

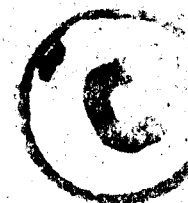
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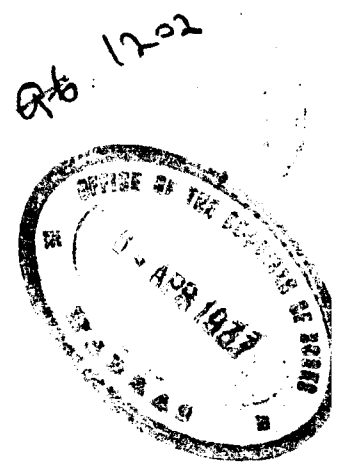
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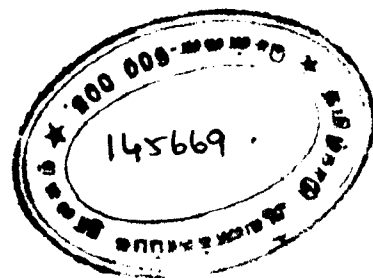
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Journal of Indian History

Kadamba Kṛṣṇavarman I and his Successors

By

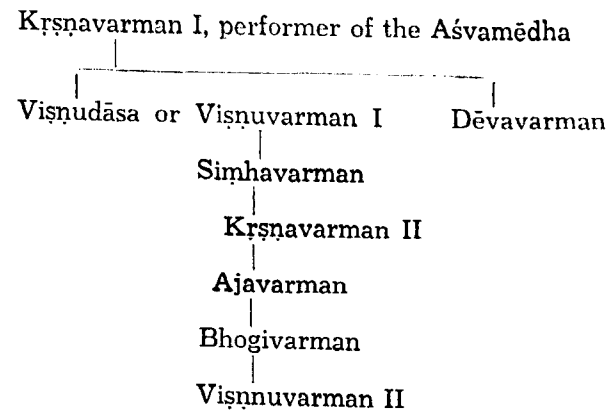
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I. KṚṢṆAVARMAN I

THE Beṇṇūr grant (*Ep. Carn.*, V. p. 594) was issued by a Kadamba Dharmamahārāja named Kṛṣṇavarman II who claims to have been the son of Siṃhavarman, grandson of Viṣṇudāsa and great-grandson of Rājārāja Kṛṣṇavarman I. Kṛṣṇavarman II has been described in this record as belonging to the Kadamba family which was rendered pure by the *avabhṛtha* bath taken at the end of an Aśvamēdha sacrifice. Viṣṇudāsa, grandfather of Kṛṣṇavarman II, calls himself Viṣṇuvarma-Dharmamahārāja and the son of the *aśvamēdha-yājīn* (performer of the horse sacrifice) Dharmamahārāja Kṛṣṇavarman I, in his own Bīrūr grant (*ibid.*, VI, p. 91). According to the Dēvagiri grant (*Ind. Ant.*, VII, p. 33), Yuvarāja Dēvarman, dear son (*priya-tanaya*) of the *aśvamēdha-yājīn* Dharmamahārāja Kṛṣṇavarman I, appears to have been in charge of the Tripārvata division of the Kadamba kingdom¹. From the Tagare plates (*M. A. R.*, 1918, p. 35) of the Kadamba Mahārāja Bhogivarman, which describe the Kadamba family as sanctified by the

1. From the cases of Bhānuvarman and Bhānuśakti we see that the governors of divisions of the Kadamba kingdom were called Rājā. In the Bīrūr grant however both Śāntivarman and Viṣṇuvarman are called Dharmamahārāja. There may have been a difference in the position of Viṣṇuvarman with that of governors like Bhānuvarman and Bhānuśakti. He was possibly a subordinate king. In this connection, it is interesting to note that in the Penukonda plates (*Ep. Ind.* XIV, p. 331 ff.) of circa 475 A.D. the Pallava overlord has been mentioned as Skandavarma-Mahārāja, while his Gaṅga feudatory has been called Mādhava-Mahādhīrāja.

celebration of the *Aśvamēdha*, we get the names of the following descendants of *Kṛṣṇavarman II*—his son *Ajavarman*, grandson *Mahārāja Bhogivarman* and great-grandson *Viṣṇuvarman II*. From the evidence of the above inscriptions therefore the following genealogy of the Early Kadambas is drawn :



The exact relation of this line of kings with the line of *Mayūraśarman* is not yet established beyond doubt. According to the *Bīrūr* grant, the Kadamba *Dharmamahārāja Viṣṇuvarman I*, son of *Kṛṣṇavarman I*, is said to have granted a village called *Kataṭ-tāka* in the *Sindhuthayā-rāṣṭra* with the permission of (*anujñāpya*) his *jyēṣṭha-pitā* (father's elder brother) *Śāntivarman-Dharmamahārāja* who has been described as *raṇa-rabhasa-pravartad-aṣṭādaśa-maṇḍapika-maṇḍita-vaijayantī-tilaka-samagra-karṇāṭa-bhū-vargabhartā*. It is also to be noticed that according to a *Halsi* grant of *Ravivarman* that king is known to have killed king *Viṣṇuvarman*, extirpated the latter's Pallava ally *Chañḍaṇḍa* and established himself at *Palāśikā* which was probably the headquarters of *Viṣṇuvarman*'s kingdom. Since *Viṣṇuvarman* was killed in the early years (possibly before the 11th year) of *Ravivarman*'s reign, it is not unnatural to suppose that the former's *jyēṣṭha-pitā* *Śāntivarman*, mentioned in the *Bīrūr* grant of his third regnal year, is no other than *Ravi*'s grandfather *Śāntivarman*, son of *Kākusthavarman*.

The above identification has however been challenged by a recent writer on the subject, who points out that in the *Hebbaṭa* grant *Viṣṇuvarman* has been called *śāntivara-mahārāja-pallavēndrābhīṣikta* (installed by the Pallava king *Śāntivara-mahārāja*) and suggests that *Śāntivarman*, the *jyēṣṭha-pitā* of *Viṣṇuvarman*, is to be identified with this Pallava king named *Śāntivara* (i.e. *Śānti-*

arman or *Śāntivaravarman*). See *M. Govind Pai, Journ. Ind. Hist., XIII, p. 21.*

The suggestion is ingenious; but there are difficulties in the way of accepting it as true without further evidence. *Śāntivarman* has been called the *jyēṣṭha-pitā* (father's elder brother) of *Viṣṇuvarman*. This epithet appears to prove that *Śāntivarman* belonged to the Kadamba family. The suggestion that "not only one's father's elder brother . . . is called as *jyēṣṭha-pitṛ*, but the husband of one's mother's elder sister is also called as such" can hardly be accepted without further proof. Moreover, the *jyēṣṭha-pitā* of *Viṣṇuvarman* is described as "lord of the lands of the entire *Karṇāṭa* country adorned with (the capital) *Vaijayantī*." This is hardly applicable to a Pallava king who presumably had his own kingdom outside the *Karṇāṭa-deśa*. At least, a theory that the whole of *Karṇāṭa*, i.e. the entire Kadamba country, was annexed, about the middle of the fifth century A.D., to the dominions of a Pallava king named *Śāntivara* cannot be accepted as certain without conclusive evidence. It must also be noticed that no king named *Śāntivara* is as yet known to have belonged to the powerful Pallava houses of *Kāñchī* and of the *Nellore-Guntur* region. In the present state of our knowledge therefore it is better to take *Dharmamahārāja Śāntivarman*, *jyēṣṭha-pitā* of *Viṣṇuvarman I*, to be the same as the son of *Kākusthavarman* and grandfather of *Viṣṇuvarman*'s later contemporary *Ravivarman*. *Kṛṣṇavarman I*, father of *Viṣṇuvarman I*, would thus appear to have been a son of *Kākusthavarman* and a younger brother of *Śāntivarman*. Since *Kṛṣṇavarman I* seems to have been dead at the time when his son was ruling as a feudatory *Dharmamahārāja* of his elder brother *Śāntivarman*, he possibly usurped the throne of *Kākusthavarman* and ruled before *Śāntivarman*. The fact that *Śāntivarman*, elder brother of *Kṛṣṇavarman I*, has not been described as the eldest son,² but as *priya-tanaya* (favourite son) or *priya-hita-tanaya* (favourite and beloved son), of *Kākusthavarman* (see *Ind. Ant.*,

2. Eldest sons are generally specified in the Kadamba grants. A *Halsi* grant (*Ind. Ant.*, VI, p. 24) of *Mṛgeśavarman* says, *śrī-kākustha-narēndrasya sūnur=bhānur=iv=āparaḥ*, *śrī-śāntivaravarm=ēti rājā rājīva-lochanah*; *tat-priya-jyēṣṭha-tanayaḥ śrī-mṛgeśa-narādhipaḥ*. Another *Halsi* grant (*ibid.*, p. 28) of *Ravivarman* says, *śrīmat-kākustha-rāja-priya-hita-tanayaḥ śāntivarm-āvan-īśaḥ*, *tasy=aiva cha jyaiṣṭha sūnuḥ prathita-prthu-yasāḥ śrī-mṛgeśo nar-eśaḥ*. It will be seen that while *Mṛgeśavarman* is described as the eldest son of *Śāntivarman*, the latter is described as a favourite son only.

VI, pp. 24, 28) suggests that the eldest brother of Śāntivarman and Kṛṣṇavarman I died and that his death was the cause of a struggle for the throne among the younger brothers of whom Kṛṣṇavarman I came out eventually victorious.

