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EDITOR

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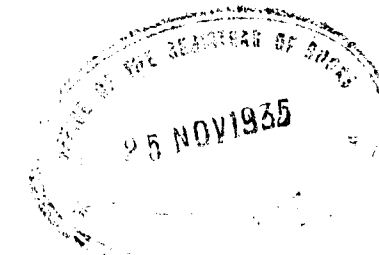
S. KRISHNASVAMI AIYANGAR, M.A., *Hony. Ph.D., F.R.Hist.S., etc.,*
Honorary Correspondent, Archaeological Survey of India,
Fellow of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

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Lecturer, Dept. of Ind. Hist. & Arch., University of Madras.



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Contributors of articles to this journal will greatly oblige the editor if they will leave the upper half of the first sheet of manuscript blank, for the convenience of the editor, in entering instructions to the press regarding titling, style of printing, submission of proof, etc. Such instructions, when sent separately, are liable to result in confusion and delay.

Contributors will also greatly lighten the task of the editor, as well as lessen the cost of composition and correction, by observing the following suggestions:—

1. In preparing copy, please leave a margin of at least three inches on one side. The revision of a crowded manuscript is excessively troublesome and laborious. When the last sheet of the article has been finished, the last footnote or other interpolation added, and the last subtraction made, please number the folios consecutively with the actual numbers from one to the end.

2. Write plainly, especially proper names and foreign words. If foreign characters are to be employed, let them resemble as closely as possible the type in our fonts. If roman or italic characters with diacritical points are used, see that the points are distinct and rightly placed. Words to be printed in italics should be once underscored. Words to be printed in CLARENDON TYPE may be once underscored with blue pencil. Typewritten copy always needs to be carefully revised, with especial attention to mechanical faults and to the punctuation.

3. Indicate paragraphs clearly by a wide indentation at the beginning; or, if the break is an after-thought, by the usual sign (P). Begin all larger divisions of an article on a fresh sheet of paper. It is hardly necessary to say that the proper construction of paragraphs is far more than a matter of external appearance.

4. Punctuate the copy precisely as you wish it to appear in print. Double marks of quotation (" ") should be used for included quotations, definitions and the like, and single marks of quotation (' ') for the actual quotations.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

5. In citing the titles of books, give the title in full where it first occurs. In subsequent citations the work may be referred to by the significant words of the title; but abbreviations which may not be at once understood are to be avoided, and, above all, entire uniformity should be observed throughout the article. Where some conventional system of citation is in general use, as in the case of the Vedas and the Brahmanic literature, the established custom of scholars should be followed. Titles of books will be printed in italics; titles or articles in periodicals, in quotation marks, with the name of the periodical in italics. But the well-established method of abbreviating the titles of the journals of the five principal oriental societies (*JA.*, *JAOS.*, *JASB.*, *JRAS.*, *ZDMG.*) should be adhered to.

6. It is desirable, for reasons of economy as well as good typography, that footnotes be kept within moderate limits. References to footnotes should be made by brief series of natural numbers (say from 1 to 10), not by stars, daggers, etc. As to the method of inserting footnotes in the copy, good usage differs. A way convenient for author, editor and printer is to insert the note, with a wider left-hand margin than that used for the text, beginning the note on the line next after the line of text to which it refers, the text itself being resumed on the line next after the ending of the note. But if the note is an after-thought, or if it is long, it is well to interpolate it on a fresh sheet as a rider.

7. Contributors are requested to kindly remember that additions and alteration in type after an article is printed in pages, are, in many cases, technically difficult and proportionately costly, the bill for corrections sometimes amounting to as much as the first cost of composition, and that such alterations entail a most trying kind of labour, not only on editors and compositors, but on the authors themselves as well, and they are accordingly advised that a careful preparation of their manuscript in the manner above indicated will save both the editor and themselves much unnecessary trouble.

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Journal of Indian History

His Excellency Lord Brabourne's Speech.

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

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Early Pallavas

By

MR. DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR, M.A.,
Premchand Roychand Student, Calcutta University

1. EARLY HISTORY OF THE KĀNCĪ REGION

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

solitary specimen on which these traces admit of any probable restoration the inscription appears to be intended for *Siri-Pu* [lūmā] *visa* (No. 95, p. 22; pl. V) " *Ibid.*, pp. lxxxi-ii. Of course, mere discovery of some coins of a certain dynasty in a certain area does not prove that that particular area was under the direct control of the rulers of that dynasty. But this distinct type of ship-coins found exclusively in the Coromandel coast possibly supports the view that at least the issuer (or issuers) of the ship-coins had some sort of political supremacy over the coast region. But who ruled the coast country during the time of the later Sātavāhanas who had most probably issued the ship-coins?

According to some scholars, "The coast region in which these coins are found was in the third century B.C. inhabited by the Colas; but before the middle of the second century A.D. it seems to have passed into the power of the Pallavas, who were thus contemporary with the later Andhras (i.e., Sātavāhanas)" *Ibid.*, p. lxxxii. This view however can be proved to be unwarranted on the evidence of the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* and the *Geography of Ptolemy*.

We cannot expect to find the name of Kāñcīpura in the *Periplus* as this work does not attempt to give an exhaustive list of cities and towns of the country about which it speaks. The Kāñci region was possibly not a separate political unit at the age of this work (c. 80 A.D.). The *Periplus* says: "§59. From Komari (=mod. Kumārikā towards the south (actually toward NNE) this region extends to Kolkhi (=Korkai on the Tāmraparni in the Tinnevely District, Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 469); and it belongs to Pandian kingdom. Beyond Kolkhi there follows another district called the Coast country (=Coromandel or Cola-maṇḍala coast), which lies on a bay, and has a region inland called Argaru (=Uragapura=mod. Uṇaiyūr near Tanjore) §60. Among the market-towns of these countries and the harbours where the ships put in from Damirika and from the north, the most important are, in order as they lie, first Kamara, then Poduka, then Sopatma; in which there are ships of the country coasting along the shore as far as Damirika; and others very large, made of single logs bound together, called Sangara; but those which make the voyage to Khruse and to the Ganges are called Kolandia and are very large." We do not definitely know whether any of these three ports mentioned by the *Periplus* belonged to the district of Kāñci; but the fact that the *Periplus* after referring to the coast country refers to Masalia (=District round Masulipattan) possibly suggests that the

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2. RISE OF THE PALLAVAS

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

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

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

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

But who were the Pallavas²? Were they identical with the people called Palhavas in inscriptions and literature? Some scholars are in favour of this identification. Their arguments may be summed up as follows. The Palhavas, i.e., the Parthians, are known from inscriptions and coins to have been ruling in North-Western India in the beginning of the Christian era. In the time of the *Periplus*, "Parthian princes were constantly driving each other

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

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

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

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

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

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

The next important point is that the family of the Pallavas is known even from the earliest record to have belonged to the Bhāradvāja gotra⁴. This Bhāradvāja gotra of the Pallavas can hardly be imitated from the gotra of any earlier dynasty that ruled in the Deccan. The Sātavāhanas of the main line, whose records the Pallavas imitated in drawing theirs, did never specially mention their own gotra. The Viṇhukaḍa Cuṭu-Śātakarṇis however called themselves *Mānavya-gotra-Hāriti-putra*. This title was imitated by the Kadambas who succeeded the Cuṭu-Śātakarṇis in the Kuntala country. The Calukyas who appear to have originally been provincial governors under the early Kadambas, got the title in their turn along with the sovereignty of the Kanarese country. Since the Pallavas do not use metonymies like their predecessors, and since their Bhāradvāja gotra cannot be reasonably proved to have been imitated from any preceding ruling dynasty of the Deccan, it seems possible that they were originally Brahmanical Hindus of the Bhāradvāja gotra and therefore belonged to Northern India.⁵

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

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

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

Pāṇini (IV, i. 117) seems to say that the Śuṅgas belonged to the Bhāradvāja gotra. From the Purāṇas we know that the Śuṅgas succeeded the Mauryas on the throne of Magadha, and the *Mālavikāgnimitra* informs us that a secondary capital of the Śuṅgas was at Vidiśā (mod. Bhilsa in the Jubbulpore district). Is it altogether impossible that the Pallavas really were a branch of the Śuṅgas of Vidiśā, who gradually pushed to the south, took services under the Sātavāhanas and eventually carved out a principality in the Kāñcī region⁶? The fact that the Pallavas never try to connect themselves with the solar and lunar dynasties, famous in Indian legends, possibly also show that they belonged originally to a Brahman family of Northern India. If a Brahman family rises to royal dignity, it can hardly look back for past glory to the Sūrya and Candra *vaṃśas* which were Kṣatriya dynasties. They can, however claim connection with Bhāradvāja Droṇa, the great epic king of Northern Pañcāla, who was a Brahman by birth, but took the profession of the Kṣatriyas. Cf. the case of the Sena kings of Bengal, who refer to themselves in their inscriptions as *Brahma-kṣatriya*.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Genealogy and Chronology of the Vakatakas

By

MR. M. GOVIND PAI.

VAKĀṬAKA CHRONOLOGY

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In the Purāṇas we are told—

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

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

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

53. Pargiter (p. 48).

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

55. *Ibid* (p. 50).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

58. *Ibid* No. 1

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

63. Jy. (p. 227).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

69. Ibid. (p. 160).

70. Jy. (p. 230).

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

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

73. Pargiter (pp. 45, 72.)

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

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

75. Though thus this dynasty is spoken of merely as the Vindhyaśakti, and not as Vākātakas, in the Purāṇas, we know that Pravarasēna I styled himself *Vākāṭaka Mahārājādhirāja*, as is evident from the Bhiṭa seal (No. 3) of his first regnal year.

76. Jy. (p. 66).

77. *Ibid* (p. III);

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

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

78. Jy. (p. 88).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

84. Jy. (p. 35).

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

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

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

87. E. I. XXI p. 57.

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

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

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

90. Ibid (p. 288).

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

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

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

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

93. Ibid (p. 241).

94. Ibid.

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

of Ardashir I (224-41 A.C.) and his son Shāpur I (241-72 A.C.) fall duly within the long reign of Pravarasēna I (208-68 A.C.) with a little difference of merely 4 years. It thus just stands to reason that the conquest of the Kushāṇas between those years cannot have been achieved by any other Indian power than the Vākāṭakas, and undoubtedly therefore it was Pravarasēna I and no other, who conquered the Kushāṇas and drove them away into the furthest corner of Kābūl.

Now there is an ancient inscription on a Jain image at Mathurā⁹⁶ dated the first day in the 2nd month of winter of the year 299, which mentions a *Mahārāja Rājātirāja* without his personal name. This date cannot be referred to the Indo-Scythian era (in which the Taxila plate of Patika is dated⁹⁷) not only because the last recorded date in it of the Shahdaur II inscription^{97a} of the year 103 (?) is numerically far lower than 299, but also because that era itself became extinct so far back as about the middle of the first century B.C. when it was displaced by the Indo-Parthian era. Nor could it be referred to the Indo-Parthian era i.e., the so-called era of Azes I, which, as we shall soon hereafter show, is never the same as the Vikrama era, as is still believed, but differs from it by some years; for the last recorded date in that era is that of the Taxila silver vase of the year 191⁹⁸ (and possibly also that of the Dewani inscription of the year 200^{98a}), whereupon it became soon extinct, when it was supplanted by the Kanishkan era of circa 135 A.C. Nor again could it be referred to the Kanishkan era, not only because the last recorded date in it is the year 98, which is numerically far antecedent to 299, but also because the inscription, which, if referred to that era, would seem to belong to circa 135 + 299 = circa 434 A.C., is decidedly much older. The Śālivāhana (i.e., the Śaka) era could

reverse 'Śiva and bull' closely copied from the coins of Vāsudēva, and otherwise unimaginable in Sassanian coins. (*Ibid* Plate II No. 15). Prof. Rapson assigns them to Varaharān V (422-40 A.C.), but I believe that they belong to Varaharān I (273-76) or Varaharān II (276-93 A.C.) both of whom styled themselves as *Vazurk Kushānshāh* (Jy. p. 240).

96. Lüders' list No. 78.

97. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* Vol. II Part I (p. 28).

97a. *Ibid.* (p. 17); J. I. H. XII. (p. 25).

98. *Corpus* (p. 82).

98a. *Ibid* (p. 106).

not yet have penetrated into the Mathurā region in about the 3rd century A.C. to which the inscription has been properly assigned; and even if it be referred to the Śālivāhana era the resulting year would be 377 A.C. when the Mathurā region was included in the Gupta empire, and Skanda-Gupta was the then Gupta emperor (A.C. 377-272=G.S. 105), and as such it would be duly dated in the years of the Gupta era and not in the Śālivāhana era. The Guptas moreover it is well known have styled themselves as *Mahārājādhirāja* and never as *Mahārāja Rajatirāja*. Beyond doubt therefore this inscription of the year 299 is referable to only the Vikrama era and no other, and in that case its date is 242-43 A.C. The imperial Kushāṇa rule terminated in about 235 A.C., as we have already seen; and as there could be no further *Mahārāja Rājātirāja* in that line, and as also the date 242-43 A.C. of the inscription in question falls exactly in the reign of Pravarasēna I (208-68 A.C.), the *Mahārāja Rājātirāja* of this inscription cannot well be any other than Pravarasēna I himself, who as we know from his Bhītā Seal (No. 29),⁹⁹ was in fact styled *Mahārājādhirāja* in the very first year of his reign, and must have continued as such until some or several years later on he became a *Samrāt*. It is inevitable then to conclude that in the year 242-43 A.C. Pravarasēna I must have just conquered the Mathurā region from the Kushāṇas. We say that he had just conquered it at that time, because when that inscription came to be engraved, his personal name Pravarasēna was obviously not yet known in Mathurā, as is plain enough from the fact that he is spoken of not by his proper name but simply by his title, and such a state of things is possible only within a very short space after the occupation of the country by a new power; and this is amply borne out by the fact that whereas in the Hindu inscriptions it is the seasonal *pakshas* (*fortnights*) that are reckoned with, this inscription is dated in the seasonal *month* exactly as almost all the Brāhmi inscriptions of the Kushāṇas are; wherefore it would appear that there was hardly any time to change the Kushāṇa calendar when this inscription came to be engraved. Next we say that he conquered Mathurā from the Kushāṇas, firstly because, whereas in all the indigenous Hindu records the form of the paramount title of the king is *महाराजाधिराज* (*Mahārājādhirāja*), which is one compound word with a *धि* (*dhi*) for its 5th *akshara*, the form it has in the Mathurā inscription is *महाराज राजातिराज* (*Mahārāja Rājātirāja*), which contains two distinct words, the latter of

99. Jy. (p. 227).

which has a ति (ti) for its 3rd *akshara*, exactly as it is spelt in all the Kushāṇa inscriptions whether of the Brāhmī¹⁰⁰ or of the Kharōṣṭhī¹⁰¹ script; secondly because the imperial Kushāṇa rule having come to an end in about 235 A.C. the king, who is spoken of in this inscription with an obvious Kushāṇa title, could not belong to that line, but would necessarily belong to some other; thirdly because the date of the inscription 242-43 A.C. falling, as it so manifestly does, within the reign of Pravarasēna I (208-68 A.C.), the king spoken of in this inscription could not well be any one else than himself, all the more so since there was no other paramount king in all northern and central India at that time; fourthly because though the calendar used in this inscription is no doubt Indian, the reckoning is with the seasonal *month* exactly as in all the inscriptions of the foreigners such as the Kushāṇas (Lüders' list 21, 22, 23, 32, 34, 38, 43, 46, 51, 52 &c.), the Saka satrap Śoḍāsa (*Ibid* 72) &c., and not with the seasonal *pakshas* as in the case of those of the indigenous rulers, such as the Sātavāhanas (*Ibid* 1100, 1105, 1106, 1122, 1123, 1124, 1125, 1126 &c.), Ikshvākus (*Ibid* 1202, 1203), Chuṭus (1186, 1195), Kadambas (*Ibid* 1196), Pallavas (1200, 1205), and his own descendant Pravarasēna II (Dudia plates); whence it is evident that the dynasty which ruled in those parts just before the date of this inscription was a foreign dynasty, and the king mentioned in it with paramount title was an indigenous king who therefore came into possession of that region by means of conquest; fifthly because Pravarasēna I not having been a scion of the Kushāṇa line, he must have necessarily conquered Mathurā region from the Kushāṇas, who until then were evidently in possession of it, and if in addition Pravarasēna I is spoken of with a title in the Kushāṇa form, it simply means that the inscription must be placed within a very few years, even one or two, of Pravarasēna's conquest of Mathurā, inasmuch as soon afterwards the Kushāṇa form of the title would naturally be displaced by the indigenous Hindu form of it, though no doubt the difference between the two titles is only in their spelling and not in sense.¹⁰² Pravarasēna I must have

100. Lüders' list Nos. 21, 56, 72, 1373, 1417, 1418 &c.

101. *Corpus* II Part I (pp. 141, 165, 170). The Kushāṇas evidently took this title from their predecessors, the Kadphises (*Corpus* II, I. p. 77), Parthians and Scythians (*Cambridge History* Vol. I. pp. 587, 590, 592).

102. If however the Kushāṇas had also the additional title *Shāhi* (Lüders' list Nos. 21, 72, 161, 1417), it had necessarily to be omitted in the case of an out and out Hindu king like Pravarasēna I, who could not well be styled with such a distinctly foreign title.

thus immediately succeeded the Kushāṇas in the rulership of the Mathurā region, no doubt by conquest. Now as we have already seen Mathurā was the central seat of the Kushāṇa government during the reign of Vāsudēva so far at least as *circa* 233 A.C. It is therefore at once clear that Mathurā must have been conquered and wrested by Pravarasēna I either from Vāsudēva himself or his immediate successor, and the event accordingly may well be assigned to some year between 235 and 240 A.C.¹⁰³ Thus then Pravarasēna I was still a *Mahārājādhirāja* in the year 242-43 A.C. and had not yet become a *Samrāt*. He must have styled himself a *Samrāt* a little later on, when he had completed his fourth and last *Aśvamēdha* in about the year 247-48 A.C., when also he established the commemorative era, as the lasting symbol of the imperial power he had assumed in consequence of his conquest of the imperial Kushāṇas, no less than that of his celebration of four horse-sacrifices. Just as almost all the other Indian eras were established, as we have said, to commemorate some one or other great victory achieved by their respective founders, the Vākātaka era too would thus seem to have come into being as commemorative of the conquest and the final overthrow of the foreign Kushāṇas effected not long since by the Vākātaka monarch Pravarasēna I. In so doing he would clearly seem to have followed in the footsteps of his great fore-runners, the Hindu kings, the historical Vikramāditya and Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, who too founded their respective eras, when they had conquered the foreign Śaka kings. Having thus celebrated four *Aśvamēdhas* and overthrown a foreign imperial dynasty, Pravarasēna I was by all means entitled to style himself *Samrāt*, emperor, a title which none of the foreign kings before him ever bore, as well as to inaugurate a new era, sweeping away the foreign Kushāṇa era founded by and associated with the dynasty which he had so completely dislodged from its eminence and once for all driven off the land.^{103a}

103. The Bhāraśiva king Bhavanāga, who was a contemporary of Pravarasēna I, had indeed a long-standing legacy of political vendetta against the Kushāṇas, who had conquered Mathurā from his ancestors as we shall show soon hereafter. It is therefore just possible that Bhavanāga had allied himself with Pravarasēna I, who was the most powerful Hindu king of the time, in order to clear off the Kushāṇa power from the land. This would explain the inevitable political significance of the matrimonial alliance between the Bhāraśiva and the Vākātaka houses.

103a. From the fact that in his Allahabad pillar inscription (F. G. I. No. 1, p. 8, l. 23) Samudragupta claims to have commanded the respectful

Pravarasēna I died in the year 268 A.C. That year is only 4 or 5 years earlier than 272-73 A.C. when the Gupta king Chandragupta I assumed the imperial style and founded the Gupta era. These events necessarily imply that in order to effect that end, Chandragupta I must have either made a *digvijaya* (i.e., world-

service of the *Dēvaputra-Shāhi* (king) as well as the *Shāhānushāhi* (king), he would seem to have conquered not only the then king of the Kushānas, who, as is evident from so many inscriptions of Kanishka and his successors (e.g., Lüders' list Nos. 21 and 1417), called themselves *Dēvaputras* as well as *Shāhis*, but also the contemporary Sassanian king, who alone at that time styled himself *Shāhānshāh*, king of kings. We have just seen that after the Kushānas were conquered by Pravarasēna I and once for all driven out of India, they continued to rule in the Kābūl country as the vassals of the Sassanian kings. From Narseh (293-302 A.C.) onwards no Sassanian king is known to have styled himself as *Vazurk Kūshānshāh*, i.e., the over-lord of the Kushānas (Jy. p. 240), and Hormuzd II (302-309 A.C.) is also known to have married the daughter of the *Kūshānshāh Kābūlshāh* i.e., the king of the Kushānas ruling in Kābūl (Jy. pp. 240-41). It would follow hence that the Kushāna position must have gradually improved from 293 A.C. when the *Vazurk Kūshānshāh* Varaharān II died (Jy. p. 240), and the more so during the reign of the next king Narseh, which was disturbed by the Roman Conquest of the Sassanian provinces of Armenia and Mesopotamia, and by the time Narseh had abdicated and his son Hormuzd II came to the throne in 302 A.C. the Kushānas in Kābūl must have sufficiently revived, if they had not become quite independent, so that their princess could be selected as his bride by their whilom over-lord the Sassanian king. Now the reign of Hormuzd II (302-309 A.C.) coincides with the *digvijaya* of Samudragupta, whose subsequent Allahabad *prasasti* we have already assigned to circa 312 A.C. Samudragupta would thus seem not only to have carried arms into the Kābūl country where he conquered the Kushānas, but even to have gone further and invaded the territories of the Sassanian king, who would of course be his contemporary Hormuzd II. At any rate it was not in India proper that Samudragupta conquered the Kushānas but in their last resort in the Kābūl country, and their final suppression is thus to the credit of that great Gupta conqueror. It may be further remarked that the word *Kushān* in the epithet '*Rabbā (sic) Kushān*' on the Coins of Hormuzd II can not well mean the Kushānas i.e., the Kushāna kings, as understood by the late Mr. Vincent Smith (Early History, pp. 265-65, f.n. 1), as in that case the Sassanian king would appear to have styled himself a *Great Kushāna* i.e., a great king of the Kushāna dynasty, which he certainly was not. As it stands in its correct form *Rabā Kushāna*, this epithet means 'a great killer', the first a Pehlevi word meaning 'great', and the next an Avesta word meaning 'killer' from *√kush*=to kill (cf. Av. *Vanāna*=Conqueror, from *√van*=to conquer; *chashāna*=one who acquires religious lore, a religious teacher, from *√chash*=to taste, to learn). The epithet thus merely denotes a great warrior and can have nothing do with the Kushānas.

conquest), which however he does not seem to have made, since it is undertaken for no less a reason than the celebration of the *Aśvamēdha* or any other equally great sacrifice, and so far as can be made out from the Allahabad pillar inscription of his son and successor Samudragupta or any other later Gupta records, he does not seem to have performed any such sacrifice; or he must have conquered and overthrown an emperor himself, or at least a great king of an equally paramount position, and wrested the imperial title from him. The only imperial power in existence at that time, whether in northern or central India, was the Vākātakas, whose greatest monarch, the emperor Pravarasēna I, was dead not long since, and whose imperial dignity could not yet have suffered any diminution. Thus the Guptas themselves would appear to have been until then the subordinates of the Vākātakas (and the feudatory rank of the father as well as the grandfather of Chandragupta I is evident enough from the secondary title *Mahārāja* borne by them¹⁰⁴), and it would equally appear that the imperial dignity which Chandragupta I assumed, must have been wrested by him from none else than the Vākātakas. In view, however, of the long further continuity of the Vākātaka dynasty for nearly 3 centuries yet, Chandragupta I cannot be said to have succeeded as a matter of course to the Vākātaka imperial dignity, nor to have raised himself to that position, when the Vākātaka dynasty had been extinct and there was no other power exercising imperial sway. He must have therefore attained the imperial rank by the conquest of his Vākātaka contemporary.¹⁰⁵ The Vākātaka monarch thus overthrown by Chandragupta I would be the immediate successor of the emperor Pravarasēna I, and also the last of their imperial line, since it is well-known that no Vākātaka from Rudrasēna I (the grandson of Pravarasēna I) onwards ever bore any title higher than *Mahārāja*, as is patent from their records. Who then was the particular Vākātaka sovereign whom Chandragupta I conquered?

104. F. G. I. Nos. 1 (l. 28), 4 (ll. 5-7).

105. Later on we shall see that the Traikūtakas, who also were the feudatories of the Vākātakas, were conquered by the Vākātaka king Harishēna, possibly because they must have revolted against their suzerain and tried to assert independence. Similar perhaps was the case with the Guptas, who also must have risen against their sovereigns, the Vākātakas, but the result in this case, however, was different in that the Guptas succeeded in not only asserting their independence but even in wresting the imperial power from the Vākātakas.

There is another Vākāṭaka coin with the figure 100, which has been rightly identified by Mr. Jayaswal¹⁰⁶ as that of Rudra i.e., Rudrasēna I, whence it follows that Rudrasēna was living and ruling in the year 100. Now this year 100 could never be the year 100 of the Vākāṭaka era i.e., it could not be 346-47 A.C.; for Rudrasēna I, who has been correctly identified with the king Rudradēva, who was one of the kings of Aryāvarta supplanted by Samudragupta, as recorded in his Allahabad pillar inscription,¹⁰⁷ must have been already dead before circa 312-13 A.C., when, as we have seen, the Prasasti of Samudragupta was engraved on that pillar nay Samudragupta himself was dead by G. S. 61 i.e., 333-34 A.C. in which year the Mathurā inscription of his son Chandragupta II, was set up.¹⁰⁸ The year 100 of Rudrasēna I's coin must therefore be reckoned from the year 172 A.C. of Vindhyaśakti's accession (exactly as the year 37 of the Bhīṭa Seal No. 29¹⁰⁹ and year 76 of Pravarasēna's coin¹¹⁰ are reckoned from that event), when it would be the year 272-73 A.C., which is exactly the epoch of the Gupta era. If now Rudrasēna I, who was the grandson of Pravarasēna I, was also his immediate successor, inasmuch as it is certain beyond doubt that prince Gautamīputra, the son of Pravarasēna I and the father of Rudradēva I, must have predeceased his father and could not therefore have ruled as king, he (Rudrasēna I) would seem to be the Vākāṭaka emperor, whom Chandragupta I vanquished, and therefore he would appear also to be the last of the Vākāṭaka emperors. But as a matter of fact it was not Chandragupta I but his son Samudragupta, who conquered and supplanted Rudrasēna I. Nor again could Rudrasēna I be an emperor, as in none of the Vākāṭaka inscriptions is his name coupled with any higher title than *Mahārāja*—*वाकाटकानां महाराज श्री रुद्रसेन* (Chammak, Siwani, Dudia, and Bālāghāt plates)—which duly argues that the family had already been deprived of its imperial dignity by the time he came to the throne. Now Pravarasēna I was an emperor to the end of his life in 268 A.C.; and if then his grandson Rudrasēna I ascended the throne as merely a *Mahārāja*, as is just evident, it goes without saying that Rudrasēna I was not the immediate successor of his grandfather Pravara-

106. Jy. (pp. 72-73).

107. F. G. I. No. 1 (l. 21).

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

109. Jy. (p. 227).

110. *Ibid* (pp. 37-38; 83).

sēna I, wherefore there was evidently another ruler between them, who must have immediately succeeded Pravarasēna I as an emperor. It was that Vākāṭaka who was conquered by Chandragupta I: he was perhaps also killed in that battle. He would thus seem to have ruled from 268 to 272 A.C. when he was defeated and the imperial title taken away from the Vākāṭaka family by Chandragupta I. Beyond doubt he was one of the 3 other sons (i.e., other than prince Gautamīputra) of Pravarasēna I, and in all probability he was none else than Vindhyavardhana, whom we have not unreasonably taken to be the eldest of them.^{110a} Thus then the immediate successor of Pravarasēna I would be his eldest son Vindhyavardhana, who therefore was also the next Vākāṭaka emperor. He ruled from 268 to 272 A.C., when he was conquered by Chandragupta I, who forthwith founded his own dynastic era, the Gupta era, in commemoration of the conquest he had achieved of an imperial dynasty and the consequent assumption of the imperial title by himself. Vindhyavardhana was thus the last of the imperial line of the Vākāṭakas, as with his defeat and death that family lost its imperial status, which it never since recovered.¹¹¹ The imperial

110a. The indubitable fact here is that the immediate successor of Pravarasēna I was one of his three sons other than Gautamīputra, but which of them we have no means to decide. It is quite possible that Bhīmasēna or Bhādrāmēgha was that immediate successor, in case of course Vindhyavardhana too had predeceased his father; but in that case it is also likelier that Bhīmasēna or Bhādrāmēgha would have been succeeded by his own son than by his nephew i.e., Gautamīputra's son, unless it is further presumed that they too were issueless, whereas in the case of Vindhyavardhana the crown would naturally pass on to Gautamīputra's son as the son of the eldest of the next brothers.

111. As Mr. Jayaswal has rightly observed (Jy. p. 131), the Purāṇas take the definite date—100 years from Vindhyaśakti—as the landmark for the close of their chronicles, but that definite date, however, is not the year 348-49 A.C., nor is it with the death of Rudrasēna I that they discontinue their narrative as that scholar understands. For it is undoubtedly with the year 272-73 A.C., when exactly a hundred years from the accession of Vindhyaśakti (172 A.C.) had rolled by, and when Chandragupta I, who was neither a Brāhmaṇa nor a Kshatriya, had succeeded to the imperial position of the Vākāṭakas, who were Brāhmaṇas (for Vindhyaśakti was a द्विजप्रकाश, an illustrious Brāhmaṇa, as we have already seen, and Pravarasēna I performed also the *Bṛihaspati Sava*, a ritual open only to the Brāhmaṇas—(Jy. p. 65), and founded his own dynastic era, the Gupta era, that the Purāṇas finally close their chronicles with the dictum—*अनुगमाप्रयागं नो (नौ) सा भोक्ष्यन्ति मेदिनाम्* (Jy. p. 126, f.n. 1; Pargiter pp. 53-54, f.n. 8). It is for the same reason, we believe, that the Purāṇas have omitted (perhaps purposely)

dignity of the family began, as we have seen, with Vindhyaśakti, who was its first *Mahārājādhirāja*; it reached its zenith in Pravarasēna I, who assumed in addition the yet higher, nay the highest, title *Samrāt*, which, however, was *his personal title* which accrued to him as a matter of course when he had performed 4 horse-sacrifices; and it had its final decline with the death and defeat of Vindhyavardhana, who was thus the last *Mahārājādhirāja* in their imperial line. It was thus that Chandragupta I styled himself *Mahārājādhirāja* when he had overthrown Vindhyavardhana who was himself a *Mahārājādhirāja* and wrested that imperial title from him.^{111a}

Vindhyavardhana was perhaps issueless, and that is why his nephew Rudrasēna I, the son of his younger brother prince Gautamīputra, succeeded him. The coin of Rudrasēna I, with the figure 100, would thus readily explain itself as having been struck at the time of his accession in the year 272 A.C.

Now Rudrasēna I, as we have seen, was one of the kings of Aryāvarta, whom Samudragupta exterminated in his northern campaign;¹¹² and as the Allahabad inscription itself is allotted above to *circa* 312-13 A.C., the defeat and death of Rudrasēna I may well be assigned to about 308 A.C. In that case Rudrasēna I would appear to have ruled from 272 to *circa* 308 A.C. He was succeeded by his son Prithvishēna I, who thus came to the throne in c. 308 A.C.

the name of the last Vākāṭaka emperor Vindhyavardhana, who was defeated (and perhaps killed) by Chandragupta I.

111a. If as Mr. Jayaswal has pointed out (Jy. pp. 64-65), it is only a king who had performed two or more horse-sacrifices, was entitled to call himself a *Samrāt*, Vindhyavardhana, who could have performed none, could lay no claim to that highest title, but had to be content with the just lower title *Mahārājādhirāja*, which, as that of paramountcy, had accrued to the family ever since Vindhyaśakti first bore it; and it is for just the same reason that Chandragupta I, when he had conquered Vindhyavardhana, had to assume the title *Mahārājādhirāja*, which the vanquished king bore. Further if neither Chandragupta I nor his son Samudragupta assumed the highest title *Samrāt*, it is because the former performed no *Aśvamēdha*, and the latter only one, as we have just seen.

112. The battle between Rudrasēna I and Samudragupta, as has been suggested by Mr. Jayaswal (Jy. p. 140), would seem to have been fought at Eran, which lay in the heart of the Vākāṭaka home-province, and where therefore Samudragupta rightly set up his stone inscription (F. G. I. No. 2) to commemorate his victory over the Vākāṭaka king, who would thus seem to have been the most formidable of the whole lot of kings, whom he had brought down.

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Prithvishēna I has been described in the Chammak, Siwani and Dudia plates of his grandson Pravarasēna II in such significant terms as *वर्षशतमभिवर्द्धमान कोशदण्डसाधन सन्तान पुत्रपौत्रिणः* (genitive singular) i.e., he 'who belonged to an uninterrupted succession of sons and grandsons, (and) whose treasure and means of government had been accumulating for one hundred years', and these very words have also been repeated in describing him in the much later Bālāghāt plates of Prithvishēna II. This would no doubt mean that Prithvishēna I was very wealthy and no less mighty; and further as the stock of one's wealth or power or of happiness would naturally be taken only after he is once for all dead, it would also mean that at the time of his death, one hundred years, not 'well-nigh a century' as Mr. Jayaswal understands,¹¹³ but full one hundred years i.e., exactly one hundred years, as stated in those records, had elapsed, as counted, of course, from some epoch-making event connected with the history of their dynasty. The only two great events, so far known in their history, are (1) the accession of Vindhyaśakti in 172 A.C. and (2) the establishment of the Vākāṭaka era by Pravarasēna I in 247-48 A.C.; and therefore between either of these years and the year in which Prithvishēna I died, a period of exactly 100 years must have run its course. Now the year 100 of the coin of Rudrasēna I,¹¹⁴ the father of Prithvishēna I, has already been shown to be the year of his accession reckoned duly from 172 A.C., the year of Vindhyaśakti's accession. It therefore goes without saying that the year 100 in which Rudrasēna I's son Prithvishēna I died cannot be counted from the year 172 A.C. but will have necessarily therefore to be referred to the Vākāṭaka era, when it readily corresponds to the year 346-47 A.C. This is perhaps the *only* instance we have of a reference, though no doubt quite indistinct, to their own era in all the records of the Vākāṭaka dynasty, hitherto accessible to us. Prithvishēna I would thus appear to have died in 346 A.C., and his regnal period accordingly would be c. 308-346 A.C.

