ministry was under a minister ⁵⁸(Sāhib-i Diwān) and a deputy minister ⁵⁹(Nāeb-i Diwān).

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

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

56. A. 271.

57. B. 38.

60. See Appendix A.

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

62. N. 132-134.

63. Ad. 60 b.

64. A. 279.

58. A. 477.

59. S. 72.

65. B. 153.

66. A. 191.

67. A. 282.

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

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

68. A. 411.

69. A. 400.

72. A. 427.

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

74. A. 413, 349.

75. A. 415.

76. Ad. 55 b.

70. B. 578.

71. T.M.S. 135.

77. Ad. 57 a.

78. Ad. 55 a, b.

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

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

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

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

80. Ad. 56 a, b.

81. Ad. 57 a.

82. A. 397.

83. A. 339.

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

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

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

92. A. 442; Ad. 60 a.

84. Ad. 56 a.

85. A. 346, 7.

86. A. 333.

87. A. 337; Ad. 56 a.

93. Ad. 55 b, 60 a.

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

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

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

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

94. A. 193.

95. A. 282, 395.

96. B. 454.

97. A. 396.

98. A. 419.

99. A. 476.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

When Firoz Shah collected as many as one hundred and eighty thousand slaves he elevated the head of the Slaves Department to a minister's rank and called him the Sāhib-i Diwān-i Bandagān. This Ministry had its own Āriz, Majmu'dar, Treasury and accounts¹²⁸ establishment.

The Diwān-i Qazā-i Mamālik or the¹²⁴ Diwan-i Shar'a (the Department of Justice) was presided over by the Qāzi-i Mamālik or Qazi-ul-Quzzat styled the Sadr-i Jahan, Sadr-us-sadur,¹²⁵ Sadr-ul-Isam, or¹²⁶ Sadr-us-Sadur-i-Jahan. He was the Chief Justice of the empire and was always a man of great learning and piety. All learned men were under his supervision and, in Firoz Shah's reign, he granted them¹²⁷ pensions.

He was the highest judicial authority below the King, and exercised both civil and criminal jurisdiction. His department has been defined as the Diwān-i Mazālim wa maqām-i fasl-i khasumāt wa qat-i da'āvi, that is the¹²⁸ Board for the redress of oppression, decision of disputes and settlement of claims. ¹²⁹Muhammad Tughluk is said to have complained to Qāzi Kamāl-ud-din of Dihli that Shaikhzāda Jāmi had called him tyrant. Cases of murder and injury were decided by the¹³⁰ Qāzi. The Qāzi-i Mamālik was assisted by the Nāeb-i Qāzi, and a number of qāzis. Judgments were delivered in accordance with the¹³¹ Islamic Shariat. The head of this Department was always a high official, and he enjoyed the Ministerial status in the reign of Firoz Tughluk, who invested him with full powers (mutlaq-ul-i'nān) in matters relating to

123. A. 271.
124. S. 123.
125. M. 578.
126. B. 247-248.
127. M. 579, B. 580.

128. T.N.Int. 3.
129. T.M.S. 116.
130. S. 123.
131. B. 289.

¹³²Shariat. A great officer, ¹³³Amir-i Dād, or ¹³⁴Dād-Bak was attached to the Qāzi's court to enforce the attendance of a grandee against whom a suit might have been¹³⁵ filed. There was a separate Qāzi for the Army, called Qāzi-i Lashkar and an Amir-i Dād, called the Dād-Bak-i¹³⁶ Lashkar. The Dād-bak was assisted by a Nāeb-i-Dād-bak.¹³⁷

The Sultan was assisted in his judicial duties by a board of divines-ālims, shaikhs and muftis—who were always present for consultation on points of religious law. Alā-ud-dīn did not pay the slightest attention to Qāzi Mughis-ud-dīn's opinion when the latter, on the Sultan's enquiry declared that his appropriation of the spoils of war was¹³⁸ unlawful. But Firoz Shah never turned down the decisions of the learned doctors of law. After constructing canals in the neighbourhood of Hissār-i Firozā he invited the opinion of the qāzis and shaikhs as to whether he was entitled to levy a water-tax upon those whose lands were irrigated by government canals, and it was in accordance with their verdict that he imposed a water-rate of one-tenth of the soil's¹³⁹ produce. Again, he submitted to them for decision the question of levying jizya on¹⁴⁰ Brahmans, and the case of the Hindu who had set up an idol in his¹⁴¹ house.