We have seen that Viṣṇuvarman I, son of Kṛṣṇavarman I, was installed on the throne by a Pallava king named Śāntivara. The cause of this seems to be the fact that, though Viṣṇuvarman was the eldest son and the rightful heir to the throne of Kṛṣṇavarman I, he was a neglected son of his father. According to the Dēvagiri grant, Dēvavarman, who was the *priya-tanaya* (favourite son) of Kṛṣṇavarman I, was made the *Yuvarāja* (crown-prince i.e. heir) in preference to his eldest brother Viṣṇuvarman. It may be conjectured that Viṣṇuvarman, after receiving this ill-treatment from his father, removed to the court of the Pallava king Śāntivara in despair. We have seen that Viṣṇuvarman probably ruled at Palāśikā when he was killed by Ravivarman. It is possible that he received that territory with the help of the Pallavas who, as we shall see, defeated and probably killed his father Kṛṣṇavarman I. He appears however to have transferred his allegiance to his *jyēṣṭha-pitā* Śāntivarman, son of Kākusthavarman, who possibly became the king of Vaijayanti after the defeat and death of his younger brother of Kṛṣṇavarman I.

G. M. Moraes says (Kadambakula p. 29) that during the reign of Śāntivarman, his younger brother Kṛṣṇavarman I "had been ruling in the capacity of viceroy over the southern provinces of the empire. For the Bīrūr plates of Viṣṇuvarma, while describing Śāntivarma, the grand-uncle (? father's elder brother) of Viṣṇuvarma, as the 'master of the entire Kārṇāṭa region of the earth,' clearly specify that his younger brother Kṛṣṇavarma 'was sovereign of the southern region.' Now the same plates record a grant made by Viṣṇuvarma during his father Kṛṣṇavarma's life. This grant was nevertheless made 'with the permission of Śāntivarma-Dharmamahārāja.' This evidently shows that the donor as well as Kṛṣṇavarma, the father of the donor, occupied a subordinate position under Śāntivarma." Moraes further thinks that, after the death of Śāntivarman, Kṛṣṇavarman I broke up relations with his nephew Mṛgeśavarman and became the founder of a southern branch of the Kadambas, which ruled from Tripurvata (*ibid.*, pp. 30-31). None of the above statements however stands to reason.

The evidence of the Bīrūr grant has been taken to prove that Kṛṣṇavarman I was a viceroy of the southern districts of the Kad-

amba empire under Śāntivarman. Three points are however to be noticed in this connection. Firstly, in the same grant Kṛṣṇavarman I has been called *āśvamēdha-yājīn* (performer of the horse sacrifice). I have elsewhere shown (see *Early Pallavas*, Lahore, 1935, pp. 20-23; *Ind. Cult.*, I, p. 312) from the evidence of the *śāstras* and inscriptions that "a subordinate king could never perform the *Āśvamēdha* sacrifice." Kṛṣṇavarman I therefore could not be a feudatory or a viceroy of Śāntivarman, but was certainly an independent king himself. Secondly, the same grant calls him *dakṣiṇā-patha-vasumatī-vasu-pati* (lord of the riches of the land of Dakṣiṇāpatha) which clearly shows that Kṛṣṇavarman I claimed a sort of suzerainty over the whole of the Dakhan. The word *dakṣiṇāpatha* of the grant cannot be taken to mean the southern part of the Kadamba kingdom. "Lord of Dakṣiṇāpatha" seems to have been the hereditary title of the great Sātāvāhana kings. Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi has been called Dakṣiṇāpath-ēśvara in the Nasik inscription of year 19. The Sātāvāhana contemporary of the Śaka Satrap Rudradāman is also called Dakṣiṇāpatha-pati Śātakarṇi in the Junagadh inscription. The significance of the claim of Kadamba Kṛṣṇavarman I to have been "lord of the riches of the land of Dakṣiṇāpatha" is possibly to be found in his performance of the *Āśvamēdha* which cannot be celebrated without *digvijaya* (*loc. cit.*). In this connection, we should also notice that in the Dēvagiri grant Kṛṣṇavarman I has been called *ek-ātapatra*, (possessor of the sole umbrella) which as Mr. Moraes himself suggests (*op. cit.*, p. 39 note) "is indicative of universal sovereignty." It is also to be noticed that he has been called *Rājarāja* in the Beṇṇūr grant of his great grandson Kṛṣṇavarman II. The third important point in this connection is that the grant recorded in the Bīrūr plates could hardly be "made by Viṣṇuvarma during his father Kṛṣṇavarma's life," as Mr. Moraes would have us believe. The donor of the Bīrūr grant was Śrī-Viṣṇuvarma-Dharmamahārāja, eldest son of Kṛṣṇavarman-Dharmamahārāja. Since Viṣṇuvarman has been called Dharmamahārāja, he was obviously a crowned king at the time of issuing the Bīrūr grant. Kṛṣṇavarman I could not have been reigning then as the overlord of his son³; because Viṣṇuvarman is reported to have granted lands with

3. It may be conjectured that Kṛṣṇavarman I was a king of the Tripurvata division of the Kārṇāṭa country, while Viṣṇuvarman, hostile to his father, was a king of Palāśikā under the Kadamba house of Vaijayanti. If such was the case, the celebration of the *Āśvamēdha* by Kṛṣṇavarman I, described as the *dakṣiṇāpatha-vasumatī-vasu-pati*, becomes quite meaning-

the permission of his *jyēṣṭha-pitā* Śāntivarman. It therefore appears that Kṛṣṇavarman I died before the end of Śāntivarman's rule and could not therefore have been the founder of a southern branch of the Kadamba family after the death of Śāntivarman. It is most likely, as has been suggested above, that he died before the beginning of Śāntivarman's rule. There is nothing in the Bīrūr grant to prove that Kṛṣṇavarman I was a viceroy of Śāntivarman; it is, on the other hand, certain that he was a great and independent king who performed the Aśvamēdha sacrifice.

Mr. Moraes thinks that the Dēvagiri grant was issued when Kṛṣṇavarman I "set up as an independent sovereign"; and that the Bīrūr grant was issued some time earlier when he was still a viceroy of Śāntivarman (*op. cit.*, pp. 30-31). This view too is untenable. The Dēvagiri grant (*Ind. Ant.*, VII, p. 34) was issued by Dēvavarman-Yuvarāja⁴ dear son of Dharmamahārāja Kṛṣṇavarman. It is clear that this grant was issued during the reign of Kṛṣṇavarman I himself. The Bīrūr grant (*Ep. Carn.*, VI, p. 91) was issued, as we have seen, by the Kadamba Dharmamahārāja Viṣṇuvarman, who presumably ruled after his father Kṛṣṇavarman-Dharmamahārāja.

Only one record of the time of Kṛṣṇavarman I has so far been discovered. It is the grant of Yuvarāja Dēvavarman found at Dēvagiri in the Karajgi taluka of the Dharwar district. Kṛṣṇavarman I appears to have appointed the crown-prince governor of the Triparvata division of the Kadamba kingdom, which probably comprised parts of the present district of Dharwar in the Bombay Presidency. The Triparvata division seems to have formed the northern part of the Kārṇāṭa country.

less. Moreover, that conjecture does not explain how Kṛṣṇavarman I could be a viceroy of Śāntivarman.

4. Govind Pai thinks (*Journ. Ind. Hist.*, XII, p. 361 ff.) that Dēvavarman was the son of Kṛṣṇavarman II. He wrongly takes Dēvavarman to be the eldest son of his father simply because he was the Yuvarāja. There are however numerous instances in history to show that a favourite younger son was sometimes made heir to the throne in preference to the neglected eldest son. The suggestion, moreover, is untenable in view of the fact that the Dēvagiri grant describes the father of Dēvavarman as the performer of the Aśvamēdha which undoubtedly refers to Kṛṣṇavarman I. Kṛṣṇavarman II never performed any Horse-sacrifice. The Sirsi grant (*Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 268) of Kṛṣṇavarman II, which describes him as belonging to the Kadamba family that was *aśvamēdh-ābhīṣikta* (having taken the bath, i.e., rendered pure by the *avabhyṭha* bath, at the end of a Horse-sacrifice) never suggests that Kṛṣṇavarman II was installed during an Aśvamēdha.

The Dēvagiri grant was issued by Yuvarāja Dēvavarman, dear son of Kṛṣṇavarman I Dharmamahārāja who celebrated the Aśvamēdha sacrifice, probably when the Yuvarāja was at the city of Śrī-vijaya-Triparvata. By this record, a piece of land, twelve *nivartanas* by the royal measure, at a place called Siddhakēdāra in the Triparvata division was granted to the Yāpaniya *saṃgha* (or *saṃghas*), for the purpose of the glory of repairing anything that may be broken (*bhagna-samskāra*) in, and of the performance of worship at, the Chaityālaya of the holy Arhat. It is also recorded that Dēvavarman granted the lands to the Arhat Jaina. The record ends with the benediction, "Victorious is the Arhat, the lord of the three worlds, the maker of the good of all people, the destroyer of passion and other enemies, the eternal one, the lord having eternal knowledge."⁵

In this record Kṛṣṇavarman I, father of the Yuvarāja, has been called *samar-ārjita-vipul-aśvarya* and *sāmanta-rāja-viśeṣa-ratna*. The epithet *ek-ātapatra* shows that Kṛṣṇavarman I claimed to have been a paramount sovereign. The king is also called *nāgajān* = *ākramya dāyānubhūta* which has been explained as "who enjoyed a heritage that was not to be attained by persons of Nāga descent." The reading of the passage is however doubtful and the interpretation cannot therefore be taken as perfectly established.

There is an oval and worn out seal attached to the plates. It has the device of some animal standing towards the proper right but with its head turned round to the left. There is also the figure of a god or man leaning against it or sitting on it. The animal may be meant for a horse or bullock; but Fleet thinks that it may also be a deer with horns.

According to the evidence of the Bannahalli plates (*Ep. Ind.*, VI, p. 16) of Kṛṣṇavarman II, Kṛṣṇavarman I married a girl of the Kēkaya family which probably ruled in the modern Chitaldrug district of Mysore. His eldest son Viṣṇuvarman was born of this Kēkaya princess.