The Mathurā pillar inscription of Chandragupta II¹¹⁵ is dated G. S. 61 i.e. 333-34 A.C., and the last date for him is G.S. 95 i.e. 367-68 A.C.¹¹⁶ He was thus a junior contemporary of the Vākāṭaka king Prithvishēna I (c. 308-46 A.C.) Now ever since the last

113. Jy. (p. 18).

114. Ibid (pp. 72-73).

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

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

Vākāṭaka emperor Vindhya vardhana, the son and successor of Pravarasēna I, lost his life in the battle which Chandragupta I fought with him, and therewith also lost the imperial dignity of the family to the Gupta conqueror, those two royal families would naturally be at deadly feud with each other. When again within barely 36 years thence the next Vākāṭaka king Rudrasēna I also, defeated by the next Gupta monarch Samudragupta, died on the battlefield, the tension of their mutual hostility would necessarily be further increased. When therefore Prithvishēṇa I and Chandragupta II were on their respective thrones, there would be the bitterest animosity between those royal families. It was thus his political sagacity that must have prompted Chandragupta II, who was undoubtedly a far greater statesman than his father, the world-victor Samudragupta, not only to put an end to all their enmity that had so long estranged the two greatest royal households of the time, but also to join hands with each other and make a strong alliance perhaps against the western Śaka satraps, who were growing in power all around at that time, and whose dominions adjoined the Vākāṭaka kingdom as well as the Gupta empire; and in order to make the *entente cordiale* secure and enduring, he must have further pitched upon a closer bond of union by means of a matrimonial alliance between the two families, which thus resulted in the marriage of his own daughter, princess Prabhāvatī Guptā with prince Rudrasēna, the son and heir-apparent of Prithvishēṇa I, exactly as the Bhāraśiva king Bhavanāga and the Vākāṭaka Pravarasēna I did, about a 100 years ago, when the daughter of the former was married to prince Gautamīputra son of the latter. Now of the nearly 34 or 35 years of the reign of Chandragupta II (333-68 A.C.) the first 13 or 14 years synchronise with the last as many of the reign of Prithvishēṇa I (c. 308-46 A.C.), and the Gupta-Vākāṭaka marriage therefore must have been celebrated during those years 333 to 346 A.C., when both of them were on their respective thrones.

We are further told in the Ajanta inscription that Prithvishēṇa I conquered a king of Kuntala,¹¹⁷ and all the scholars seem to be of one accord that the king of Kuntala spoken of here was the contemporary Kadamba king.¹¹⁸ According to our chronology

117. A. S. W. I. (IV. p. 124) — कुन्तलेन्द्रं विजित्य पृथिवीषेण (v. 8).

118. Jy. (pp. 99 f.n. 3; 131); Dubreuil's 'Ancient History of the Deccan' (A.H.D.) p. 73.

of the early Kadambas of Banavāsi,¹¹⁹ Mṛigēśavarma (c. 303-23 A.C.) as well as his cousin-brother Kṛishṇavarma I (c. 323-49 A.C.) would seem to have been the Kadamba contemporaries of Prithvishēṇa I, and the king of Kuntala if also he was a Kadamba, conquered by Prithvishēṇa I would be either of them. But we however believe that in that age the king of Kuntala would not mean the Kadamba king; for, in his 'Gāthā Saptasati' of about the 1st century B. C. or the 1st century A.C., the Sātavāhana king Hāla calls himself the king of Kuntala;¹²⁰ in the 'Kāmasūtra' of Vātsyāyana, a Sātavāhana king is spoken of as Kuntala Sātakarni,¹²¹ and from the list of the Sātavāhanas given in the Purāṇas, we know that one of them was called Kuntala Sātakarni,¹²² and from Rājasekhara's 'Kāvya-mīmāṃsā'¹²³ (as also from other historical as well as literary sources) it would appear that the capital of the Sātavāhanas was in Kuntaladēśa. Further in the Bṛihat-Saṃhitā of Varāhamihira (of circa 5th or 6th century) Vanavāsi (Ibid XVI. 6) and Kuntala (Ibid XVI. 11) are mentioned separately, evidently as different countries, and as such until at least the time of Varāhamihira, Banavāsi cannot yet have come to be called as Kuntala, though no doubt, inasmuch as they were contiguous, later on Banavāsi was also known as or was included in Kuntala. Now

119. J.I.H. (XIII Pt. II).

120. रायण विरहआप कुन्तलजनवअ इणेण हालेण (Nirṇaya-Sāgara Press Ed. Int. p. 1).

121. Ibid.

122. Pargiter (pp. 36, 40).

123. श्रूयते च कुन्तलेषु सातवाहनो नाम राजा (Gaekwad's Oriental Series No. 1 p. 50). Furthermore Rājasekhara extols his patron king Mahipāla (914, 917 A.C.) as कुन्तलानां कुटारः in his unfinished drama Bāla-Bhārata (I. 7), and Padmagupta in his Nava-Sāhasārīka-charita (I. 74) speaks of his patron Sindhurāja, (c. 995-1000) who is also the hero of that poem, as अक्रान्तदिङ्मण्डलकुन्तलेन्द्र &c.; and it is well-known that the king of the Kuntalas (i.e., of the Kuntala country) referred to in the former work is the contemporary Rāshtrakūṭa king Indra III, and the Kuntala king of the latter poem is the contemporary Western Chālukya king Tailapa or his son Satyāśraya, and none of them belonged to the Kadamba dynasty. From the fact that Rājasekhara's 'Bālabhārata' (Nirṇayasāgarā Ed. p. 2) mentions king Nirbhaya's son the Pratihāra King Mahipāla of Mahodaya (Kanuj), for whom we have the dates 914, 917 A.C. (E. I. XIV. p. 179) the poet would seem to have been living in the first quarter of the 10th century A.C.

the regnal period of Prithvishēṇa I (308—c. 346 A.C.) falls duly in the first half of the 4th century A.C., when therefore neither could Banavāsi, where the early Kadambas then held their capital, be included in Kuntaladēśa, nor their kingdom be identified with it. Moreover nowhere in the records of the early Kadambas from Mayūraśarma down at least to Kṛṣṇavarma II (who died *circa* 450 or 455 A.C. according to the Kadamba chronology we have proposed) do they speak of themselves as the kings of Kuntala, or call their kingdom by that name. Accordingly the king of Kuntala defeated by Prithvishēṇa I could be neither of his kadamba contemporaries, but must be some one else, who then ruled over Kuntala proper, and of whom, however, we know next to nothing at present.

Next from the significant words— **महाराज श्री रुद्रसेनस्याग्र महिषी** i.e., the 'senior queen of the illustrious *Mahārāja Rudrasēna*'—in which the queen-regent Prabhāvatī Guptā describes herself in her Poona plates, we have already shown that her husband Rudrasēna I did rule as king, and naturally enough it was his father Prithvishēṇa I that he succeeded. After the death of her husband Rudrasēna I, Prabhāvatī Guptā became regent to her minor son prince Divākarasēna, and we have seen that it was with absolute confidence in her father Chandragupta II that she took up that responsibility. From the further fact that in both of her grants, the Poona plates of the 13th year of her regency as well as the several years later Riddhapur plates of the 19th regnal year of her son Pravarasēna II, she speaks of herself as merely the daughter of Chandragupta II without further describing herself as also the sister of his son and successor Kumāragupta I (and it is more or less certain that by the time she issued her Riddhapur plates Chandragupta II must have been already dead and succeeded by Kumāragupta I), it is not inconceivable that the only Gupta king, to whom she was indebted for all the help she had received throughout her regency, was her father Chandragupta II and no other, and in that case the period of her regency would appear to fall absolutely within his reign. If then the 13th year itself of her regency, in which her Poona plates are dated, was also the last year of the rule of Chandragupta II, it would mean that she lost her husband Rudrasēna II in 368—13 i.e., 355 A.C., and the extreme limit of the reign of Rudrasēna II would thus be some 9 or 10 years from 346 A.C., when on the death of his father he succeeded to the throne, to 355 A.C. But we believe it was yet shorter, perhaps merely of 4 or 5 years. Giving therefore as many

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years to the reign of Rudrasēna II, and some 16 years to the regency of his wife Prabhāvatī Guptā, we shall have—

Rudrasēna II	346—350 A.C.
Prabhāvatī Guptā (regent)	350—366 A.C.

It was her eldest son Divākarasēna for whom the queen-mother Prabhāvatī Guptā was acting as regent, when she issued her Poona plates. He would thus seem to have been living in that 13th year of regency. Thereafter however we hear no more of him from any of the Vākāṭaka records. Perhaps he died young before he attained majority, wherefore he never came to the throne. Or else, if only he had ruled as king for ever so short a time, his mother who, in her Riddhapur plates issued in the reign of her other son Pravarasēna II, calls herself as **वाकाटकानां महाराज श्री दामोदरसेन तवरसेन जननी** i.e., 'the mother of the illustrious *Mahārāja* of the Vākāṭakas Dāmōdarasēna-Pravarasēna' would have assuredly called herself the mother of the two *Mahārājas*, Divākarasēna and Dāmōdarasēna-Pravarasēna. It is thus almost certain that Divākarasēna died before he came to the throne, and it was thus his younger brother Pravarasēna II, who succeeded to their father's throne, when on his attainment of majority his mother's regency came to a natural close.

We have the following records of the reign of Pravarasēna II—

- (1) The Chammak plates of his 18th regnal year, dated the 13th lunar day of the bright half of the month of Jyēṣṭha;¹²⁴
- (2) the Siwani plates of the same regnal year, dated the 12th lunar day of the bright half of Phālguna;¹²⁵
- (3) the Riddhapur plates issued by his mother Prabhāvatī Guptā in the 19th year of his reign on the 12th lunar day of the bright half of the month of Kārtika;¹²⁶
- (4) and the Dudia plates of his 23rd regnal year dated the 10th day of the 4th fortnight of the rainy season¹²⁷ i.e., the 10th lunar day of the bright fortnight of *Amānta Bhādrapada*.

124. F. G. I. No. 55.

125. Ibid No. 56.

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

127. E. I. (III. pp. 260-62).

The date details in none of these grants, however, admit of verification. All that can be asserted with regard to his reign is that he must have ruled for at least 23 years. Giving some 28 years to his reign, he would seem to have ruled from c. 366, to c. 394 A.C.

As we have already seen, Pravarasēna II was succeeded by his son Narēndrasēna, who is said to have been selected for succession on account of the confidence placed in him, no doubt by his father, for the good qualities which he had already acquired. Presumably therefore an elder brother of Narēndrasēna was passed over as we have shown, when their father Pravarasēna II nominated Narēndrasēna to succeed him. In the Bālāghāt plates of his son Prithvishēna II,¹²⁸ Narēndrasēna is said to have been obeyed by the lords of Kōsalā, Mēkalā and Mālava—**कोसला मेकला मालवाधिपतिभिरभ्यर्चितशासनः**—who would thus seem to have been his feudatories. This peculiar description, which thus claims for him the obedience of the said sub-kings, rather than their conquest by him, seems to suggest that he maintained *in status quo* the inheritance to which he succeeded at his father's death rather than added to it by further conquests. The only other fact known (from his son's Bālāghāt plates) with regard to him is that his senior queen (**महादेवी**) Ajjhita Bhaṭṭārikā was the daughter of the king of Kuntala, who, however, has not been mentioned by name. Here too we believe that this king of Kuntala could not be the contemporary Kadamba king of Banavāsi.

We have said that the Vyāghradēva of the Nāchna stone inscriptions¹²⁹ could not well be any other than Mahārāja Vyāghra, who was the father of Jayanātha and the grandfather of Śarvanātha of the Uchakalpa dynasty.¹³⁰ We have yet another stone inscription of the same Vyāghradēva at Gañj,¹³¹ which also is situated in Bundēlkhaṇḍ, i.e., the Chēdī country.¹³²

128. *Ibid* IX (pp. 270-71).

129. F.G.I. Nos. 53 and 54.

130. *Ibid*. Nos. 26-31; E.I. (XIX pp. 129-30).

131. E. I. (XVII pp. 12-13).

132. There is another Vyāghrarāja, who has been mentioned as the king of Mahākāntāra among the kings conquered by Samudragupta (F. G. I. No. 1, l. 19)—**महाकान्तारक व्याघ्रराजा** This Vyāghrarāja cannot be the Vyāghradēva of the Nāchna and Gañj inscriptions, in that while the former is said to be a southern king, the latter must be a prince of Āryāvarta, as it is within the limits of Āryāvarta that his lithic records stand; and also because the latter was obviously a feudatory prince, while it is almost certain

In all his inscriptions this Vyāghradēva speaks of himself as the feudatory of Prithvishēna, who is evidently one of the two Vākātaka kings of that name. Dr. Sukhtankar, who has edited the Gañj inscription, is of opinion that it is a record of the reign of Prithvishēna I, which on paleographic grounds must be assigned to as late an epoch as the 7th century. Mr. Jayaswal also assigns the stone inscriptions of Vyāghradēva to the reign of Prithvishēna I,¹³³ and so also does the late Prof. R. D. Banerji;¹³⁴ while on paleographic grounds again Mr. K. N. Dikshit points out that the said inscriptions are records of the reign of Prithvishēna II and must be attributed to the last quarter of the 5th or the opening years of the 6th century A.C.,¹³⁵ exactly as M. Jouveau-Dubreuil also does on paleographic grounds.¹³⁶ As has been significantly remarked by M. Jouveau-Dubreuil,¹³⁷ paleography is a bad auxiliary to the chronology of the Indian dynasties, as very often two documents dated in the same reign differ much from each other; and thus its evidence would be mainly suggestive or corroborative, but at any rate by itself not conclusive. Leaving aside therefore the question of paleographic grounds, on which, as is apparent, such eminent scholars differ by no less than two centuries, let us see what conclusion the Vākātaka chronology, we have so far proposed, would lead to.

The earliest date we have for Jayanātha, the son of Vyāghra, is the Vākātaka (Chēdī) year 174 i.e., 420-21 A.C. of his Kāritālāi plates,¹³⁸ and the earliest date for his son Śarvanātha is the Vākātaka year 191 i.e., 437-38 A.C. of his Sōhāwal plates.¹³⁹ Jayanātha therefore may well be supposed to have begun to rule between the years 390 and 400 A.C., and his son Śarvanātha be-

that the former was an independent king. Nor again could the Vyāghradēva of the Nāchna and Gañj inscriptions be the same as the Traikūṭaka prince Vyāghrasēna of the Sūrat plates (E. I. XI p. 219), as the latter, though no doubt also a feudatory of the Vākātakas, (as we shall soon see) was a ruler of Aparānta on the West Coast, and as such the lithic records (which on that account are not liable to change of place) found in the far-off Chēdī country cannot possibly be his.

133. Jy. (p. 73).

134. 'The Age of the Imperial Guptas' (p. 16).

135. E. I. (XVII p. 362).

136. A.H.D. (p. 72).

137. *Ibid* (p. 97).

138. F. G. I. No. 26.

139. E. I. (XIX pp. 129-30).

tween 430 and 435 A.C. If now Vyāghra, the father of Jayanātha, was indeed a contemporary of Prithvishēṇa I, who, as we have seen, died in 346 A.C., even supposing that Vyāghra began to rule in 345 A.C., there would be a difference of nearly 90 years between the initial years of the reigns of the grandfather and the grandson, and in case Vyāghra began earlier, this difference would also necessarily increase. Such a case is not however quite impossible, though no doubt very rare. It is likelier therefore that Vyāghra was a feudatory of Prithvishēṇa II than of his great grandfather Prithvishēṇa I. Possibly he ruled as a feudatory prince, or sub-king, from between 370 and 390 A.C. to *circa* 415 A.C., when he was succeeded by his son Jayanātha. In that case his suzerain Prithvishēṇa II would appear to have succeeded his father Narēndrasēṇa in *circa* 410 A.C., and Narēndrasēṇa would thus seem to have ruled from *circa* 394 to 410 A.C.

From the fact that the reign of Dēvasēṇa's father, whose name has been lost in the Ajanta cave inscription, was a short one of barely 8 years, we have inferred that he must have come to the throne in succession to his nephew Prithvishēṇa II, and not to his own younger brother Narēndrasēṇa. Prithvishēṇa II was therefore the immediate successor of his father Narēndrasēṇa. The only record we have of his reign is his Bālāghāt plates,¹⁴⁰ which again is merely a draft seemingly kept ready for engraving some kind of benefaction, which however has not been recorded, nor is therefore the draft dated. Accordingly it would seem to belong to the last year of his reign, or even to the last days of his life. All that we know of him from the said draft is that he rescued his sunken family. We have elsewhere¹⁴¹ shown that the Hūṇa leader Tōramāṇa conquered eastern Mālava in *circa* 444-45 A.C., when *Mahārāja* Dhanyavishṇu, the ruler of Eran in eastern Mālava, and until then a feudatory of the Guptas, as is apparent from the use of the Gupta era in his brother Mātrivishṇu's Eran pillar inscription¹⁴² of G. S. 165 i.e., 437-38 A.C., forthwith acknowledged the suzerainty of the Hūṇa conqueror, as again is evident from his own Eran Boar inscription¹⁴³ of the very first year of Tōramāṇa's victory. Now Eran, which as has been pointed out by Mr. Jayaswal,¹⁴⁴ stands in

the heart of the Vākāṭaka home-province, must have belonged to the Guptas ever since Samudragupta conquered Rudrasēṇa I in the battle fought in all probability in that locality (f. n. 112), and though therefore as the capital of the Gupta feudatory, it would be naturally included in the Gupta empire, Tōramāṇa could not conquer it without first conquering the adjoining portion of the Vākāṭaka kingdom and thereby coming into collision with the Vākāṭaka king. On the basis of the chronology we have so far proposed, the trouble which king Prithvishēṇa II had to encounter, would seem to have come from the Hūṇas, which, in spite of the one or two¹⁴⁵ such calamitous repulses as may have well shaken the Vākāṭaka kingdom, he seems to have averted at last with a heroic effort, so that he could justly and no less proudly congratulate himself in the last days of his life as having raised his almost sunken family and rehabilitated it. The trying period of his reign would thus coincide with those early years of the Hūṇa invasion, when Tōramāṇa had not yet succeeded in conquering eastern Mālava. Therefore the end of the reign of Prithvishēṇa II would allot itself to, say 437 A.C. i.e., just a few years before the actual conquest of Eran in *circa* 444-45 A.C., for if Prithvishēṇa II had lived as far as the latter year, it cannot well be imagined that he would not have been carried away by the Hūṇa onslaught, but could have successfully withstood and survived it to congratulate himself as he did. Prithvishēṇa II would thus appear to have ruled from *circa* 410-437 A.C.

Prithvishēṇa II having perhaps died issueless, the crown naturally reverted to his uncle, the anonymous king,^{145a} who

145. Is it द्विमग्न (or विमग्न) वंशस्योद्धर्तु : in the Bālāghātplates?

145a. Though there are instances of their eldest sons being passed over by kings, and younger ones nominated for succession, instances, on the other hand, of such elder brothers succeeding later on to the kingship after the demise of their younger brothers are very rare or even scarce. It is thus quite possible that the anonymous king may not have been the elder brother of Narēndrasēṇa, but might well be a younger brother, presumably because an elder brother of Narēndrasēṇa may not have survived till after the death of his nephew Prithvishēṇa II, who having been contemporary with Vyāghra, as shown above, must have immediately succeeded his father Narēndrasēṇa. There is however hardly any evidence in the Vākāṭaka records to decide whether the anonymous king was the elder or the younger brother of Narēndrasēṇa, whereas it is known for certain that an elder brother of Narēndrasēṇa had been actually passed over when their father nominated the latter to succeed him; and it is therefore that the anonymous king may well be taken, tentatively though, as the elder brother of Narēndrasēṇa especially in view also of the fact that he ruled for only eight years.

140. *Ibid* (IX pp. 270-71).

141. J. I. H. (XI p. 184).

142. F. G. I. No. 19.

143. *Ibid*. No. 36.

144. Jy. (p. 140).

was the father of Dēvasēna, and all that has been said with regard to him in his grandson Harishēna's Ajanta cave inscription¹⁴⁶ is that (though) he ruled (merely) for eight years, he ruled well. Even if he was 25 to 30 years of age at the time of the death of his father Pravarasēna II in circa 394 A.C. he would be nearly 65 to 70 years old when he succeeded his nephew. He would thus seem to have ruled from c. 437 to 445 A.C., and the end of his reign would thus seem to synchronise with Tōramāṇa's conquest of eastern Mālava. Naturally enough Tōramāṇa must have encountered this Vākāṭaka contemporary, whose dominions lay on his way to Eran, and it is conceivable and even probable that the bold, though no doubt old, Vākāṭaka king must have forthwith taken the field against the oncoming foreign invader, and perhaps died in that heroic struggle.

Dēvasēna succeeded his father in c. 445 A.C. In the Ajanta inscription of his son Harishēna, Dēvasēna has been described in such peculiar terms as— भोगेषु यथेष्टचेष्टः —which however seem to have been strained by Mr. Jayaswal to mean much more than they possibly can. Thus he not only understands that Dēvasēna was an 'ease-loving, handsome king,'¹⁴⁷ but goes on yet further when he says that 'he preferred a life of ease and pleasure to the duties of kingship,'¹⁴⁸ and at last 'abdicated in favour of his son Harishēna.'¹⁴⁹ Nothing of the sort seems to have been meant, or even intended, in the said description, nor is there a word in it which could lend any the least probability to Mr. Jayaswal's hypothesis of Dēvasēna's abdication. The description, as it is, simply means that Dēvasēna had his fill of happiness, and inasmuch as the happiness of a king comes to him from his wealth and power, and is thus commensurate with them, Dēvasēna would appear to have been affluent and powerful to a high degree. This is clinched by the fact that elsewhere in the same inscription, he is compared in his possession of comforts (उपभोग) to Indra, the king of the gods— देवसेनः । यस्योपभोगैर्ललितैः देवराजस्य...॥, and as Indra is not only the emblem of the greatest wealth and the highest happiness, but also the embodiment of unique valour, as is evident from an earlier passage in the same inscription, wherein Vindhyaśakti has

146. A. S. W. I. (IV p. 125).

147. Jy (p. 76).

148. Ibid (p. 102).

149. Ibid (pp. 76-77).

been said to be equal in valour to Purandara (i.e., Indra) and Upēndra (i.e., Vishṇu)— पुरन्दरोपेन्द्र समप्रभावः । we cannot bring ourselves to believe that in spite of such a significant and explicit simile, he could still be held to have been a weak king, who loved ease and pleasure even to neglect the duties of kingship. Then again this description occurs in the inscription of his son, who would of course be the last person to say anything untoward with regard to his father, even if the latter's life had been unkingly. Considered thus the said description— भोगेषु यथेष्टचेष्टः —would merely mean that he was a happy king, and as such it may well be said that his was an equally happy reign, in which if perhaps there was no territorial expansion by means of any new conquests, there was neither any loss of territories due to invasions from outside; and if thus it was eventless, it was possibly quite peaceful. Now the only source of all possible disturbance at that time was the Hūṇa invader Tōramāṇa. He conquered eastern Mālava in c. 444-45 A.C., and western Mālava shortly thereafter in c. 450 A.C.¹⁵⁰ From the Eran posthumous pillar of Gōparāja,¹⁵¹ we have shown elsewhere¹⁵² that in the year G. S. 191 i.e., 463-64 A.C., a vigorous attempt was made by the Gupta prince Bhānugupta and the Gupta feudatory Gōparāja to drive out the Huns from eastern Mālava, which however seems to have been abortive. At any rate throughout those years of perplexity in the immediate vicinity, the integrity of the Vākāṭaka kingdom would seem to have remained in tact; for from the fact that within a few years of the death of Dēvasēna's father on the battle-field, his grandson (i.e., Dēvasēna's son) Harishēna could effect several conquests, as we shall presently see, it would appear that the Vākāṭakas were neither crushed nor even conquered by Tōramāṇa, nor did they acknowledge his suzerainty (as Dhanyavishṇu did); but they continued as before in their independence, though perhaps shorn of some portion or other of their kingdom; hence it is manifest that though Tōramāṇa conquered the Gupta province of Eran, the Vākāṭaka kingdom, however, was not very much affected thereby. Soon afterwards Tōramāṇa would seem to have discontinued his aggressive career and settled down to the peaceful work of consolidating his new conquests, as is testified to by his issue of coins, of which the one that is accessible to us, that of his 52nd regnal year,¹⁵³ as, of course, counted from his first conquest i.e., the

150. J. I. H. (XI p. 184).

151. F.G.I. No. 20.

152. J. I. H. (XII p. 238).

153. F. G. I. (Int. pp. 11-12).

conquest of eastern Mālava in c. 444-45 A.C., sufficiently argues that a normal order of things had already been established by that year 495-96 A.C. The reign of Dēvasēna would thus seem to fall in the period of comparative lull and quiet between *circa* 445 A.C. (when his father died) and 495 A.C.; and it may therefore be duly assigned to *circa* 445-470 A.C.

Dēvasēna was succeeded by his son Harishēṇa in c. 470 A.C. From the Ajanta inscription (verse 18) he would seem to have conquered, or made obedient to himself, the kings of Kuntala, Avanti, Kalinga, Kōsala, Trikūṭa, Lāṭa, Andhra and perhaps some others— स कुन्तलावन्ति कलिङ्ग कोसल त्रिकूट लाटान्ध्र (further portion is worn out). Though no doubt his conquest of or his mastery over as many as at least seven different countries might well suggest that he must have expanded his kingdom which he had inherited, the names merely of the countries, without those of their respective kings, would not help us to establish any definite synchronism with the known dates of any of the contemporaries of Harishēṇa.

But the case however is different with his conquest of Trikūṭa. For from the use of the Vākāṭaka (Chēdī) era in the grants of the Traikūṭakas—the year 207 of the Pardi plates of Dharasēna I,¹⁵⁴ and the year 241 of the Sūrat plates of Vyāghrasēna¹⁵⁵—they would appear to have been the feudatories of the Vākāṭakas, while from the fact that in the Kanheri plates¹⁵⁶ of the year 245, the said era has been re-named as the Traikūṭaka era—त्रैकूटकानां प्रवर्द्धमान राज्यसंवत्सर....—it might also well appear that perhaps between the years 241 and 245 of that era, they must have tried to throw off the Vākāṭaka yoke and assert their independence. But then they cannot have succeeded as after the year 245 of that era i.e., 491-492 A.C., there is scarcely any document of the Traikūṭakas, nor is any further trace of their family found.¹⁵⁷ Their sudden disappearance from history subsequent to that date is thus intelligibly explained by Harishēṇa's conquest of their country. The said event may be located between 495 and 500 A.C., and the end of Harishēṇa's reign may accordingly be assigned a few years later to *circa* 510 A.C.

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

155. Ibid (XI p. 219).

156. Ibid XX. Appendix: 'Inscriptions of Northern India.' (p. 160, (p. 160, No. 1200).

157. A.H.D. (p. 76); Jy. (p. 103).

Harishēṇa would thus seem to have been a potent conqueror, and as such the Vākāṭaka dynasty cannot well be believed to have abruptly terminated during his reign, nor, as we have hardly any information with regard to his successor or successors, is it possible to say at present when and how that dynasty came to an end.

According to the Ajanta inscription Harishēṇa would also appear to have conquered the Avanti and Lāṭa countries, which at that time therefore must have been ruled over by different kings, if it is not under any metrical necessity that their names have been mentioned apart in that inscription with at least as many as three others inserted between them— स कुन्तलावन्ति कलिङ्ग कोसल त्रिकूट लाटान्ध्र... स्वनिर्देश... Now from the Ābhōṇa plates of the Kalachūri king Śaṅkaragaṇa,¹⁵⁸ dated in the year 347 of the Chēdī era i.e., 593-94 A.C., he appears to have had his capital at Ujjain, which had long been the headquarters of the Avanti region. The Śaṅkhēḍa grant,¹⁵⁹ issued by a feudatory of Śaṅkaragaṇa, and dated in the year 346 of the same era, i.e., 592-93 A.C., purports to imply that his kingdom included the territory actually lying in the Lāṭa country.¹⁶⁰ Thus Śaṅkaragaṇa would appear to have been more or less an independent ruler of the Avanti and Lāṭa provinces; and since neither in his grants nor in those of his son Buddharāja, viz., the Vaḍnēr grant¹⁶¹ of the Chēdī year 360 i.e., 606-7 A.C. and the Sarsavṇī grant¹⁶² of the year 361 i.e., 607-8 A.C., their ancestry has been carried back beyond Kṛishṇarāja, the father of Śaṅkaragaṇa, it is intelligible that it was Kṛishṇarāja who was the first important king of that family, the earlier members of which were therefore at most princes of feudatory rank. Now it is the Chēdī era in which the records of Śaṅkaragaṇa and Buddharāja are dated. Accordingly it would appear that the Kalachūris started as the feudatories of the Vākāṭakas, and it is thus conceivable that when Harishēṇa conquered the Avanti and Lāṭa countries, he placed them together in charge of some prince of Kalachūri family, who thus became the progenitor of that dynasty. As might be expected, the Kalachūris became independent later on when their suzerains the Vākāṭakas themselves were no more; and considering that even after the Vākāṭaka dynasty became extinct, their era

158. E. I. XX Appendix: *Inscriptions of Northern India* (p. 161, No. 1206).

159. Ibid (p. 160, No. 1205).

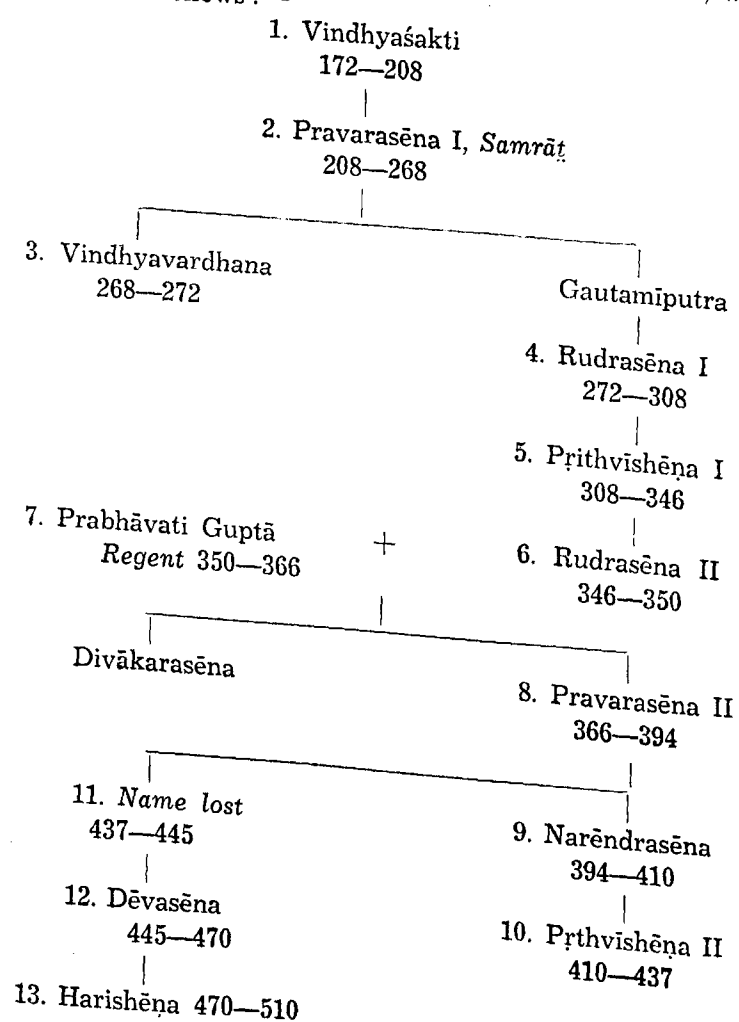
160. Fleet's *Kanarese Dynasties* (p. 295).

161. E. I. (XII pp. 33-35).

162. E. I. XX Appendix (p. 161, No. 1208).

was so regularly carried on by the Kalachūris as befitting their original feudatory position, it is no wonder that in later times the Chēdi era of the Vākāṭakas came eventually to be identified with their name as the Kalachūri era, as is evident for instance from at least such later records of their dynasty as the Kudga, Rājīm, Sēori-Nārāyan and the Ratanpur inscriptions¹⁶³ which are dated respectively in the *Kalachūri Samvatsaras* 893, 896, 898 and 910.

The genealogy of the Vākāṭaka dynasty with the regnal periods of its different kings from Vindhyaśakti down to Harishēṇa according to the chronology we have proposed hereinabove, would then stand as follows:—



163. *Ibid* pp. 165-167 (Nos. 1231, 1232, 1233 and 1239).

A Note on the Mughal Military Terms

ZAT AND SAWAR

By

MR. C. S. K. RAO SAHEB,
Allahabad University.

ALL scholars are not agreed about the meaning of the terms Zat and Sawar. To Prof. Blochmann Zat was a brevet rank and Sawar indicated the number of horsemen under the command of a mansabdar. To Mr. Irvine Sawar meant an honour and indicated the number of extra-horsemen over and above Zat. Dr. Tripathi thinks that sawar had no actual existence in horsemen but indicated a rate of allowance given to a mansabdar honoured with the distinction.¹ Mr. Dasrath Sherma concludes that "both the ranks sawar as well as Zât were actual."² To take a hypothetical case a mansabdar whose Zat rank was 5,000 and Sawar rank 2,000, would command or was expected to command only 2,000 cavalry according to Blochmann. According to Irvine he would command or was accepted as commanding 7,000 cavalry. This view is accepted by Dasarath Sherma. According to Dr. Tripathi, he would command 5,000 cavalry and get an extra money allowance, calculated on the 2,000 sawar.

The rule of branding the fourth part is described among the years of 1056 A.H. Abdul Hamid Lahori the official historian of Shah Jahan writes in the *Badshah-Nama*:—

"The following law was made during the present reign [Shah Jahan's] If a mansabdar holds a jagir in the suba in which he holds his mansab he has to muster one-third of the forces indicated by his rank [mansab]. Accordingly a Śib hazari Zat sib hazar sawar has to muster [bring to the brand] 1,000 cavalry. But if he holds an appointment in another suba he has only to muster a fourth part. Accordingly a Chahar-hazari Zat Chahar hazar Sawar has to muster 1,000 cavalry."