There were several other important departments, lower in status. The Barid-i Mamālik or the Commissioner of Intelligence and Posts assisted by the Nāeb-i Barid-i Mamālik, kept the Sultan informed of all that transpired in the empire. The capital was connected with the most distant parts of the empire with chains of post-houses built at short intervals, where¹⁴² carriers, both horse and foot, were always ready to speed off with letters. Barids or official reporters and secret news—writers were posted everywhere, in bazārs, in markets, and in provincial towns, to report to the Sultan, the doings of State officials, transactions in markets, and all other happenings. When the¹⁴³ barids of Budaon failed to

132. B. 580.
133. B. 148.
134. B. 131.
135. I.B. 217.
136. B. 358, 361.
137. B. 24.

138. B. 293.
139. A. 129.
140. A. 382.
141. A. 380.
142. I.B. 2.
143. B. 40.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

145. B. 379.

146. B. 498.

147. A. 331.

148. A. 340.

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

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

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

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

149. T.M.S. 115.

150. B. 497.

151. T.M.S. 115.

152. S. 238-9.

153. A. 350.

154. A. 360.

155. B. 580.

156. T. 258.

157. B. 248-9.

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

159. B. 246.

160. S. 84.

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

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

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

161. A. 494.

163. B. 316-18.

162. A. 334.

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

165. M. 579.

166. A. 290.

169. B. 72.

167. B. 317.

168. M. 579.

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

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

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

APPENDIX (A).

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

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

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

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

171. B. 428.

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

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

APPENDIX (B).

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 T. N.= 'Tabakāt-i Nasiri' of Minhāji-i-Sirāj.
 T. M. S.= 'Tārikh-i Mubārak Shāhi' of Yahyā bin Ahmad.
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Editorial

I

THE ALL-INDIA MODERN HISTORY CONGRESS

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

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

II

EVOLUTION OF HINDU MORAL IDEALS

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

Kamala Lectures, Published by the Calcutta University.

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

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

III

ANCIENT SIAMESE GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

By H. G. QUARITCH, WALES.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Reviews

INDIA : MINTO-MORLEY

By MARY, COUNTESS OF MINTO,
Macmillan & Co., London (21 shillings).

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

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

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"native member of Council," Minto stated his decision emphatically to Morley in the following terms;—"I attach great importance to the official initiative being taken by the Government of India, it is better in every respect both for the present and for the future, that the Government of India should appear to recognise all that is in the air here, the necessity of meeting new conditions, and that they should not run the risk of being assumed to have at last taken tardy action out of respect to instructions from home." Morley's reply to this suggestion is "I suppose, the admission of a native to your Council is the notion most likely to cause a row among the Anglo-Indian community, civilian or commercial. If that principle be accepted, I feel pretty clear that the law member is the right way of beginning, just as I should put a judge on my Council if I determine to act on that principle. I drew back, because you implied that if I put an Indian on mine, your hand would be forced to do the same." This question was finally settled in favour of Minto, for which decision Minto found support only in one member of his Council, Baker, and the strongest opponent of the measure in India was Lord Kitchener. As much could be said all along the position. Minto was jealous of the position and prestige of the Viceroy, and would not brook interference from the Secretary of State. He was able to maintain that position even against Morley, the Secretary of State, about whom he said "He is a fearful autocrat for a democrat which he fancies himself to be." The notion prevailed to the contrary. The publication of some of Morley's letters in his *Reminiscences*, and the speech that Montague made referring to Whitehall directing action in India, certainly called for the exhibition of the real state of affairs, and it could not have been done better than in the manner in which it is so well done in the work under review.

nve minutes.

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

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

A GUIDE TO ELEPHANTA

By DR. HIRANANDA SASTRI, M.A., M.O.L., D. LITT.,

Government Epigraphist for India.

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE HINDU CONCEPTION OF THE DEITY

By BHARATAN KUMARAPPA

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

P. P. S.

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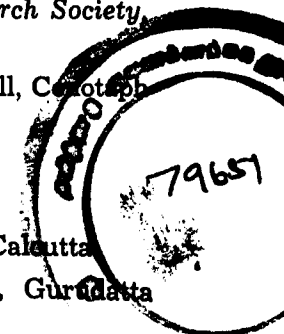
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