A stone-inscription of a Kēkaya chief named Śivanandavarman has been discovered at Anāji in the Dāvanigere taluka of the

5. A recent writer thinks that Siddhakēdāra is the same as Suddikundūra mentioned in the Halsi grant of the fourth year of Harivarman. Since Suddikundūra was the name of a *viṣaya*, the identification is doubtful.

Chitaldrug district. According to this record, Sivanandavarman, after the loss of his country and the defeat of Kṛṣṇarāja's army in the tumultuous battle that took place between Naṇakkāsa(?) Pallava-rāja and Kṛṣṇavarman-rāja, with a tranquillized heart, lay on a bed of *darbha* and became desirous of going to heaven. Possibly he burnt himself to death. We have seen that Kadamba Kṛṣṇavarman I was matrimonially connected with the Kēkayas. This fact and the palaeographical standard of the Aṇāji record support the identification of this Kṛṣṇarāja or Kṛṣṇavarman-rāja with Kadamba Kṛṣṇavarman I. Some scholars think that Śivanandavarman was a son of Kṛṣṇavarman I and was possibly identical with Dēvavarman. The suggestion, however, is untenable in view of the fact that Śivanandavarman is described as belonging to the Ātreya *gotra* and to the Kēkaya family which was of Somavamśa. The Kadamba family on the other hand was of the Mānavya or Āṅgīrasa *gotra* and was never connected with the lunar race.

Sivanandavarman was probably a relative of Kṛṣṇavarman I. The relation of the *kṣaya* (loss, ruin) of his own country with the defeat of Kṛṣṇarāja's army and of his becoming *praśamita-hṛdaya* and desirous of going to heaven, however, is not quite clear.* *Praśamita-hṛdaya* (having one's heart tranquillized) has been wrongly taken by previous writers in the sense that the defeat of Kṛṣṇavarman broke the heart of Śivanandavarman. Kṛṣṇavarman I possibly died in this encounter with the Pallavas.

II. VIṢṆUVARMAN I

Viṣṇuvarman was the son of king Kṛṣṇavarman I by a princess of the Kēkaya family. He has been described as *kaikēya-sutāyām=utpanna* in the Bannahalli grant of his grandson Kṛṣṇavarman II. We have seen that though he was the eldest son of his father, one of his younger brothers by name Dēvavarman, who was the favourite son of Kṛṣṇavarman I, was made *Yuvarāja* in precedence to him. As a consequence, he appears to have left his father's kingdom and taken shelter in the court of a Pallava king named Śāntivara. According to the Hebata grant of Viṣṇuvarman he was anointed king by the Pallava king Śāntivara-mahārāja. If the identification of his *jyeṣṭha-pitā* Śāntivarman mentioned in

*I am discussing this question in a separate paper on the Southern Kēkayas.

6. *Jayatya=arhaṃs=trilokeśaḥ sarva-bhūta-hitāṅkaraḥ, Rāg-ādy-ari-haro='nanto='nanta-jñāna-dṛg=Īśvaraḥ.*

the Bīrūr grant with the son of Kākusthavarman is to be believed, he seems to have transferred his allegiance to the kings of Vaijayantī. Before the eleventh year of Ravivarman, however, he appears to have rebelled against the authority of his overlords and, as a result, was killed by Ravivarman, grandson of Śāntivarman. The Palāśikā division, over which he seems to have ruled, was annexed by the victor and the victor's brother Bhānuvarman was made the governor of the division.

Only two grants of the time of Viṣṇuvarman have so far been discovered.

The Bīrūr grant (*Ep. Carn.*, VI, p. 91) of Viṣṇuvarman begins with a verse in adoration to the Hindu trinity—Hara, Nārāyaṇa, and Brahman.⁷ The Kadamba Dharmamahārāja Viṣṇuvarman is here called the eldest son of Dharmamahārāja Kṛṣṇavarman I who has been described as "lord of the riches of the land of Dakṣiṇāpatha" and as "performer of the Horse-sacrifice." As we have already suggested Kṛṣṇavarman I seems to have claimed a sort of suzerainty over the whole of the Dakhan. Such a vague claim may have originated from his performance of the Aśvamēdha which could not be celebrated without some sort of *dig-vijaya*. The epithet *vikāṣita-sac-chatra-āvatamśa* applied to him in this record possibly means the same thing as his epithet *śaśi-saḍś-aik-ātapatra* in the Dēvagiri grant of his favourite younger son Dēvavarman. He is also described as *parama-brahmaṇya-śaraṇya* and is said to have acquired fame in battles.

The grant was made on the fifth lunar day of the bright half of Phālguna in the third year of the king's reign. By it the king made, with libations of water and dakṣiṇā, a gift of a village called Katattāka in the Sindhuthayā-rāṣṭra, along with the boundary of the road to Nandapada, the bridge on the river called Karṇṇesaka, the Cheśāpali (lands?) and a field measuring two hundred *nivartas* (i.e., *nivartanas*). The recipients of the grant were eighty-five Brāhmaṇas among whom were—Bhava, Kolana, Śiva, Yajña and Śarva of the Kuruktsa *gotra*; Mēruśarman and Somaśarman of the Hārīta *gotra*; Bhava, Hara, Hari and others of the Kāśyapa *gotra*; Deva of the Ātreya *gotra*; Yuvu and Ukti of the Vāsiṣṭha *gotra*; Paṇḍa, Yajña, Nāga and Bhṛta of the Vātsya *gotra*; Bhava and Soma of the Kauśika *gotra*; Bappaśarman of the Kauṇḍinya *gotra*;

7. *Hara-nārāyaṇa-brahma-tritayāya namas=sadā, Śula-cakra-ākṣasūtra-odgha-bhava-bhāsita-pāṇine.*

Bhr̥ta of the Purukutsa gotra ; and Bhūtīśarman of the Bhāradvāja gotra. The word ārya is suffixed to the names excepting those which do not end in the word śarman. This fact shows that Ārya (the same as modern Ayyar) and Śarman became caste-designation as early as the time of this record.

The tāmra-śāsana was endowed with the parihāras called attemara-viṣṭika (sic. antaḥ-kara-viṣṭika) and abhida-pradeśa (sic. abhaṭa-praveśa).

The most important point in the record however is that the grant is said to have been made after getting the permission of (anujñāpya) Viṣṇuvarman's jyēṣṭha-pitā Śāntivarman who was the lord of the entire Karṇāṭa-dēśa with its capital at Vaijayanti. It is generally held that this Śāntivarman is to be identified with the Kadamba king of that name, who was the son of Kākusthavarman and father of Mṛgeśavarman. A recent writer on the subject however thinks that this king is to be identified with the Pallava king Śāntivara who, according to the Hebbata grant, installed Viṣṇuvarman. As we have already admitted, it is difficult, until further evidence is forthcoming—to be definite as regards the relation of the line of Kṛṣṇavarman I with the Early Kadambas of Mayūraśarman's line. We have also seen that in the present state of our knowledge it is better to take king Śāntivarman of the Birūr grant to be the same as the Kadamba king who was the son of Kākusthavarman. Kṛṣṇavarman I was possibly a son of Kākusthavarman and a younger brother of Śāntivarman.

Any one who would cause disturbances to the donees is said to be committing the sins of brahma-strī-go-mātr-pitr-ācārya-bhrātṛ vadha, guru-dāra-gamana and vamś-otsādana. The grant also quotes the usual verses referring to pañcha-mahāpātaka, etc.

The Hebbata grant (Mys. Arch. Surv., A.R., 1925, p. 98) begins with the auspicious word svasti and a verse in the anuṣṭubh metre adoring Viṣṇu and beginning with the word jitaṃ bhagavatā.⁸ In this record Viṣṇuvarma-Mahārāja has been called a parama-brahmaṇya and an expert in all the śāstras and kalās. He is also described as the jyēṣṭha-priya-tanaya of the Aśvamēdhayājīn Kṛṣṇavarma-Mahārāja and as installed by Śāntivara-Mahā-

8. Jitaṃ bhagavatā tēna viṣṇunā yasya vakṣasi,
Śris=svayaṃ bhāti dēvaś=cha nābhi-padme pitāmahaḥ.

rāja-Pallavēndra. We have seen that Kṛṣṇavarman I made his younger son Dēvavarman the Yuvarāja, in preference to his eldest son Viṣṇuvarman who could not therefore have been a priya-tanaya of his father. The mention of Viṣṇuvarman as the "dear" son of Kṛṣṇavarman I in the Hebbata grant of the former's fifth regnal year may therefore be taken as an erroneous exaggeration.⁹

The grant was issued on the full-moon day of Kārtika in the fifth year of Viṣṇuvarman when the king was residing in the adhiṣṭhāna (city or capital) of Kūḍalūr. We do not definitely know whether Kūḍalūr was actually the capital of Viṣṇuvarman's kingdom and whether he occupied Palāśikā when he rebelled against the authority of his overloads of Vaijayanti.

By this grant the king made an agrahāra of the village called Hebbata in the Sātipalli-Jāripāta (division) of the Mahiṣa-viṣaya, and offered it with dakṣiṇā and libations of water in accordance with the Brahma-dēya-nyāya to a Yajurvediya Brāhmaṇa belonging to the Badira family (or clan) and Gautama gotra. The name of the Mahiṣa-viṣaya is evidently the source from which the present Mysore (=Mahiśūr) has derived its name. The agrahāra was made free from daṇḍa (fine), viṣṭi (free labour) and kara (tax).

The record ends with a reference to the five great sins, but does not quote the imprecatory verses.

III. KṚṢṆAVARMAN II

The son of Viṣṇuvarman I was Simhavarman who has been described as Mahārāja of the Kadambas (or a Mahārāja belonging to the Kadamba family) in the Bannahalli plates of his son Kṛṣṇavarman II. We do not know where Simhavarman became king after the death of his father and the annexation of his paternal kingdom, i.e., the Palāśikā division, by Ravivarman. No record of his time has as yet come to light.