1. *Ind: Hist: Records Commission Vol: V. P. 60.*

2. *J.I.H. Vol. V. 1926-27.*

"At the time when the Imperial Army was ordered to take Balkh and Samarquand [1055 A.H.], His Majesty on account of the distance of those countries gave the order that, as long as the expedition should last, each mansabdar should only muster one-fifth. Accordingly a Panj hazari Zat Panj hazari sawar mustered only 1,000 cavalry."³

We may leave account of the one-fifth rule, as it was a special emergency measure. According to Lahori one-third or one-fourth of a mansab represented cavalry, in the time of Shah Jahan from the 20th regnal year [1056 A.H.] onwards. If both Zat and Sawar had represented cavalry forces, one-third or one-fourth would be two thousand cavalry and not one thousand; whether Zat represents cavalry or Sawar represents cavalry, it is not possible to deduce from above. But we can safely say that one of them or rather one-third or one-fourth of one of them represented the actual cavalry which the mansabdar commanded. Whether the other was cavalry, or a brevet rank or a money allowance, it is not possible to say from the above extract. But this is certain that both of them did not represent cavalry forces. Had it been so, a sib hazari Zat sib hazar sawar or a chahar hazari Zat chahar hazari sawar would have been required under the rules to bring one-third or one-fourth, in other words 2,000 cavalry.

Bernier's evidence gives us some help to decide which of them represented cavalry, at least as regards Shah Jahan's reign. Bernier stayed with Danishmand Khan, a grandee of the Mughal court, at least till the 2nd July 1666 A.D. when he witnessed the eclipse of the sun at Delhi, and has left us a vivid description of the crowd at Jamna waiting anxiously to take the plunge when the eclipse would be over.⁴

From the *Maāsir-ul-Umara*, the following details are known about Danishmand Khan, Bernier's patron, or 'Agah' as he affectionately describes him.

"On the 23rd November 1650 he was presented to Shah Jahan and was raised to the rank of 1,000 Zat 100 Sawar. In the 29th

3. *Badshah Nama* II P. 506; Trans. Blochmann *Ain-i-Akbari* Vol. I. P. 244.

4. Letter to M. Chapelain—Bernier's *Travels in the Mughal Empire* P. 300, et seq.

year he was made second Bakshi with the title of Danishmand Khan. His mansab was then 3,000 Zat, 800 Sawars. In the same year he resigned service owing to differences with Prince Dara. In the second year of Alamgir he re-entered service and his rank was fixed at 4,000 Zat, 2,000 Sawar. In the beginning of the 7th year his rank was increased to 5,000 Zat. In the 8th year he was appointed subahdar of Delhi. On the 18th of July 1670 he died."⁵

So the highest mansab he received was 5,000 Zat and 2,000 Sawar and that was in the beginning of the 7th year of Alamgir which fell on 18th March 1664⁶ and Bernier stayed with Danishmand Khan at least till 2nd July 1666.

Bernier writes: "I perceived that the Omrah under whom I served, a Penge hazary or Lord of five thousand whose quota was fixed at five hundred etc.,"⁷ Bernier's evidence as regards the number of horses Danishmand Khan maintained in his stables should be accepted. He was in that noble's service for a number of years and must be expected to know at least the number of horses his master kept in his stables. Bernier's expression "quota was fixed" is very interesting. It savours of a legal enactment, possibly the rule of branding the fourth part. Danishmand Khan was a naqdy. He was always at the court. False muster in his case was an impossibility. Mr. Irvine gives a further bit of information about the proportion of this mustering in his book on the army of the Indian Mughals⁸. "If a mansabdar was paid in Jahgire he had to muster his men for verification once a year If the officer was paid in naqd the time allowed depended upon whether he was (a) at court, or (b) at duty elsewhere. In the first case [i.e., at court or hāzari Rikab] at 6 months intervals." It was evidently to this half-yearly mustering that Manucci refers. "Twice a year the Bachi [Bakshi] the chief commander of cavalry, holds a review of all the cavalry present at court, examines all the horses and sees whether any of them are old and unfit for service Throughout the Empire there are similar officers bearing the same name, and these are required each in his locality to perform the same duty."⁹

5. *Maasir-ul-Umara* P. 446. Beveridge's translation.

6. Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, Vol. III. P. 390.

7. Letter to Colbert 'Travels' P. 213.

8. Irvine; *Army*. P. 54.

9. *Storia do Mogor*, Vol. II. P. 377-378.

Mr. Irvine further adds "The proportion of horsemen (tabinan) that a mansabdar must produce differed when he was at court and when he was on duty in the provinces. In the first case he was bound to muster one fourth and in the second, one third of his total number or as the case is stated in Maāsir-ul-Umara. [II 444] 'In the reign of Shah Jehan it was decided that if an officer held a Jagir within the suba to which he was attached, he should produce one third of his tabinan, for branding. Thus if he were a sih hazari sih hazar suwar he would produce 1000 horsemen. If sent to another suba of Hindusthan then one fourth had to appear. During the Campaign in Balkh and Badakshan one fifth was held to be sufficient.'"¹⁰

It is evident that Maāsir's authority is Lahori's Badshah Nama. For the former rule that an Amir at the capital had to muster $\frac{1}{4}$ Mr. Irvine's authority is evidently some dastur-ul-Amal.

So the following points are established. Danishmand Khan was a naqdy. He was at court and so had to muster $\frac{1}{4}$. He was a mansabdar of 500 Zat and 200 Sawar. His quota was fixed at 500 horse. Now according to Shah Jahan's rule of bringing $\frac{1}{3}$ or $\frac{1}{4}$ part to the dagger, if both Zat and Sawar represented cavalry. Danishmand would have been required to maintain $\frac{1}{4}$ since he was at court i.e., $5000 + 2000 = 7000$, $\frac{1}{4}$ of which is 1750 horsemen. If Zat had represented cavalry and Sawar a money allowance, then Danishmand would have been required to maintain $\frac{1}{4}$ of 5000, i.e., 1250 horsemen. If Sawar represented cavalry then Danishmand Khan would have been required to maintain $\frac{1}{4}$ of 2000 i.e., 500 horsemen and he maintained 500 horsemen.

So we come to the conclusion that Sawar represented cavalry and did not mean any extra force over and above that of Zat. This $\frac{1}{4}$ rule lasted to the end of Aurangzeb's reign; for Manucci writes that "a man getting the pay of Hazary, in the first class is obliged to keep 250 horsemen of different races—64 Pathans, 64 Mughals and 64 Rajputs; the remainder Sayyids and Sheikhzadas and so forth. The regulation still observed up to this day was made by Akbar". "These with the same rate in the second class are obliged to keep 125 horsemen and the same with all other classes."¹¹ Manucci is here referring to what Mirati-Ahmadi¹² describes as "Tabinan if

10. Irvine; Army. Pp. 54-55.

11. Storia Vol. II. P. 375

12. II. F. 118 op. cit. Irvine; Army.

horsemen must be $\frac{1}{3}$ Mughals and $\frac{1}{3}$ Afghans and $\frac{1}{3}$ Rajput." And Kushal Chand gives further details: "a noble from Mawar-un-nahr recruited none but Mughals; if from Iran he might have $\frac{1}{3}$ Mughals and the remainder Sayyids and Sheiks Nobles who who Sayyids or Sheikhs enlisted their own tribes or up to $\frac{1}{6}$ they might take Afghans. Afghans might have one half Afghans and the other half Mughals and Sheikhzadas, Rajputs made up their whole force of Rajputs";¹³ I think Bernier refers to the same when he talks of the king maintaining different classes of troops like Afghans and Rajputs as mutual checks to one another.¹⁴

It may be argued that there are later evidences and what was true of Shah Jahan's and Aurangzeb's reigns need not necessarily be true of Akbar's and Jahangir's, and Zat may have represented cavalry in Akbar and Jahangir's time. 'Sawar' could not have come into existence later than 1595 A.D.; for in that year Abul Fazl says: "Mansabdars were divided into three classes: first those who had horsemen equal in number to their office (Mansab): 2nd those who had half and upwards: 3rd those who had less. The pay of each was fixed".¹⁵ This does not exclude the possibility of Sawars existing from the earliest times. It may have been fixed arbitrarily and Akbar with his fondness for classification may have classed them and regularised the grades in that year. Whatever it is, viewed from the 20th year of Shah Jahan's reign both Zat and Sawar may be taken as contemporary military institutions. Now institutions decay in course of time. It is almost a law of nature. Contemporary institutions of a similar type when they decay, decay together. If both Zat and Sawar had represented cavalry forces, in Akbar's time, it is reasonable to expect that Mansabdar would keep some horsemen under Zat rank and some under Sawar. They would not keep everything under Sawar and none under Zat. But we find the Shahjahani noble maintaining his cavalry only under Sawar rank.

Besides we have evidences of two European travellers in Jahangir's reign who became mansabdars of the Great Mogul. Their descriptions of the military system finally dispose of this theory of double force. Four letters of Austin of Bordeaux, the

13. Nadir-uz-Zamain Berlin Ms. 495, fol. 1072 B. Op: cit Irvine Army. P. 36.

14. Bernier, Travels, Letter to Colbert P. 209-210.

15. Akbarnamah Vol. III. P. 1031.

famous Hunarmand, the Feringi artist and goldsmith of Jahangir's memoirs, were discovered by Mr. and Mrs. Allen in the Bibliotheque Publique at Carpentras Vaucluse and were published by them in the Journal of Panjab Historical society.¹⁶ In letter No. 1, addressed to Messieurs les Anbris dated Lahore 20th 1620, Austin writes "I have been in this country 8 years. All the Frenchmen I had brought with me died in the first year and therefore I took service with this king the Great Moghul who at first gave me 4 crowns a day (120 a month) but now during the last year made me a captain of 200 horse. [il ma fet capiteno de 200 chevaux]. I made him a royal throne in which there are several millions in gold and silver and several other inventions." The King gave him "two elephants and two horses, a horse valued at 8000 livres and his likeness in gold to put on my hat which is a mark of honour corresponding to the order of holy spirit in France"¹⁷ and Austin signs himself "Augustin Honaremand" (a Persian name "which the King has given me and which means inventer of arts."). In another letter to Baron du Tour he gives a description of the throne he made "supported by four lions weighing 150 quintals of silver covered with golden leaf."

Austin must have received all the presents the 'last year' i.e., 1619 which is confirmed by Jahangir himself in his memoirs. He writes "among the offerings of that Madar-us-Saltanat there was a throne of gold and silver the supports of which were in the form of tigers the throne has been made by a skilful European of the name of Hunarmand who had no rival in the arts of goldsmith and jeweller and in all sorts of skill." Further on Jahangir writes he presented "3000 darb, a horse and an elephant." He describes these events in the 14th year of accession which fell on 10 march 1619 A.D.¹⁸ In letter No. 2 Austin writes of presenting to King Louis "with two elephants of whom the King gave me the male and the prince the female." So there is remarkable confirmation and it shows that Austin is a trustworthy writer. There is however no reference to Austin's mansab in Jahangir's memoirs which is perhaps due to that "if the increase of mansabs given to

16. J. P. H. S. Vol. IV. Pp. 3 et seq.

17. Sir T. Roe also was similarly honoured by Jahangir. See his journals Vol. I. P. 244-45. It very probably represents 'The token and the likeness' shast-u-Shubib given to the initiates by the Emperors Akbar and Jahangir. See Tuzuki-Jahangiri, Vol. I. P. 60-1. R. and B.

18. Tuzuki-Jahangiri Vol. II. P. 80. R. and B.

those of less than 500 were to be written in full it would be too long".¹⁹ In 1632 Austin left the service of the new Emperor Shah Jahan. The cause of the dismissal he says was due to his refusal to make engines of war against the Deccanis "although" he writes "they offered to make me a captain of a thousand horse or to give me the pay without the obligation to maintain the horse if I did not so desire." This last remark is important. It shows that there was a rank without the obligation to maintain horse and another with the obligation to maintain horses. Now under the Mughal system there could be a Zat rank without Sawar, but there never was a Sawar rank without Zat. Sawar rank implied that the possessor had Zat rank also. So the conclusion is justifiable that Sawar rank implied that the Mansabdar had to maintain horses and Zat one without the obligation to maintain horses. The other European traveller who became a mansabdar under Jahangir was Captain Hawkins. Angrej Khan was not so fortunate as Hunarmand to be mentioned by the Shah-in-Shah in his memoirs but his evidence is trustworthy. Captain Hawkins came to India in 1608. He set out for Agra on the 15th of Feb. 1609 and reached Agra on the 12th of April. He was presented to Jahangir and was appointed by him as he describes "a captain of 400 horse." This appointment must have been before 12th July 1609, for William Finch writes to Captain Hawkins, of "the King making you a captain of 400 horse"²⁰; and Downton's letter of Feb. 24, 1611 speaks of Hawkins' disgrace and return²¹. So Hawkins was a Mansabdar for nearly 19 months, a fairly long period to understand the intricacies of the Mansabdari system. Hawkins' evidence as regards his mansab and pay which he says was fixed at £3200 is confirmed by Jesuit testimony. Guerriero says 'The King made him a captain of 400 horse with the pay of Rs. 30,000'²². Hawkins' evidence cannot be rejected as a traveller's tale.

He writes "The custom is they are allowed so much living to maintain that post which the King has given them; that is to say they are allowed twenty rupias of every horse by the month and two rupias by the month for every horsefame for the maintenance of their table as thus: a captain that hath five thousand horse to

19. Tuzuki-Jahangiri Vol. II. P. 83. R. and B.

20. Letters received Vol. I. 1602-13 P. 23.

21. Ibid. P. 158.

22. "Jahangir and the Jesuits" C. H. Payne P. 80.

maintain in the wars hath likewise of fame other five thousand which he is not to maintain in the wars, but only for his table allowed upon every horse and the other five thousand twenty rupias by the month."²³

In other words it meant "a captain of 5000 horsefame and 5000 horse" had to maintain 5000 horse for the wars. In the official language it meant that a mansabdar of Panj hazari Zat Panj hazar Sawar had to maintain only 5000 cavalry. Had Zat and Sawar represented two cavalry forces a captain would have been required to maintain 10,000 horses. So one of them is honorary. What is captain Hawkins' horsefame? Is it Zat or Sawar? He himself gives an indication of what he means by horsefame. He writes. "They that be of the fame of 12000 belong to the King and his mother and eldest son . . . Dukes be of 9000 fame, marquesses 5000 fame, earles 3000 fame Yeomen from 20 downwards. All they that have these numbers of horsefame are called mansabdars or men of living or Lordships . . ." Then follows a list of the Amirs. In this list Prince Khurram is mentioned as belonging to 9000 horsefame.

Prince Khurram the future Shah Jahan received his first mansam of 8000 Zat 5000 Sawar in March 1607. The following table taken from Dr. Beni Prasad's History of Jahangir settles that Hawkins meant Zat when he talked of horsefame.

A.D.	Zat — Sawar.
1607	8000 — 5000
1611	10000 — 5000
1612	12000 — 5000
"	12000 — 6000
1615	15000 — 8000
1616	20000 — 10000
1617	30000 — 20000

23. Purchass his Pilgrimes. Vol. III. 44-45.

Hawkins as we have seen must have left Agra sometime in December 1610, for at the end of February 1611 he was at Surat. If Khurram's 9000 horsefame meant Sawar then he could not have received his Sawar rank before 1615 A.D. when his Sawar was raised to 8,000, and Hawkins had left India by 1611 A.D. So we conclude that Hawkins meant Zat when he talked of horsefame. Sometime between 1611 Khurram must have received the rank of 9,000 Zat of which there is no mention in the Persian Histories.

We have to consider Dr. Tripathi's view that Sawar indicated a rate of allowance given to mansabdars honoured with this distinction. Dr. Tripathi mainly bases his argument on the case of the Yuzbasis and the evidence of Hawkins.

Every mansabdar had to muster according to what was technically called *Dah : bisti*. 3 seh asp, 4 Do asp and 3 yak asp. i.e., 10 soldiers with 20 horses : A sib asp trooper got 1,000 Dams, a Do asp, 800 Dams, yak asp 600 dams²⁴. This works out at Rs. 200 for 10 troopers or Rs. 20 per trooper [average]. This is exactly what Hawkins means when he says "the other five thousand twenty rupias by the month."²⁵ But what is Captain Hawkins' "Two Rupias by the month" allowed "for every horsefame for the maintenance of their table?" He explains that this 'horsefame' he need not maintain for wars "but only for his table allowed upon every horse." He means two Rupias were allowed for the horsefame which depended on his horse.

Abul Fazl when explaining the rule technically known as *Dah bisti* takes the case of a *Dah basi* explains the rules and clearly says that the rule held good for all grades²⁶. As regards the case of Yuzbasis or mansabdars of 100, he does not say that it held good for all grades, but gives much information about them. He writes "Yuzbasis are of eleven classes. The first class contain such as furnish 100 troopers. Their monthly salary is 700. The eleventh class contains such as have no troops of their own. This class gets 500. The nine intermediate classes have monthly salaries decreasing from 700 by Rs. 20 for every 10 troopers which they furnish less."²⁷

24. Akbarnamah Vol. III. P. 1031-32.

25. "They are allowed twenty Rupias of every horse" Hawkins.

26. Ain 5. Blochmann P. 251.

27. Ain Book II. B. P. 238.

Another rule was Sawar varied the Zat allowance. "The monthly grant made to the mansabdars vary according to the condition of their Sawars. An officer whose Sawar comes up to his mansab is put in the first class. If his Sawar is one half and upwards of the fixed number he is put in the second class. Third class contains such whose Sawars are still less as is shown in the table below."²⁸ The following table condensed from Blochmann illustrates the point.

Rank	monthly salary in Rupees		
	1st grade	2nd grade	3rd grade
5,000	30,000	29,000	28,000
3,000	17,000	16,800	16,700
1,000	8,200	8,100	800
500	2,500	2,300	2,100
100	700	600	500

If it is accepted that the Yuzbasis example is illustrative it means that the salaries entered in the second and third column is the salary of the mansabdar of the last grade of their respective classes. For instance the pay of Rs. 29,000 entered in the second column is the pay of a Panj hazary mansabdar whose Sawar is 2,500. A Panj Hazary mansabdar whose Sawar is let us say 3,000 though technically classed under second class would get more pay than 29,000 which is the pay of Panj Hazary whose Sawar is 2,500. The pay entered in the third column would be the pay of the last grade, of third class i.e., one who had no Sawar rank. If this is accepted then the above table becomes a sort of an apparatus for calculation in the variation in Zat pay, which was due to Sawar rank. For instance a Yuzbasi who had no Sawar rank would get a monthly pay of Rs. 500. His Sawar would be increased say by 50, then his Zat pay would be Rs. 600 an increase of Rs. 100 for 50 Sawars, which works out at Rs. 2 per Sawar. A Panj Hazary who had no Sawar would get 28,000 a month. His Sawar is increased to

28. Blochmann P. 238.

say 5,000. His pay would be Rs. 30,000, an increase in Zat pay of 2,000 for 5,000 Sawars. For each Sawar the increase in Zat allowance works out at two-fifths of a Rupee or 16 Dams in the money of account. For each mansab the rate of increase is fixed arbitrarily. It was to this variation in Zat pay, due to Sawar rank, that Hawkins draws our attention which he picturesquely describes as "Table allowance" on "horsefame" allowed on 'horse'. It is not a Sawar allowance as it is mistaken by many.

So we come to the conclusion that Sawar represented the actual cavalry which a mansabdar commanded or was expected to command from the 20th year of Shah Jahan to the end of Alamgir's reign and that it was fixed at one-third or one-fourth of his Sawar rank which depended on where the mansabdar was placed, whether at court or elsewhere and where he had his jagir whether in the suba in which he served or elsewhere. Sawar did not mean a money allowance. Zat certainly did not represent cavalry forces a mansabdar commanded. Zat and Sawar did not represent two cavalry forces.

Then the question still remains—What is Zat? Before trying to answer what Zat is, let us inquire into the salaries of the mansabdars and their followers. Scholars as usual disagree. Blochmann held that the salaries of mansabdars as given in Ain were of the Zat rank while the cavalry was paid from the Imperial and local treasuries. Irvine accepts Blochmann's view. Dr. Tripathi says that if this view is accepted, "The military expenditure would reach to incredible figures which would baffle the very resources of the Mughal Empire." Mr. Dasrath Sherma suggests that in Akbar's reign mansabdars seem to have been expected to keep—whether they kept or not is a different question—as many horsemen as were indicated by their Zat rank and were paid for these from the Imperial and local treasuries. From the Zat salary the mansabdar maintained his household and kept the specified establishment."²⁹ Dr. Tripathi's view is that a "mansabdar of twenty [Bisti] had to maintain from his own salary five horses of specified classes, one fourth class elephant, six camels, and one cart; six sih asp, Eight Do asp and six yak asp, in all 20 men with 40 horses. This rule was known as the *Dah bisti* and held good for all grades." Abul Fazl says that in 1595 a new order was made and sih aspis received Rs. 25, Do aspis Rs. 20 and yak aspis Rs. 15. This as was

29. J. I. H. Vol. 1926-27 P. 364.

pointed out previously works out at Rs. 20 per head [average] and is corroborated by Hawkins. If Dr. Tripathi's view that a mansabdar has to keep not only the requisite establishments but also pay his cavalry out of his own pay is accepted, it would mean for instance that a Panj Hazary has not only to keep his elephants, horses, camels, etc., but also pay 5,000 horsemen with 10,000 horses. This is not possible. His pay ranged from 28,000 to 30,000. The establishment charges of elephants, etc., calculated on the basis of expenses allowed in the Imperial stables comes to about Rs. 10,600 per month. It may be a little less but still the expenses are considerable. He would have a balance of 10 to 20 thousand to keep his household and pay 5,000 soldiers. Even if he had paid his all the pay for a horseman comes to about Rs. 4 per month which is equal to that of a piada or footman. With what else could he maintain himself and his family? Even a keeper of animals like siyaposh in the Imperial service received about Rs. 2-8-0 to Rs. 3 a month.

So we have to accept Blochmann's view which is supported by Irvine that for his cavalry a mansabdar received a separate pay, disbursed from the Imperial and local treasuries. From his Zat salary he maintained his household and the requisite establishment.

If this view is accepted it would leave a balance to the mansabdar which is really stupendous. The following table condensed from Blochmann is taken from Mr. Moreland's Book 'India at the death of Akbar.'³⁰

Rank.	Monthly salary in Rupees.			Expenses of the Forces.
	1st grade.	2nd. grade.	3rd. grade.	
5000	30000	29000	28000	10600
3000	17000	16800	16700	6700
1000	8200	8100	8000	3000
500	2500	2300	2100	1170
100	700	600	500	285

30. India at the death of Akbar Ch. III. Pp. 65-68.

Mr. Moreland rightly points out that these expenses are maxima and a competent commander could maintain these forces at a substantially small sum. Besides, an officer was entitled to retain for himself 5 per cent. of his soldiers' pay. Mr. Moreland correctly points out that an officer of 5,000 would have at least 18,000 a month, if he belonged to the lowest grade. A Hazary would have at least Rs. 5,000. He further points out that these are in Akbar's Rupees and will have to be multiplied six or seven times to represent them in modern currency. It means a third class Panj hazary would have at least an income of what a lakh of rupees would buy now and this was his salary for a month! A Hazary could count on an income of 25 to 30 thousand rupees a month.

These are really astonishing figures and perhaps no government in the history of the world has remunerated its servants on such a regal scale. But there must be some explanation for these huge figures. There are certain points which if accepted would reduce these figures to some manageable limits.

Badaoni says that "Shah-baz Khan the Mir Bakshi introduced the custom of Dagh-u-mahall which had been the rule of Sultan Alaudin Khilji and afterwards the law under Sher Shah. It was settled that every Amir should commence as a commander of twenty [Bisti] and be ready with his followers to mount guard, carry messages, etc., as has been ordered; and when according to the rule he had brought the horses of his twenty troopers to be branded he was to be made a commander of hundred (sâdi) or more. They are likewise to keep elephants, horses and camels in proportion to their mansab."³¹

This new rule was introduced sometime in 1575 A.D. The Ain-i-Akbari gives the details of these elephants, camels, horses, etc., which a mansabdar had to keep according to his mansab.³²

Father Monserrate was in India or rather at Akbar's court from 1580-1582, only five years after the introduction of the Dagh-u-mahall. He had exceptional opportunities to observe and accompanied Akbar in the Kabul expedition. He had an opportunity to observe how the military system worked in practice. His evidence cannot be lightly set aside.

31. Badaoni' Lowe Vol. II. P. 193.

32. Blochmann Ain Tables. P. 248.

He writes 'Although the infantry which has various types of arms is *entirely a fighting force*, yet the cavalry is regarded as the very flower of the army..... There are 45,000 cavalry, five thousand elephants and *many thousand infantry paid directly from the royal treasury*. In addition to these there are troops whose command is inherited by their chief officers from father to son like an hereditary estate;³³ then troops consisting of cavalry, infantry and elephant detachment are paid by their commanding officers out of the revenues of provinces which they hold from the King.....the King takes great care in the assignment of territories to grant each noble a district large enough to enable him to maintain due state and dignity and to support properly his share of the military forces. Thus he, for instance, who has to maintain two brigades receives a richer province than he who has to maintain one brigade."³⁴

Badaoni tells us that a mansabdar had to maintain *elephants, camels, horses* in proportion to their mansab. Father Monserrate gives us an additional bit of information that he had to maintain infantry also. This infantry according to the Father is not "*The many thousand infantry paid directly from the royal treasury*" but the infantry "paid by their commanding officers out of the revenues of the provinces which they hold from the king" i.e., from their jagir.

"The many thousand infantry paid directly from the royal treasury," is evidently the Dakhili Piadgan of the Ain³⁵. These were paid by the State but were handed over to the mansabdar. Similarly the king's elephants, horses, camels, panthers, fallow deer and doves were also handed over to be looked after by the grandees.³⁶ Ain says that the fodder charges were paid to the mansabdar³⁷. Hawkins admits that the king allowed them certain expenses but complains that some of them "will eat a good deal more than the allowance cometh unto". This was the origin of the Khuraki Da-

33. Cf. Hawkins, Purchass III. P. 34 'The custom of the Mogul Emperor is to take possession of nobleman's treasure when they die unto the eldest son he has got very great respect who in time receiveth the full title of his father.

34. Commentarius Trans Hoyland and Banerji P. 89.

35. Ain 6 Book II. Blochmann P. 254.

36. Commentarius P. 90.

37. Ain I. 26.

wabb which became a serious cause for complaint in the time of Aurangzeb.³⁸ However, if any mansabdar commanded the "many thousand infantry paid directly from the royal treasury it was in addition to those which they had to keep out of the revenues of the provinces which he holds from the king". Irvine points out that these 'Dakhili Piadgan has dropped out of the later official manuals.'³⁹

Fortunately a Dutch account gives some information about the number of infantry which a mansabdar had to keep "out of the revenues of the provinces which they hold from the king." To use Monserrate's words this Dutch account known as the "Gujerat Report," is now published by the Linschoten Society as "De Remonstantie Van W. Geleynssen de Jough—Hague." A few passages have been translated by Mr. Moreland.⁴⁰ Mr. Moreland says that anyone who has read the report will agree with him that the writer was a religious man hungry for facts and figures and utterly devoid of imagination. I will reproduce two passages in extenso. "Broach is under the rule of the Great Moghul, who for the present has granted with all its revenue for maintenance to a great Amir or commandant of 1,500 horse. For this the said commandant, whose name is Nahir Khan must maintain that force, for the King's service in addition to 1,500 foot, elephant, etc. Baroda has been granted by the King for maintenance to one of his Amirs or commandants named Nahir Khan, who has to hold for the King and protect it with 1,500 horse and 1,500 foot, who must always be ready for the King's service when he calls on them"⁴¹. The above Dutch writer must have been writing of Nahir Khan a little later than 1618 A.D. when according to *Tuzuki Jahangiri*, Nahir Khan was promoted to the mansab 1,500 Zat, 1,500 Sawar.⁴² European travellers always described Zat rank as that of horses. "A captain of 5,000 horse" is the usual way with them of describing a mansabdar of 5,000. This extract from "Gujerat Report" suggests that Zat ranks perhaps represented infantry which the mansabdar commanded. A passage in *Tuzuki Jahangiri* suggests that Zat rank represented infantry or Piada. "On this day writes Jahangir in his memoirs [16th new year feast Monday

38. Elliot and Dowson VII P. 403.

39. Irvine. Army. P. 160.

40. J. I. H. Vol. III. 1924. P. 69.

41. *Ibid* P. 72.

42. *Tuzuk*. R. and B. Vol. II. P. 22.

27 Rabiul Akhir 1030 A.H. 10th March 1621]. Baqir Khan arrayed his men before me in order. The great Bakshis recorded (the number) as 1,000 horse and 2,000 foot. Having promoted him to the mansab of 2,000 Zat and 1,000 horse I entrusted the duties of Fauzdar of Agra to him."⁴³ Baqir Khan's previous mansab was 1,500 Zat and 500 horse.⁴⁴ This passage definitely suggests that Zat represented infantry. False muster according to Irvine was an evil from which the Moghul army suffered even in its palmiest days. But at least we should expect the requisite number would be made up on the day of parade and inspection, the *Dagh-u-Mahall* as it was called.

Mr. G. Yazdani, in an article on *Jahanara*,⁴⁵ writes that "The early training and associations of *Jahanara* were all that could be desired. Her wet nurse was *Huri Jan*, whose son *Mahomed Zahid* rose under *Shah Jahan* to the rank of *Do hazari nazaro Panchsad Sawar*, a commander of 2,000 foot and 1,500 horse." He also comes to the conclusion that *Zat* represents foot. I wrote to him and he very kindly replied giving me the priceless information that in *Hyderabad State* until recently such titles were given and that *Zat* signified foot and *Sawar* cavalry.⁴⁶ So, if I err in my conclusion that *Zat* represents *Piada*, I err in good company.

The explanation why the infantry was brought under *Zat* seems to be that the word *Piadagon* connoted a wider meaning than infantry proper. It included infantry as well as the ministrant staff like camp followers, tent men, etc. *Irvine* points out that the chapter on *Piadagon* in *Ain*⁴⁷ corresponds generally with the *Ahsham* of the later books. The word *Ahsham* is defined (steinglass) as servants, domestics, followers, attendants, retainers, militia. In *Dastur-ul-Amal* it corresponds to infantry.

Since horses, camels, elephants, mules, carts, etc., came under the mansabdars' household and had to be paid and maintained out of the *Zat* pay, it naturally follows that camel men, elephant men, etc., attached to these establishments came under *Zat*. These are domestics and may be described as *Piadagon* or *Ahsham*. Since

43. *Tuzuk* Vol. II. P. 199 R. and B.

44. *Ibid* P. 120 R. and B.

45. J. P. H. S. Vol. II. 152.

46. Private letter dated 26th March 1935.

47. 251-254 *Blochmann*.

they are *Piadgaon* we find the infantry proper also under *Zat*. This explains the huge salary of the mansabdars. It must be admitted that it is an anomaly that the foot should be brought under *Zat*. But anomalies existed under the Mughal system. *Irvine* points out the anomalous classification of the artillery as part of the Imperial household in book 1 of the *Ain-i-Akbari* instead of with the rest of the army in book II. The writer points out that *Akbar's* 12,000 matchlock men, who were the only men to be reckoned as soldiers, are classed with door-keepers, palace guards, *kahars* and so forth.⁴⁸ There is no reason why the infantry under the mansabdars should not be classed with the elephant men, camel-men and cart men.

When the mansabdar had to maintain infantry also, besides the other establishment the *Zat* pay is considerably reduced. Broadly speaking the pay of the foot varied from 100 to 400 Dams.⁴⁹ The pay of the ordinary *Bandukchis* varied from 110 to 250 Dams. The pay of the archers varied from 100 to 120 Dams. These may be described as infantry proper, so under *Akbar* the wages varied from 100 to 250 Dams or Rs. 2-8-0 to Rs. 6-4-0. *Jahangir* says that at his accession he raised the salary of the domestics by 20 per cent.⁵⁰ which would mean that the pay varied from 3 to 7½. This agrees with *Hawkins'* statement that the pay of the porters, gunners, lackeys . . . all these be paid monthly out of the King's treasury whose wages be from 10 to 3". So if we take Rs. 3 the lowest as the average pay of the foot it would leave to a *panj hazary* 8 or 9 thousand a month a considerable pay still, considering the purchasing power of the rupee. Perhaps *Jahangir* had this in view when he pensioned off *Mir Jamaludin Hussain Tuzu*, who had attained the rank of 5,000 *Zat*—3,500 *sawar* on Rs. 4,000 a month⁵¹ which is about 50 per cent. of the net income of a second class *Panj hazary*.

The acceptance of the view that *Zat* represented infantry would not only reduce the *Zat* salary to a reasonable figure but also solve the question of how the infantry was organised and commanded. It is also reasonable to expect that a mansabdar would command infantry also when we know that he commanded not only cavalry but also elephants, camels, etc.

48. *Irvine*. *Army*. P. 160.

49. *Ain Blochmann*.

50. *Tuzuk* R. and B. Vol. I. P. 10.

51. *Tuzuki-Jahangiri* Vol. II.

The Imperial Treasury of the Greater Mughals

By

MR. ABDUL AZIZ, BAR-AT-LAW,

[AUTHOR'S COPYRIGHT]

Part II : Jewel Treasury

Chapter III : Notices of Semi-precious Stones and other Substances. (Continued)

IVORY AND IVORY WORK IN INDIA.

Now we can jot down some bits of information about ivory and articles of ivory in India during the Mughal period :—

Ivory, especially the best kinds, came chiefly from Africa in the first instance.²¹ It was, however, also imported from England, though sometimes the commodity was rather dearer in England than in India.²² The ivory brought from England was not so white as that which came from Mozambique.²³ 'The largest teeth', says Milburn, 'are said to come from Africa, and are most esteemed, being of a closer texture, and less liable to turn yellow than those from the East Indies.'²⁴

'The ivory from the islands of Ceylon and Achin [he means Sumatra]', says Tavernier, 'has the peculiarity when it is worked that it never becomes yellow like that from the Peninsula and the West (sic) Indies; this causes it to be more esteemed and dearer than the other' (I, 222-23). No elephants are found in the West Indies!

So also Ovington: 'The Achen Elephants are most looked upon for their Teeth, because that Ivory they say, maintains its Whiteness, and turns not Yellow, as other does' (p. 192).

21. E. F. I. 1624-1629, p. XXXV and Milburn, *Oriental Commerce* I, 62.

22. E. F. I. 1630-1633, p. 5.

23. *Letters*, III, 10.

24. Milburn, *Oriental Commerce*, I, 62.

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The elephants of Ceylon, says Linschoten, are the best (I, 80).

These remarks are corroborated by Watt, *Dictionary of the Economic Products of India* :

'It is said that Indian ivory has an opaque dead-white colour, and manifests a tendency to become discoloured. The Ceylon ivory is distinguished by fine grain, small size, and pearly bluish tint. Siam ivory is in the trade regarded as much superior to the Indian in appearance and density. It has been remarked of Africa that the nearer the equator the smaller the elephants but the larger the tusks. The finest *transparent* ivory is collected along the West Coast, between latitudes 10°N. and 10°S. The best *white* ivory is obtained from the East Coast. African ivory is said to be best when recently cut. It has a mellow warm transparent tint, as if soaked in oil, and has very little appearance of grain or texture' (Watt, *Dict.*, III, 227).

We gather from scattered remarks by the John Company factors that the quality of ivory depended on weight, length, and whiteness, as well as on the perfect roundness and soundness of the tusks.²⁵

According to Fryer there were three qualities of ivory :

'*Muyn*, such are the greatest, free from Flaws.

Muyda, which are the lesser, or the great ones with Flaws.

Sera, the least, or worst sort' (II. 140).

I am not able to trace the words, *Muyn*, *Muyda* and *Sera* ; nor am I able to suggest whether they are of Portuguese or Oriental origin.

'The Weights by which they are bought,' continues Fryer, 'are *Baharrs* and *Frasslees* ; each *Baharr* 20 *Frasslees*, each *Frasslee* 12 l. and they call the *Baharrs* Gross.

Of *Muyne*, ½ *Baharr* of 20 *Frasslees*, makes 1 *Baharr* Gross.

Of *Muyda* and *Muyn* they hold equal Price, in regard that though the Teeth of *Muyn* be bigger than the other, yet the *Muyda* giving more Weight, they balance Account' (II, 140).

This means apparently that *Muyn* and *Muyda*—the first and second quality—were quoted nominally at the same price, but as the

25. *Letters*, II, 181 ; III, 10 ; IV, 296.

Baharr Gross of the former was half the weight of the *Baharr Gross* of the latter, the price of the former was really double that of the latter.

Formerly, says Fryer, *Muyn* and *Muyda* were worth 260, 270 and 280 *Cruzado* per *Baharr Gross*. A *Cruzado*, according to Fryer, is $\frac{1}{5}$ of a *Roy* of $\frac{8}{5}$, or $\frac{8}{5}$ (or $1\frac{3}{5}$) rupees,²⁶ since a royal (or rial or real) or eight=Rs. 2. The price of a *Baharr Gross* would thus be Rs. 416, 432 and 448 respectively; that is to say, for *Muyn* Rs. 416 to 448 per 120 lb., and for *Muyda* Rs. 416 to 448 per 240 lb.

Of the third quality; *Sera*, the current price, says Fryer, is 150, 160 and rarely 180 *Cruzado* per *Baharr Gross*. Presuming that the *Baharr Gross* of this quality was 240 lb., the quoted price would come to Rs. 240, 256 and 288 respectively for 240 lb.

Further, at Surat the following rule was observed in the ivory trade: 'All over 16 *Sear* sell at 40 *Sear* to the *Maund*; from 10 to 16, at 60 *Sear* to the *Maund*; from 10 *Sear* and under, 80 *Sear* allowed to the *Maund*' (*Ibid.*)

Here the figures refer apparently to the total weight of the particular tusk, a larger one being far more valuable than a smaller one, other things being equal.

As Fryer is talking of Surat, by *seer* he means presumably Surat *seer*, which was $\frac{3}{4}$ of a pound or a little under; so that 16 *seers* would be 11 or 12 lb., and 10 *seers* about 7 lb.

William Milburn, who was in India in the beginning of the eighteenth and end of the nineteenth century, supports this statement, with the further subdivision, that while the tusks weighing from 10 to 5 *seers* each went 80 *seers* (or 2 maunds) to the maund, those weighing under 5 *seers* went 160 *seers* (i.e., 4 maunds) to the maund (Milburn, *Oriental Commerce*, I, 62.)

Milburn also is talking of Surat and Cutch, but he makes his 16 *seers* equal to 15 lb., which is an unusual value.

The E. I. Company factors give a widely different scale of weights for the various kinds:

26. This result is not consistent with the value assigned by Dr. Ball to a *crusado*, which ranges between 2 s. 3 d. and 2 s. 10 d. But when we are taking Fryer's statements and weights we must accept his values.

Surat factors, writing under date 26 Feb., 1616 [1617], place in the first class tusks weighing two, three, or four to a hundred-weight, in the second those weighing four to eight to a hundred-weight, and in the third such as weighed 27 per cwt. (*Letters*, V, 105).

This would assign tusks weighing 28 to 56 lb. to the first class, those weighing 14 to 28 lb. to the second, and those weighing 4 lb. and under to the third.

Again, we are told that tusks weighing under 16 lb. lose a third in value (*E. F. I.* 1651-1654, 140), the hollow of the teeth being worth little (*Letters*, II, 181).

We learn that the medium kinds of ivory found the best market in Gujarāt, while the largest specimens, as one would imagine, were in demand at Agra and Lahore (*Letters*, V, 105). In another place we are told that tusks weighing 16 to 30 lb. apiece were most vendible at Surat (*E. F. I.* 1651-1654, p. 140).

The following run of prices can be gathered from the notices in *E. F. I.* and *Letters*:—

Quality.	Price in rupees per Akbari maund (of 55 lb.).
Large.	40 to 50, with a possible rise to 60. ²⁷
Medium.	30 to 35. ²⁸
Small.	16 to 30. ²⁹

The smaller sort is called "Chan-dahare."³⁰

27. *E. F. I.* 1622-1623, p. 108;

" 1624-1629, p. 326;

" 1630-1633, p. 132;

" 1646-1650, p. 8.

" 1646-1650, p. 250.

Letters, I, 28, 33 and 238;

II, 100, 218, 248, 260;

III, 8, 86;

IV, 296; V, 105; VI, 159.

28. *Letters*, III, 41; VI, 159;

E. F. I. 1622-1623, p. 8.

29. *E. F. I.* 1661-1664, p. 211; *E. F. I.* 1665-1667, p. 31;

Letters, I, 299 and 304;

Letters, V, 105; VI, 159.

30. *E. F. I.* 1618-1621, p. 189.

Linschoten speaks in glowing terms of the skill and workmanship of Cingalese artificers in gold, silver, ivory, iron, and other metals. 'They make the fairest barrels for pèces that may be found in any place, which shine as bright as if they were Silver.' The same writer thus describes a crucifix of ivory: 'My maister the Archbishop had a crucifixe of Ivorie of an elle long, presented unto him, by one of the inhabitants of the Ile, and made by him so cunningly and workmanly wrought, that in the hayre, beard, and face, it seemed to be alive, and in al [other parts] so neatly wrought and proportioned in limmes, that the like can not be done in [all] Europe: Whereupon my maister caused it to be put into a case, and sent unto the King of Spaine, as a thing to be wondered at, and worthy of so great a Lord, to be kept among his [costliest] Jewels' (1, 81).

'Their teeth which is the Ivory bone, is much used in India, specially in Cambaia, whereof they make many curious peeces of workmanship, the women weare manillas, or arme bracelets thereof, ten or twelve about each arme, whereby it is there much worne, and are in great numbers brought out of Aethiopia, Mosambique and other places' (Linschoten, II, 3).

In this connection the following passage in the E. F. I. chronicle relating to the Surat Presidency in 1668 is of interest: 'Elephants teeth have fallen in price these five yeares, and hath not that good esteeme as in former tymes; which made us very inquisitive to finde out the reason, and are told that much of the use they were putt to is taken off; as, uppon the death of the husband, the wife, putting herselfe into widowhood, not onely layes by all her jewells and ornaments, but breakes her ivory braceletts, which are 8 or 10 uppon each wrist; and soe did the whole kindred, mourning certain dayes, and then were again supplied with new from the deceaseds kindred; which superstition was soe universall that it caused a vast expence of teeth. But they of late are become wiser and make silver in their stead, which att funeralls they lay by for a tyme and then putt them on again; and this is now become soe generall that little or noe ivory is worne' (E. F. I. 1668-1669, p. 26).

Jahāngīr tells with his usual unction the story of a slave's workmanship in ivory carving: 'One of the royal slaves who was serving in the seal-cutting departments prepared and laid before me a design such as I had never seen or heard of before. As it is exceedingly strange, a detailed description of it is given. In the shell of a filbert four compartments had been carved out of ivory

[strictly, elephant bone]. The first compartment was one of wrestlers, in which two men were engaged in wrestling, a third was standing with a spear in his hand, a fourth with a hard stone ['a stone and a cord'. i.e., a sling]. Another was sitting with his hands placed on the ground, while in front of him were laid a piece of wood, a bow and a pot. In the second a throne had been made above which a *shamiyāna* (a tent-fly or canopy) was depicted, and a man of wealth (a prince) was seated on the throne with one leg placed over the other and a pillow at his back. Five servants were standing around and before him, and tree-boughs threw a shade over the throne. In the third compartment is a company of rope-dancers, who have raised upright a pole with three ropes fastened to it. A rope-dancer upon it (qu. on the ropes?) has taken hold of his own right foot with his left hand behind his head, and standing on one foot has placed a goat on the top of the pole.³¹ Another person has thrown a drum on his neck and is beating it, whilst another man is standing with his hands lifted up and looking at the rope-dancer. Five other men are also standing, of whom one has a stick in his hand. In the fourth compartment there is a tree, below which the figure of the revered (*ḥaẓrat*) Jesus is shown. One person has placed his head at Jesus' feet, and an old man is conversing with Jesus and four others are standing by. As he had made such a masterpiece, I honoured him with a present and with increased salary' (*Tūzūk*, 97-98; R. & B., I, 200-1).

From the likeness of Jesus Christ in the fourth compartment, Sir Sayyid Aḥmad argues that this piece of carving was probably the work of a European artist; the royal slave having got hold of it and passed it off as his own handiwork.

The King of Ethiopia, Bernier informs us, sent some presents to Aurangzeb at his accession, in token of his goodwill. These included 'a couple of elephants' teeth, of a size so prodigious that it required, it seems, the utmost exertion of a strong man to lift

31. The translator makes a correction in the text, which is not warranted by the readings of the MSS. extant. The I.O. MS., to which the translator refers in a footnote, and the finely-written, though incomplete, copy of the *Tūzūk* in the P. U. L., agree with *Iqbāl-nāma* (p. 58), which reads *buzbāzi*, and not *barbāzi*, as the translator construes it. Sir Sayyid Aḥmad's reading is incorrect. The meaning clearly is that a *buzbāz* is standing and is making a goat stand on the pole, while a person who has a drum round his neck beats it. A *buzbāz* is a performer (quite common in India) who goes about with a goat showing its tricks.

either of them from the ground' (p. 135). None of the presents, however, ever reached Delhi, owing to a series of mishaps on the way.

WALRUS IVORY OR THE 'FISH-TEETH.'

These are the two long canine teeth or tusks in the upper jaw of the walrus, also called sea-horse or morse. The tusks of the female are slightly longer, though not stouter, than those of the male, and may attain a maximum length of three feet.³²

The ivory obtained from walrus-tooth is white like elephant ivory, though somewhat more yellowish; but there seem to have been extant some parti-coloured (veined or spotted) specimens of it, which, when produced before Jahāngīr, drew his enthusiastic admiration.

Out of the presents KHān Daurān sent to Jahāngīr from Kābul, the following, among others, were accepted (5 *Urdibihisht*, XI. R. Y): 63 horses, 15 camels, a handful of plumes (for aigrettes), 9 pieces of china from KHatā 9 veined fish-teeth (walrus-teeth), and 3 guns (*Tūzuk*, 158).

SHāh 'Abbās, King of Persia, had bestowed on "KHān-i-'Ālam" a dagger the hilt of which was made of walrus-tooth with black spots (or veins). "KHān-i-'Ālam", thinking that the best use he could make of the fine arm was to present it to the Emperor, sent it to court through a servant. The dagger was placed before Jahāngīr on Thursday, the 20th *Tīr*, XIV R. Y. He was delighted with it, and records that it is a rare present, and that he has never seen a spotted specimen of walrus-tooth before. In fact it so whetted his zest for the article that he, ever keen-set for the unusual in nature, sent out men in search of the specimen. But let us hear the rest of the story in his own words: 'A strange circumstance was that I was so much delighted with a jewelled dagger-hilt of piebald teeth which KHān 'Ālam had got from SHāh 'Abbās and sent to me, that I appointed several skilful men to go to Īrān and Tūrān to look for them and to be consistently searching for them, and to bring some from anywhere and any person, anyhow, and at any price. Many of my servants who knew my disposition, and dignified Amīrs in the course of their duty, engaged in the search. It happened that in this city a stupid

stranger bought in the open bazaar a coloured tooth of great beauty and delicacy for a trifle; he believed that some time or other it had fallen into the fire, and that the black on it was the mark of burning! After some time he showed it to one of the carpenters on the establishment of my prosperous son SHāh-Jahān, desiring that he should take off a piece of the tooth in order to make a ring (*shast*) [rather, thumb-stall worn by archers], and pointed out that he should remove the marks of burning and the blacknesses, being ignorant that the blackness enhanced the value and price of the whiteness. Those moles and patches were what the tirewoman of destiny had given as an adornment of its beauty. The carpenter at once went to the Superintendent of his workshop, and gave him the good news that such a rare and precious thing, in search of which people were wandering and going long distances, and hastening to all corners and in all directions in various countries, had fallen for nothing into the hands of an ignorant man, who did not know its value. It could be easily and cheaply obtained from him. The Superintendent went off with him and immediately procured it, and next day produced it before my son. When my son SHāh Jahān came to wait on me he at first showed great delight, and after his brain had become free from the intoxication of the wine of joy, produced it, and greatly pleased me'—

May thy time be happy that
thou hast made mine happy!

'I invoked so many blessings on him that if one of them out of a hundred obtain acceptance, it will suffice for his spiritual and material well-being' (*Tūzuk*, 275; R. & B. II, 96).

The story is continued a page or so lower: 'On the 1st of the Divine month, out of the veined (*jauhar-dār*) spotted tooth (walrus) which my son SHāh-Jahān had given me as an offering, I ordered to be cut off sufficient for two dagger-hilts and a thumb-stall: it came out of a beautiful colour and was very choice. I ordered the *Ustāds* (masters) Pūran and Kalyān, who had no rivals in the art of engraving, to make dagger-hilts of a shape that was approved at this time, and has become known as the Jahāngīrī fashion. At the same time the blade and the sheath and fastenings were given to skilful men, each of whom was unique in his age in his art. Truly, it was all carried out according to my wish. One hilt came out coloured in such a way as to create astonishment. It turned out of all the seven colours, and some of the flowers looked as if a skilful painter had depicted them in black lines round it with a wonder-

32. J. A. Thomson, *New Natural History*, II, 542.

working pencil. In short, it was so delicate that I never wish it to be apart from me for a moment. Of all the gems of great price that are in the treasury I consider it the most precious. On Thursday I girded it auspiciously and with joy round my waist, and the masters who in their completion had exercised great skill and taken great pains were rewarded, Ustād Pūran with the gift of an elephant, a dress of honour, and a golden bracelet for the wrist, which the people of India call *Kara*, and Kalyān with the title of 'Ajā'ib-dast (wondrous hand), and increased mansab, a dress of honour, and a jewelled bracelet (*pahūnchī*), and in the same way every one according to his circumstances and skill received favours' (*Tūzuk*, 276-277; R. & B., II, 98-99).

But this was not the end of the matter. The vigorous search for the "fish-teeth" which the Emperor instituted soon bore fruit in another quarter. In the annals of the next year he has the following information to give us: 'As at this time I was much inclined to parti-coloured veined teeth, the great Amirs exerted themselves greatly in looking out for them. Of these, 'Abdu-l-'Aziz K. Naqshbandī sent a servant of the name of 'Abdu-llah with a letter to KHwāja Hasan and KHwāja 'Abdu-r-Rahīm, ss. KHwāja Kalān Jūybārī, who are to-day the leading holy men of Transoxiana, containing a request for these things. By chance KHwāja Hasan had a perfect tooth, exceedingly delicate, and immediately sent it with the aforesaid (servant) to the Court, which it reached this day. I was greatly pleased, and ordered them to send the value of Rs. 30,000 in choice goods to the KHwājas, a service for which Mīr Baraka Bukhārī was fixed upon' (*Tuzuk*, 310; R. & B., II, 166).

The translator thinks that tortoise-shell, and not walrus-tooth, is referred to in these passages; because 'there is nothing black or piebald about walrus-teeth, and Jahāngīr would surely not admire greatly a kind of ivory which was inferior to that of the elephant' (II, 94, f. n.). I am rather inclined to think that what is meant is walrus-teeth. We cannot imagine that Indian emperors did not know the difference between walrus-tooth and tortoise-shell. And it was just because walrus-tooth is usually white, and just because the particular specimens obtained bore the beautiful black-and-white veins or spots (which, he says, are rare), that Jahāngīr was so enthusiastic over them, and was so keen for more.

On Thursday, the 15th Ābān, XIV R. Y., Jahāngīr presented to Sulṭān Parwiz a *tipchāq* horse, a waist-dagger with a black-and-

white *jauhardār* handle [of walrus-tooth], a KHaṣṣa sword and a KHaṣṣa shield (*Tūzuk*, 280).

RHINOCEROS-HORN

Mysterious properties were supposed to belong to the horn of the rhinoceros from ancient times.

The medical dictionaries like the *Muḥīt-i-A'zam* tell us in detail how various diseases could be cured, some by the patient wearing a ring cut out of the horn, others by grinding the horn and drinking the juice, or again by drinking from a cup made of it, or else through vapours rising from the horn held on fire (*Muḥīt-i-A'zam*, Cawnpore, 1313 A.H., IV, p. 61).

Cups made of rhinoceros-horn indicated the presence of poison, and were consequently held in high esteem among nations where poisoning was a common form of taking life. Besides drinking-cups, knife-handles and rings were carved out of the horn.

We find there was a similar belief current in the West, which continued down to the seventeenth century; but there the horn was known as the "unicorn's horn"; that is to say, the Europeans ascribed imaginary properties to the horn of an imaginary animal. This was natural enough, since we know that the rhinoceros did not exist in Europe.

We learn from Fuller's *Worthies of England* that there was a "unicorn's horn" in the Tower as well as another in Windsor Castle. As for its properties, he says, it is reputed to be not only an antidote against several poisons, but it resists 'poisons which kill by second qualities, that is, by corrosion of parts.' Dr. Fuller himself heard a report of a successful experiment made with it, where some grains of the horn proved an effective antidote against poison.³³

Whether these horns were of the rhinoceros, or of the narwhal, or of some other animal, is entirely a matter of conjecture.

It has been remarked that the belief about the properties of a "unicorn's horn" was later transferred to the horn of the rhinoceros, when no unicorn was found to exist.³⁴ Obviously this cannot

33. Thomas Fuller, *History of the Worthies of England*, London, 1840, II, 338 and 340.

34. Linschoten, II, p. 9, footnote 2.

apply to the eastern peoples, who from the beginning stuck to the rhinoceros, and in whose mythology the unicorn had no place.

But we are concerned chiefly with the rhinoceros horn in Mughal India and the popular belief about its virtues in that country.

After describing the rhinoceros and its horn, Linschoten says: 'The Portingales and those of Bengala affirme, that by the River Ganges in the Kingdome of Bengala, are many of these Rhinoceros, which when they will drinke, the other beasts stand and waite upon them, till the Rhinoceros hath drunke, and thrust their horne into the water, for he cannot drink but his horne must be under the water because it standeth so close unto his nose, and muzzle: and then after him all the other beastes doe drinke. Their hornes in India are much esteemed and used against all venime, poyson, and many other diseases: likewise his teeth, claws, flesh, skin and blood, and his very dung, and water and all whatsoever is about him, is much esteemed in India, and used for the curing of many diseases and sicknesses, which is very good and most true, as I my selfe by experience have found; but it is to be understood, that all Rhinocerotes are not a like good, for there are some whose hornes are sold for one, two, or three hundred Pardawes the peece, and there are others of the same colour and greatnes that are sold but for three or foure Pardawes, which the Indians know and can discerne. The cause is that some Rhinocerotes, which are found in certaine places in the countrie of Bengala have this vertue, by reason of the hearbes which that place only yeeldeth and bringeth forth, which in other places is not so, and this estimation is not onely held of the horne, but of all other things in his whole body, as I saide before' (II, 9-10).

William Finch has the following: 'Here [near Ajodhyā] is great Trade, and such abundance of Indian Asse-horne, that they make hereof Bucklers, and divers sorts of Drinking Cups. There are of these Hornes, all the Indians affirme, some rare of great price, no Jewell comparable, some esteeming them the right Unicornes Horne (Purchas, IV, 66).

'Great Prices', says Fryer, 'are offered for those [rhinoceros horns] that are inadulterate; which they in India pretend to try by the Liquors presently fermenting in them; but notwithstanding that Experiment they are often deceived by false Horns made into drinking Cups' (II, 298).

'They ascribe very much likewise to the Rhinoceros Horn in India', says Ovington, 'as it is an Antidote against all poysonous Draughts, and hugely extol in it that Medicinal Excellence and singular Quality. The Character of this Horn prevail'd so far with a former President of ours at Suratt, that he exchange'd for a Cup made of this Horn a large capacious Silver Bowl of the same bigness'.³⁵

We read in an Armenian's report that 'there are many beasts with one horn in their forehead like unto an unicorn, which horn they say is good against poison, there are of them which weigh 8 lb., some 7, 6, 4, and 3 lb., the greatest and fairest worth some 4 rials per piece, and those of a lesser sort worth less. Amongst the Turks and Moors in Arabia every lb. is worth one rial of 8' (Letters, I, 193).

Bābur tells us that 'out of one of the largest of these horns I had a drinking-vessel made, and a dice-box, and about three or four fingers' bulk of it might be left' (Memoirs of Bābur, tr. Leyden, Erskine and King, II, 210).

Sir Thomas Roe once laid a nice little plot against Prince SHāh Jahān. He tried to win his good graces by offering him a "Unicorn's horn" at a price, pretending that he did not speak of it to Jahāngīr since he wanted to give him (the Prince) an opportunity of securing it and offering it in due course to the Emperor. The ambassador spoke in glowing terms of the virtues of the horn, and represented that it was so valuable that he had no power to sell it, and that the merchants made a secret of it, and did not allow it to come out of the ship. He made an offer, however, that if the Prince wished to buy it and would accede to certain demands of Sir Thomas's then pending, he could let the Prince's officers see the horn. 'This I hoped,' continues the ambassador, ever a clever diplomat, and at this moment at his best, 'would both sett an extreame appetite on the Prince, to passe it at a high price, and would insinuate an extraordinary desire in mee to doe him service; and if hee reavealed it to the King, I would answere: because it was not in my power to give His Majestie, I was ashamed to name yt, but had mooved the Prince to buy it for his use.'^{35a}

35. Ovington, *Voyage to Suratt*, London, 1696, p. 297.

35 (a). Foster, *Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to India* p. 255.

The Prince, always a match for the tactician, was in this case too clever for him. He returned formal thanks, but matters proceeded no further.

The above entry is under October 16, 1616. Eight months later Roe records that 'the unicornes horne was returned as without vertue' (p. 366). It was then sent on to Sūrāt and then to Ahmadābād, where John Browne, a factor, showed it to Muqarrab KHān, asking 5,000 rupees for it. The factor says that he tried the efficacy of the horn on the lives of 'a pigeon, goate, and man, which they loosing, itt also lost his esteeme, and soe I retourned it aboard from whence I had ytt'.³⁶

Muqarrab KHān not buying it, the horn was sent to Achin,³⁷ and then on to Bantam.³⁸ Finally it passed into the hands of the Dutch, and was sold in Holland for £400.³⁹

TORTOISE-SHELL

It consists of the horny plates of the hawksbill turtle (*Chelonia imbricata*), the smallest of the sea turtles. These plates are harder, more brittle and less fibrous than ordinary horn. Their value depends on the rich mottled colours they display—a warm translucent yellow, dashed and spotted with rich brown tints—and on the high polish they take and retain. The finest tortoise-shell is obtained from the Eastern Archipelago, particularly from the east coast of Celebes to New Guinea; large supplies come from the West Indian islands and Brazil' (*Encycl. Britan.*, XXII, p. 310).

'Tortoiseshell,' continues the writer of the same article, 'has been a prized ornamental material from very early times. It was one of the highly esteemed treasures of the Far East brought to ancient Rome by way of Egypt, and it was eagerly sought by wealthy Romans as a veneer for their rich furniture. In modern times it is most characteristically used in the elaborate inlaying of cabinet network known as buhl furniture, and in combination with silver for toilet articles. It is also employed as a veneer for small boxes and frames. It is cut into combs, moulded into snuff-boxes and

36. *E. F. I.* 1618-1621, p. 12.

37. *Ibid.*, p. 58.

38. *Ibid.*, p. 184.

39. *Ibid.*, p. 11, f. n.

other small boxes, formed into knife-handles, and worked up into many other similar minor articles. The plates from certain other tortoises, known commercially as turtle-shell, possess a certain industrial value, but they are either opaque or soft and leathery, and cannot be mistaken for tortoise-shell. A close imitation of tortoise-shell can be made by staining translucent horn or by varieties of celluloid' (*Ibid.*).

'Torteanxes [tortoises] there are likewise in great numbers throughout all India: of their shelles they make many curious devises, as Combes, Cuppes, and Boles to drinke in, with tablemen [men at backgammon] and divers such like thinges, knowing howe to give it a faire and shining colour most pleasant to behold, and is more esteemed of in India, then the mother of pearle, by reason of the beautifull colour they set uppon it' (Linschoten, II, 136). The same writer in another place speaks of shields made of tortoise-shell 'wrought and inlaide very workemanlike' (*Ibid.*, I, 61).

Tortoise-shell seems to have come mainly from Bantam, and also from Ceylon.⁴⁰

The Sūrāt factors declare that the blackest colour and thickest shells are most in request.⁴¹

Sūrāt quotations extending from 1619 to 1649 give a nearly uniform price of just over two rupees a seer (of 7/10 lb.).⁴²

When the shell of a single animal weighed 1½ or 2 lb., says Fryer, it sold for 30 or 36 *Cruzado* per *Frasslee* (II, 140). This price comes to Rs. 48 to 57¾ per *frasslee*.

We assume the *frasslee* to be equal to about 22½ lb., which is the usual value; although on the same page, in connection with ivory, Fryer makes the *frasslee* = 12 lb., which is presumably the special value of the *frasslee* of ivory.

This calculation would yield the price 2½ rupees to the pound—a rate which tallies roughly with that deduced from the factors'

40. *E. F. I.* 1634-1636, pp. 49 and 296;

" 1642-1645, p. 86 and 211;

" 1655-1660, p. 56.

41. *E. F. I.* 1618-1621, p. 55.

42. *E. F. I.* 1618-1621, p. 55;

" 1642-1645, p. 211;

" 1646-1650, p. 234.

reports (given above) ; although Fryer's time is late in the century, viz., 1672-81.

MISCELLANEOUS

As a supplement to the above are appended the following notices of articles made of ivory, tortoise-shell, ebony, jet, amber, and crystal :

Linschoten, speaking of the industries and trade of Cambay, says that there are found there 'fine playing tables, and Chessebordes of Ivory, and shields of Torteur shelles, wrought and inlaide very workemanlike, many fayre signets, ringes, and other curious worke of Ivorie, and sea horse téeth, as also of Amber, whereof there is great quantitie : They have likewise a kind of mountain Christall, wherof they make many signets, buttons, beades, and divers other devises' (I, 61).

Roe thus narrates the presents he made to Āghā Nūr, the *Kotwāl* of Agra, who, he says, was one of his best friends :

'I gave him according to the custome two knives, one of amber and one of jett, cost xs., and a pare of tables of ebonie and elephants tooth, worth 30s. Then hee desired mee to give his brother a pare of knives, which I did, of vis. price. After that hee desired some greater knives, and I shewed him fower, which hee tooke every one, without restooing the former. Though this was somewhat unmannerly, yet I was content, because hee is one of the best friends wee have in India and did keepe the English house from being taken from them in Agra' (Roe, 143, f. n. 1).

Tavernier's general remarks about the course of trade in coral and lapis lazuli beads, yellow amber, tortoise-shell, etc., are interesting.

'Those merchants who come from Bhutān and Kābul go to Kandahār and on to Ispahān, and they generally take back coral beads, yellow amber, and lapis wrought into beads when they can obtain them. The other merchants, returning from the regions about Multān, Lahore, and Agra, take calicoes, indigo, and turn by Gorakhpur, and have an understanding with the customs officer, take from Patna and Dacca coral, yellow amber, tortoise-shell bracelets, and others of sea shells, with numerous round and square pieces of the size of our 15-sol coins, which are also of the

same tortoise-shell and sea shells. When I was at Patna four Armenians, who had previously made a journey to the Kingdom of Bhutān, came from Dantzic, where they had had made numerous images of yellow amber, which represented all kinds of animals and monsters ; these they were taking to the King of Bhutān to place in his pagodas, he being, like his people, exceedingly idolatrous. Wherever the Armenians see that money is to be made they have no scruple about supplying materials for the purposes of idolatry, and they told me that if they had been able to get an idol made which the King had ordered from them they would have been enriched. It was a head in the form of a monster, which had six horns, four ears, and four arms, with six fingers on each hand, the whole to be of yellow amber, but the Armenians could not find sufficiently large pieces for the purpose (Tavernier, II, 203-204).

BEZOAR-STONE

Bezoar-stone (from Pers. *pad-zahr*, lit., protecting from poison, i.e., an antidote) is a concretion found in the stomach and intestines of ruminants and some other animals. We are here concerned only with the Oriental species, and not with the Occidental, which is obtained from the llamas of Peru, nor with the German, which is obtained from the chamois.

The Oriental bezoar was supposed to possess powerful medicinal qualities, being specially used as an antidote in Persia, India and other eastern countries.

Dr. Kunz tells us that a bezoar-stone upon which scorpion's figure had been engraved during the time when the constellation Scorpio was in the ascendant, was considered an effective cure for a scorpion's bite (*Curious Lore of Precious Stones* 340).

This intestinal calculus appears to have been in great request in India, and the early European travellers (including Garcia da Orta) seem to believe in its efficacy not only as an antidote, but as a useful therapeutic agent and an aphrodisiac.

The Oriental bezoar is found in the wild goat of Persia and in various kinds of antelopes. But we are specially concerned with India, about which information from contemporary observers is available :

In this country, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the bezoar was obtainable chiefly from goats, but also from cows and monkeys, and geographically was strictly localized.

The following is from Linschoten:—‘The Bezar stone commeth out of Persia, from the land or Province called Carassone [*KH*urāsān], and also out of other places in India: they grow within the maw of a sheepe or Goat, about a little straw, that lyeth in the middle [of the maw], for by experience the straw is often found within them: the stone is very slicke and smooth without, of a darke greene colour’ (II, 142).

‘This Bezars stone is very costly, and is much used in India against all poyson, and [other] diseases, and is more esteemed then Unicornes horne in Europe, for it is much tryed and sold very deare: the greater and heavier they are, the better and of more vertue they are: the common sorte are of three foure or five octaves weight, some more, some lesse: they are much brought into Portingal, and greatly esteemed: the place where they are most found, is (as I said before) in Persia and also in the Island called Insula das Vacas, or the Island of Cowes: It lyeth before the mouth of the river, entering into Cambaia, hard by the coast where the Portingall navie often putteth in to refresh themselves, and [being there], kill divers of the sheepe or Goats, wherein they finde many of these Bezars stones: likewise in the lande of Pan [Pa-hang] by Malacca, there are many found’ (*Ibid.*, 143-44).

‘The Bezars stone is as hard as [any] stone, but not very heavie: It is thought that these stones doe grow in the mawes of sheepe by vertue of the grasse [or hearbes] whereon they pasture and feed, as we have declared of the Rhinoceros, because they doe onely breede in those places above named, and in no place els, where these kinds of beastes are’ (144).

Manucci tells us how he once fed on chicken-broth and bezoar-stone a patient who had been weakened with enema and purgatives. The patient, who was a *qāzī*’s wife, steadily gained strength, and was, in a few days, restored to perfect health (*Storia*, II 178).

Roe, Tavernier, and Manucci seem to agree that the bezoar-stone was found in what is now the Masulipatam district in the Madras presidency; though Manucci is quite wrong in deriving the name *pad-zahr* from Bezwada in that district. Manucci says that in that part the goats are ‘very numerous’, and that ‘the goat-herds who tend them are aware of how many there are in each goat, and the weight of each’ (*Storia*, II, 431).

Roe adds Bengal as another Indian locality. But his remarks are worth quoting in full. ‘For Bezars,’ he says, ‘ther are three sorts;

the best are of Persia, others from Malacca, the last of Masolapatan and Bengala. . . . The best . . . are a blackish greene of Persia. . . The prices in England are about 3 *li.* an ounce; if the stones be great and whole they are woorth 5 *li.* . . To avoid counterfaytes . . . with a very hot needles poynt peck them. If it make noe signe, they are not false; if the nedle enter or burne them, they are made ones. The best triall of the virtue is to lay them in buffles milke, and the best will turne it like runnett and those are rich’ (Roe, 157, f.n. 1).

We are told in the *Relations of Golconda* that where they are found, the bezoar-goats are killed for their skins and the stones in large numbers, so that the flesh is mostly thrown away. Two, three, and sometimes as many as four small stones are found in a single goat, some long, others round in shape. The concretion forms round a woody nucleus (p. 34).

From an experiment reported in the same place one may infer that the formation of a bezoar-stone depends more upon the kind of vegetation on which the goat feeds in that region, than on any peculiarity of the species (p. 35). This seems corroborated by Tavernier who refers to a particular tree on which the goats feed, though, he says, he has forgotten the name of it. ‘This plant’, he continues, ‘bears little buds, about which, and also on the tips of the branches, which the goats eat, the bezoar concretes in the bellies of these animals. It assumes a form according to the shape of the buds and the ends of the branches, and this is why one finds it in so many different shapes. The peasants, by feeling the belly of the goat, know how many bezoars it contains, and they sell the goat for a price in proportion to the number which are therein. In order to ascertain this, they run both hands under the belly of the goat and beat the paunch along both sides, so that all the stones fall to the middle, and they then estimate exactly, by touch, how many bezoars are in it. The value of bezoar depends on the size, although the small possess no less virtue than the large. But in this respect one is often deceived by the fact that there are people who enlarge the bezoar with a kind of paste made of gum and other materials of the same colour as the bezoar. They understand, even, how to give as many coats as the natural bezoar ought to have. One can detect this fraud easily by two methods. The first by weighing the bezoar and placing it to steep for some time in lukewarm water; if the water does not change its colour, and if bezoar does not lose weight it has not been adulterated. The other means is to touch

the bezoar with a pointed hot iron; if the iron enters it and makes it fry, it is a sign that it is a mixture, and that it is not genuine. For the rest, the larger the bezoar the higher the price, which rises in proportion like that of the diamond. For if 5 or 6 bezoars weigh an ounce, the ounce will be worth from 15 to 18 francs, but if it is a bezoar of one ounce, the ounce will be worth fully 100 francs. I have sold one of $4\frac{1}{4}$ ounces for as much as 2,000 livres [£ 150], (Tavernier, II, 116).