Simhavarman's son was Kṛṣṇavarman II who was a powerful king. We do not definitely know where he originally ruled. An inscription recording his gift of a village in the Sēndrakaviṣaya (the Nāgarkhaṇḍa region forming parts of the present Shimoga district of Mysore) appears to suggest that his rule was at first limited in that part of the Kadamba kingdom. He is known to have led a

9. It may however be conjectured that Viṣṇuvarman became his father's favourite son after the death of Yuvarāja Dēvavarman.

successful expedition against Vaijayanti and to have conquered the Vaijayanti division ultimately. It is not certain whether he took Vaijayanti from Harivarman or from another junior line of the Early Kadambas, which is known to have occupied Vaijayanti temporarily.

Three records of the time of Kṛṣṇavarman II have so far been discovered.

I. The Beṇṇūr (Bēlūr Hobli) copper-plate grant (*Ep. Carn.*, V, p. 594) of the Kadamba Dharma-mahārāja Kṛṣṇavarman II begins with the Vaiṣṇava adoration *svasti: jitam bhagavatā* which is in consonance with the verse speaking of the glory of lord Hari at the beginning of the Bannahalli grant of the same king.

The adoration is followed by three verses which say that king Kṛṣṇavarman II was the son of Siṃhavarman, grandson of Viṣṇu-dāsa and great-grandson of Rājarāja Kṛṣṇavarman I who, like king Yudhiṣṭhira of old, gave perpetually food to thousands of Brahmanas. Kṛṣṇavarman II is said to have made the Brahmōttara (*brahmatrā*?) again and again (*śaśvad-brahm-ōttaram kurvan*). In this record the Kadamba family is described as "rendered pure by the *avabhṛtha* bath of the Aśvamēdha." This undoubtedly refers to the Horse-sacrifice celebrated by the reigning king's great-grandfather Kṛṣṇavarman I.

The most important point in the Beṇṇūr record is that the grant is said to have been made by the king when he had already set out on a military expedition against Vaijayanti (*vaijayanti-vijaya-yātrām=abhiprasthita*).¹⁰ This shows beyond doubt that, at the time when the Beṇṇūr grant was issued, Kṛṣṇavarman II was not the ruler of that division of the Kadamba kingdom which had its headquarters at Vaijayanti. We have seen that Viṣṇuvarman, grandfather of Kṛṣṇavarman II, was killed by Ravivarman before the eleventh year of Ravi's reign. It is thus clear that the descendants of Śāntivarman and Kṛṣṇavarman I were ruling simultaneously at different parts of the Kadamba country.

The grant records the gift of the *rāja-bhāga-daśabandha* (the tenth part of the king's share, or the tenth part which was the

10. Some scholars think that Kṛṣṇavarman II led an expedition from Vaijayanti. The passage *vaijayanti-vijaya-yātrā* clearly shows that this interpretation is untenable.

king's share?)¹¹ and also a piece of land measuring six *nivartanas* in a village called Palmaḍi in the Sēndraka-viṣaya. V. R. R. Dikshitar has recently published a paper on the term *daśabandha* in *Journ. Ind. Hist.*, August 1934, pp. 174-80. Dikshitar however could not find out any reference to the term in such an early charter as the Beṇṇūr grant of Kṛṣṇavarman II. *Daśabandha* (as also the term *pañchabandha*) is a legal expression found in the *Arthaśāstra* (III, i, xiii, etc.) and the *Smṛtis* (e.g. Manu, VIII, 107; Mit. on Yāj., II, 171) in connection with some offences punishable with fines. It refers to the tenth part of the sum forming the subject-matter of the suit. In South Indian inscriptions of the mediaeval period, the term occurs in the sense of a tax or an allowance of land or revenue as compensation for excavating a tank, well or channel (Rangacharya, *Ins. Mad. Pres.*, II, Nl. 368, 797, etc.). According to H. H. Wilson (*Gloss. Jud. & Rev. Terms*, etc., London, 1755, p. 127), the Telugu word *daśabandham* means "a deduction of one-tenth of the revenue on account of compensation for some public work, as the construction of a tank, etc." At the present time, ordinarily the enjoyers of *daśabandham* rights are to undertake due repairs of irrigational works (see Dikshitar, *loc. cit.*).

The grant was made by *śrīmad-dharma-mahārāja-vijaya-śiva*-Kṛṣṇavarman II on the (first) lunar day called *pratipad* in the bright fortnight of Pauṣa when the king was before (the *liṅga* or the idol of) Mahādeva in the great temple of the village called Inṅuṇa. It is interesting to note that, though possibly a Vaiṣṇava, Kṛṣṇavarman II was praying to Mahādeva (Śiva) for success in his expedition against Vaijayanti. The present grant resembles in nature a grant of the Viṣṇukunḍin king Mādhavarman I who is known to have made the gift of a village when he set out on an expedition against the eastern countries (see my *Suc. Sāt. E. Dec.*, p. 96). The recipient of the grant of Kṛṣṇavarman II was a Brahmana named Bhavasvāmin who belonged to the Hārīta gotra and is described as a *Paiṅga*. He was skilled in the performance of sacrifices and was well-versed in the *Chandoga*. *Paiṅga*-Bhavasvāmin seems to have been the priest of the said temple of Mahādeva.

11. *Daśabandha* has sometimes been called the king's share in books on law, e.g., Manu, VIII, 107. Kullūka in his gloss on this verse says, *avyā-dhitāḥ sākṣi rṇa-dānādi-vyāpārēṣu tri-pakṣa-paryantam yadi sākṣyam na vadēt tadā tad-vivād-āpādam sarvam=rṇam=uttamarṇasya dadyāt, tasya cha rṇasya daśamam bhāgam rājñe daṇḍam dadyāt*.

The gift of a village in the Sēndraka-*viṣaya* (parts of the present Shimoga District) suggests that the district formed a part of the kingdom of Kṛṣṇavarman II. We have seen that the Sēndraka *rājā* Bhānuśakti was a governor under Harivarman. If this fact may be taken to suggest that the country of the Sēndrakas was a part of Harivarman's kingdom, it may be supposed that Kṛṣṇavarman II took the Sēndraka-*viṣaya* from, and led the Vaijayantī expedition against, Harivarman.

The grant ends with the usual verses and the adoration *namo viṣṇave*.

II. The Bannahalli grant (*Ep. Ind.*, V, p. 16) of king Kṛṣṇavarman II begins with the *maṅgala—om svasti* and a verse¹² in adoration to lord Hari. The grant was issued in the seventh year of the king's reign on the fifth lunar day of the waxing (i.e., bright) fortnight of Kārtika-māsa under the asterism called Jyēṣṭhā. Mahārāja Kṛṣṇavarman II is called the son of Mahārāja Siṃhavarman, grandson of Mahārāja Viṣṇuvarman and great-grandson of Dharma-mahārāja Kṛṣṇavarman I. Viṣṇuvarman is here said to have been born of a daughter of the Kēkayas and to have been skilled in *gandharva* (music), *hasti-śikṣā* (science of elephant rearing) and *dhanur-vidyā* (archery) like Vatsarāja, Indra and Arjuna. He is also called well-versed in *śabda*, *artha* and *nyāya*. Kṛṣṇavarman I has been credited with the performance of Aśvamēdha and with victory in many battles. The reigning king Kṛṣṇavarman II has been described as a *parama-brahmaṇya* and as "one who acquired *rājyaśrī* by his own power, strength and valour."

The grant records the gift of a village called Koḷanallūra in the Vallāvi-*viṣaya*, with libations of water and with all *parihāras*, to a learned and pious Brāhmaṇa named Viṣṇuśarman. The grant was made at the request of Haridatta Śreṣṭhin who belonged to the Tuviyalla *gotra-pravara*. The *śreṣṭhin* is described as *rāja-pūjita* (honoured by the king). He was a performer of the *Go-sahasra mahādāna*.

The charter ends with the verses referring to the usual imprecation, the unresumable character of the grants and the five great sins. The *maṅgala* at the end of the record reads *svasty=astu go-brāhmaṇēbhyaḥ*.

12. *Jayaty=udṛikta-daity-ēndra-bala-vīrya-vimardandh, Jagat-pravṛtti-saṃhāra-sṛṣṭi-māyā-dhara hariḥ.*

III. Another grant (*Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 268) of Kṛṣṇavarman II was discovered at Sirsi (Sirsi taluka, North Kanara Dist.). It was issued when the king was at Vaijayanti which fact shows that the *Vaijayantī-vijaya-yātra* that he undertook sometime before the date of this record was completely successful.

The grant records the gift of Kamakapalli in the Girigaḍa-grāma of the Karvvaṇṇāṅga-*viṣaya* to a Somayājīn Brāhmaṇa named Somasvāmin who belonged to the Vārāhi *gotra* and was well-versed in the Ṛgveda. Karvvaṇṇāṅga has been supposed to be the modern Karūr in Sirsi. The village Girigaḍa has been identified with modern Girigaḍde in the same taluka.