These prices work out as follows :

Weight	Price.
$\frac{1}{6}$ to $\frac{1}{5}$ of an oz.	2s. to 2s. 10d.
1 oz.	£ 4.
$4\frac{1}{4}$ oz.	£ 150

We have seen that Roe quotes £3 to £5 an oz. as the price in England, which is considerably lower. This goes to support Fryer's statement that owing to a heavy demand in India the stones cannot be bought there to yield profit in England enough to repay for the trouble (Fryer, II, 34).

William Methwold bought at Masulipatam in 1621 a few bezoar-stones, some at 24 rials (= 48 rupees) per seer (of 12 oz.) and some dearer (*E. F. I. 1618-1621*, p. 255).

In a communication dated Jan. 6, 1648 from Surat, we have the following remark :—'Bezoar stones cannot be got from Golconda (where the "pagode" is now worth, exchange included, $4\frac{3}{4}$ rupees) under 33 and 36 mahmūdis per ounce' (*E. F. I. 1646-1650*, 182). So the price at Golconda was Rs. 13 or 14 per oz.—a very high price compared with the last quotation; but we may explain it by supposing that here the stones were larger, and therefore much more costly;—besides the dates are 27 years apart.

Again, in a Sūrāt report for 1668, Rs. $3\frac{1}{2}$ per tola is quoted for bezoar-stone. This is equivalent to Rs. $8\frac{3}{4}$ per oz. (*E. F. I. 1668-1669*, p. 3).

Tavernier visited Golconda several times and was interested in the bezoar-goats. He once purchased as much as about 60,000 rupees' worth of bezoar for the servants of the English and Dutch Companies. Considering Roe's quotation and Fryer's remark, the English could not have bought it for importation to England. Possibly they did so for local disposal.

It appears that export of bezoar-goats from Golconda was prohibited on pain of death, the king of Golconda farming out the trade for a yearly payment of 6,000 old pagodas, or 45,000 livres.⁴³ It was with great difficulty, therefore, that Tavernier once succeeded in procuring six bezoar-goats, which he examined at his leisure. 'They are beautiful animals', he says, 'very tall, and having fine hair, like silk.' He had to pay 3 rupees for a goat with one bezoar only, 4 rupees each for another two, and $4\frac{1}{4}$ each for the remaining three. The last five had from two to four bezoars each. (Tavernier, II, 116-18).

Jahāṅgīr relates that an Afghān once 'brought from the Carnatic two goats that had pāzahar (bezoar stones, an antidote against poison). I had always heard that an animal that has pazahar is very thin and miserable, but these goats were very fat and fresh. I ordered them to kill one of them, which was a female. Four pazahar stones became apparent, and this caused great astonishment' (*Tūzūk*, 117; R. & B., I, 240). The Carnatic, as the reader is aware, borders on Golconda.

Bezoars are also obtained from cows, which weigh up to 17 or 18 French ounces. But these are not esteemed. A bezoar from a monkey, which is round in shape, is particularly efficacious, but rare, and proportionately costly. One of the size of a nut would cost more than 100 écus (i.e. £22-10-0) (Tavernier, II, 118-19).

Methwold (*Relations of Golconda*, 34) and Fryer (II, 141) are at one with Tavernier in thinking that the monkey bezoars are the best; though Fryer says they are long, while Tavernier makes them round. 'Those that are rough', continues Fryer, 'prove commonly faulty, breaking with Stones in the middle: Others in form of Tares, somewhat flat, which break in smaller Stones in the middle, are better than the rough ones' (*ibid.*)

Manucci has the following interesting, if fantastic, account, of the origin of the bezoar in the monkey: 'They [the monks] told me that in that country [Borneo] was an island where there were many baboons. The natives inflict wounds on them with a small poisoned arrow shot from a zarvatana (blow-tube). The baboon,

43. This equation is untenable on Tavernier's own showing; since 6,000 old pagodas=£2,700, and 45,000 livres=£3,375. But with Tavernier this is a small matter.

aware that the wound is poisoned, takes to flight at once, and goes to find a certain herb which is an antidote. The blood is then stanchd and the wound closes, but at the spot, instead of flesh, the blood congeals into a stone which possesses the virtue of the plant that was eaten. The natives recognise these baboons by their height, and killing them, withdraw the stone, which has greater potency than any others' (*Storia*, III, 191-92).

Fryer suggests the following methods of detecting fraudulent manufactures: 'Bezoar is tried sundry ways: As the rubbing Chalk upon a Paper, then rubbing the Stone hard upon the Chalk, if it leave an Olive-Colour it is good. Also touch any with a Red-hot Iron, which you suspect because their Colour is lighter than ordinarily they use to be, and if they fry like Resin or Wax, they are naught. Sometimes they are tried by putting them into clear Water, and if there arise upon them small white Bubbles, they are good, and if none, they are doubtful. The use of the Hot Iron is esteemed infallible.' (II, 141).

The reader will notice that at least one test, viz., that of the pointed hot iron, is common to Roe, Tavernier, Fryer, and the last writer calls it infallible.

PORCUPINE STONE

The bezoar leads on naturally to the 'porcupine stone', which was another much, esteemed antidote, and, according to Tavernier, 'more efficacious against poison than bezoar'. It was found in the head of the porcupine. 'When it is placed to steep in water for a quarter of an hour,' continues Tavernier, 'the water becomes so bitter that there is nothing in the world to equal it in bitterness. This animal has also sometimes, in its belly, a stone which is of the same nature and equally good as that which comes from the head, except with this difference, that it loses nothing of its weight or size by steeping in water, while there is diminution of the other. During my life I have bought three of these stones. One cost me 500 écus [£ 112-10-0], and I disposed of it subsequently with advantage to the Ambassador Dominico de Santis, of whom I have spoken in my accounts of Persia. I paid 400 écus [£ 90] for another, which I still keep; and the third was sold to me for 300 écus [£ 67-10-0], and I made a present of it to a friend' (Tavernier, II, 119-20).

The editor's footnote to this passage is worth quoting: 'It seems probable that the substance supposed to be obtained in the

head of the porcupine was a vegetable drug, to which that mythical origin was ascribed (Garcia da Orta, 470 f.). Castanheda mentions a stone obtained in the head of an animal called bulgoldorf, which was exceedingly rare, and was said to be an antidote against all kinds of poison (Kerr, *Voyages and Travels*, ii, 439). A. Hamilton (in Pinkerton, viii, 450) says that at Lingen, near Johore, he has seen pieces of porcupine bezoar as big as, and shaped like, a walnut, valued at 600 pieces of eight.' It is only necessary to add that a piece of eight had the same value as an écu, viz., 4s. 6d.

SNAKE-STONE

Tavernier winds up his long account of miscellaneous stones with the following passage: 'I shall finally make mention of the snake-stone, which is nearly the size of a double [? doubloon, a Spanish gold coin, larger than the English penny, formerly worth 33 to 36s., now slightly over £ 1], some of them tending to an oval shape, being thick in the middle and becoming thin towards the edges. The Indians say that it grows on the heads of certain snakes, but I should rather believe that it is the priests of the idolaters who make them think so, and that this stone is a composition which is made of certain drugs. Whatever it may be, it has an excellent virtue in extracting all the poison when one has been bitten by a poisonous reptile. If the part bitten is not punctured it is necessary to make an incision so that the blood may flow; and when the stone has been applied to it, it does not fall off till it has extracted all the venom which is drawn to it. In order to clean it it is steeped in woman's milk, or, in default of it, in that of a cow; and after having been steeped for ten or twelve hours, the milk, which has absorbed all the venom, assumes the colour of matter. One day, when I dined with the Archbishop of Goa, he took me into his museum, where he had many curiosities. Among other things he showed me one of these stones, and in telling me of its properties assured me that but three days since he had made trial of it, and then he presented it to me. As he traversed a marsh on the island of Salsette, upon which Goa is situated, on his way to a house in the country, one of his pallankeen bearers, who was almost naked, was bitten by a serpent and was at once cured by this stone. I have bought many of them; it is only the Brahmans who sell them, and it is that which makes me think that they make them. You employ two methods to ascertain if the snake-stone is good, and that there is no fraud. The first is by placing the stone in the mouth, for then, if good, it leaps and attaches itself immediately to the palate. The other is to place it in a glass full of water,

and immediately, if it is genuine, the water begins to boil, and small bubbles ascend from the stone which is at the bottom, to the top of the water' (Tavernier, II, 120-21).

Much useful bibliography is condensed in the following footnote to the above passage: 'Thévenot says that they were made of the ashes of the root of a certain plant, mixed with a particular kind of clay (*Voyages*, p. 94). Some snake-stones appear to have been made of charred bone. (See for an exhaustive account of this subject Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 847; Tennent, *Ceylon*, i, 197; Fryer, 138 f; *Voyage of F. Leguat*, ii, 234). The belief in their efficacy is still very general in India; by some they are supposed to be found in the head of the adjutant bird (see Ball, *Jungle Life in India*, 82; Prof. W. R. Halliday, *Folk-lore*, xxxii, 262 ff., xxxiii, 118f.).' (P. 120, f.n. 2).

'There is still another stone,' continues Tavernier, 'which is called "stone of the hooded snake." It is a kind of snake which has, as it were, a hood which hangs behind the head, and it is behind this hood that the stone is found, the smallest being of the size of a hen's egg. There are snakes in Africa and in Asia of an enormous size, and up to 25 feet in length, as was that one whose skin is preserved at Batavia. This snake had swallowed a girl of eighteen years, of which fact I have elsewhere given an account. You find these stones only in snakes which are, at the least, two feet in length. The stone, which is not hard, when rubbed against another stone yields a kind of slime which, when dissolved in water and drunk by a person who has some poison in his body, has the property of driving it out at once. These snakes are only to be found on the coasts of Melinda, and you can obtain the stones from Portuguese sailors and soldiers on their return from Mozambique' (Tavernier, II, 121).

Ovington tells a story of a snake-bite and the cure of it effected with a snake-stone, which he follows up with a description of composition and virtues of a snake-stone, and the methods of putting it to the test: 'A Peon of mine, named *Gemal*,' he says 'walking abroad in the Grass after the Rains, was unfortunately bit on a sudden by one of them. The latent Snake twisted unawares about his Leg, and in a short time brought him to the Ground, by causing in him an immediate deliquium of Spirit, almost even to Expiration. The Servants who were standing by, amaz'd at the accident, called immediately upon an *English Merchant*, who hasten'd to-

wards him with a special Medicine for his Recovery. The thing which he carried about him, and which instantly applyed, is a Specifick against the Poison of Snakes, cured him, and therefore obtains the Name of Snake-stone. It is a small artificial Stone, almost flat, only with a little protuberance in the middle, and of a gray Colour. The Composition of it is Ashes of burnt Roots, mixt with a kind of Earth, which is found at *Diu*, belonging to the *Portuguese*; and those are burnt together again, out of which Paste the Stones are formed. They are not all alike Colour'd, but those that have receiv'd more of the Fire, are thereby inclin'd to a lighter Gray, the others are a little more dark. This Stone Cures by the application of it to the part invenom'd, to which it immediately sticks fast, and by its powerful Attraction sucks back the infus'd Venom, 'till its Pores are full. Then like a glutted Horse-Leach it falls off, and disgorges the replenisht Pores in Milk (the properest liquor for this purpose) which by discolouring, it renders livid. Upon this it recovers new strength, and its Alexipharmick quality again, and is speedily prepar'd for a fresh Draught of Poison, if any remains in the affected part, 'till it quite extracts whatever the venomous Serpent had immited; which makes those Counterpoisons in great esteem against all external Attacks upon the Body; as the Cordial Antidotes are most valuable for expelling or subduing any Poyson inwardly receiv'd. The double Excellence of this Stone recommends its worth very highly, in that a little of it scraped off, and mixt with Wine, or some other proper vehicle, and inwardly taken, is reputed one of the most powerful Medicines against any Malignant Fevers or Infectious Diseases, that is known; and much excels the deservedly fam'd *Gasper Antoni*, or Goa Stone. The trial of these Stones is made by fixing them to the Roof of the Mouth, to which if they stick fast, 'tis a sign they are genuine, if they easily fall off, fictitious. Another method for knowing the true Stones from the Counterfeit, is to immerse them in a Glass of Water, where, after a while, if some light Ebullitions rise from them, and ascend through the Body of the Water, this likewise is an approv'd Sign that the Stone is not spurious. The *Europeans*, for the Security of themselves against the Danger of these Serpents, which are every where so common in *India*, carry always about them one of these Stones inclosed in a Heart of Gold, fixt to a Golden Chain, which hangs about their Necks' (p. 260-63).

The reader will have remarked that the author is speaking here of the artificial snake-stone. He knows nothing apparently of the 'natural' snake-stone.

YADATĀSH OR RAIN-STONE

According to the *Farhang-i-Anandrāj*, it was a stone which, when incantations were recited over it, and the stone placed on the hand and put up to the sky, was believed to bring clouds and rain in abundance. This belief was widely current among the Turks. It is to be traced to the following incident in sacred history, which, however, is not to be found in the *Old Testament*.

It is related that when Japheth got leave from his father Noah, to proceed towards the east and the north with his family and relations, he requested his father to teach him a prayer which should bring rain whenever he wished it. The patriarch Noah gave him a stone which had that virtue, and either recited, or made a show of reciting the *ism-i-a'zam* over it (*Akbarnāma*, I, 58). According to another version, Noah taught him the *ism-i-a'zam* and traced it on the stone (*Shajaratul Atrak*, 24).

Japheth then set out on his journey, and produced rain with the help of that stone whenever he required it.

'It is said that this secret was disclosed to Noah by Gabriel, and that he was intructed, when he wanted rain, to repeat the name of God, to breathe on the stone, and throw it in water, and rain would then fall' (*Shajaratul Atrak* 24).

On Japheth's death the stone passed to his eldest son, Turk, who succeeded him.

This, we should remember, was the first stone of its kind.

This stone, which was called *jada tāsh* or *yada tāsh* by the Turks, *sang-i-yada* by the Persians, and *hajaru'l-maṭr* by the Arabs, was reported to be common among the Turks in later times—which presumably means that a kind of stone came in succeeding ages to be credited with similar properties, and was supposed to be descended in some mysterious way from the celebrated stone of Noah (*Akbarnāma*, I, 58; *Shajaratul Atrak*, 24).

Bābur often speaks of this stone in his *Memoirs*; and mention of it in Mughal history is frequent.

Later on, the *yada* stone was believed to bring not only clouds, wind and rain, but hail, snow, excessive cold and violent tempests.

An instance where the stone was merely thrown into water, and snow and hail appeared is cited in *Shajaratul Atrak* on p. 66.

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Another instance: When Tūli KHān, son of CHingiz KHān, during the Mughals' invasion of China in 627 A.H. (=1230 A.C.) was driven by the Chinese to KHatā, and was reduced to an extremity, he used the *sang-i-yada*, which brought snow and rain and intense cold. He thus scored a victory and put a large number of the enemy to the sword, taking some prisoner, Ghiāsu'd-Dīn "KHwand Mir," *Ḥabibu's Siyar*, Bombay 1857 III, Pt. i, 29).

Rain-making with this stone, however, was not a common thing within the power of every tiro. It was an esoteric art and was practised professionally. Those who knew the use of the stone were called *yadahī* or *jadahī*.

Rai Anand Rām "Mukhlīṣ" reports that a Turk, who understood the art of the *yada* stone, was once on a visit to Nawāb "Saifu'd-Daula" Abdu's-Ṣamad KHān, who was Nāẓim of Multān in the reign of Muḥammad SHāh. At the Nawāb's request he gave the performance once, and produced plenty of cloud, and rain and hail.

The Emperor Muḥammad SHāh, having heard of it, directed his immediate attendance at Delhi; but by the time the orders reached Multān, the Turk had left for Turkistān, his home *Mir'ātu'l-Iṣṭilāḥ*, P.U.L. MS., f. 136 b).

The *Shajaratul Atrak* wrongly identifies this stone with, or at least assimilates it to, the bezoar-stone, and thus has misled many European scholars of repute. Again, the word *jada* has no connection with 'jade,' as has been sometimes supposed.

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

By

MR. C. S. SRINIVASACHARI, M.A.

(Continued from Volume XIII, Part II.)

XIV

1. THE DIARIST RISES IN THE FAVOUR OF THE NEW GOVERNOR, DE LEYRIT

THE DIARIST noticed that the new Governor was obviously very close and would act only with much deliberation; and he was advised to refrain from making hasty proposals to him. On a suitable occasion, he told De Leyrit:—"I was able to satisfy M. Lenoir, M. Dumas and M. Dupleix, because they followed my advice. I never visit the Councillors, nor do I serve others. I deal direct with the Governor; nor do I visit others with gifts.

. . . I have used my whole strength on behalf of him who governed, seeking only his gain, and satisfying myself with the glory. If now you also will listen to no advice but mine, and act accordingly, I will strive for your profit and win your favour." The Governor was obviously impressed by these words, and, in the words of the Diarist, vowed, calling on God to witness what he said to do nothing without consulting him. Thereupon Ranga Pillai explained to the Governor "the character of all here and the profits they make, with proof of everything," as well as the affairs in the subordinate stations.

He subsequently wrote out in French an account of all that had taken place between Godeheu's departure and the new Governor's arrival, and this precious document was, according to Professor Dodwell, the one that was among the Gallois-Montbrun papers at Pondicherry and was shown to him.¹ Ranga Pillai's

1. The document was dated March 29, 1755, and was published as an appendix to Vol. IX of the *Diary* (Translation). M. Dodwell is of the

heart was now intent upon getting one personal honour to be shown to him; viz., that the *tambour* should be beaten at the Fort and the town-gates, as a mark of respect to him, since he was the leader (governor) of all the Tamils. To his great satisfaction, at the Governor's reception of the Company's merchants, the Diarist was personally invested by De Leyrit with a gold chain and pendant, the *turra* and *sarpech*, given 4 pieces of finest broad cloth and 18 yards of cloth of gold, and ordered a salute of 15 guns. Ranga Pillai also led the deputation of the Mahā-nāṭṭārs to the Governor and cautiously hinted to the latter that he should not allow undue influence to others, and told him that "if you will listen to me alone, you and the Company will gain greatly, while you will earn the Company's gratitude." The Governor promised to give him the leases of Villiyanallūr, Bāhūr and Karaikal.²

The political situation of the French at Trichinopoly continued to be gravely jeopardised by financial difficulties. Nāñja Raja, according to the Diarist, owed the French a balance of 22 lakhs and Murari Rao from about 10 to 12 lakhs, while he continued to blame the French in every letter, ignoring his own obligations. M. Godeheu was blamed for having allowed the English, after the conclusion of the agreement, to seize the Madura and Tinnevely countries, when the available French troops were all centred at Aurangābād, Masulipatam, and Trichinopoly. M. Godeheu could have then insisted on seizing half the country; but many places continued in the English possession with "only a few outlying places in ours."

The Diarist told the Governor, on another occasion, that, as the successor of Dupleix, he was now a Mansabdār of the Padshah; only he needed a jaghir in order to enable him to main-

opinion that the letter was the Diarist's own and that it was only revised by M. Reyne, with whose help, Ranga Pillai says, he wrote out the French account (Note (1)—p. 228, Vol. IX of the *Diary*).

2. The Governor is characterised by Dodwell as a "cold, silent and haughty man, whose solemnity covered little but dullness, self-seeking and irresolution." "Those who wounded his feelings found him implacable in his resentment; but those who knew how to manage him found him plastic as clay." Ranga Pillai had been pointed out by Boyellean and others as "the person who could, if he would, make De Leyrit's fortune." And we read that "so long as that impression lasted, the *courtier* on the whole enjoyed the Governor's favour, though not to the degree that he considered his due."

tain his status and keep elephants, etc. Again, he advised the Governor not to be afraid of taking strong measures, and told him that it was not necessary to bring all to book, since "if we twist one or two, the others will be alarmed and will settle their affairs," and that former Governors had done so. After a few weeks had elapsed, the Diarist became bold enough to tell the Governor that the latter listened to what he said, but did not do accordingly; adding that this habit "brings discredit on those who transact business and belittles your service." The Governor was too fond of money, and was advised to see that the commandants of troops did not prevent the Amaldārs from doing their work properly, and not to pay heed to their complaints and protestations, as otherwise rents could not at all be collected. So greatly did the Diarist rise in the favour of the Governor that he was told he was looked upon as nothing less than his minister, and that no one was so intelligent and broad-minded as himself; "for which reason both M. Dupleix and M. Godeheu had favoured you, though for a while under Madame Dupleix it was not so."

II. THE MYSOREANS IN THE TRICHINOPOLY COUNTRY

Nañja Raja did not recognise that the Anglo-French truce of January 1755 prevented his committing hostilities against the English and their allies; and he even requested the French to be pleased to retire with their troops to Pondicherry, if they, like Muhammad Ali and the English, thought proper to recede from their alliance. He continued his 'blundering' operations to obtain possession of Trichinopoly till the middle of April. The positive injunctions of his brother, Deva Raja, then induced him to depart, on account of a very serious domestic danger.³

3. Nañja Rājā had stated that he had discovered the determination of the French to keep Trichinopoly for themselves, if they should succeed in its conquest. When he departed, he left the French in possession of the island of Śrīraṅgam, the revenues of which had been formally given up by Muhammad Ali to the Mysorean (Wilks, Vol. I, p. 214).

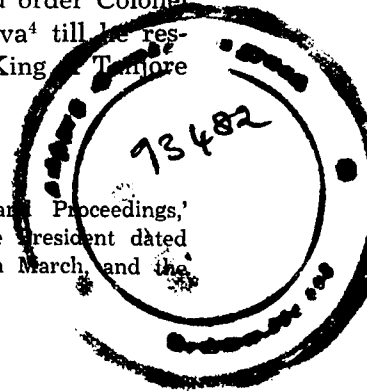
Dusaussaye had refused to join Nañja Rājā in a plan for a night escalade on the Fort, and had scornfully rejected a bribe of three lakhs of rupees offered by the latter, if he should feign a quarrel, march off, and thereby leave him at liberty to pursue his designs. It was even said that Nañja Rājā's next project was to surprise the French and endeavour to cut them off; and Dusaussaye had written to Major Kilpatrick, assuring him that he would attack the rear of the Mysorean if the latter should make any attempt on Trichinopoly. Cf. R.O. Cambridge—*An Account of the War in India from 1750 to 1780* (1761), p. 87).

The Diarist who heard from the Governor of Nañja Rājā's departure told him that Dusaussaye, who had received some 50,000 or 60,000 (Rs.) from the Daḷavāi and who could have forced him to stay on should be held responsible; that it was not Dusaussaye that had been deceived or got nothing from the Mysorean; and that "careful inquiry will prove whether he (Dusaussaye) was deceived, or whether you (De Leyrit) were deceived by that letter." (Entry for the 11th April)

The day after that on which this entry was made, news was received at Pondicherry that Hari Singh and Manaji were going over to Trichinopoly from Tanjore in order to confer with Muhammad Ali; and that Nañja Rājā, who had promised to leave Thana Singh and Hyder Ali Khān at Śrīraṅgam, had left for Mysore on the night of 8 April, without doing so, since Dusaussaye disapproved of the terms he had offered.

An expedition had in the meanwhile, been undertaken under Colonel Heron into the Madura and Tinnevely countries, to collect the dues from the Poligars. In the course of his operations, Heron experienced good inclinations on the part of the Marava chief of Rāmnād, who offered a free passage through his country for the English troops, promised to use his interest with the other Poligars, sent his brother to the help of the English with 3,000 men and several pieces of cannon, and pressed the English to build settlements in his dominions. This caused great jealousy in the minds of the rulers of Tanjore and Pudukōṭṭa, and they strongly protested against the English treating with the Marava. In their hatred of the Marava they had even raised forces to march into his country. The fact is, Manaji, the Tanjore general, had been personally affronted by the Marava, though the ostensible reason given for the hostility was the friendship that had subsisted between the Marava and the Mysorean. The English, under these circumstances, had perforce to pacify the Tanjore Rājā and the Toṇḍaimān, and order Colonel Heron to break off all negotiations with the Marava⁴ till he restored all the districts that he had taken from the King of Tanjore and the Nawāb.

4. Refer to 'Records of Fort St. George, Diary and Proceedings,' 1755, Military Department, Letters of Col. Heron to the President dated Madura 4th March, and of A. Newton, dated Tanjore, 4th March, and the Government consultation of 26th March. (pp. 47—53).



Heron himself at this stage, had to retire in disgrace from Madura. He was tried by a court martial for misconduct, for fraudulent collusion with Mahfuz Khān, the Nawāb's brother, and for the neglect of the Nawāb's instructions. He reached Trichinopoly early in June, after suffering a most disgraceful defeat in the Nattam pass at the hands of the 'Colleries' (Kallars).

While this was the situation of the English, interesting events happened in Mysore. Nañja Rājā hastened, by forced marches, to the help of his brother Dēva Rājā, who was besieged in Seringapatam by Salābat Jang, with the help of a strong force under M. Bussy. But before Nañja Rājā could reach his destination, Dēva Rājā had been forced to agree to pay 56 lakhs of rupees which he could make up⁵ only by requisitioning the plates and the jewels of the Rājā's family and of the Hindu temples in the town, and by prevailing on the sowcars of the town to give their *gomāstahs* as hostages for the balance that remained. On hearing of this, Nañja Rājā halted, and discharged one-third of his army, "not without great difficulty in paying their arrears." Nañja Rājā then wrote to Pondicherry, suggesting that the Governor should write to Salābat Jang and M. Bussy to the effect that the whole amount of the *peshkash* money due from Mysore had been spent on the French army, and that they should collect only the usual *peshkash* and return what had been taken in excess. (Diarist's entry for 24 April).

The Diarist gives, in his entry for 25 April, the copy of a letter that he had received from Nañja Rājā, dated April 14, in which he pleaded that he was an ally of the French, and that a suitable letter should be written by M. Leyrit to M. Bussy "who desires to break our friendship with the French instead of preserving it so long as the sun and the moon endure." Nañja Rājā also requested Raṅga Pillai to explain everything to Salābat Jang. He further warned the Diarist that the English should not be

5. Only one-third of the amount could be made up; and the balance for which the acceptance of the *gomāstahs* of the Sowcars of Seringapatam was given by Dēva Rājā was not at all realised. "Of the unhappy hostages, some died in prison, others escaped and after a period the remainder were released." The English treaty of 1768 says that Mysore estimated to constitute half of the Carnatic, Balaghat, Bijapur was fixed to pay the Nizām a tribute of 3½ lakhs of rupees in 1755, including darbar charges.

trusted, and that though they had concluded an agreement with the French, the Governor should write to his commandant at Sriraṅgam warning him to stand on his guard against their attempts.⁶

The Pondicherry authorities could only assure Nañja Rājā that Bussy and his European army were paid by Salābat Jang and were under his control, and should do as *he* desired. The French Governor could not interfere, but assured Nañja Rājā thus:—"As you are my ally, we have protected your fort and country hitherto. Otherwise you would have lost them. I have written to M. Bussy to help you as far as possible, and I will do so again; but you should pay our money speedily."⁷ The Diarist suggested that the same might be written to the English and Muhammad Ali if they should protest against Bussy's activity on the ground that it was opposed to the treaty concluded with Godeheu. He wrote that "this device would meet all cases;" and the Governor agreed with him.

6. This was due to the fact that Dusaussaye had not only rejected Nañja Rājā's plan of an escalade on Trichinopoly Fort and offer of a bribe but also communicated the whole plan to the English Commander, Major Kilpatrick. A Madras Council Consultation of April 2/13, 1755, records a letter of De Leyrit communicating the news of Nañja Rājā's proposed escalade and adding that "the representations made to him on that subject by the French Commanding Officer, far from diverting him from the enterprise, had served only to breed dissensions between them and him in so much that there was some reason to apprehend that he might turn his arms against their troops."

7. A letter was written later, according to the Diarist, that Bussy and Salābat Jang had already given battle to Dēva Rājā and were on the point of capturing the fort (of Seringapatam); but immediately after the Governor's letter reached them, they ceased the attack, and demanded the usual *peshkash*; but the enemy made a reply that even that could not be paid, then the French decided to put a boy of the royal family on the throne, who was brought and installed with the usual ceremonies, in the name of the French. "But then a letter was written to M. Bussy who explained everything to Salābat Jang and settled the matter for 52 lakhs, for the payment of which a long period was allowed. Thereupon M. Bussy returned to Hyderabad with Salābat Jang's army." Neither Wilks nor *The Mysore Gazetteer* (new edition) makes any mention of the French invaders having set up a rival Rājā to spite Dēva Rājā. The Diarist records in his entry for May 3, 1755, the details of the battle between Dēva Rājā and the Mysore troops. According to the Madras Despatch of October 27, 1755, Salābat Jang was reported to have collected 33 lakhs of rupees before he departed.

After the satisfaction of the invaders before Seringapatam, the brothers, Dēva Rājā and Nañja Rājā, continued to conduct the government as before, "whose usurpation, although complete in everything essential, left to the pageant Rājā "a considerable share of the exterior appendages of royalty." The nominal King, who had now attained the age of 27, became impatient of the restraint put upon him, and formed a crude plan to confine the ministers and take the power into his own hands. The plan was duly reported by spies to the brothers; and Dēva Rājā advised the ruler to dismiss the evil counsellors and administered a mild remonstrance; but the latter burst into indignation, and replied with puerile threats. Dēva Rājā was for the adoption of mild measures for restoring the ruler to a 'proper frame of mind'; but Nañja Rājā moved a column of troops against the palace, forced the Rājā to take his seat on the throne; and cut off the noses and ears of his partisans in his very presence, in spite of the protests of his brother. Dēva Rājā was so deeply offended at this open contempt of his admonitions that he resolved to have nothing to do with his brother. He actually departed from Seringapatam in February 1757, with all his adherents and with a large body of peons, and settled at Satyamangalam; and in order to get an income he revoked the assignments of revenue made to Haidar Ali, and ordered them to be paid to himself; and the latter had to go over to Seringapatam from his faujdāri of Dindugul.⁸

8. Ranga Pillai has his version of the attempt of the Mysore Rājā to free himself from the thralldom of the brothers. "The Raja, his mother and the Pradhan Pandit resolved to seize and imprison Nandi Raja and re-appoint the Pradhani Pandit Venkatapati Ayyan who was formerly Sarvadhikari. But Nandi Raja and his elder brother Devaraja Udaiyar, learning this were on their guard and have seized Venkatapathi Ayyan, the former Pradhani and others of his party, and resolved to keep the Raja in the palace under close custody. Nandi Raja also suggested to his daughter who was the Rani that her husband should be put to death and her son placed on the throne. She would not consent, but told her husband about her father's intentions and warned him to be on his guard. The Raja collected 4,000 faithful men, and Nandi Raja also collected 200 European deserters; but Deva Raja went to his younger brother, his son-in-law and the Raja and pacified them. But Nandi Raja seized Venkatapati Ayyan, the Pradhani, and his people who followed him, imprisoning them, plundering their houses and seizing 6 lakhs of pagodas. Nandi Raja set guards over the royal palace on the 12th day in the dark half of Asvija, (i.e., November 1, 1755). Deva Raja tried to reason with Venkatapati Ayyan, his son and several others of the folly of their plot and said he should have

III. THE POLIGAR TROUBLES

It was rumoured at Pondicherry that Dēva Rājā had died,, and that that was the reason of Nañja Rājā's departure from Srirangam. Nañja Rājā's removal of Pāpu Redḍi, the Poligar of Turaiyūr, who was under the protection of Dupleix and Godeheu, caused trouble. Pāpu Redḍi sought French help in order to get back Turaiyūr⁹; and the Governor tried to keep the Poligars of Ariyalūr and Uḍayārpālayam in check, so that they might not interfere in the Turaiyūr affair. The French claimed control over Uḍayārpālayam as it was nominally under Gingee; but its

communicated the plot. Venkatapati and his wife were chained and imprisoned in Manvallidrug and his son and son-in-law in another drug; and his brother and his wife were confined in Kapaldrug; while their houses and property were given to Nandi Raja. The whole town of Seringapatam was in a serious state of alarm; and the jemadars, officials, merchants and others feared of being falsely accused and punished." (Entry for December 1, 1755).

Several months later, in his entry for 19 August, 1756, Ranga Pillai reports what he had heard from the Mysore Daḷavāi's Brahman *vakil* as to what had occurred about four weeks earlier. Dēva Rājā and Nandi Rājā had resolved to kill the Rājā and place on the throne a boy of five, the Pradhāni having been imprisoned in a hill-fortress four months earlier. The Rājā however induced Shabaz Khān (Haidar Nāyak's elder brother) to quit service and secretly gave 50,000 gold pieces to Kande Rao, Haidar's *mutasaddi*, to be given to them (Haidar and his brother) in order to collect troops. Knowing this, the Daḷavāi brothers closed all the gates of the fort, mounted guns against the palace. There was a battle the next day, in which the Rājā and his followers sallied forth, and the Daḷavai's troops retreated. Nandi Rājā then fired all the guns and entered the palace. The brothers first resolved to kill the Raja, but Kṛishṇa Rājā Uḍayār's wife clung to him, and swore that they should kill her first. After much talk, they decided to imprison the Rājā, his son and his wife, and the wife of Kṛishṇa Rājā Uḍayār, in the palace under a guard. The *vakil* of the Peishwa is said to have protested to Nandi Rājā against his action, and the Rājā himself sent a letter to Poona by four camel-messengers recounting what had happened.

9. According to Orme, Turaiyur was ordered to be attacked by Maissin with a force of 500 Europeans and 1,000 sepoys. Captain Cailland who wanted to oppose him was asked by the Madras Government to desist. Maissin had his own way at Turaiyur, deposed its poligar and reinstated his cousin and predecessor. He then proceeded against the Poligars of Ariyalur and Uḍayarpalayam, who, according to the English, had never made any submissions of fealty either to the French or to the Mysoreans. Cailland was now ordered to march from Trichinopoly; and the English Governor threatened to send another force from Madras if Maissin should persist. After this, De Leyrit ordered Maissin to desist.

poligar was playing off Muhammad Ali against the French and was contriving ever since the death of Chanda Sahib, not to pay any *peshkash* to either. All that the Governor could do was to ask M. Maissin to threaten the Poligars of Ariyalūr and Uḍayār-pālayam, so that they might not unduly interfere in the French affairs. There was a considerable amount of arrears from the neighbouring taluks. Chidambaram was demanded by Nawāb Abdul Nābi Khān of Cuddapah, but his vakil was told that nothing could be definitely decided owing to the 18 months' peace between the English and the French. The fort of Chētpaṭṭu which had been taken from Mir Āsad by Chanda Sahib and given over to Shaikh Hasan, was given, after the capture of the latter by the English in the battle of Śrīraṅgam, into the possession of Pāpayya Pillai and Nizar Muhammad Khān. As there was no agreement between the two, Nizar Muhammad, who was in charge of the *kila*, joined Muhammad Ali and the English.

Abdul Wahab Khan, a younger brother of Muhammad Ali, had created considerable disorder in the Arcot country, of which he was in charge, and squandered away the revenues. The Madras Governor advised Muhammad Ali to settle with his family at Arcot. Accordingly, after Heron's expedition had returned to Trichinopoly, and the troops had rested for some time, the Nawāb began his march north on the 9th July (20th N. S.), being escorted by 300 Europeans and 1,000 sepoy under Captain Polier. The march was made through the country of Tanjore, as the rivers were swollen with floods, and as some risk was apprehended from Maissin's troops then lying before Ariyalur. In the Tanjore country the Nawāb received Manakji (Manaji) who assured him of his master being ready to serve him with 5,000 horse in the Carnatic, in spite of the Mysore general having offered him 50 lakhs of rupees for forsaking the Nawāb. These protestations of friendship on the part of the Tanjoreans were declared by the Nawāb to Captain Polier to be "all a lie." After halting at Fort St. David,¹⁰ the Nawāb arrived near Arcot on August 19 (O. S.), and was, before he made his state entry into the capital, invited to pay a visit to Madras by a deputation headed by Major Lawrence. The deputation was requested by the Nawāb, to announce in full darbar, that the Poligars and other tributaries

10. The Diarist and the Governor De Leyrit both suspected that Muhammad Ali would not be going over to Arcot without some new object. (p. 356 *Diary*, Vol. IX)

should submit their accounts without delay, lest they should be forced to it.

At Madras, which he visited on the 28th August (O. S.), the Nawāb urgently requested military assistance in order to force the Arcot Poligars to pay up their heavy arrears. It was resolved to take half the monies that might be collected and to send a force of 300 Europeans and 1,500 sepoy under Major Kilpatrick to help the Nawāb. The latter objected, on the score of loss of dignity, to the transfer of the management of certain taluks to the Company, and finally agreed to give Ponnēri and Pudupet which were worth about 30,000 pagodas a year.

One remarkable feature about Muhammad Ali's march to Arcot is noticed by Ranga Pillai. The troops never resorted to plunder on their way. Wherever they halted, they sent word of assurance to the amaldārs that they would not plunder, nor tread down the crops, so that no complaint might afterwards be made; and "the people thereabouts are saying that they have never before seen troops march so quietly and they are astonished at it. These troops are under complete discipline." (Entry for Aug. 11, 1755). Ranga Pillai also notes the respect shown to Muhammad Ali at Madras, his stay in Louis Madeiros' garden (the present Government House in Mount Road), the display of fireworks and other entertainments in his honour. Ranga Pillai also says that Muhammad Ali was to be given an allowance, and desired to remain at Madras; and that he was much dejected as his amaldārs had been ordered not to do any act of authority without orders from the English; who had sent their own people to Arcot and other places.¹¹ The Diarist heard at Pondicherry that Muhammad

11. The Fort St. George Despatch to the Secret Committee, dated October 27, 1755, says that, in order to secure for the Company a proportionate share of the rents at which the Arcot countries might be let out, the Nawāb had promised to report when any countries were about to be leased, so that the Company's share might be settled before the *Cowle* should be given. Much of the Arcot countries was leased out to the principal inhabitants of Madras who agreed to pay the greater part of the sum of 8 lakhs of rupees granted to the Company, with orders on the renters, payable half in May, and half in September (1756). The Nawāb had also promised half the revenues of Madura and Tinnevely, though he expected nothing for the time being owing to the cost of the troops sent to punish the rebels, over and above half the tribute paid by all the Poligars under him. Wm. Percival was to accompany the Nawāb and to be present at all the transactions with the poligars or their vakils, to receive the Company's half of the tribute and control the expenditure involved in the expedition.

Ali had agreed to accept Rs. 240,000 from Yāchama Nayak of Venkatagiri, two lakhs from the Dāmarla Poligar of Kālahasti, inclusive of darbār expenses, and a lakh and a half from the Raja or Karveṭi or Bommarajapālaiyam—all these sums having to be paid at Madras by the Sowcars. Also Murtaza Ali Khān of Vellore had agreed to pay a lakh of rupees, and supply 500 troopers and 200 horse. The Killedar of Satghar had settled for Rs. 50,000. Muhammad Ali was able to collect or settle these sums, without any complaint, nobody could question his title; and on December 7 the English flag at Arcot was replaced by that of the Nawāb. The Fort was named Muhammad Nur; and the Nawāb himself was to be henceforth called Umdat-ul-Mulk, Siraj'-u'd-daula Bahadur Dilawar Jang (Entries for December 6th and 18th).¹² Ranga Pillai expressed a doubt whether the countries of the Poligars were worth the amounts stipulated; but he admired the Nawāb as "one who behaves calmly and discreetly, without precipitation," and he attributed this assurance on the part of Muhammad Ali to the fact that the Marāthās were strong enough to establish or overthrow the Padshāh, while Salābat Jang's dominions were being overrun by the Peishwa, and Murāri Rao had seized the country belonging to Coja Namat-ullah Khān, the subadār of Adoni with its dependencies and *killas*. Only part of the Hyderābād country remained in the possession of Salābat Jang; "but even there he could not keep order, for he had no money to pay the army and had to wink at much." The year 1755 ended with Muhammad Ali triumphantly and securely settled at Arcot, and his flag flying, in the place of the English flag, even over the forts of Kāveripākkam and Timiri, though he himself was prostrated by a severe illness.

One sad comment on the state of the political morality of the Europeans at Pondicherry is noted by the Diarist in his entry for December 6th, 1755. It is as follows:—"When the Europeans formerly had the renters under them, they said that they had

12. By reason of De Leyrit's threats, Kilpatrick, who was sent to help the Nawāb was ordered 'to repulse force by force', should the French support the Arcot Poligars. Before December, Kilpatrick had marched towards Baṅgāru Yāchama Nāyak's pālaiyam, and encamped for nearly a month outside its limits at Killenore. After the Nawāb finished his business with Yāchama Nāyak, the army marched into Bommarājapālaiyam where it stayed for a whole month. The reduction of the minor Poligars was left to the Nawāb's country forces. The army returned to Arcot in January 1756.

lost 1½ lakhs of rupees Mm. Very and Solomiac wrote that they had borrowed Rs. 10,000 in excess. . . . The same is the case with other European sureties. As you are dealing with this carefully, falsehood cannot succeed, but truth will appear."¹³

The affair of the Vellore Killedār was seriously taken up in the beginning of the new year. Murtaza Ali had always been perfidious in his behaviour. He had sworn on the holy *Qurān*, acknowledging the right of Muhammad Ali, and offering to settle the tribute due from him. His insincerity became obvious, when Muhammad Ali claimed the fulfilment of his promises. Indeed, in one place, Ranga Pillai records that Muhammad Ali fell sick after eating betel sent him by the wife of Safdar Ali Khān of Vellore, and resolved to capture Vellore, "as the Vellore man had attempted to poison him." (Entry for January 24, 1756).

Kilpatrick marched on Vellore towards the end of January; but as the place was found to be very strong, it was decided not to attack it but only to intimidate the Faujdār. De Leyrit at this stage, disputed the Nawāb's right to Vellore, and threatened to oppose the English intervention. Letters were also written from Pondicherry to Murtaza Ali Khān that he need not pay *peshkash* to Muhammad Ali, and that if it was demanded from him, he might reply that he was "our (French) ally," and that "we (De Leyrit) had forbidden him to pay *peshkash*;" and he was assured that troops would be sent if he were attacked. Murtaza Ali's bending the knee to Muhammad Ali was taken by the French as an indication of his general worthlessness, and the opinion was held that, "if he had only done as we told him, he might have ruled the subah of Arcot". 300 Frenchmen and 300 sepoy were thereupon sent from Pondicherry for Vellore. It was sanguinely hoped by the Diarist that the despatch of French troops would save Murtaza Ali in Vellore, Nāzir Muhammad at Chētpattu (where he was

13. Dodwell remarks on this state of affairs thus:—"Ranga Pillai mentions many details in which he had no personal interest. The Second, as Sepoy Paymaster, draws for twice as many as were actually with the colours; one officer appropriates part of the Turaiyur *peshkash*; another levies a rupee on every traveller passing by Gingee; The Company's servants oblige the merchants to supply them with cloth, while the Company's Investment has still to be provided. In short, as the Diarist observes, Dupleix might have taken money for himself, but he had at least kept a sharp lookout for the misconduct of others, whereas De Leyrit suffered all to do very much as they pleased." (*Diary*: Vol. X, Introduction p. VIII).

opposed by Mir Āsad Khān at the head of Muhammad Ali's troops), and Abdul Rahmān at Elavānasūr which was intended to be attacked by Khairud-dīn Khān. The English Council at Madras feared that a party of French troops might be easily admitted into the Vellore Fort, "in which case it would have been difficult ever to expel them." Fortunately for the English, discipline was none too evident among the French troops. M. Saubinet, who used to be merciless in his punishments, was stabbed to death at Gingee by his officers who resented his sternness and, even more, his jobbery. Indeed, as already remarked, speculation was rife at Pondicherry, especially among those officials who had the sepoy and cavalry management.

The English, in the meanwhile, surrounded the Vellore fort and raised batteries. Khair-ud-dīn Khān abandoned his attack on Elavānasur, and joined his master at Arcot, and even by the middle of February, Murtaza Ali could not get any reinforcements from the French. Their troops were only encamped near Tiruviti and "plundering our own country."

Robert Orme was at this stage deputed by the Madras Government to negotiate with Murtaza Ali, and he set out on February 19 to Vellore. Already, ten days before this, the Faujdār, finding that the English army remained under the walls of Vellore, in spite of De Leyrit's protest, had agreed with Kilpatrick to pay 100,000 pagodas and Rs. 25,000 for the removal of the troops, and indeed paid Rs. 20,000 as earnest money. But now, finding that he could hope to get better terms from the new English envoy, he refused, on the 22nd February, to fulfil his engagement with Kilpatrick. Orme would not interfere, and promptly left for Arcot. Murtaza Ali, however, would not treat with anyone but Orme. The latter had perforce to come back to Vellore, and hold a conference with the Faujdar. Early in March, Orme returned to Madras while Kilpatrick, after some time spent before Vellore, returned to Arcot, as the Presidency considered it better to await another opportunity, rather than relax their demands from Murtaza. During all this parley, a body of 700 French soldiers and 1,500 sepoys lay between Chetpattū and Gingee, some forty miles distant from Vellore.

IV. THE MARATHAS AND MURARI RAO ON THE SCENE

The Diarist reports that Kilpatrick, who was before the Vellore Fort, was subsequently reinforced by troops under Sayyad Yūsuf and Muhammad Abrar Khān; and he demanded four

lakhs of rupees from Murtaza Ali. Thereupon Murtaza sent word to Madras, and Mr. Orme was sent as envoy. He first conferred with Muhammad Ali at Arcot, and then with Murtaza Ali in the Vellore fort, and returned with presents to Madras; and Governor Saunders was in a position to write to Kilpatrick asking him to withdraw his troops and proceed to Arcot, as the Vellore affair had been settled for two laks or a lakh and a half (entry for March 2, 1756).

Muhammad Ali thereupon arranged to occupy the Tuttippattū and Agaram pargannahs, dependent on Vellore and sent some troops to Paḍaivīḍu and Mūlakkāḍu. He even planned to send the newly entertained horse and foot to Madura and Tinnevely. News of the English capture of Gheriah reached Arcot at this time, and 60 guns were fired by the fort and the army as a token of joy. De Leyrit suspected the Diarist, on the report of his enemies, of helping Muhammad Ali with news from Pondicherry.¹⁴ The troops despatched to the help of Murtaza Ali Khān, returned at the end of March from Chētpattū, beyond which they had not marched. Meanwhile, things did not improve for Murtaza Ali; and he wrote to the Peishwa for the contingent of 10,000 horse which he had promised in return for their daily pay. Bālāji Rao was now reported to have made peace with Salābat Jang and despatched his cousin, Sadaśiva Rāo, with 30,000 horse and artillery towards Savanur and Bankapur (February, 1756). Bālāji Rāo had also started on an expedition into Mysore in 1754-55, in the course of which he extorted one-fourth of the revenue either in cash or in bills from every village through which his army passed, and further stormed the fortress of Holē Honnur on the Bhadrā river. Joining Salābat Jang's army beneath the walls of Seringapatam, Bālāji demanded a vast sum from Mysore as arrears of tribute due to him. It was now that M. Bussy obtained an audience of the Peishwa, on behalf of both the Nizām and the Daḷavāi, and won his good opinion. The Marāthā ruler was deeply impressed by "de Bussy's bearing, his studied courtesy, his unruffled temper, and above all by his vast capacity for military and civil affairs,"¹⁵ and he was persuaded that it was useless to make further demands

14. The Diarist openly complained to the Governor that Mm. Du-Basset, Delarche and Moraein had joined together to bring heavy and unfounded charges against him.

15. Kincaid and Parasnis—*A History of the Maratha People*; Vol. III. p: 34.

on Mysore. The Peishwa thereupon withdrew his army from Seringapatam, but he overran Jamkhandi, and fought a series of actions at Harihar, Bagalkot, and other places (1755). At the same time, Mahadji Purandarē plundered Bednur; but he quarrelled with Muzaffar Khān, the commandant of the Marāthā artillery, who had been trained under the French; and the latter left the Peishwa's service, and entered that of the Pathan Nawab of Savanur. The refusal by the Nawāb to comply with the Peishwa's demand for the surrender of Muzaffar Khān led to the formation of a league between Murari Rao Ghorepade (who would not acknowledge the Peishwa) and the Pathan Nawābs of Savanur, Cuddapah and Kurnool, and of a counter-league between the Peishwa and the Nizām. A powerful expedition was despatched by the latter against Savanur. The Peishwa himself met the Pathān Nawābs and Murāri Rāo near Savanur, and drove them, after inflicting a severe defeat, to take shelter in the fort. Salābat Jang and Bussy soon arrived at the place, and a regular siege began: Bussy's artillery poured, it was said, more than 250,000 shells into the fort; and the tremendous effect of the cannon has "passed into legend." Murāri Rāo now deserted to the Peishwa; and the Nawāb of Savanur submitted. He surrendered Muzaffar Khan to the Peishwa, and further gave an indemnity of 11 lakhs and the districts of Belgaum, Sholapur and Hubli (May, 1756).

In the course of the siege Murari Rao had given to Bussy a bond which had been executed in his favour by the Pondicherry Government and which had not been redeemed; and Bussy had spoken of it to both the Peishwa and the Nizām on behalf of Murāri Rāo. The matter was reported to the Peishwa, and he communicated it to Shah Nawaz Khan. The latter had been thirsting for an opportunity to alienate the Nizām from Bussy, and he now painted his action in the blackest colours, asserting in fact that Bussy had received a rich bribe from Murāri Rāo. This was the beginning of the great rupture between Bussy and Salābat Jang.¹⁶

16. See Letters No. 115, dated 3-7-1756 containing a report of Muzaffar Khān's movements, No. 116 indicating negotiations with Murāri Rāo, Ghorepade to whom Amrit Rāo was specially deputed as conciliator; No. 121, dated 8-2-1756 giving the news of the investment of Savanur; and No. 129, detailing that the Peishwa had besieged Bagalkot and Murari Rao, Muzaffar Khan and the Nawab of Savanur were preparing to oppose him. (G. S. Sardesai—'Selections from the Peshwa Daftar, No. 28.—Peishwa Bālāji Rāo, Karnatak Affairs 1740-1761.)

The Diarist reports on January 25, 1756, that a battle had been fought between Murari Rao and the Peishwa's younger brother on the banks of the Kṛishṇa. Later, he gives us the news that the crafty and jealous Tara Bai, whose inveterate hatred of the Peishwa had not abated a jot, had written to Murāri Rāo that she would send 30,000 horse and a sum of 30 or 40 lakhs, if he would seize the Nānā (the Peishwa) by treachery in battle, and that he had replied asking for the despatch of the troops (Entry for February 20th, 1756). Murari, the Diarist continues, was subsequently encamped near Savanur with 12,000 horse, 8,000 foot and 10,000 followers (*stomam*), and fought a hard battle with the Peishwa who had crossed the Tuṅgabhadra. He then refers to Bālāji Rao's besieging Savanur which was garrisoned by Murari Rāo's forces. Murari Rāo, we are told, was in great straits from a scarcity of provisions; and the Peishwa sent at the same time word to the Nawāb of Savanur that, unless he delivered up Murari Rao and his sardārs, he would destroy the fort, (Entry for 2 March, 1756). By the end of March, the Diarist had heard that Bālāji Rao and Salabat Jang had combined, that the Savanur affair had been settled, and that both had marched their armies in two stages towards Mysore, which greatly troubled the Pathāns of Cuddapah and other places, and also disconcerted the mind of Muhammad Ali, who thereupon resolved to send two envoys to discuss matters with them. The Diarist had heard echoes of the severity of the French shelling of Savanur fort, and he also refers to the gossip, of course false, to the effect that Murāri Rao, Muzaffar Khān and others had been killed, that Bussy had been wounded, and that both the former had been chained together by the Peishwa.

V. AFFAIRS IN THE MADURA COUNTRY

Colonel Heron's troops, accompanying the Nawāb's forces, set out from Trichinopoly about the middle of February. At Manapar, where the Nawāb desired to stay till the tributes of the four principal Poligars of the neighbourhood were fully paid, it was resolved to attack the Poligar 'Lachenaig'; and in the attempt to overcome the barriers raised by him to cover the advance to his principal town, some serious loss of troops occurred. After this, the Nawāb returned to Trichinopoly; and the troops proceeded to Madura¹⁷ together with Māfuz Khān. The gates of Madura

17. For an account of the situation at Madura see the writer's note on pp. 219-221 of the J. I. H.—Vol. XIII, Part II.

were thrown open to them without any resistance and apparently without any treachery. A deputation from the Sētupati awaited them; and Colonel Heron entered into an alliance with the Marava chief upon his own responsibility. Mayana, who had been appointed by Alam Khan as the Governor of Madura, had fled to Koilkudi, a few miles off to the west, and entrenched himself in the strongly built pagoda of Tirumbūr. The temple was therefore stormed, notwithstanding the inefficiency of the sepoy, and what was worse, Heron and Muhammad Yūsuf, the captain of the sepoy, burnt down the gates with fire, and allowed the troops to plunder the pagoda and carry off a large number of idols which were very sacred to the Kaḷlas of the neighbourhood.¹⁸

Leaving a garrison of Europeans and Sepoys in Madura, Col. Heron moved off to Tinnevely in the end of March 1756. From the latter place, he sent two parties under captains Lee and Beaver to compel the Poligars to settle their accounts, and they did it with very little loss. Kaṭṭabomma Nāyak, the most considerable of these, however, was attacked by one of the detachments; and the fort of Nellikotta was stormed by another. Meanwhile, the Marava chief of Rāmnad, who had offered and even despatched 5,000 men under the command of his brother, to assist Heron in the reduction of the Poligars of the Tinnevely country, was thrown away by Heron who had received strict orders from the Presidency to break off all connection with him, as the King of Tanjore and the Tonḍaiman of Pudukōṭṭai strongly declared that they could place no reliance on the friendship of the English if the latter should ally themselves with their mortal enemies, the Maravas. The revenues of the expedition were not equal to the expenditure on the army. Māfuz Khān embezzled a portion of the tributes realised; and Colonel Heron received with avidity presents from those who had accounts to settle. Mafuz Khan and Heron's interpreter colluded together to make the condition of the country appear less advantageous than it really was, and as the result of it Heron persuaded himself into

18. According to Orme the people of the country held the troops in utter detestation for this exploit; Nelson writes of it thus:—"It is observable that, contemptible as was the value of the plundered articles, this circumstance is the only one recorded in the Record Office Ms. in connection with Mafuz Khān's stay in Madura." (The Madura Country, A Manual; Part III, p. 274).

giving Māfuz Khān the charge of the Madura and Tinnevely countries for a yearly rental of Rs. 1,500,000.¹⁹

After returning to Madura, Heron moved off towards the Nattam pass, where he suffered a disgraceful defeat at the hands of the Kaḷlas and lost a considerable part of his baggage. At the town of Nattam he was joined by a detachment from Trichinopoly; and Māfuz Khān returned to Madura. Heron eventually reached Trichinopoly on the 16th of June,

An inquiry was held into his conduct; and he was suspended from his seat in the Council; but he applied for a court martial. Māfuz Khān placed Barkat-ullah in charge of Madura, where a fakir planted a small mosque on the top of the unfinished Rāyagōpura, and would not remove it in spite of the entreaties and remonstrances of the people.

Ranga Pillai records in his Diary an agreement said to have been arranged by the English with Muhammad Ali, on the latter's visit to Madras, to the effect that the Nawāb was to bear the cost of the establishment at Trichinopoly, that the Poligars' *peshkash* was to be given to the English, and that Māfuz Khān was to be recalled by 'proper persons.' In the meanwhile, Māfuz Khān could not make full headway against the rebels. According to the Nawāb's understanding with the English, the latter were to get half the revenues of Madura and Tinnevely. But Māfuz delayed payment of the balance of Rs. 121,000 due from him under the pretext of his heavy expenses in defending the country against the Poligars, and later on contended that he required the Nawāb's authority for the payment. Titārappa Mudali, a Tinnevely merchant, was prepared at this stage to rent the country for 12 lakhs of rupees; but the Nawāb doubted his capacity to collect the revenues in so turbulent a region; and the Madras Council invited that person to Madras to explain his plan.

De Leyrit had remonstrated that the southern expedition of Heron was in itself a breach of truce with M. Godeheu, and that the southern districts belonged to themselves in virtue of various rights derived from Chanda Sahib and the Mysore Daḷavāi. The English answered these remonstrances with "arguments equally specious," and De Leyrit did not think it worth while to interrupt the expedition at the risk of renewing the war.

19. For a clear and full account of Heron's doings see Orme (4th Edn.) Vol. I, pp. 380-395; and R. O. Cambridge, *An Account of the War in India*, pp. 83-86.

Tippu Sultan's Confederacy against the British—1790

By

MR. N. KASTURI, M.A., B.L.,

[Department of History, Mysore University.]

IN 1779, Hyder Ali of Mysore built up a "terrible confederacy," with the help of the Nizam and all the Maratha chieftains, except the Gækwar of Baroda, in order to destroy British Power in India—a calamity that was averted by the Treaty of Salbai (May 1782) and the Treaty of Mangalore, with Hyder's son, Tippu Sultan, in March, 1784.

That treaty was never accepted as final by Tippu who was even more ambitious than his father and, as yet, lacked the chastening influence of misfortune. In a letter written to the Padshah at Delhi on June, 23rd, 1785, he writes, 'This steadfast believer with a view to the support of the firm religion of Mahomed, undertook some time since, the chastisement of the Nazarene tribe, who unable to maintain the war waged against them, solicited peace of me in the most abject manner. . . . With the Divine aid and blessing of God, it is now again my steady determination to set about the total extirpation and destruction of the enemies of the faith. (Kirkpatrick. Letters of Tippu Sultan. No. LXXI). From the palsied hands of His Imperial Majesty, Tippu solicited mandatory letters calling upon the Nizam and other Muslim chiefs of the Deccan to join him in the Holy War.

Nizam Ali Khan, the Subedar of the Deccan, was in no mood, in 1785, to listen to these calls for a confederacy. He was disposed to ally himself with the Marathas in another campaign against Mysore, to keep the unruly upstart from crossing the Tungabhadra. He sent an army, late in 1785, under Mosheer-ul-Mulk, Mughal Ali and Sham Sher Jung to co-operate with the Marathas in the defence of Badami, Adoni, Nirgund and other forts, but, as a result, it is said, of Tippu's timely bribe of Rs. 20,000, Mosheer abandoned Adoni and retreated to the North. The Marathas, thereupon, concluded a separate treaty with Mysore, by which they received

thirty lakhs of rupees in cash and the promise of another fifteen lakhs, after a year. As Col. Read writes, "The Marathas rather regarded the Nizam as an auxiliary vassal that demanded their protection than in the light of a respectable ally." (Mackenzie Mss. No. 46. India Office Library, p. 51). He was justly exasperated at this breach of diplomatic etiquette and harboured strong resentment against the "Brahmins" of Poona.

The Guntoor Circar affair, long a thorn on the side of the Nizam, also became more alarming at this time. The territory was of great importance to him as the only outlet to the sea; it was equally valuable to the English, who had acquired a contingent right over it by the Treaty of 1768, because it lay between Madras and the Northern Circars. The Nizam was striving his utmost to retain the Circars, and even Lord Cornwallis wrote to Dundas, on March 5, 1787: "The Business of the Guntoor Circars is a very delicate one and requires the most mature reflection. There are several reasons which make it very doubtful whether this would be a proper time for us to call on the Nizam to settle accounts and to deliver it up. . . . Our demand of the Circars from the Nizam in the hour of his distress would not only appear ungenerous, but would undoubtedly hurt him in the negotiations for a peace with Tippoo" (Ross. Cornwallis Correspondence. Vol. I. p. 252). In spite of this, early in 1788, Captain Kennaway was sent from Calcutta to Hyderabad with instructions that, if he found the atmosphere not propitious for the demand of the Circars, he should, "instead of declaring the real object of your mission, confine yourself to the general expressions of friendship and assurances of our earnest desire to cultivate a good understanding between the two Governments." Captain Kennaway did not discover anything unfavourable and, when he pressed for the cession, the Guntoor Circars were peaceably and quietly 'delivered up to the servants of the Company.' (Briggs. Nizam, Vol. I. Appendix p. 251).

Col. Alexander Read, who was watching on behalf of the Company the vicissitudes of native powers in the Deccan and writing instructive reports to the Governor of Madras, had advised against this step. He had written: "It will be mortifying to his pride to part with it as calling to his and his people's recollection the great change of affairs in the Deccan since the death of Nizam-ul-Mulk." (Mackenzie Mss. 46 p. 62). According to Kirmani, (History of Tippu Sultan. Translation by Miles, p. 174) this Colonel, the Darogha of the Intelligence Department, had an uncanny way of 'discovering the secret intrigues of the country powers by sending clever

spies and able moonshis at great expense.' Among his papers collected in Mackenzie Mss. Vol: 46, there are many evidences of the nervousness with which the Guntoor affair was broached and the warnings which Col. Read himself thought fit to administer. He says: "I believe it is a received opinion among the Princes of India that we have a desire to enfeeble every power in connection with us and that consequently every one who is tenacious of his independency is wary in trusting to our support." (*ibid* p. 58). "If roused by a danger or a sense of honour, we do not know what he (the Nizam) would do." Nizam Ali Khan, now, more or less in the same mood as in 1779, began negotiations with Tippu Sultan. Col. Read says that the "Nizam was desirous to get back his lost possessions; dissatisfied with the Marathas; jealous of the English and in dread of Tippu." Ambassadors were sent to Seringapatam in the strictest secrecy, ostensibly from the Nizam's brother-in-law Imtaz-ud-daulah, but really to negotiate a treaty. They reached the capital of Tippu in November, 1787.

Tippu also wrote: "My father, Hyder Ally Khan, gave many proofs of his friendship for Your Highness. It is sufficient to remind you of those he manifested during the Carnatic War, in which Your Highness was engaged and since that period, in being the principal cause of the English restoring to Your Highness the Guntoor Circar. I am sorry to observe that you seem to have forgotten those services, when without provocation you joined the infidel Marathas, invaded my country and desolated the land of Mussalmans. Notwithstanding such treatment, my reducing Adoni has been my only retaliation. But, let the past be lost in oblivion both on account of the union that as true Mussalmans ought to subsist between us and of the last advice given me by the Nawab (who has received mercy). I am desirous of entering into a firm alliance with Your Highness and, to show how earnest I am in it, request you will appoint a time and place for a personal conference that all matters relating to our respective interests may be taken into consideration and a treaty concluded for our mutual advantage." (*ibid*. p. 53).

It is significant also that the embassies from Hyderabad were ostensibly from Imtaz-ud-daulah, because one of the articles of the treaty by which an offensive and defensive alliance was formed, stipulated that the daughter of the Nizam's sister (married to Imtaz-ud-daulah) should be given in marriage to Tippu Sultan. In another place, Col. Read says that the embassy, on their return,

brought a casket of jewels for the intended bride, there mentioned as the daughter of the Nizam. Kirmani, too, is not very definite whether a niece or a daughter was indicated, for he speaks of 'the mention of a matrimonial connection.' (p. 149). There were comings and goings for months thereafter, and Col. Read writes that, for about two years, there were constant rumours of the matrimonial alliance, as the basis of a political confederacy.

Meanwhile, discussions proceeded apace and it was agreed that "Tippu was to restore to the Nizam all the territory in his possession that appertained to the Deccan in the time of Nizam-ul-Mulk." It was even said that, in consequence of this, the Mutsaddies of the Revenue Department were actually employed in drawing out an account of the countries that were formerly under the Subah's jurisdiction." "All differences which subsisted between His Highness and Tippu Sultan have been accommodated and friendship established, by Hafiz Fariduddin." (*ibid*. p. 55).

Tippu also evinced a desire to include the Marathas in the alliance, and the Nizam himself was found by Col. Read sending Sooraji Pandit, the Poona Vakil at Hyderabad, with a letter to Nana Phadnavis "to prevail on the Pant Pradhan to enter into a conference with His Highness, Tippu Sultan and the French against the English." Nana Phadnavis, at that time, embroiled in complications between Sindia and Holkar in the North, was inclined 'to dissemble with Tippu', and shared 'a disposition to promote his views on the supposed Confederacy as a likely means to preserve peace with him.' Nana Phadnavis must have thought that this was a good enough way of keeping up the struggle against the English, for, as he wrote in a letter to Madhava Rao Sindia, his sentiments were: "We must not only insist on the reparation of our wrongs but we must try to recover that part of the Carnatic conquests of the great Shivaji which is now occupied by the English." (Kincaid and Parasnis. Vol. III. App. A. p. 141).

Tippu, therefore, ordered the Maratha Vakils and Hafiz Fariduddin Khan to attend him at Coonattoor and, about the middle of September, 1789, Col. Read is able to report that the basis of negotiations at that place, though kept strictly confidential, was the following:—

(1) A firm and lasting union between Nizam Ali Khan and Tippu Sultan in all matters in which they mutually engage for the good of their two States.

(2) His Highness to join Tippu in a war against the Marathas, at any time that nation shall oppose their views.

(3) The Guntoor Circar to be made over to Tippu for the usual rent, and His Highness to break all connection with the English.

(4) His Highness to give his daughter to Tippu's son in marriage.

Besides this, a truce was agreed upon with the Marathas for a period of three years and six months. Col. Read writes on 15th September 1789 that Shivaji Rao, the Maratha Vakil, is in Tippu's camp and that it is currently reported that the Marathas have entered into engagements to assist Tippu in the event of war with the English. This engagement is further corroborated by the discovery by Col. Read of the following events. (mentioned in his despatch dated 4th January, 1790). "The Wallajah (Nawab of Arcot) has sent an agent to Poona to persuade the Marathas to invade Tippu's country, to which the minister has replied that they have made a treaty for three years and three months with the Sultan and could not, without breaking their engagements, commit hostilities against him." (*Ibid* p. 119). Col. Read gives also evidence to show that some Mysore Sowcars proceeded to Poona with money to enlist 30,000 Maratha horsemen and that they were encouraged by the friendly disposition of the Poona Government.

Meanwhile, the Nizam was keeping other irons, too, in the fire and awaiting replies from other capitals. He had sent an Amir to the Wallajah asking him to suggest the likeliest means of getting Guntoor back from the English. He had despatched Abdul Cassim to Calcutta to negotiate for substantial financial payments (if not the surrender of the Circars) and for positive military help. And, indolently, he awaited the turn of events. Lord Cornwallis had written on 7th July 1789, very favourably on both issues, and promising him two battalions of sepoy and six pieces of cannon manned by Europeans whenever he wanted to employ force against Tippu Sultan. This letter liberated him from all fear on his Southern Frontier and gave him also a respectable rent from the Guntoor Circars. Mr. Malet, the British ambassador at Poona, also strove hard against the formation of the new Confederacy and corrected the impression of duplicity that Lord Cornwallis had given, when, as soon as he assumed office, cancelled his predecessor's offer of three battalions of British troops (*Ross*. Vol. I. p. 22).

Tippu's vakeels at Hyderabad were given a rather cold audience on 2nd January 1790 and they were sent back in April of that year, "without any apparent mark of friendship from the Nizam." They also carried with them a definite refusal, in rather insulting terms, of the marriage proposal. Kirmani is very much touched by this injury and he writes, "Considering the term Naik which belonged to the Sultan's forefathers as discreditable and relationship with him a disgrace, according to the advice of his foolish women, he turned his face aside from the true path... Good God! Is it possible that on the strength of worldly power and distinction, low fellows boast of their noble descent and men of the dregs of the people, falsely claim to be Shaikhs and Syeds and consider no one equal to themselves. 'Low birth is hidden by wealth and station! 'The Golden Veil conceals the ugliness of the old courtesan!' (pp. 149-151).

Meanwhile, by his rash attack on Travancore, Tippu had invited the wrath of the Company on his head and Lord Cornwallis had, by conciliation and compromise, gathered together once again the broken threads of diplomacy. On the 5th July 1790, a treaty of offensive and defensive alliance was concluded between the Company, the Marathas and the Nizam. Tippu could vent his wrath against his Muslim Brother on the Hyderabad throne only by insulting reference to him in letters as Hajam Ali, instead of Nizam Ali and by painting a detestable animal, beneath the picture drawn by order of his father, of the Nizam marching with the Mysore Troops in the old days of 1780! To-day on the walls of the Daria Daulat Bagh Mansion on our right as we enter, we can see the pathetic perpetuation of Tippu's wrath, at the break-up of the Confederacy.

Editorial

HAYAGRĪVA—THE MANTRAYĀNIC ASPECT OF HORSE-CULT IN CHINA AND JAPAN

By

DR. R. H. VAN GULIK.