In the Sirsi grant Kṛṣṇavarman II has been described as "obtainer of *rāja-śrī* as a result of victory in many battles" and as "belonging to the Kadamba family . . . which took the sacred bath during an Aśvamēdha sacrifice." It is strange that some recent writers have taken the passage *aśvamēdh-ābhiṣiktānām . . . kadambānām śrī-kṛṣṇavarma-mahārāja* to mean that Kṛṣṇavarman II was anointed during a Horse-sacrifice. The passage undoubtedly means the same thing as *aśvamēdha-snāna-pavitrikṛt-ātmanām kadambānām* (Beṇṇūr grant of Kṛṣṇavarman II), and other similar expressions in the records of the successors of Kṛṣṇavarman I. The descendants of the Pallava *aśvamēdhin* Kumāra-*viṣṇu* use a similar expression, e.g. *yathāvad-āhṛt-aśvamēdhānām palla-vānām*. The Sirsi grant of Kṛṣṇavarman II certainly refers, as his other grants unquestionably do, to the Aśvamēdha performed by his great-grandfather Kṛṣṇavarman I. There is absolutely no proof to show that Kṛṣṇavarman II himself performed the Horse-sacrifice. The idea of a king's or prince's *rājy-ābhiṣeka* during the Aśvamēdha is fantastic. If moreover he performed any Horse-sacrifice, why do the Bannahalli and Beṇṇūr grants refer to the Aśvamēdha of his great-grandfather and not of his own? In case an Aśvamēdha was performed by Kṛṣṇavarman II before the time when the Sirsi grant was issued, he himself must have been described as *aśvamēdha-yājīn* like his great-grandfather. No performer of the Aśvamēdha is as yet known to have remained satisfied with a vague claim to belong simply to an Aśvamēdha-performing family. That the passage *aśvamēdh-ābhiṣikta* does not mean Kṛṣṇavarman's being "installed during *aśvamēdha*" is proved beyond doubt by the Gaṅga records which refer to the Kadamba family as *avicchin-aśvamēdh-āvabhṛt-ābhiṣikta* (*ābhiṣikta* by the *avabhṛtha* bath of a series of Aśvamēdhas). It must

also be noted that he is not credited with the performance of *Aśvamēdha* in the Tagare grant of his grandson.

It is interesting to note that in many of the early Gaṅga records Koṅgaṇi-Mahādhiraṇja, son of Mādhava-Māhādhiraṇja, has been called *kṛṣṇavarma-mahādhiraṇjasya priya-bhāginēya* (dear sister's son of Kṛṣṇavarma-Mahādhiraṇja). This Kṛṣṇavarma-Mahādhiraṇja has been described as *śrī-mat-kadamba-kula-gaṇa-gabhastimālin* (sun in the firmament of the illustrious Kadamba family). There is however difference of opinion as regards the identification of this Kadamba king named Kṛṣṇavarman mentioned in the Gaṅga records. Some scholars think that he is to be identified with the *Aśvamēdha-yājīn* Kṛṣṇavarman I, while others are of opinion that he should be identified with the *Aśvamēdha*'s great-grandson Kṛṣṇavarman II. It is believed that "there are no clues in the records to enable one to ascertain who this Kṛṣṇavarma was, whether he was the first king of that name or his great-grandson" (*Kadamba-kula*, p. 55). The Gaṅga records however clearly show that Kṛṣṇavarma-Mahādhiraṇja, maternal uncle of the Gaṅga king Koṅgaṇi-Mahādhiraṇja, was not Kadamba Kṛṣṇavarman I who was a performer of the *Aśvamēdha*, but his great-grandson Kṛṣṇavarman II who never celebrated any Horse-sacrifice. The Kadamba relative of the Gaṅgas is sometimes described in the Gaṅga records (see e.g., the Merkera, Nagamangala, Jāvali and Kadagattūr plates, *Ind. Ant.* I, p. 362, II p. 155; *Ep. Carn.*, VI, p. 151, etc.) as *śrī-mat-kadamba-kula-gaṇa-gabhastimālin*. In some Gaṅga records (see e.g., Mallohalli and Bangalore Museum plates; *Ind. Ant.*, V, p. 133; *Ep. Carn.*, IX, p. 33; etc.) however he is also described more fully as *avicchinn* (or *avical*)-*aśvamēdh-āvabhṛth-ābhiṣikta-śrī-mat-kadamba-kula-gaṇa-gabhastimālin* (sun in the firmament of the illustrious Kadamba family which was wet owing to its taking the sacred bath in continuous Horse-sacrifices). The king has not been called a performer of the *Aśvamēdha*, but is said to have belonged to the Kadamba family by which the *Aśvamēdha* was celebrated. Since he is not described as an *aśvamēdha-yājīn*, he cannot be the same as Kṛṣṇavarman I who has that epithet in the Dēvagiri, Birūr and Bannahalli grants of his descendants. The fact that the epithet of the relative of the Gaṅgas, saying that he belonged to the Kadamba family which was *aśvamēdh-ābhiṣikta* is essentially the same as that of Kṛṣṇavarman II in the Sirsi grant (cf. *aśvamēdh-ābhiṣiktānām . . . kadambānām śrī-kṛṣṇavarma-mahārāja*) and in the Beṇṇūr grant (cf.

aśvamēdh-āvabhṛth-snāna-pavitṛkṛt-ātmanām kadambānām . . . dharma-mahā-rāja-vijaya-śiva-kṛṣṇavarmā) shows beyond doubt that he should be identified with Kadamba Kṛṣṇavarman II, and not with the latter's great-grandfather Kṛṣṇavarman I. It must also be noticed that Kṛṣṇavarman I was the only performer of the Horse-sacrifice among the Early Kadambas and that no Kadamba king is known to have celebrated the sacrifice before his time.¹³ Only a successor of this king therefore can properly be glorified as "belonging to the Kadamba family by which the *Aśvamēdha* was performed." It must also be noticed that many of the grants of the successors of Śāntivarman refers to the Kadamba family as *svāmi-mahāsēna-mātṛgaṇ-ānudhyāt-ābhiṣikta*. We do not know whether there is a covert allusion to the *Aśvamēdha* in this passage. The corresponding passage in the Sirsi grant of Kṛṣṇavarman II, which simply adds the word *aśvamēdha* between the words *anudhyāta* and *ābhiṣikta*, is practically the same.

The identification of the maternal uncle of Koṅgaṇi-Mahādhiraṇja with Kadamba Kṛṣṇavarman II seems to be supported also by the chronology of the Early Gaṅgas. Gaṅga Durvinīta, grandson of Koṅgaṇi-Mahādhiraṇja, probably lived up to the middle of the seventh century. There is a record (*Ep. Carn.*, VIII, Nr. 35, p. 135) which speaks of a matrimonial relation between the Gaṅgas and the Chālukyas of Bādāmi. "Seizing in the field of battle Kāḍuveṭṭi who was celebrated as a Rāvaṇa to the earth," it says, "and setting up his (own) daughter's son, he became formidable in the world in the hereditary kingdom of Jayasiṃha-vallabha; what a terror was this might of arm of Durvinīta!" Kāḍuveṭṭi is the Dravidian expression for Pallava¹⁴ and *vallabha* was the title of the Chālukya kings of Bādāmi. Jayasiṃha-vallabha is therefore the same as the grandfather of Pulakeśin I (circa 550-566)

13. A very late inscription found at Tālgunda (*Ep. Carn.*, VII, Sk. 178) says that Mayūrarman (i.e. Mayūrasarman) performed no less than eighteen *Aśvamēdhas*. This late tradition is to be discarded as entirely unhistorical (*Journ. Ind. Hist.*, XIII, p. 40, note; *An. Bhand. Or. Res. Inst.*, XVI, 163, note). The plurality of *Aśvamēdhas* claimed for the Kadambas in the passages of the Gaṅga record is evidently an unhistorical exaggeration. In this connection, it is interesting to note that the "one" *Aśvamēdha* performed by Samudragupta is referred to in the records of their Vākāṭaka relatives as "many" *Aśvamēdhas*.

14. In the same inscription, there is a reference to a Kāḍuveṭṭi of warlike Kāñchi and his Pallava-umbrella.

and the first historical figure with which the Chālukyas begin their genealogy. It has been suggested (*Trivēṇi*, I, pp. 112-120; *Kadam-bakula*, pp. 55-56) that the Gaṅga king Durvinīta was the father-in-law of Pulakeśin II who was defeated and killed by Pallava Nara-simhavarman I about A.D. 642 and that it was the Gaṅga king who restored his grandson Vikramāditya I, the third son of Pulakeśin II, to the throne about A.D. 654. The suggestion seems probable.

If however the above suggestion be accepted, Gaṅga Durvinīta who possibly had a very long reign appears to have lived as late as A.D. 654. As Durvinīta's reign is thus known to have ended about the middle of the seventh century, it is reasonable to suppose that his grandfather Koṅgaṇi-Mahādhiraṇja could not have ruled earlier than the second half of the sixth century. Kṛṣṇavarman, the maternal uncle of Koṅgaṇi (second half of the sixth century), thus appears to have lived about the middle of the sixth century and certainly not much earlier. This was evidently the time of Kṛṣṇavarman II and not of his great-grandfather who ruled about a century earlier. We have seen that Viṣṇuvarman who saw the latest years of Śāntivarman and the early years of Ravivarman was killed before Ravi's eleventh year, i.e., about the ninth or tenth decade of the fifth century. Since Śāntivarman ruled before A.D. 470 which is possibly the date of his son Mṛgeśa's accession, Kṛṣṇavarman I must be placed about the middle of the fifth century. As Viṣṇuvarman seems to have ended his rule about the end of that century, his grandson Kṛṣṇavarman II must reasonably be placed about the middle of the next century.

IV. BHOGIVARMAN

The son of Kṛṣṇavarman II was Ajavarman. No record of Ajavarman's time has as yet been discovered. We do not know whether he ascended the throne at all. The Tagarē plates of his son Bhogivarman (*M. A. R.*, 1918, p. 35) do not call him Mahārāja. Mahārāja Bhogivarman's rule appears to have fallen in the second half of the sixth century. It was the time of Chālukya ascendancy in Mahārāṣṭra and Kuntala. The relation of Bhogivarman with the powerful Early Chālukyas of Bādāmi cannot be determined until further evidence is forthcoming. Possibly the political existence of the dynasty of Kṛṣṇavarman I ended with Bhogivarman and his son Viṣṇuvarman II who is not known to have ascended the throne.

The Tagarē grant of Mahārāja Bhogivarman begins with the word *svasti* and a verse¹⁵ in adoration to lord Viṣṇu. In this record the Kadamba family is mentioned as rendered pure by the *avabhṛtha* bath taken during the Aśvamēdha which evidently refers to the sacrifice performed by the donor's ancestor, Kṛṣṇavarman I. Bhogivarman-[Ma]hārāja, dear son of Ajarvarman and grandson of Kṛṣṇavarman-[Ma]hārāja (II,—not the performer of Aśvamēdha), is said to have acquired a large kingdom by the power of his own arms. He is also said to have defeated many enemies. The claim may be exaggerated; but it proves at least that Bhogivarman had to fight with enemies.