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THIS work is a publication of the Internationales Archiv Für Ethnographie. The paper was originally presented by its author, Dr. R. H. Van Gulik for a doctorate degree of the University of Utrecht. It is a subject of considerable interest as bearing upon a topic typical in character in respect of the study of perhaps what might for convenience be called general *Mantrayānic* or *Tantrāic* religion, without the evil import attaching to Tantrism. Tantrism in its original meaning is inoffensive, and means nothing more than worship or propitiation offered by a man by shape of hand either accompanied by the incantation of a *mantra* by word of mouth, or only by dumb-show. The terms *Mantra* and *Tantra* are held in contrast, offering worship by word of mouth or by an act of mind, against that done by feat of hand. But as in the generality of cases, nothing is done without a *mantra* being pronounced, the division is not always strictly carried out. But that does not mean that the strict division does not exist. Even at the present time, the practice exists in temples in the Malabar country where the officiating priest is not a Brahman. Worship is conducted to a considerable extent by this kind of a dumb-show. There is nothing else even as supplementing this in the shape of *mantra* whether it be of the incantational or of the glorifying kind. The term *tantra*, in the sense in which the term *Mantrayāna* is used, has received a certain amount of acceptance and may therefore be usefully retained to indicate a particular development of religion in which the principal part of the ritual of worship consists in the recitation, or even meditation of particular texts, generally accompanied by certain ideas being represented by poses of the hand in certain forms known by the term *mudra*. The Brāhmaṇic system in India and the Buddhistic, as well as the later Buddhistic systems which had travelled abroad from India show this largely in their modern form. In their origin they arise from the *Āgama* worship, both *Vaiṣṇava* and *Śaiva*, and it is from

there that apparently they passed into Mahayānistic Buddhism, and from there again into Tibet, China and Japan with characteristic features explained by the locality of the provenance.

Hayagrīva in Brāhmaṇic tradition is the form which Viṣṇu assumed to recover the Vedas that had been stolen and hidden under the waters by two Rākshasas, the products of anger (*Tamas*) of the primeval being. He had to assume the horse-form to overcome these powerful enemies, and for this achievement has been hailed as saviour and benefactor, as the recovery of the Vedas set the order of the Universe as before. Hayagrīva has therefore been handed down in Brāhmaṇic tradition in various aspects. In modern times, Hayagrīva is worshipped peculiarly as the presiding deity over learning as well as many other things. The name of course appears in various forms, *Hayagrīva*, *Hayaśīrsha*, and *Hayaśīras* and a number of other synonyms. There is a Hayagrīva Raja referred to in the Mahābhārata, and similarly there is a *Hayagrīva*, a *Rākshasa*, whose name is *Hayagrīva* and not its synonyms. That is so far as the Brāhmaṇic tradition goes. In the *Pāncharātra*, *Hayagrīva* comes in for an important share and is worshipped with *Mudras* and *Mantras*, characteristic of the followers of that *āgama*. It is these features that are carried into the Hayagrīva tradition when it passes first into the *Mahāyāna* in India, and from there carried into Tibet. The *mantras* and the *dhyāna* prescribed show unmistakable similarity sometimes approaching to identity in points of language between the *mantras* as prescribed in these foreign countries and the original Sanskrit *mantra*. Of course, when Hayagrīva is carried into Mahāyāna Buddhism, Hayagrīva is allotted a place in the Mahāyāna pantheon, and here he figures chiefly as an attendant deity of *Avalokiteśvara*. The prescription for the seat, for the lotus on it for the position of the central presiding deity, the location of the attendant deities, all of them happen to be exactly like the prescription of the *Pāncharātras*.

Van Gulik has done excellent service bringing the details of the *mantras* and the *mudras* alike together in one conspectus, keeping intact the distinctive features of character of Hayagrīva-worship as it obtains in Tibet, China and Japan. It is a very good piece of work as research work, and has obviously involved a considerable amount of labour bringing the information together. His attempt to connect it with the more primitive kind of horse-cult is very much more recondite, and perhaps requires much more work to establish, while the possibility is by no means ruled

out. In the disquisition upon the *mantras*, etc., we have to invite the author's attention to what seems a serious error, on page 32, footnote. He discusses there the *mantra* of Hayagrīva giving there the Sanskrit text as well as its Tibetan equivalent. In the *sādhana* part of the text, describing what a devotee would gain, one is assured of the attainment of a position as emperor of the *Vidyādhara*s, with Brahma, Viṣṇu, Śiva, etc., as attendant deities, and in the enjoyment of all the various kinds of bliss in the heaven of the Gods. Here particularly occurs what seems his entourage. "He will live in the abode of the *Vidyādhara*s, Indra will be his parasol bearer; Brahma his minister, Vemachitra's son, Vaimachitra, the prince of the *Asuras* will be his general; Viṣṇu will be his door-keeper, etc." Following this comes "the naked teacher Śankara will demonstrate all the qualities." This naked *Āchārya* Śankara, Van Gulik attempts to equate with Śankarāchārya, who lived in the 8th century in South India. The explanation offered for his being described as naked is said to be due to a confusion with the *digāmbara* Jains demonstrates clearly the unsuitability of the explanation. The naked Śankara ought to be interpreted as Śankara in his *bhairava* aspect of *Dakṣiṇāmūrti* the teacher, and *Bikṣhāṇḍa*, the beggar and as the teacher he is generally regarded as having expounded the fundamentals to four disciples. Anything like a reference to a philosopher-teacher like Śankarāchārya seems out of place in the context. In the same passage occurs the architectural technical term, *Masūrakam*, the plinth or basement, which is interesting. There are just a few other slips hardly of sufficient importance to point out.

We welcome the work as an important contribution to the understanding of the outspread of Indian culture into lands far beyond the boundaries of India. Let us hope that the author, who, as he says is now in Japan, would carry out his wish going further into the investigation there and throwing more light upon the subject in the not distant future.

VISHNUPADAGIRI

THERE has been for some time a discussion on the location of the Vishnupadagiri referred to in the Mehrauli Inscription of Chandra now in the quadrangle on one side of the Qutub Minar in Delhi. Mr. Chintaharan Chakravarti began the discussion, which had been carried on by others and the last note is by Mr. J. C. Ghosh in the *Indian Culture* for January 1935. The whole of this discussion we find centres round the Vishnupadagiri near the source

of the river Beas, which would hardly meet the conditions of the case satisfactorily for locating the position of the iron pillar on the assumption that it was brought down to where it is now by Anangapāla. There is no reference however in the whole of this discussion to the pillar having been just where it was erected, which is not an impossibility in the actual circumstances of its position. As a result of what had been discovered on digging out the foundations of the pillar, the possibility was pointed out by Vincent Smith himself in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1897. We took occasion to discuss the matter in our *Vākāṭaka* lectures at the Madras University published as the *Vākāṭaka Supplement* in the *Journal of Indian History*,* and pointed out there the possibility of some locality round about Delhi being known by the name of Vishnupadagiri on the analogy of Biana at the farther south end of the Delhi Ridge being known by the name Śrīpadagiri or Śrīpadam. We are glad to find this position receiving confirmation in chapter 81 of the *Vanaparva* of the *Mahā-Bhārata*, *Kumbhakōṇam* Edition.¹ In this chapter a *tirtham* called a Vishnupada is under reference and is associated with the *Vāmana avatāra*, just the occasion for the holiness of this spot. This is mentioned actually as a *tirtha* in *Kurushētra* which lies between the *Sarasvati* in the south and the *Drishadvati* in the north.

दक्षिणेन सरस्वत्या दृषद्वत्युत्तरेण च ।
येवसान्ति कुरुक्षेत्रे ते वसन्ति त्रिविष्टपे ।

(M. Bh. III. 81. 4)

It is somewhere between the junction of the *Kauṣiki* with *Drishadvati* and the *Tirtha* Śrī Kunja in the *Sarasvati* which is much nearer to the locality where the pillar actually stands. Therefore it must have been probably in the vicinity of Delhi, perhaps across the river *Jumna*.

ततो गच्छेत्त दर्मज्ञ विष्णोः स्थानं अनुत्तमम् ।
सततं नाम राजेन्द्र यत्र सन्निहितो हरिः ॥
ततो वामनकं गच्छेत् त्रिषु लोकेषु विश्रुतम् ।

(Ibid. III. 81. 10 & 11)

तत्र विष्णुपदे स्नात्वा अर्चयित्वा च वामनम् ॥
सर्वपापविशुद्धात्मा त्वण्णलोकम् सगच्छति ॥

(Ibid. III. 81. 103 & 104)

* *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. VI, part iii, *Vākāṭaka Supplement*, Pages, 7 ff.

1. This may be found perhaps not in the same chapter, but in a near neighbouring chapter in other editions.

Of course there are a number of Vishṇupadas. We may have to locate a Vishṇupada beyond the Kailāsa. There is a Vishṇupada referred to in literature very near the source of the Beas, and we have the Chinese Traveller Hiuen T'sang's reference to the source of the Jehlum in Kasmir being referred to as a Vishṇupada also. There is a tradition of the Gayāsūra and Vishṇupada in Gaya as also in Allahabad at the junction of the Ganges and the Jumna. In this locality what is referred to is Vishṇupada-tirtha, and not Vishṇupadagiri. The objection need not be insuperable, as a *tirtha* is composed of the three elements, the *mūrti* (representation of God), the *tīrtha* (holy bathing-place) and *sthalam* (the holy locality itself), all of them combined, or single could constitute a holy place fit for pilgrimage by those so minded. So a Vishṇupadagiri and a Vishṇupadatīrtha are not incompatible with a locality very near to where the pillar stands at present to give the whole locality the name. Before any final decision in regard to the locality could be arrived at this locality will have to come in also for its share of consideration.

SATIYAPUTRA

THE identification of Asoka's Satiyaputra has been brought into discussion by two notes in the Indian Culture, the first by Mr. V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar in the number for January 1935, and another in the April number by Mr. B. A. Saletore. The latter article gives a fairly exhaustive list of authorities in which this has been discussed before. But the real point at issue is where it is actually to be located in the age of Asoka, and particularly with reference to his mention of Satiyaputra among the territories of the south, independent of his authority. First of all the order of mention as given by Mr. Dikshitar is wrong, the actual order in the Edicts being, Choḷa, Pāṇḍya, Satiyaputra, Kēraḷaputra and Tambapanni, so that if we take the order to mean a geographical order, then the kingdom next adjoining the Mauryan frontier is Choḷa, next follows Pāṇḍya, then comes Satiyaputra, and then Kēraḷaputra, leaving Tambapanni aside for the moment. Mr. Dikshitar would brush aside the etymological or the philological equivalent of the word as of no consequence, allowing himself the freedom to identify any two names of similar sound as it were, as in fact it happens to be the case in the suggested identification between *Satiyaputra* and *Satyavratashētra*. Apart from the obvious fact that it cannot be held that the two are equivalent in any sense of the term, let us see if there is any evidence leading to a possible identification, apart from similarity of name.

The first question that one would like to ask is was *Satyavratashētra* the name of the whole of the modern Conjeevaram town or even old Kānchi; whether at any time it was used as the name of the country dominated by the town of Kānchi, and whether it is not limited in its application purely to what is now called Little Conjeevaram or Vishṇu Kānchi, where exists the Dēvarāja Temple, which does not find mention among the Vaishnava Prabandās of the Ālvārs as such, while all other Vishṇu shrines which are now minor ones are celebrated in these Prabandās. The mention of Kānchi as a kingdom of importance in Patanjali's Mahābhāṣya can only prove that Kānchi had already attained to the dignity of a kingdom or a province at the date of Patanjali, and if that had been known in the days of Asoka, surely he would have mentioned it in his edicts before coming to the kingdom of the Chōlas. Satiyaputra and Sātpute are not so far apart, where the existence of a family, Sātpute in the southern Mahratta country would justify the existence of Satiyaputra in that locality or no. Of course, Dikshitar passes over Vincent Smith's attempt at identifying it with Satyamangalam, as it certainly leads to absurd identifications and explanations in regard to the Brihatcharaṇa. He takes a jump from there to Kerololpatti and the Satyabhūmi finding reference there. It would be very much better not to bring such a late source as the Kerololpatti to throw light upon Asoka's Edicts, as there is no intervening link of any kind. But then the principal point of Dikshitar's note is his attempt at identifying the Satiyaputras with the Kośar who are referred to in the Tamil classics of the Śāṅgam age as 'men of their word.' The Tamil expression would mean men or people that kept their word, which may receive the interpretation 'votaries of *Satya* or truth', though it is possible to interpret the word as meaning a slightly different thing "valiant men who are as good as their word" in certain particulars. But passing over that term, one hardly sees the appropriateness of Dikshitar's attempted identification of the Kośar with Kongu, and then equating it with Satyabhūmi or Satiyaputra from the well-known reputation of the Kośar for keeping to their word. In the age of Śīlapadhikāram, the Kongu Kośar were known as Iḷankośar, which *ipso facto* implies another body of people of the same ethnic kind, who could be described as an elder Kośar. The Ahanānūṭu contains references to the entry of the Kośar into Tuḷu Nāḍu, the territory of the Tamil chief Nannan (Aham 14), and from there they must have proceeded farther in their migration to come to occupy Kongu. If these people were in the course of a migration we may possibly locate them farther north than Tuḷu in the

age of Asoka, a location which would justify Sir R. G. Bhandarkar's identification. But one might very well doubt whether the somewhat recondite characteristic of the Kośar known to the Tamil people was so widely prevalent as to give them the general name Satiyaputra so as to make it the name of the territory occupied by these people. If it were so, they occupied territory north of Tuḷunāḍu. They occupied the Tuḷu country; they occupied the Kongu country, Kongu in the days of the Śilapadhikāram, Tuḷu at the time of the Ahanānūṭu poem, and north of Tuḷu in the time previous to that. We do certainly want a little more than that to accept the equation Satiyaputra with the Kośar, and the consequent location of the territory under Kośar occupation which in the days of Asoka we ought to look for somewhat to the northward of Tuḷu.

Mr. Saletore is rather definite about Satiyaputra not being the ancient Tuḷuvar, and would take advantage of the difference of opinion in respect of the ages of the Tamil classics including Tolkāpiyam to deny their authority for this question. He is frankly of opinion that the Keralolpatti is of no authority for this particular part and that the Tuḷuva was no part of the Kongu Dēśa. The Tolkāpiyam mentions only the three kingdoms, and that must be one of the reasons why the Tolkāpiyam must be ascribed to an age when the fourth kingdom had not attained to any importance. In the days of the Śilapadhikāram Kānchi was a place of great importance, though not a great kingdom. The territory dominated by Kānchi had come to be under chieftains ruling Kānchi first, and then under the Choḷas. When Karikāla had conquered and annexed the whole of this territory Kānchi became the headquarters of a Choḷa viceroyalty till the rise of the Pallavas of Kānchi when it became a kingdom gradually dominating the whole of South India. Śilapadhikāram and Iḷango Aḍigal are not two separate authorities, as Mr. Saletore seems to believe. The latter is the author of the former, the work.

Mr. Saletore however gets into an argument that Tambapanni of the Asoka Edicts is not Ceylon but that it is the Tāmrabarani river. Tāmbapanni may be the equivalent of the Tāmrabarani, but that does not debar its being the name of Ceylon, whatever may be the origin of the name, whether we accept the origin of the name as given in the Mahāvamsa or no. If the island came to be known as Tambapanni when the emigration of Vijaya took place, it certainly would be known by that name in the age of Asoka. There is no connection between the

name of the island and Buddhism. Buddhism may have been introduced into the island later in the days of Asoka. The fact that the classical geographers referred to it as such certainly does make the name Tāmbapanni as the name of the island. Tāmbapanni being the name of the island does not make it impossible for Vijaya to found a city under the same name, the capital city of the island of the same name. The river flowing between it and the mainland that we find mentioned in the account of Megasthenes is nothing more than the current that even now flows through the Palks Strait, which early sailors may have regarded as a flowing river. But the weakest point in Saletore's argument is, if the Choḷa and Pāṇḍya were kingdoms, where does he propose locating the kingdom of Tāmrabarani or Tāmbapanni. Tāmrabarani is certainly the name of the river, but we know of no kingdom called by the name of that river. Everything considered, the position remains just the same. Asoka knew of five political entities in the south, Choḷa, Pāṇḍya, Satiyaputra, Keralaputra on the Continent, and across the Strait, the island of Ceylon. As to the location of the Satiyaputra, it certainly is not Satyavratashētra or Kānchi even when it dominated the whole region, as that name does not occur even in Vaishṇava works of the period admitting for the moment the possibility of equating the two names. In our present state of knowledge, we have to regard it as a kingdom or a state under some other form of government, in all probability to the north or N.W. of the three well-known southern kingdoms. We think that is about as far as we could go with the material at our disposal.

THE ALL-INDIA MODERN HISTORY CONGRESS,

POONA, 8TH AND 9TH JUNE, 1935

This Congress was convened at Poona with a view to making an organised effort at promoting the study of Indian History generally. It was limited to Modern History, having regard to the fact that the All-India Oriental Conference has an important section for Indian History, which, however, was restricted in scope to what might well be called the ancient history of India, coming down to the Muslim invasions, more or less. The purview of this Congress was therefore intended to take in the rest of Indian History stopping short early in the 19th century, 1818 marking an important epoch in the history of the Mahrattas. This downward limit was considered necessary as historical records of

periods beyond that are under copyright limit and do not admit of really historical treatment. An influential reception committee had been formed with Raja Saheb, Shrimant Raghunathrao Shankarrao *alias* Babasaheb Pantsachiv, Ruler of Bhor, as President. The more influential among the members of the Bharat Itihasa Sanshodhaka *Mandala* and other workers in Poona constituted the working committee with Mr. N. C. Kelkar as its chairman. His Excellency the Rt. Hon'ble Lord Brabourne, Governor of Bombay was invited to open the Conference, and Professor Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan of Allahabad having been invited to preside over the Conference. The extensive and airy buildings and grounds of the Parasuram Bhau College were utilized for the purpose of the Conference. The sessions of the Congress lasted three days, 8th, 9th and 10th June 1935. His Excellency, the Governor, and the President were received at 5 p.m., on the 8th and the meeting was inaugurated. The Pant Sachiv in a short speech, invited His Excellency to open the Congress, in the course of which he pointed out the important part that Poona played in modern Indian History and its character as the intellectual centre of the Mahratta country. He said "This is a question for you scholars and students of Indian History to think about, and you have to find out ways and means to solve it in a satisfactory way. Government, Indian States, Universities and the public, including private, literary and research Societies, must come forward to do their own part and help to co-operate in a scheme calculated to bring about the desired result. This, I believe, is a question well-worth engaging your attention during this session of the All-India Modern History Congress." After referring to the work that has so far been done by individual workers and the Bharat Itihasa Shamsodhaka *Mandala*, he exhorted the scholars assembled to proceed to the preliminary work of a comprehensive survey of the sources, and concluded that this is a question for scholars to think about. His Excellency Lord Brabourne in an informing speech which is printed in full in the journal, declared the Congress open.

Professor Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan was formally proposed to the chair and delivered a long Presidential Address, making an elaborate survey of the present condition of historical work, the facilities that there are for it and the facilities that ought to exist, and indicated what there is need to be done and what a body like the Modern History Congress might do to assist in this good work. After a long survey of the various periods, he put forward among the constructive suggestions, the organised digestion of material such as has been done by the Historical

Records Commission in England. He suggested the organisation of a historical manuscripts commission, and wanted a revised edition of Elliott and Dowson's "History of India as told by her own Historians" with such additions of new sources, revision of the translation as a whole with annotations to make the important source book really more useful. He wanted that the Congress should take upon itself the functions of a clearing house in regard to the output both of historical material and the further work on the basis of these. Amidst a large and distinguished audience of the elite of Poona, the sessions closed for the day.

The next important item in the programme was an exhibition of historical material of which Poona is fairly rich, the collection at the Bharat Itihasa Samshodhaka *Mandala* constituting the main part, in addition to exhibits obtained from outside, even the Records of the Government of India being well represented. This section was opened by the Editor of this Journal, and his address will appear in the proceedings of the Congress in the usual course. There were a number of interesting exhibits occupying part of the Parasuram College, and the building of the Itihasa *Mandala*.

About thirty papers were presented in all, and the work of reading the papers was got through in three separate sections. Some of the papers presented were very interesting, and the whole sessions proved to be interesting and well attended. As side shows they had arranged for the singing of the Mahratta ballads and a demonstration of the Indian musical instruments each one of which was played and shown by Sardar G. N. Majumdar. On the following day, the 10th, the sectional meetings continued in the morning, and the afternoon, and there was an open session of the Congress for the transaction of business. The following two days were set apart for excursions to interesting places. At the business meeting, it was resolved to constitute a permanent organisation to be called the Indian History Congress. A committee of nine was constituted to do the needful by drafting a constitution and launching the association as a working body. Judged by the work done in the first congress, the organisation seems to supply a felt want and its permanence would assure continuous working with useful results.

Reviews

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE EARLY TAMILS

By MR. K. N. SIVARAJA PILLAI

This work is welcome as the first fruit of the School of Dravidian Studies established in the new form in which it had been brought into existence under the new Act. Early Tamil chronology is a subject receiving attention since the days of Bishop Caldwell, but very much more actively and usefully since the late Professor Sundaram Pillai of Trivandrum made the first serious attempt at fixing a starting point in Tamil literary chronology in his "Some Milestones in Tamil Literature." This work stimulated other work besides, and there has since been published a considerable volume of work on the subject of varying value. Notwithstanding the series of efforts referred to above the full material for an all-round constructive effort has become available only recently. The earliest body of literature to which the scholar this way inclined turns is a group which goes generally by the name Śāṅgam works among students of Tamil. We may flatter ourselves now that we have almost the whole body of this literature made available to us in a form capable of critical use for the purpose of chronology. Mr. Sivaraja Pillai, with commendable enthusiasm has taken it upon himself to do this much desired work. He has exploited the whole of this literature and chalked out for himself a time scheme on the basis of which he claims to have attained to a chronological arrangement of the early rulers and poets of the Tamil land.

The work that he has done falls into three parts really. The first consists of the study of Śāṅgam literature generally with a discussion of their value for critical work, and the arrangement that a critical chronological study would justify. In the second part, he arranges these data consisting mainly of poets and their patrons, rulers of the Tamil land, in a scheme of synchronistic tables, and lays claim to recover ten generations of such. In the third section he discusses the order of arrangement of these ten

generations and their chronology. In a separate section, he summarises the results achieved. In a volume of a little over 200 pages, he presents these various sections of his work. This is followed by 15 appendices covering about 50 pages and dealing with topics which could not very well be discussed in the detail necessary in the body of the work. On the whole it may be said that it is a very creditable performance as embodying a serious study, and an elaborate investigation with a view to resolving the tangle, setting out at least a part of it in a chronological scheme.

The main question, however, is how far the results achieved in this effort may be accepted as of higher value than previous efforts, which is really the material point. To evaluate the results one has necessarily to consider the methods adopted and the manner in which texts are used to draw particular conclusions. Of course, we might pass over all that he says—and there is much of that in the work—in disparagement of previous workers and their various shortcomings which makes the author appear quite a new Daniel come to judgment. He starts with certain *a priori* conclusions in regard to the character of this body of literature, and would divide these into three distinct chronological strata, the naturalistic, the ethnical and the religious, applying these attributes as the exclusively characteristic of the poems of periods of Śāṅgam Literature. He would regard a certain number of these poems as being naturalistic and containing quite matter of fact statements and therefore coming the earliest; the next exhibiting a certain diadectic character and being classed therefore as coming at a later period; and the third class is, according to him, the group of poems where there is anything like a reference to religion, which unfortunately shows itself to be something like a pet aversion for this author. We need say no more about this classification than merely to doubt whether anthropologists would admit it as of any really historical value in respect of a people which has advanced to the stage of culture of producing literary works. Apart from that the catena of historical details given in the course of the work to justify the classification would hardly find support among serious students of Indian or South Indian History.

The Śāṅgam literature, as it has come down to us, is in the main a number of collections of works, and must naturally consist of poems of different periods divided by longer or shorter intervals. Perhaps this is what is reflected in the statement of Dandin in his *Kāvyādarśa*, where he speaks of other literatures than Sanskrit

literature. He refers to Tamil literature as being composed mainly of works put together in collections. While therefore the works would admit of the internal division of the poems into those prior and posterior through a number of generations, the division will have to be determined by much other evidence than this general *a priori* classification. From among this body of literature Mr. Sivaraja Pillai selects four groups of collections as the most ancient. These are the 400 of the Puṇam, the 400 of the Aham, Naṇṇai and Kurum Togai; and, on the basis of these four he constructs his scheme. He overlooks the general belief that the collections were made by one author, and perhaps for one patron, and that these are only selections from a larger body of poems. But even so, it must be pointed out that he picks and chooses poems of value from his point of view, and he dismisses others of no value to him, sometimes even characterising them as forgeries without an adequate investigation, or offering what would seem adequate reasons, for the characterisation. He often reads his own meanings into the poems and builds theories on them. We might mention as an example Paraṇar's poem in the Ahanānūṟu, No. 122, quoted and discussed in pages 71 and 72. "From this we may reasonably conclude that immediately after the conquest of Urantai (Uraiyūr), Tittan put its defences in thorough order and made that city impregnable. An ambitious sovereign like himself with projects of conquest seething in his mind could not have done anything else". We regret very much that we can find nothing in the poem that would indicate anything leading to this detailed conclusion. Nor is the case any better in regard to Neḍum-Tēr-ṣeḷiyan's conquest of Madura, etc., discussed on 100 ff. We need not quote other passages similarly treated.

In the course of this study of his, he not merely assumes, but would drive it into the heads of his readers that he is dealing with a period when the whole of the Tamil land was divided into a number of chieftaincies, each independent of every other, and points to the dawn of the period when a few great rulers, by annexing a few principalities in addition to their own, gradually build up kingdoms. This ought rather to follow a detailed investigation of evidence to prove this general position; whereas this general position seems almost assumed, and other details from the literature are made to conform to this view. There is a similar investigation about a Pāṇḍya and his conquest of Podiyil from an Āy king on pages 113 following where a mere expression *Pothiyil Ṣelvan*, in a poem of Bhūta Pāṇḍyan, is made to support the inference that a king Āy was a chieftain of independent position as against the

ruler of Madura who was the author of the poem. There is similarly much in the course of the work in which important statements are made, with all the emphasis of accepted or acceptable conclusions, without offering the evidence from which alone such conclusions could be drawn. These statements are made as if they were obvious; and, what is worse, oftentimes as if his *ipse dixit* was more than enough for proof.

It is hardly necessary to labour the point further. But a few instances of the kind of criticism and critical work of Mr. Sivaraja Pillai would be necessary to understand the actual character of his work. He is frankly of the opinion that the Tamil country was, up to the period that he is dealing with, divided among a number of tribal chieftainships. Just at the time some of these start on a career of expansion, and, as a result of conquests made in the course of a generation or more, the three Tamil kingdoms, Chera, Chōḷa and Pāṇḍya stand out. On Mr. Sivaraja Pillai's chronology, this process of formation of the kingdoms would be somewhere in the first century A.D., sooner or later. The Asoka edicts which speak of these Southern countries of the Tamils refer to the three kingdoms, Chōḷa, Pāṇḍya, Keraḷaputra, adding one more kingdom on the continent Satiyaputra and then passing on to Ceylon. Asoka's frontier comes down to North Mysore on one side and Gooty on the other. This general *a priori* conclusion he has formed, and from which he deduces very largely, sometimes makes him very confounded. He lays down the general position in one place that the coming of Sanskrit and Sanskritic influence is datable to the time of Tiruḡṇāna Śambandar and not before. He seems to apply the same to religion, particularly with reference to the orthodox Hindu forms of it, and considers Jainism and Buddhism as having been introduced into the Tamil country earlier. He offers no particular proof to demonstrate the position; but quietly assumes that, as having been demonstrated, to justify the occurrence of Sanskrit words in earlier works as being quite natural. The question is not whether it is natural or unnatural. The point to note is the borrowing of Sanskrit words indicates a contact with Sanskrit language and literature, and those that are of other views generally state that and nothing else. This leads to a considerable amount of chronological confusion in the work under review. Poems are sometimes ascribed to periods on the basis of anything religious that they may contain, and, strangely enough, instead of being consigned to the middle of the seventh century or near to that period, these are made to move down only a generation or two—it may be three generations. This

comes out clearly when he ascribes the Tirumuruhāṛṛupaḍai of Nakkīrar to a later time, he does not exactly specify to what later, but ascribes Nakkīrar to the eighth generation of his genealogical table. But this unfortunately would take it perhaps to the first half of the second century A.D., five centuries earlier than the time indicated. This conclusion he tries to enforce by a philological excursus pointing out that the word, irattal is used merely in the sense of *olittal* (sounding) instead of in the original sense of *sounding alternately*. Here are his own words :—"Again, both *Kurincipāṭṭu* and *Tirumurugāṛṛupaḍai* use the word *irattal* in a sense quite unknown to the early poets, who invariably denote by it, the noise issuing from two bodies alternately or simultaneously. This specific meaning expressive of the origin of the word faded away in the course of a few centuries and by the time of the two works we are now discussing the word had been generalised to mean all manner of sounds without distinction. Taking the early poets, not one of them, as far as I can see, has used *irattal* in the sense of merely *olittal*, thus depriving it of its original significance." The italics are ours. This general sense of the word is found in the Maduraiikkānji where the term occurs at least in two places, in one of which the sense sounding alternately is brought home clearly by the context; and in the other the sense is obviously producing sound and so Nacchinārkiniyar, the commentator, interprets it. Mr. Sivaraja Pillai, it must be pointed out, however has no opinion of Nacchinārkiniyar's knowledge of Tamil. The word lost its original meaning in the course of a few centuries, but the difference of date between Mānguḍi Mārudan, and Nakkīrar, according to the learned author is one generation between if even that.

The interpretation that he gives to Hiḍaraja in the Asoka edicts probably goes back to the days of the second volume of the *Epigraphia Indica*. We would advise him to consult the recent publication of these inscriptions by Hultzsch. This critic of all previous workers and writers including the author of the *Tolkāppiyam*, sometimes launches into statements which would be more than questionable. Here is one taken at random. Speaking of Marudan Iḷanāgan, he has this following weighty statement :—"But I have purposely refrained from that arrangement for this weighty reason: that Ilavantikaippaḷli-tuṇṇiya-Nanmāran being sung by Marudan Iḷanāgan, a son of Mānkuḍi Marudan, the poet should necessarily follow the generation of the victor of Talaiyālankānam to whose court was attached the father-poet Mānkuḍi Marudan". Here again the italics are ours. Marudan Iḷanāgan has poems in which he celebrates the victor of Talaiyālankānam. He is some-

times referred to as Madurai Marudan Iḷanāgan, and on what particular authority he makes him a son of Mānkuḍi Marudan is not clear.

He takes people to task for giving Sanskrit origins of certain Tamil words. He takes the word 'Naoura' of the *Periplus* and the 'Nitria' of *Pliny*, lying to the north of Tyndis or Tonḍi. He wants to derive these two words from *Naravu* referred to in the *Patirruppattu*. He says that Yule has correctly identified these places with Mangalore on the river Nētrāvati. Is Nētrāvati to be taken as a Tamil word? Could *Nitrias* be derived from *Naravu* without the intervention of the term Nētrāvati? Naoura may perhaps be so derived. Carrying this a little further, he lays it down "the name Nētrāvati itself should be taken as a later form and its origin traced to the ancient Tamil name *Naravu*." He would have done well to have shown how. So in the case of the classic 'Damirica'. He would rather derive it directly from 'Tamilaham', and would object strongly to deriving it from the Sanskrit form 'Dramiḍaka'. The transition from 'Tamilaham' to "Dimiraka" even to a Western foreigner would perhaps be made easy by the form 'Dramiḍaka' which the nautical log-keeper of the 'Periplus' might have heard from a Sanskrit source immediately to the north. We need not unnecessarily multiply instances. But we must refer to two points of the first importance before closing. He would bring the *Kuṛaḷ* and the *Tolkāppiyam* to a later age. Here is a general dictum :—

"Turning to the history of literary development in the Tamil land, we find important intervening land marks between the early period and the modern. Let us start with the beginning of the seventh century, the age of Tiruḡṇānasambanda, one of the definitely settled periods in Tamil History. In moving back to antiquity we have to find a place for such a work as *Cilappadikaram* and possibly also for *Maṇimēkhalai*. Then we should move still higher up for the Ethical Period which should spread over at least one or two centuries, locating *Kuṛaḷ* and *Tolkāppiyam* at about this time. We have also to find room for the development of such Naturalistic works as *Ainkuṛunūru*, *Kalittogai* and such portions of the *Pattupāṭṭu* as are not covered by the Synchronistic Tables. Do not all these stages of literary growth require at the least four centuries—the period which now separates the age of the Synchronistic Tables from that of Tiruḡṇānasambanda? If anything, the period is only too short for the variety and complexity of the literary phenomena which one has perforce to locate in it." Whether

the classification of these works into his own *a priori* periods is at all valid readers of Tamil can judge for themselves. He would go the length however of charging the very author of the *Tolkāppiyam* proceeding to define the sense of particles like 'man' and 'kol' without a comparative study of their use in literature—a large order even for this heroic critic. He would however offer for acceptance that "grammarians from *Tolkāppiyam* downwards have been literally playing fast and loose with these tiny particles", and he concludes by saying "this they could not help doing in the absence of a scientific induction based on a comparative study of all the available ancient texts in which such particles occur."

We fear we have gone into tiresome detail; but we had unfortunately to avoid the impression that we were making general statements without warrant. We may well conclude the review with pointing out that, if the author had simply proceeded without his pet prejudices, and examined the texts altogether objectively and set about his business methodically, he might have done himself and the subject that he has chosen for himself for investigation, really more good. He has aimed at precision which in the light of the late Mr. Kanakasaba Pillai's work more than thirty years ago was found to be impossible, and the late Mr. Kanakasaba Pillai himself was inclined to agree. Under appearance of precision the author has started on a schematic arrangement, which is the result of his own interpretations where the material is used without due regard to items that might seem unfavourable to the actual position of a particular author or patron in the scheme. He has taken power to multiply names, creating as many as may be necessary from his point view, and discarding texts, passages and whole poems as forgeries at pleasure. What is worse, he starts with a certain amount of caution and feels that his results are but tentative. But as he advances the affection for his own scheme so overpowers him that he almost claims absolute certitude for the scheme that he has ultimately developed. We regret very much we could not congratulate the author upon his having achieved success. The whole work, the most careful reading proves to be a farrago of details collected from here, there and everywhere, chosen and arranged as it suited the convenience of the author, and without actually advancing the position of Tamil chronology one step further than it stood about a generation ago. The book undoubtedly exhibits much painstaking work, but all the pains bestowed are wasted without what ought to be a dispassionate investigation, and has been allowed to be riddled through and through with the author's petty prejudices and biases, so that the

whole work turns out to be no more than special pleading for the general preconceptions of the author.

THE MAHĀBHĀRATA ANALYSIS AND INDEX

By REV. EDWARD P. RICE,
Oxford University Press.

This little book of 112 pages gives in 84 of these an analytical summary of the 209 chapters of the Mahābhārata followed by 20 pages of an index of names, and another 8 pages of index of subjects, presenting on the whole, the whole of the Mahābhārata in a nutshell, as it were. The learned author made a summary of the whole of the vast work for his own use and, finding that summary too vast for publication, has issued this analytical summary of that summary to facilitate the study of the Mahābhārata. A knowledge of the Mahābhārata is essential to those who would aspire to understand Indian culture and civilization as a whole, and for the far larger part of it the material would be found in this vast epic, which, according to Mr. Rice, is eight times the size of Homer's Iliad and Odyssey put together. The plan followed is simple. He takes the work *parva* by *parva*, the *parva* being the major division. Then chapters are grouped together so as to bring together a connected account of any topic discussed. Where there is no such connection, the contents of individual chapters are given. The analysis is more or less of the character of a table of contents, somewhat more elaborate than the mere table of contents for books often happen to be. As such it provides in a small compass a sort of a finger-post for any topic for those who may wish to know more details about any particular topic they may be working upon. But even as a mere detailed table of contents, the work would be worth reading through by those who may not be in a position to read the Mahābhārata in original or translation as a whole. Such reading would give an idea of the Mahābhārata in a nutshell, an equipment which is by no means inconsiderable for the ordinary scholar. Mr. Rice has followed Manmatha Nath Dutt's text and translation of the work. Of course the difference between this text and other texts in general use in other parts of India, and perhaps even elsewhere, would mean a considerable amount of difference. But on a closer examination, it would be found that it actually amounts to only a difference of just a few chapters. A certain amount of research would show what the actual difference is for particular editions. As such therefore it is still of considerable general value as providing a fairly detailed

analysis. There is Sorensson's index to the Mahābhārata which is now available in a complete edition. But perhaps it is not as well-known that the Kumbhakoṇam edition of the Mahābhārata which is by far the most voluminous of even Mahābhārata editions has been provided with an index compiled by Professor S. Subba Rao of the Presidency College, afterwards Principal of the Sanskrit College at Tiruppati. Both these books are mere indexes and not an analysis as this little book is. It is an admirable piece of careful work, for which we congratulate the author. Mr. Rice supplies the information that a fuller *precis* is available in German compiled by the venerable Professor Jacobi.

IN TOUCH WITH UJJAIN

By KESHAV RAO BALWANT DONGRAY, M.A.,
Gwalior.

This is a handbook intended to be more or less a handbook of information for those intending to visit Ujjain or wishing to know something of the ancient city. It is well-known that Ujjain is a far-famed city both in Indian History and tradition, and has had quite a long history, which means, so far as places in Indian History happen to be concerned, a series of revolutions in the history of the locality. A visitor to modern Ujjain sees but little of what he might have read of Ujjain and its sacred spots. A book that would enable a visitor to see such of the ancient landmarks that remain and even some of the monuments in their ruined character would be welcome. The book is intended to supply that want. It gives a general account of the history of Ujjain as a preliminary to this. The special features of the history of Ujjain are dealt with in this prefatory account and places worth seeing are detailed in the last chapter, a number of illustrations assisting in this function of the book. The author, who has intimate knowledge of Ujjain, is admirably qualified to do the work. It is a readable book on the whole. It would have been perhaps better if the author had avoided general questions in Indian History, which, though touching Ujjain here and there, would not admit of adequate treatment in a book like this. In the treatment of these, it is only certain opinions that are offered, which are of no particular value in a book of this moderate compass. Such as it is, it attempts to supply a want. We hope it will be found useful by those for whom it is intended.

FASCISM OR SOCIALISM ? THE CHOICE BEFORE US

By NORMAN THOMAS,

Messrs. George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London.

The subject of this book is of the utmost current importance, and is in one way or another occupying the minds of all thinking people the world over. The problem perhaps calls for more urgent consideration since the book was written when the world seems to be on the brink of another war, the extent or the significance of which cannot yet be fully gauged. The work is a clear and well written account of the world economic situation and the main causes which have brought about this *impasse*. While the book is specifically intended for the Americans and deals more or less fully with the condition of the United States at present and the tendencies of the various measures adopted under the new deal, it is not without application to all countries in the world under situations more or less similar. In the first three chapters, he considers the general problem of the world condition of to-day, discussing what that condition is at present and how or why the old order broke up, and whether there is anything in the present world condition worth saving. He traces the causes of the rise of industrialism and capitalism running through and through with the twin ideas of nationalism and democracy. He ascribes the present impossible conditions in the international situation to the capitalistic economic organization which manipulates the political machinery in the interests of profiteering capital. In the next two chapters he considers the rise of fascism, the supreme examples of which in Europe happen to be Italy under Mussolini and Germany under Hitler, and then Socialism and Communism drawing in Russia but sparingly for illustration. Then he discusses in two separate chapters the measures adopted by President Roosevelt in what is briefly called the New Deal, and says frankly that the aim of these measures is still capitalistic and in the interest of the profiteering class. Then he discusses the various social forces operating in America and points out the three alternative courses open to them to take. He frankly states the present tendencies if left to themselves would lead to a war a hundred times worse than the last war, which again would bring in its train an era of calamitous revolutions and revolutionary destruction. If such a calamity is to be averted two courses seem possible, namely fascism and socialism.

For fascism, of course, he has the example of Italy and Germany and considers the measures of the new deal in America as

perhaps more or less fascistic in tendencies in certain particulars and may ultimately lead to that. What he calls the mechanical vote counting democracy works in the capitalistic interest through the manipulation of the voting public. Of course in a state thus organised, the voting power at any rate rests in a middle class rather the lower middle class of the small owner as well as the wage earner by brain power, which class is in the main as yet capitalistic in its tendencies. Such socialistic tendencies and movements that there are in America are as yet in his opinion defectively organized and fall into a number of irreconcilable sections.

The author who was the socialist candidate at the last presidential election is of the opinion that the salvation for the present world lay in socialism, which according to him is the introduction of a co-operative commonwealth of all the nations, which would abolish altogether the tariff barriers and the rivalries created in consequence, and bring about a better order more in keeping with natural distribution of wealth. He would have for his programme of socialism a nationalisation or, as he would call it beter, socialisation of the productive resources of all the countries should be applied with a view to providing the people with the means of a comfortable life, and not in the interest of the capitalist order, or the absentee holders of capital. He would appropriate all the machinery and the large accumulated sources of production into the hands of a socialistic government, and adopt a method of distribution which would be according to the contribution of each individual whether it be by intellectual or higher mechanical work and the supply of labour. The best means of bringing about this co-operative socialism in single countries would be according to him first to bring into the socialistic field the small owner and the intellectual middle class typified in the engineer to view the whole position socialistically and sweep into this organization all the various communistic, socialistic and labour union elements so as to make one vast mass of socialists. He does not work out a detailed programme, but what he indicates seems well thought out and likely to result in the introduction of that co-operative commonwealth of nations which would ultimately assure peace and bring about that international comity which seems very much the supreme need of the world of to-day. It is a thought provoking little book which everybody so-minded can peruse with pleasure and profit.

BHĀṬṬA-CHINTĀMANI: A COMMENTARY ON
THE BHĀṬṬA-DĪPIKĀ

By VANCHESVARA YAJVAN.

EDITED BY

MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA VENKATASUBBA SASTRI.

Law Journal Press, Madras. 1934. Price Rs. 6.

The work which is commented upon here is a well-known classic of what is called the 'Bhāṭṭa school' of Mīmāṃsā. Its author was Khaṇḍa Dēva who flourished in the early part of the 17th century as is shown by the fact that Jagannātha Paṇḍita, the celebrated poet of Shah Jahan's court, refers to him as one of his father's teachers. Like the other Indian systems of philosophy, the Mīmāṃsā also exhibits a scholastic phase in its growth, whose distinctive feature is the emphasis it lays on clearness of thought and precision of language. Khaṇḍa Dēva is one of the best exponents of this phase of Mīmāṃsā, and his *Bhāṭṭa-dīpikā* is a masterpiece of India's scholastic literature.

The commentary on this classic, which is printed here for the first time, is by a famous South Indian pandit of the last century who has also written other valuable works like the *Dattachintāmaṇi* dealing with the law of adoption. He belonged to a family which produced many gifted scholars and which traced its history back to Govinda Dikṣita, a pandit attached to the court of Vijayanagar in its palmy days. The immediate predecessors of the present commentator were all residents of Tanjore, and had for their patron the princes of the royal house that ruled there. The most illustrious of those predecessors was Vāñcheśvara of the 18th century (1690—1760 A.D.) who was not only a versatile scholar but also a skilful poet; and it is stated that, while he was still quite young, he attracted the fancy of the then king of Tanjore by his poetic precocity and won from him the title of *Kuṭṭi-kavi* or 'boy poet'. This eulogistic appellation seems to have stuck to the family thenceforward, for we find more than one of its scions bearing it in after years. The present commentator, who was named after this 'boy poet', resembled him in the acuteness of his intellect as well as in the profundity of his scholarship. He did not, however, stay at Tanjore very long, but left it for a prolonged tour in the North, and, as a result of his many academic triumphs there, became famous in the chief centres of Sanskrit learning at the time like Benares, Poona and Mysore. He settled down finally in the last place where the Mahārāja, who was a great patron of learning, honoured him by appointing him as one of his *dharmādhikāris* or spiritual advisers. All this is

narrated in an exceptionally interesting manner in the Sanskrit Introduction prefixed to this edition.

The *Bhāṭṭa-dīpikā* has been commented upon by others; and among them is counted one Śambhu Bhaṭṭa who was a pupil of Khaṇḍa Dēva himself. But those commentaries are not so helpful to the beginner as the present. It covers, we believe, the whole of the work, consisting of twelve chapters; but it is only the portion relating to the first two chapters and a part of the third (*nivānta*) that is printed here. This is the portion that is commonly studied even by those who learn *Mīmāṃsā* as a subsidiary subject and do not aim at specialising in it. The style of the commentary is, comparatively speaking, easy; and every point of importance in the text is explained in it with admirable lucidity. The author shows himself here to have been, not a narrow specialist, but an adept in many branches of learning, particularly ritualistic literature, Vedānta and Vyākaraṇa. He does not hesitate to differ from or even criticise the views of Khaṇḍa Dēva when he considers that they are not supported by earlier authorities (See e.g. pp. 58 and 335). The *Mīmāṃsā* differs in certain essential respects, from the other orthodox systems. Thus it insists on the supreme importance of *dharma*, while the others subordinate it in one sense or another to the ideal of *mokṣa*. But unfortunately the system has not, for sometime past, received the amount of attention which the uniqueness of its teaching deserves; and pandits who are able to teach it on traditional lines have become few and far between. The publication now of this commentary, which was hitherto known only to a handful of specialists who chanced to possess manuscript copies of it, may therefore be said to supply a very real need; and we trust that no student of the *śāstra* will fail to make a good use of it.

The printing of this commentary, together with the text of Khaṇḍa Dēva's work was undertaken by Mahāmahopādhyāya Pandit Venkatasubba Sastri, a grandson of the commentator and the well-known Principal of the Mylapore Sanskrit College. But unhappily he did not live to see it completed, and it was apprehended at one time that the undertaking might have to be abandoned. Thanks, however, to the deep interest which His Holiness the Swāmi of the Śāṅkara Mutt at Kumbakonam took in the publication, proper arrangements were soon made for its continuance. Students of *Mīmāṃsā* owe an immense debt of gratitude to His Holiness for this gracious act. The edition is provided with all the conveniences for ready reference which we expect in a modern publication, such as a detailed analysis of the topics discussed

in the text as well as the commentary, a subject index, an index of quotations, etc. It also records the readings of the *Bhāṭṭa-dīpikā*, as printed elsewhere, when they differ from those adopted by the commentator. The editors deserve the highest praise for the diligent care with which they have carried out their difficult task. The printing and the get-up of the book are excellent as, indeed, they always are when the Law Journal Press is responsible for them. M. H.

PLANNED ECONOMY FOR INDIA.

By SIR M. VISVESVARAYA, K.C.I.E., D.Sc., LL.D., M.I.C.E.,
The Bangalore Press, Bangalore.

Sir M. Visvesvaraya's book, "Planned Economy For India" is an attempt at formulating a comprehensive plan for economic reconstruction of India. The book is divided into two parts; the first ten chapters which cover about one half of the book are devoted to a survey and analysis of the conditions of agriculture, industries, transport, power supply, trade and commerce, finance, currency and banking, etc., in India and to a comparative study of the same with those of some half a dozen prosperous countries in the world. Ten well constructed tables of essential statistics bearing on the economic conditions of India, with corresponding figures for the countries with which comparison is invited, are appended to the book. There is nothing new or striking in this survey; it is a restatement of the familiar facts about Indian economic conditions. All the same, it contains a wealth of information carefully collated and lucidly and cogently presented which will be found useful by the general reader, the political thinker and the business man alike, whose requirements, the author rightly claims to have kept in view. It may be readily conceded that this comparative survey and analysis bear out the conclusion of the author that the position and standing of India in the various departments of economic life are very low in comparison with the United Kingdom, the United States of America, Canada, Japan, Germany and France, the six countries selected by the author for comparison, even after making full allowance for possible errors in the statistical data relied on. Indeed, this position has never been disputed in any quarter. The central point, however, of Sir M. Visvesvaraya's survey and analysis is that India suffers from excessive dependence on agriculture and neglect of industrialisation. In his opinion, the Indian problem is fundamentally industrial and that India cannot prosper except with rapid industrialisation, which has to be organised, planned and worked for, on methods in operation in civilised

countries, which are in the van of progress. This affords the key to the second part of the book in which he elaborates his scheme of reconstruction.

His planned economy for India provides for a ten year plan for All-India and five year plans for the provinces and States. The two are, however, inter-related in the sense that the provision made for development in the All India ten year plan represents generally the aggregate of the provisions for the individual plans of provinces and States. The All India plan is based on the assumption that the Indian States will also join the All India Economic Organisation, if one is established, "both in their own interests as well as in that of the economic strength of the country as a whole." The provincial plans and the central plan are together intended to form constituent parts of the central ten year plan. The work of preparing details for the ten year plan and putting it into operation is assigned to the Central Government, which must discharge it in co-operation with the people. In order to secure this co-operation, two agencies are suggested: (1) a national economic organisation with a Central Economic Council at its head, composed of about 50 members consisting mainly of expert economists and leading businessmen, representing the various organisations and activities in all parts of the country; and (2) a Central Development Department under the supervision of a Cabinet Minister of the Central Government, working in collaboration with the Central Economic Council and its Standing Committee. The Development Minister at the centre will have under him a general economic staff consisting of officers and experts in economic science and practices. This body of trained experts is said to correspond to the "Brain Trust" of President Roosevelt of the United States of America. Each Provincial Government will have a similar organisation at its headquarters and a Provincial Economic Council consisting of about 30 members and a Standing Committee thereof to do similar work in the provinces. The Provincial Economic Council and its Standing Committee will be associated with the Development Department of the Provincial or State Government. The responsibility for the execution of the work under the ten year plan in each district and city will primarily rest with the department of the Provincial Governments concerned. Then there will be Local Economic Councils, ordinarily one in every district and city, and the functions of the local economic councils will not be merely advisory but they will be "both thinking and executive bodies" for the work to be done in their respective units or areas. They will consist of about a dozen per-

sons, with Executive Committees consisting of about three persons. A special provincial plan is given for the Bombay Presidency as it has some special characteristics. The author is of opinion that economic progress will not be as easy in Indian States as in British India and makes certain special suggestions to suit the peculiar conditions of Indian States.

The development work to be undertaken is classified under seven departmental schemes, namely, (1) Industrialisation, (2) Agriculture and minor industries; (3) Public Works, public utilities, transport and power supply; (4) Commerce, (5) Finance and Banking; (6) Other special developments including (i) administrative and business policies, training for business life and citizenship, (ii) education, military training and other developments and (7) Unemployment. A separate organisation or agency of an All-India character to deal with *unemployment* is suggested but not insisted on, as the same organisation of Economic Councils, Central, provincial and local, may possibly also answer this purpose.

The cost of working the ten year plan, on the lines suggested by the author, is estimated at Rs. 10 crores per annum, of which Rs. 2 crores should be found by the Central Government and Rs. 8 crores by the Provincial Governments and States, roughly in proportion to their population. In the first five years at least, the recurring expenditure is expected to be met by loans, the annual debt charges being debited to the yearly budgets of the Governments concerned. There will be a development budget in connection with the working of the ten year plan. The main policy of the All India Economic Organisation is to develop production and income. It is expected that the income of the country will double itself in ten years under this plan, that is, it will increase to about Rs. 5,000 crores from about Rs. 2,500 crores at which it now stands.

The main interest of the scheme naturally centres round the business policies recommended by the author, the rest being merely machinery to carry out those policies. How are the Central and Provincial Governments and Economic Councils to bring about increase in production and profits under his Plan? Sir M. Visvesvaraya is decisive in his answer to this all-important question. It is to be achieved by mechanization and mass-production—large scale industrial organisation, with its seven M's (1) Money, (2) Marketing, (3) Management, (4) Machinery, (5) Motive Power, (6) Material and (7) Men. He says that capitalism suits India best at present and that management of business concerns shall be left to private agencies and joint stock organisations with their later developments—trusts, combinations, mergers

and cartels. He is an unhesitating advocate of "shifting the task of production, as far as possible, from industries manipulated by human labour to industries operated by machinery by standardizing commodities and by narrowing individual tastes to suit the methods of mass production." It is therefore little wonder that the call for reorganisation of handicrafts and village industries makes little appeal to him. He advises India not to worry herself about the complaint against capitalism that it has led to inequitable distribution of profits and wealth, for it will take at least two decades for India to build up *per capita* incomes comparable to the least progressive of the civilised countries and in the mean time prosperous nations which have adopted capitalism may be expected to somehow solve the problem of unequal distribution of profits and wealth. As regards the relations between capital and labour, his advice to the latter is that, in view of the fact that our industries are yet undeveloped, it behoves labour to be more circumspect and not to kill the goose that lays the golden eggs, and to take consolation in the fact that though the standards of wages and living of industrial labour are very low at present, "the wages are appreciably higher than those earned in agricultural employment."

Such in brief, is the outline of the "Planned Economy" for India which the author has drawn up. One fails to find any more of "economic planning" in all this than what one sees in countries where aggressive capitalism, with its admitted evils, has its unbridled sway. The expression, "economic planning" is now used in a very technical sense and has a very definite meaning. It is, so to say, a modern "term of art" as lawyers call it. "Economic planning" of which one hears so much now, involves State action on an extensive and intensive scale. The setting up of national economic councils and associating them with Departments of Central and Provincial Governments may serve the purpose of enabling the State to get into closer touch with the commercial and business interests of the people and no more. Such national economic councils, associated with the State, do now exist in some countries which have no special "Planned Economy". Indeed Sir Arthur Salter, of the League of Nations Secretariat, without attempting any "economic planning" prepared a scheme for the Government of India in 1931, suggesting the constitution of Central and Provincial Economic Advisory Councils much on the same lines as those of the author, as he himself concedes.

Even accepting Sir Visvesvaraya's scheme of economic organisation or programme of economic development as "Economic planning" what are the chances of its being accepted by the Government and successively pursued in India? That is really what interests the general reader most. It is clear, from what the author

himself has repeatedly stated in various places in his book, that a planned economy of the nature described by him has no chance of being adopted and worked under existing political and economic conditions, which are inherent to the dependency rule under which India's economic destinies are settled by a handful of Englishmen in power in the Government of India, the India Office and the British Cabinet. Sir M. Visvesvaraya, therefore, very rightly says that "nation building in India would be impossible unless control of finance is transferred to Indian hands from the very outset, and that the safest course for Great Britain in her own interest is to grant to India without further loss of time and without equivocation, a satisfactory form of Federal Dominion Government, which will give it full control over its financial and fiscal policies." In fairness to the author, we may assume that he has drawn up his "planned economy" for a self-governing India which can determine her economic action primarily in her own interests. Indeed, he says it in so many words thus: "The truth seems to be that the present Government, by the very nature of its constitution is unable to initiate economic planning or make any courageous advance in this direction. Apparently, the question must wait till a responsible Government is installed in the centre." He, therefore, makes a fairly long digression into the purely constitutional and political problems and bestows much thought to the formulation of proposals for a political compromise between India and England, which will ensure for India a substantial measure of self-Government, and financial and fiscal autonomy. But unfortunately, the Government of India Bill which settles the future constitution of India rejects every one of his terms of compromise. Indeed, there can be no compromise between interests which conflict and clash at every turn.

Whatever may be the intrinsic merits of Sir M. Visvesvaraya's "planned economy" and the chances of the creation of conditions and atmosphere necessary to put it into action, his proposals for "Reconstruction" which are based on his wide administrative and business experience as well as on the information and knowledge gathered by him during his repeated visits to Europe, America and Japan, are entitled to careful and respectful consideration from his countrymen. The author's outlook throughout is entirely national and we have no doubt that his book will be well received by all those who are interested in India's political and economic future.

[N.B.—The Editor much regrets that owing to pressure upon space other reviews have to be held over.]

Select Contents From Oriental Journals

The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society—April-July 1935.

Bu-ston's History of Buddhism and the Manjusri-mulatantra.
By E. Obermiller.

The Punch-marked Coins: A Survival of the Indus Civilization.
By C. L. Fabri.

A Note on the Maneless Horse in Ancient China. By L. C. Hopkins.

Recent Finds near An-yang. By W. Perceval Yetts.

The Date of Bhūti Vikramakēsari. By K. A. Nilakanta Sastri.

Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

Expansion of Indo-Aryan Culture during Pallava Rule as evidenced by inscriptions. By B. Ch. Chhabra.

The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. XXI, Parts 1 and 2.

Sanskrit Palm-Leaf MSS in Tibet (with plates). By Rev. Rahul Sankrityayana.

Elements of Mithra Cult Appropriated by Christianity. By the Rev. K. Giebens, S.J., Ph.D., and Litt.D.

The Revenue Administration of Mir Qasim in Bihar and Bengal (1760-63). By Dr. Nandalal Chatterji, M.A., Ph.D.

Journal of the University of Bombay, Vol. III, part VI.

Asvins as Historical Figures. By G. L. Chandavarkar.

The Indian Historical Quarterly.—Vol. XI, Parts 2.

The Harmika and the Origin of Buddhist Stupas. By Prof. J. Przyluski, Ph.D.

The Date of the First Maurya Emperor. By Sourindra Nath Ray, M.A.

Kingship and Nobility in the 13th Century. By Anilchandra Banerjee, M.A.

The Seleucid Emperors: Their Coins and Coin-imitations in India. By Prof. Surendra Kisor Chakraberty, M.A., Ph.D.

Mir Qasim's Army. By Dr. Nandalal Chatterji, M.A., Ph.D.

SELECT CONTENTS FROM ORIENTAL JOURNALS 301

The Smṛti-chapters of the Kūrma-Purāṇa. By Rajendra Chandra Hazra, M.A.

The Birth-place of Bhavabhūti. By Prof. V. V. Mirashi, M.A.

Tekkāli Copper-plate Grant of Dēvēndra Varma. By L. H. Jaggadeb Rajabhadur.

The Early Chronology of Nepal. By K. G. Sankar, B.A., B.L.

The Journal of Oriental Research.—Vol. IX, Parts 1 and 2.

The Chronology of the Eastern Calukyas.—M. Somasekhara Sarma.

The Nampali Grant of Yuvarāja Rājendra Varma, Ganga Year 314—K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, M.A.

A Note on the Haraha Inscription and Kālidāsa.—Dasaratha Sarma, M.A.

A Note on the Fresco-Painting at Sittannavāsāl.—S. R. Balasubrahmanyam, M.A., L.T.

An Inscribed Pot from Nandūru.—K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, M.A.

Suṇḍram Inscription of Bhūtala Vira Rama Varma.—S. Desikavināyakam Pillai.

The Astronomical Data of the Paripadal.—K. G. Sankar.

A Note on the Inscribed Seal from Perak.—K. A. Nilakanta Sastri.

The Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society, Vol. VII, Part ii.

Europeans in the U.P., 1580 to 1800. By Sir Edward Blunt, Kt., C.I.E., I.C.S.

The Malavas in Ancient India. By Dr. Bimala Charan Law, Ph.D., M.A., B.L.

The Revolt of Tilok Chand of Bardwan 1760—Episode in the relations between the East India Company and the Local Chieftains of Bengal. By S. N. Das Gupta, M.A. (London).

The significance of the term "Nirgrantha". By Kamta Prasad Jain, M.R.A.S.

Democratic Procedure in Ancient India. By Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji, M.A., Ph.D.

Important Sculptures added to the Provincial Museums, Lucknow, during the last Decade. By Rai Bahadur Prayag Dayal.

Indian Culture.

The Importance of the Physical Features of India for the Understanding of Her History. By Miss Dorothy A. L. Stede, B.A. (*Cantab.*).

The Sufi Movement in India. By Dr. Md. Enamul Haq, M.A., Ph.D.

The Iconography of Hērūka. By Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharya, M.A., Ph.D.

The Occupation of Bengal by the Kings of Kāmarūpa. By Mr. Nalini Nath Das Gupta, M.A.

A Note on the Succession of Firuz Shah. By Mr. Anil Chandra Banerjee, M.A.

Historical Notes and Questions. By Mr. Sushil Kumar Bose, M.A.

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal on the Guptas and the Vākāṭakas. By Miss Karuna Kana Gupta, M.A.

Pre-historic Trade Routes and Commerce. By Dr. Panchanan Mitra, M.A., Ph.D.

Plotinus and Indian Thought. By Dr. A. Berriedale Keith, M.A., D.C.L., D.Litt., Bar-at-Law.

Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University—Vol. XXV, 1934.

Jataka-Gleanings bearing on Ancient Indian Civilisation. By Gokuldas De, M.A.

The Date of Bharata Nāṭyaśāstra. By Manomohan Gosh, M.A.

Concepts of Disease among the Primitive People of India. By Praphullachandra Biswas, M.Sc.

Social Organisation of the Aimol Kukis. By J. K. Bose, M.A.

Dual Organisation in Assam. By J. K. Bose, M.A.

The Evolution of the Plough. By M. Alexandre Baschmakoff—Translated from the French. By J. K. Gan.

Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University—Vols. XXVI & XXVII, 1935.

Successors of the Sātavāhanas in the Eastern Deccan. By Mr. Dines Chandra Sircar, M.A.

Primitive Religion, Social Organisation, Law and Government amongst the Santals. By Mr. P. C. Biswas, M.Sc., Humboldt Fellow, Berlin University.

An Ethnic Analysis of the Culture-traits in the Marriage Customs as found among the Rāḍhīya Brahmins of Mymensingh. By Mr. Birmal Chakravarti, M.A.

Races of India. By Dr. Bhupendranath Datta, A.M. (Brown), Dr. Phil. (Hamburg).

The Khasis. By Mr. Tarakchandra Rayachaudhuri, M.A.

Religion and Magic: being an Examination of the views of Frazer, Maret, Leuba and Swanton. By Dr. Susikumar Maitra, M.A., Ph.D.

True Dates of the Buddha and other connected Epochs. By Mr. Dhirendranath Mukhopadhyaya, B.Sc.

A Munda Colony in Bengal—The Compact Mundas. By Mr. Minendranath Basu, B.Sc.

A Note on the Kom People of Manipur. By Mr. Paresh Chandra Das Gupta, B.A.

Singanpur-Cave-site Implements. By Mr. Susanta Bose, B.Sc.

The Journal of the Assam Research Society.—Vol. III, Nos. 1 and 2, April-July, 1935.

Kāmarūpa in the Ninth Century A.D. By K. L. Barua.

King Śrīharṣa—The Author of the Ratnāvalī. By Jogendra Chandra Ghosh.

Caitanyadēva and Śrī Madhava. By Rai Bahadur Amarnath Ray, B.A.

The Ancient Relics of Kamrup. By Ananda Charan Bhattacharya, M.A.

Extent of Vaidyadēva's Kingdom. By Pandit Padmanath Bhattacharya Vidyavinod, M.A.

The Administrative System of Kāmarūpa. By Birinchi Kumar Barua, M.A.

Puruṣottama Vidyāvāgiśa. By K. L. Barua.

Some Ancient Relics Found in North Lakhimpur. By Sjt. Sarveswar Barua, B.L., M.L.C.

Stemming of the Tide of Muslim Conquest in Eastern India. By K. L. Barua.

The Name Asam—An Explanation.

Some More Kāmarūpa Seals in Nālanda.

Early History of Tea in Assam.

Manipūr of the Epic Age. By Syed Sayeed-ud-Din Ahmad, B.A.

Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (New Series) Vol. 11, Nos. 1 and 2-1935.

Gotra and Pravara in Vedic Literature. By P. V. Kane.

Material for an Ismaili Bibliography, 1920-1934. By Asaf A. A. Fyzee.

The Ābhira-Traikūṭaka Dynasty. By S. V. Vishwanatha.

Acta Orientalia, Vol. XIV, Part 1.

New Contributions to Assyriology. By O. E. Ravn.

The Karnatak Historical Review, Vol. II, No. 11, 1935.

Socio-Political Compacts. By Dr. B.A., Saletore, M.A., Ph.D.

A New Genealogy of the Western Chālukyas. By H. G. Bangeti, B.A., B.T.

Chronology of the Early Gangas (*contd.*). By M. Govind Pai.

Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society—Vol. IX, Part 3, January 1935.

Gonarda, The Cradle of the Gonardiya. By Prof. Sylvain Levi, translated by Dinesh Chandra Sarkar, M.A.

The Fore-fathers of Rāṇi Samyukta. By Sri Lakshmi Narayana Harichandana Jagadeb, M.R.A.S.

A Reply to "The Mandasa Plates of Dharmakhedi. By J. C. G." G. Ramadas, B.A., M.R.A.S.

The Ponḍūra Copper-plate Inscription of Vajrahasta II. By Manda Narasimham.

Successors of Paramēśwaravarma II. By Govind Pai.

The Meghas of Kosala. By V. Appa Rao, B.A., B.L.



Anglo-American Historical Conference

6—11 July, 1936.

Chairman: A. F. Pollard, D.Lit., D.Litt., Litt.D., F.B.A.

Secretary: Guy Parsloe, B.A.

The University of London proposes to issue invitations for the fourth of a series of quinquennial Anglo-American Historical Conferences to be held in July, 1936, at the Institute of Historical Research in London. Arrangements will follow in general those of the Conferences of 1921, 1926 and 1931.

TIME-TABLE

Registration will take place on Saturday, 4th July, and on the morning of Monday, 6th July. The opening meeting will be held on the afternoon of Monday, 6th July. General and sectional meetings, visits to colleges and schools of the University and to places of historical interest in London, and various social engagements will occupy the four following days, and on Saturday, 11th July, visits will be arranged to Canterbury and to other places of historical interest outside London. Among those who have already promised hospitality are the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Royal Historical Society, the Masters of the Bench of Lincoln's Inn, University College, King's College, Bedford College, and the London School of Economics. It is hoped that, among others, visits will also be arranged to the Houses of Parliament, the Port of London, and the hall of one of the ancient City Companies.

SECTIONS

The following sections have been established:—

Medieval History:

Chairman: Professor F. M. Stenton (Reading).

Secretary: Professor C. H. Williams (London).

Diplomatic History:

Chairman: Professor C. K. Webster (London).

Secretary: Professor Lilian Penson (London).

History of Parliamentary Institutions :

Chairman : Dr. A. F. Pollard (London).
Secretary : Miss Eliza Jeffries Davis (London).

Economic History :

Chairman : Professor J. H. Clapham (Cambridge).
Secretary : Dr. A. Redford (Manchester).

British Colonial History :

Chairman : Professor Sir Herbert Richmond (Cambridge).
Secretary : Dr. W. P. Morrell (London).

British Local History :

Chairman : Professor A. Hamilton Thompson (Leeds).
Secretary : Mr. L. F. Salzman (London).

Slavonic History :

Chairman : Professor R. W. Seton-Watson (London).

Historical Relations between Europe and the American Continents :

Chairman : Professor H. Hale Bellot (London).
Secretary : Dr. Pelham H. Box (London).

The following section will also be set up if sufficient demand arises :—

Oriental History :

Chairman : Professor H. H. Dodwell (London).
Secretary : Dr. C. C. Davies (London).

INVITATIONS

The invitations to universities, university colleges, learned societies and other institutions inviting them to appoint delegates to attend the Conference will be sent out in December, 1935. Invitations to individuals will be dispatched in March, 1936. Persons interested in historical research who would like to receive invitations should send their names to the Secretary, Institute of Historical Research, Malet Street, London, W.C.1, to whom all communications respecting the Conference should be addressed.

OUR EXCHANGES

The Annals of the Bhandarkar Research Institute, Deccan Gymkhana P.O., Poona.

Bharat Itihasa Samshodaka Mandala, Poona City.

Bulletin de l' Ecole Francaise D'Extreme-Orient, Hanoi.

Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, London University, London, Longmans, Green & Co., London.

Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London Institution, Finsbury Circus, London.

Calcutta Review, 3, Senate House, Calcutta.

Hindustan Review, Patna Junction, E. I. Ry.

Indian Historical Quarterly, 96, Amherst Street, Calcutta.

Journal Asiatique, Librairie Orientaliste, Paul Geuthner, Paris.

Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Patna.

Journal of Oriental Research, Managing Editor, "The Ashrama", Luz, Myslapore.

Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay.

Journal of the Kern Institute, Leiden, Holland.

Journal of the Bombay Historical Society, Exchange Building, Sprott Road, Bombay.

Le Monde Oriental, Kungl : Universitetets Bibliotek, Uppsala.

Nagari Pracharini Sabha, Benares.

The Political Science Quarterly, Columbia University, New York.

terly Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society,
ra Historical Society, Rajahmundry.

y Journal of the Mythic Society, Daly Hall, Cenotaph
 'angalore.

view, Washington, U. S. A.

a, Kun'javana, Lonavla, Bombay.

Review, 91, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.

Magazine and Gurukula Samachar, Gurudatta
 Lahore.

Journal of Science, Office of the Archaeological
 'adhapura (Ceylon).

25. *The Historical Studies*, Accession Department, University Library, University of California, Berkeley, California.
26. *The Indian Review*, Esplanade, Madras.
27. *The Servant of India*, Servant of India Society, Poona C.
28. *The Shrine of Wisdom*, Aahlu, 6, Hermon Hill, London, E.
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