The grant was made at the request of the king's son named Viṣṇuvarman. It is not dated. It records the gift of a *pallī* called Kirū-Kūḍalūr to a pious Brāhmaṇa named Bhūtaśarman who belonged to the Kāśyapa *gotra*. Kirū-Kūḍalūr-pallī, which reminds us of the name of the Kūḍalūr-*adhiṣṭhāna* whence the Hebbaṭa grant of Viṣṇuvarman was issued, is said to have been one of the twenty-four *pallīs* of the *mahā-grāma* called Tagarē situated in the Tagarē-*viṣaya*. Tagarē has been found to be a place in the Bēlūr taluka.

It is said that the protector of the grant would enjoy the *phala* of an Aśvamēdha sacrifice; but the confiscator would be loaded with the five great sins. The record quotes two verses (*bahubhir=vasudhā*, etc., and *svaṃ dātum sumahac=chakyaṃ*, etc.) as spoken by Manu.

The grant ends with a few lines written in the Kannaḍa language, which say that the *pallī* was granted with the exemption from the thirty-two imports, and seem to mention the additional grant of a house in the northern street. "The second and the fourth lines on the third plate appear to be a subsequent addition by a later hand. They tell us that Periyaḍigal granted Kiṭṭivūr to Viṇṇa as also an equal share below the tank of Kirū Kūḍalūr" (*ibid.*, pp. 40-41).

15. *Jayaty=ambuja-gēhāyāḥ patir=viṣṇus=sanātanaḥ*,
Varāha-rūpēna dharā yo dadhāra yuga-kṣayē.

Mandana and Bhavadvaita

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THE place of negation in reality is as intricate as it is intriguing. Many of our judgements are negative in character; on the commonsense view that our judgements, if true, correspond to reality, we look for a corresponding reality in the case of those judgements too; and if such reality be not itself negative so far forth we have a lack of correspondence and a failure of the judgement to be true; therefore negation has a place in reality, and 'nothing' is as real as any 'thing' of which we may make an affirmative statement.

Such a naive position, however, does not hold the field long. The correspondence-notion of truth—is found to be untenable unless correspondence is reduced to the pragmatic sense of working. And negative judgements may conceivably work without a negative reality to correspond; judgements, negative as well as affirmative, would be different modes of approach to a positive reality. And if one goes a step further and adopts a non-realist position where judgement is always an approximation to reality, the need for, and possibility of, a negative reality becomes much less. *Abhāva* would be no longer a *padārtha*, as for the *Naiyāyikas*, but only a mode of empirical usage in respect of the real.

A view of this kind gets confirmed by a consideration of the nature and function of the negative judgement. It is well recognised that negation is not primary as affirmation is, that it pre-supposes an affirmation actual or possible. The negation "roses are not blue" is significant as compared with "virtue is not square", for, in so far as roses are material objects capable of possessing colour, there is the possibility of affirming "blue." To deny then is not to know, but at best to know better, to discriminate. Negation does not add to knowledge, but clarifies it. When its function is thus conceived, there seems no longer any need to look for a negative reality corresponding to negation. One and the same reality may be spoken of affirmatively or negatively, affirmatively in respect of its own nature, negatively in respect of the

nature of others. Nor does such a position necessarily commit us to the recognition of a plurality of reals. The *advaitin* holds that affirmation too falls short of the real, and in so far as this affirmation is negative in character, negation takes us nearer to reality than affirmation. And though, like the *Bhāṭṭas*, he recognises a distinct *pramāṇa* for the immediate apprehension of non-existence,¹ this is not in the recognition of non-existence as a reality; for to him non-existence like other categories is infected with self-contradiction and is phenomenal; the sufficient reason for acknowledging *anupalabdhi* is not the reality of a distinct category of knowables, but the existence of a distinctive negative mode of apprehension; *abhāva* may be nothing more than *adhikarāṇa-svarūpa*, but it is not always apprehended in that way; hence the need for distinguishing *anupalabdhi* from *pratyakṣa*.

From the *advaitin's* point of view then it is one and the same reality that appears and is apprehended both affirmatively and ne-

1. Even this is not granted by Maṇḍana, according to whom there is no *pramāṇa* wherewith to cognise negation. Perception is affirmative; it cannot be primarily negative, since negation involves the prior cognition of the locus and content of negation; it cannot be both affirmative and negative at the same moment; nor could negation succeed the affirmation, since what has once discharged a function (affirmation) cannot be understood to rise again to discharge another function. Since inference, presumption, etc., are based on perception they cannot apply where perception does not. Nor is non-perception in better case. For it is not ignorance, but the failure to cognise some particular X, that causes the so-called "primary negative judgement." And the failure, which functions through being itself cognised, could not be cognised in the absence of prior knowledge of X as distinct from the locus. Thus cognition of negation involves prior cognition of negation and so on *ad infinitum*. Even if we distinguish a baffled state of the mind from a blank state (as Dr. Datta does; see *Proceedings of the Indian Philosophical Congress*, Lahore, p. 105), the bafflement must be cognised as concerned with this X in relation to a locus Y; else there would be bafflement in respect of all or none; infinite regress cannot then be helped. Dr. Datta's answer to the difficulty is not convincing. Nor will his comparison of non-perception with perception (p. 107) stand much scrutiny. The unsophisticated person who sees a table whether on the floor or in a mirror does judge it to exist; if later he revises his judgment it is because of sublation. In absolute darkness, however, the same person would suspend judgment, or say that he sees nothing but darkness; he would not first judge the non-existence of a thing and then be corrected by sublation. In any case the negative judgment is not primary in the same sense as the affirmative, since the former requires the prior affirmative cognition of the subject and predicate of negation. See the *Brahmasiddhi*, particularly, pp. 57, 58.

gatively, as existent and again as non-existent. Non-existence is a mode of the real, just like existence; neither is co-eval with reality; for even the existent, that of which affirmative predications are made, is phenomenal, since existence involves the phenomenal categories of time, space and causality; and the phenomenal is that which is neither real nor unreal, nor a combination of both; it is that which is indeterminable as real or unreal. Nor can the non-existent be equated with the unreal; for the unreal cannot be immediately apprehended, while non-existence (as of pot on the ground) can be so apprehended. Both existence and non-existence fall within the real; they are modes of approaching and designating the real; they are forms of empirical usage.

As distinguished from this position, there seems to have been another view called *bhāvādvaita*, which granted the reality of non-existence (*abhāva*) but would not admit that this detracted from non-dualism. Such *advaitins* seem to have been influenced partly by the *Naiyāyika* treatment of *abhāva* and its sub-classes, and partly by the status of the negation of the Universe. We had occasion to note earlier that negation, in *advaita* metaphysics, approximates closer to reality than affirmation; we know Brahman not by what it is, but by what it is not, not by defining it thus or thus, but through the negations, not this, not this. If negation be unreal, the universe negated should be real; and we can no longer maintain the sole reality of Brahman. It seemed to the *bhāvādvaiti* the only safe course to maintain the reality of negation, without conceding the possibility of its detracting from the sole positive reality of Brahman. Such a view fails to note the purely secondary function of negation, that it serves only to clarify and discriminate, and that it has no significance apart from the very positive immediate apprehension of one's own self, which is never absent and which alone is fulfilled in what is called Brahman-intuition. The starting-point and the goal are both positive; negation comes in between with an intermediate function; why grant its reality? Again, the *bhāvādvaitin* ignores this vital defect that the reality of *abhāva* is meaningless. The negation of the universe does *work* in the sense of leading to the realisation of the Absolute; hence, on *Naiyāyika* standards, it should be admitted to be real; if this is all that is claimed, what we should say is that *abhāva* is real, as *Naiyāyika* conceives reality, though it is *anirvāchya* by our own standards; for, the real, according to the *advaitin*, is the self-luminous. Can anything be self-luminous, other than the self? If negation is not self-luminous, it cannot be real; if it is self-lumi-

nous, it is nothing other than the self and we come to the same position as the *advaitins* who do not maintain the reality of *abhāva*. Again, if the reality of negation is not to militate against non-dualism, its reality must be such that it does not count as reality; that is to say, though real, it is yet not real; what is this but indeterminability?

For a long time, since the days of the *Advaitasiddhi* and Brahmanānda's commentary thereon, the name of Maṇḍana has been identified with the *bhāvādvaita* doctrine.² A study, however, of the *Brahmasiddhi* (about to be published, thanks to the labours of Mahamahopadhyaya S. Kuppuswami Sastri) seems in no way to justify the ascription. A view more or less akin to this seems certainly to have been known to Maṇḍana. He holds that Brahman is of the nature of bliss and that bliss is positive, not merely the negation of misery. In the discussion occurs the following passage.³ "Others think thus:—attributes are two-fold, positive and negative; of these, the negative do not militate against non-duality, e.g., 'one (i.e. non-different), unborn, immortal'; the negation of difference, origination and destruction is not indeed an entity,⁴ so as to import duality. And if bliss be positive, if that be the substrate, knowledge (*viññāna*) would be its attribute; next, if knowledge be the substrate, bliss (would be) the attribute; truly two natures are not consistent in the case of one and the same, because of contradiction; hence, there being difference between bliss and Brahman, which are positive and (are mentioned as) attribute and substrate in 'Brahman is knowledge, bliss', there is failure of non-duality. It may be (contended) thus: 'the attribute too is not different from

2. See *Advaitasiddhi*, p. 81, (Kumbakonam Edition), and *Laghuchandrikā*, p. 112, p. 252 (Kumbakonam Edition). Compare M. Hiriyanna on *Sureśvara and Maṇḍana Mīśra* (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1923, p. 259; 1924, p. 96.) Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastri pushes the date back to that of an early commentator on the *Saṅkṣēpa-śāstraka*.

3. *Brahmasiddhi*, pp. 5, 6; the translation is ours.

4. Even this denial of being an entity (*vastu*) would seem to show that the view mentioned here is not *bhāvādvaita*, which, according to Hiriyanna, is "monism excluding only other positive entities and not also the negative." (*JRAS.*, 1923, p. 261). It is possible, of course, to render "*vastu*" as "positive entity"; but there seems to be little justification for this unless one is committed to reading *bhāvādvaita* into this passage. It needs no philosopher to tell us that the negative is not "positive"; if the denial in the text is to be significant, it must relate to the "entitateness" not to being "positive."

the substrate, since if they were different like cow and horse, the relation of attribute and substrate would be unintelligible'. That is unsound, since that (relation) would be unintelligible, even if they were non-different, like the nature of the substrate (itself); therefore, the attribute is in some way different; and thus the scriptural declaration of the absolute non-existence of difference, 'one only without a second,' would fail to fit in; similarly for him too who understands two forms of one and the same. Therefore the word 'bliss' in (its application to) Brahman, of the nature of knowledge, is determined only by the non-existence of sorrow, just as words like 'Not-gross, non-subtle, not-short' are determined (in their application solely) by the non-existence of grossness, etc. Nor is it that there is but identity of the words 'knowledge' and 'bliss', because of the futility of using two words. How again can there be identity of what are denoted by non-synonymous words? Therefore, the meaning of the word 'bliss' with reference to Brahman is but the cessation of sorrow."

The next paragraph goes on to refute the above view, starting with the possibility of non-synonymous terms referring to a single entity. The distinction between positive and negative attributes, the allegation that the latter are consistent with non-dualism, these are not referred to again or refuted. The silence may be construed as a passive assent to *bhāvādvaita*; but such an argument is exceedingly weak, as recognised by the learned editor of the *Brahmasiddhi*. Further, it is more than doubtful whether the doctrine here mentioned is *bhāvādvaita* at all. There is no attempt to establish any "irreducible negative reality present as such alongside the absolute Brahman"⁵; rather do we have a declaration that the negation of difference, etc., is "not an entity". Further, what the objector there wants to make out is not the consistency of non-dualism with the admission of a negative reality, but the possibility of making several negative predications of a single subject, without disrupting its identity.

Mm. S. Kuppuswami Sastriar, however, is persuaded that the ascription of *bhāvādvaita* to Maṇḍana stands on other unassailable grounds, to be discovered in the *Brahmasiddhi*. Principal among these he places the emphatic declaration in the fourth chapter that "the negation of the Universe is declared by (Scriptural) testimony." If this negation, and not Brahman, be within the special

5. MM. S. K. Sastri's Introduction, p. 19.

purview of Scripture, constituting its purport, such negation should be real; for how can Scripture have for purport anything other than the real? Such appears to be the trend of the learned editor's argument.⁶ But surely such a question would imply an unconscious confusion. Brahman is the whole and the sole real. If any means of knowledge claims to be valid it must so far forth relate to Brahman. Thus not Scripture alone but perception too, not to mention inference, has Brahman for its sphere. What then is the distinctive value of Scripture? In this very question is pre-supposed the need for Scripture relating to what is other than reality, since reality is the sphere for *pratyakṣa*, etc. Starting with this pre-supposition it is unreasonable to claim again that what is the sphere of Scripture, viz., the negation of the Universe, is a reality. The truth of course is that neither Scripture nor any other means of valid knowledge can encompass reality. All that can be hoped for is an approximation through channels positive and negative; it is characteristic of Scripture that it is a negative channel; since what has to be apprehended is the limitless, this channel is more suitable than *pratyakṣa* which seeks to limit the object by one or more positive characterisations.

"It (the negation of the universe) is, however, declared to be conditioned by testimony alone, since perception, etc., are associated with nescience, since they do not apprehend their content (Brahman) in the form in which all difference is resolved, since the resolution of difference is known through testimony (alone)."⁷ This sentence and the verse on which it is a commentary seems to suggest that the negation alone is the purport of Scripture; what the author, however, is interested in, and seeks to maintain, is the superiority of the negative channel, as leading to realisation of Brahman as pure and not associated with nescience; this is evident from the commentaries of Chitsukha⁸ and Ānandapūrṇa⁹ on the passage in question. "Since then Brahman is the sphere of perception, etc., how can it be the sphere of Scripture alone? To this,

6. "... he (Maṇḍana) points out that the total negation of the world (*prapañchā-bhāva*) is the absolutely irreducible minimum of truth that could be exclusively attributed to Upaniṣadic teachings ... he stresses the reality of *Prapañchābhāva* and emphatically declares it to form the final and the otherwise non-ascertainable (*pramānāntarānadhigata*) import of the Vedāntic texts" (Introduction, p. 19).

7. *Brahmasiddhi*, p. 157.

8. R3853, Govt. Oriental Mss. Library, Madras, p. 213.

9. R3967, Govt. Oriental Mss. Library, Madras, p. 314.

he says: 'since perception, etc.,'; that, though the object of cognition in all cognitions, is only what is associated with nescience, but not the pure; this is the meaning" (Chitsukha). Anandapūrṇa is even clearer: "Since Brahman is established by other means of knowledge and since it is admitted that the negation of the universe is known from the sacred teaching, *how can it be that Brahman is what is propounded in the Upaniṣads?* To this he says, 'It is, however, declared to be conditioned by testimony alone.'" The purport of Scripture then does not stop with the negation of the Universe, but extends to Brahman as pure; otherwise the claim could not be sustained that Brahman is *aupaniṣada*.¹⁰

Forms of designation, modes of approach, both positive and negative, do lie side by side; it will be neither possible nor desirable to reduce the one to the other. Maṇḍana is fully aware of this; but there is no trace of justification for the view that he would treat prapañchābhāva "as an irreducible negative reality, present as such alongside the absolute Brahman." All that Maṇḍana does say¹¹ is that "even of one and the same entity there is verbal usage both as existent and as non-existent (i.e., positive and negative),

10. The teachings of the *Brahmasiddhi* in regard to the sphere of perception, etc., were adopted and further expounded in the *Tattva Sūddhi* by Jñānaghanapāda. The concluding sentences of the first chapter of this work (Mss. No. R2897 of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Egmore) meet the same objection as that faced by Maṇḍana, in the passage under discussion; and they sound the same note as the commentaries just noted; the relevant passage of the *Tattvasūddhi* is therefore given here as an extract: "tasmāt san-mātra-viśayam api pratyakṣam ajñāna-viśiṣṭa-viśayatvān nā 'jñānam upamrṇāti; āgamas tu viruddha-padārtha-sāmānādhikaranyā-'bhīdhāna-mukhēna samasto'-pādhi-vinirmukta-vastu-svarūpa-mātram lakṣayan nāntarīyakatayā tadajñāna-tatkārye nivartayati 'ti yuktaṁ eva 'gamasya 'jñāna-nivartakatvam. drṣṭā hi dēvadattaike 'bhijñā-pratyakṣeṇā 'parokṣikṛtē dēśa-kālo-'pādhi-kṛta-bhēda-bhramā-'nuvṛttiḥ, tanmātra-viśayenā 'pi pratyabhijñā-pratyakṣeṇa bhrānti-nivṛttis cha. tasmād ihā 'pi pramēya-viśeṣā-'bhāvē 'pi pramāṇa-viśeṣād ēva pratyakṣādīnā aparokṣa-grhītē 'py advaite nā 'jñāna-nivṛttiḥ, āgamēnā 'parokṣikṛte tannivṛttir iti sarvaṁ suvavādātam." It should also be noted that in the fourth kāṇḍa Maṇḍana is but expanding what has been briefly indicated in the first: "anadhigatam api pramāṇāntareṇa 'nadhigatasambandham cha svasābdēna śakyam śābdēna nirūpayitum viśeṣapratīṣēdhamukhēna, viśeṣaṇaśābdānām nañāś cha yathālam' iti sarvaviśeṣātīgam. ētat kathayati—bhēdaprapañchavilayadvārēne 'ti. etac cha vakṣyata iti." (*Brahmasiddhi*, p. 26). Even the scriptural negations teach then not the mere negations of the world, but Brahman.

11. *Brahmasiddhi*, p. 122.

e.g., 'when the pot is destroyed, the potsherds are originated'." Here the reality is one and the same, viz., a certain transformation; it is not two-fold, a positive and a negative; it is spoken of, however, both positively and negatively. This is quite in line with what we have said earlier about the *advaitin's* treating both existence and non-existence as phases of the real, refusing to identify existence with the real, or non-existence with the unreal.

Mahamahopadhyaya S. Kuppuswami Sastriar is keenly alive to the fact that Maṇḍana reduces *avidyā-nivṛtti* (the cessation of nescience) "to a positive form by equating it with vidyā;"¹² he does not, however, see any inconsistency between this reduction and the adumbration of *bhāvādvaita* by Maṇḍana. But surely if negation has no significance but for and other than its positive basis, if the cessation of bondage and ignorance is itself release, there is no justification for investing the negation as such with *irreducible* reality. The contrast between the two positions is clearer in the treatment of it by Raṅgarāja.¹³ At an early stage, he espouses the *bhāvādvaita* view in these words: "Now, even the negation of the universe, which is the content of such scriptural texts as 'there is no diversity here', should be illusory according to you; if this be said, no, since that is real like Brahman (*brahmavat satyatvāt*); nor is there abandonment of non-dualism, since we adopt the doctrine of *bhāvādvaita*."¹⁴ But the objector counters with the statement that for the *advaitin* everything, including negation, is but the self. "You are indeed getting wise" replies the author, and proceeds thus: "When indeed it is known that everything, the universe or its negation, is but the self, then since that itself is what is made known by Scripture, and since that (self) is real, Scripture does not teach what is other than real; hence there is no room to doubt its validity."¹⁵ Elsewhere too he follows the procedure of stating *bhāvādvaita* as the initial position and then

12. *Brahmasiddhi*, p. 121. Prof. Kuppuswami Sastri would distinguish between the status of *avidyā-nivṛtti* and that of the negative statements of scripture. There is some point in this; but even such statements in Maṇḍana's view seem not to have stopped short with the negation, but to have propounded Brahman, as is evident from p. 26 of the text, and the commentaries cited in this paper, on the passage in p. 157 of the text.

13. *Advaitavidyāmukura*, a fragmentary manuscript in the Mysore Oriental Library; see further an article on that subject in the *JORM.*, IX, iv, pp. 279-294.

14. *Op. cit.*, p. 30.

15. *Op. cit.*, pp. 30-31.

improving on it. "Nor is there abandonment of non-dualism, if there be admitted the absolute reality of negation in all three times, since there is not admitted any *positive* entity over and above Brahman. In truth, however, this negation in all three times is not other than Brahman itself, just as in the system of the Logicians, the non-existence of prior non-existence is not other than the counter-correlate itself, and in the system of the Guru (*Prabhākara*), the non-existence of a thing is not other than the locus itself."¹⁶ A careful study of pp. 119-121 of the *Brahmasiddhi* will show that Maṇḍana's position is wholly identical with the improved position set forth by Raṅgarāja. And though Maṇḍana was not infallible, it is difficult to maintain that he so far ignored the need for consistency as to maintain *bhāvādvaita* in the same breath.¹⁷

Is there no justification then for the ascription made by Madhusūdana, Brahmānanda, etc.? One possible explanation, and that a very thin one, is that they refer to some other Maṇḍana, not to the author of the *Brahmasiddhi*. This is not impossible, but not very plausible. A less unsatisfactory hypothesis is that the ascription was made because *bhāva* and *abhāva* came to be identified with *sat* and *asat*. That such an identification was made at one time is evident from the use of the phrase *bhāvābhāva-vilakṣaṇa* in the place of *sattvāsattvavilakṣaṇa*, as a definition of nescience. The former phrase is philosophically unmeaning and unsound, but it seems to have crept in somehow. Once granted usage, it is easy to mistake the ascription of parallel value to *bhāva* and *abhāva* forms, for the ascription of parallel and independent reality (*sattva*) to both. Reality is neither existential nor non-existential;¹⁸ these

16. *Op. cit.*, p. 75.

17. Compare *Advaitasiddhi*, pp. 121, 123 (Kumbakonam edition). The confusion (if one may so call it) seems to have been present even in Maṇḍana; see, for instance, p. 91, where he says: "api ca 'bhāvasyā'pi pramēyatvān na pramāṇa-yogyatā sattā-lakṣaṇam; tathā hi—*asat* pramēyam cha tathā yathai 'va sthāpayaty ayam", etc.

18. Cp. *bhāvābhāvavivarjitā* of the *Lalitāsahasranāma*; *Devī* is also *sad-asadrūpadhārīṇī* in the sense that the Absolute is its own Other. Even if such an interpretation is turned down as too Hegelian, it will be seen that Bhāskaraśāya, in his commentary, does not equate *asat* with *abhāva* in the *Tārkika* sense; he first identifies *sat* with Brahman, and *asat* with the universe; next he takes *sat* to be the final psychosis that intuits Brahman, while *asat* denotes all lower psychoses; lastly he equates *sat* and *asat* with existence and non-existence; but here "existence is what is permanent and unchangeable" so that anything fleeting (as the whole phenomenal world

are but modes of approximating thereto, of the eternal real eternally realising itself; negation and affirmation are only instrumental, the former being secondary as compared with the latter; such is the truth understood and expounded by Maṇḍana; and to dub him an expounder of *bhāvādvaita*, the product of philosophic confusion, is to fail to do him the barest justice.

is) is *asat*. In commenting on the other epithet (No. 680), however he says *bhāva* is substance, quality, etc., and *abhāva* is antecedant non-existence, etc.

Sultan Ghias-ud-din Balban

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INTRODUCTORY

THE 'Early Turkish Empire of Delhi' lasted from 1206 to 1290 A.D. It is popularly but inaccurately called the 'Slave Dynasty' and is variously known as the 'Pathan' or 'Afghan Dynasty'; all these are misnomers. Contemporary as well as the later authorities do not contain a word with regard to such appellations for which the European writers are alone responsible. The rulers of the 'Early Turkish Empire' are styled by¹ the contemporary Historian as Muizzi, Qutbi, Shamsi and Balbani after the names of the great sovereigns, who form the chain of succession from Sultan Shahabud-Din of Ghor to Sultan Muizzud-Din Kaiqabad. There is no doubt that they have been, at the outset of their careers, slaves, or slaves of slaves or sons and daughter of such slaves.

'Slave' and 'King' are contradiction in terms; slave is no longer slave when he is manumitted by his master. Sultan Qutbud-Din Aiybek was sent a letter of manumission and a canopy of state by Sultan Mahmud, the nephew and successor of his master Sultan Shahabud-Din of Ghor.² Qutbud-Din's slave and successor Sultan Shamsud-Din Iltutmish got his freedom even before his master.³ The successors of Iltutmish were not slaves but his own sons and daughter. The next ruler, Balban belonged to the 'forty Turkish Slaves of Iltutmish,' better known as Chahelgani' or the 'forty', and was liberated along with them.⁴ Sultan Muizz-ud-Din Kaiqabad, the last of the Dynasty, was Balban's grandson. It is clear, therefore, that none of these rulers was slave when they ascended the throne of Delhi.

They were Turks and not 'Afghans' or Pathans. Qutbud-Din Aiybek was brought from Turkishtan to Nishapur and sold to

Qazi Fakhrud-Din Abdul Aziz Kufi;⁵ both Iltutmish and Balban belonged to the renowned Ilbari tribe of Turkistan.⁶ The various tribes of the Mongolian race—Turks, Tatars, Turkoman, Tibetans, Chinese and Mongols extended from Anatolia to the shores of the Pacific Ocean. With the extension of the Muslim frontier to the north and west of Persia, one Turkish tribe after another came under subjection, and attracted the attention of their conquerors by the bravery of their men and beauty of their women. Thus the period under review is marked by the ascendancy of Turks, who slowly and steadily replaced the Persians from the ordinary post of bodyguard to the highest officers, and through sheer force of circumstances became the absolute masters of the Abbaside Caliphate. It is interesting to recall how Mutasin took the fatal step of introducing the Turkish element in the army. The fact that the Turks were the virtual masters of the Caliphate can be well illustrated by a story related by the author of al-Fakhri Ibn Tiqtaqa, who says, "the courtiers of Mutazz summoned the astrologers and asked them how long his Caliphate would endure. A wit present in the gathering said, 'so long as the Turks please' and every one present laughed."⁷

A BUREAUCRACY OF SLAVES

A despotic form of government cannot exist long without an efficient machinery to carry it out, and it was soon discovered that the young slaves brought from Turkishtan and Mawaraon-Nehr formed an excellent material for such a recruitment. The slave dealers lost no stones unturned in the selection and training of Turkish slaves and they were handsomely paid for their labours. The best slaves were purchased by kings and princes and had better prospects in life, which were denied to free-born persons. In those days of anarchy and confusion, governments were not stable; provincial governors were too prone to declare independence and the subordinate officers followed their example. A bureaucracy of slaves, therefore, was the only remedy possible. A slave is by nature submissive and loyal, for he has been trained as such from his early childhood. The slave is the property of his master; for him there is honour in bondage. His progress lay on

1. See *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, pp. 135 to 157 and 164.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 140.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 170.

4. Zia Berni *Twarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 26.

5. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 138.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 166 and 281.

7. Ibn at Tiqtaqa, p. 333 as quoted by Dr. Amir Hasan Siddiqi in his thesis on 'Caliphate and Sultanet' in Mediaeval Persia.

the degree of loyalty he showed to his master. And to be a slave of the king constituted a special title of respect. A slave of to-day is the Sultan of to-morrow. Every thing depended upon his merit, intellect, sagacity and skill, and should he be found wanting at any stage, his fate was sealed. No favour or partiality was shown to any of them; those who were really competent, progressed from the humble post of *Khasadar* (King's Personal Attendant) to positions of power and sovereignty. Merit and not favouritism was the standard; and the slave, in a way, is the survival of the fittest. For some time, the system worked quite well, so long as their master was alive; but when the dominions came entirely in their hands, they began to fight for supremacy and whoever was strong got the upperhand.

Turkish domination in India an accident. Sultan Shahabud-Din of Ghor did not know that he would have no son to succeed to his vast empire and therefore, when, during the latter part of his reign, a bold courtier condoled⁸ with him on the lack of male offspring, the Sultan contented himself by saying that he had several sons, namely, Turkish slaves to rule after his death. But for his slaves, there would have been, perhaps, no Turkish rule in India. The example of the gallant Sultan Shahabud-Din of Ghor bred heroic followers, and his slaves Taj-ud-Din Yilduz, Nasir-ud-Din Qabachah, and Qutbud-Din Aiybek rose to power and command in the Afghan mountains, on the Indus, and at Delhi respectively.

EARLY LIFE

Sultan Ghias-ud-Din Balban was one of the forty Turkish slaves of Sultan Shamsud-Din Iltutmish, better known as Chahelgani or the 'Forty'.⁹ He claimed descent from the illustrious line of Afrasiab;¹⁰ his great grandfather¹¹ Abar Khan belonged to the renowned Albari tribe of Turkistan and was the chief of a clan of ten thousand families. In the prime of youth,¹² Balban was brought captive to Baghdad by the Mongols, who had conquered

8. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, pp. 131, 132.

9. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* of Zia Berni, p. 26 and *Firishta*, p. 75

10. *Ibid.*, p. 37.

11. *Firishta*, p. 75 incorrectly says his 'father'; Qazi Minhaj Siraj on p. 281 says 'the father of Balban and Malik Nasrat-ud-Din Sher Khan was the descendant of Akbar Khan.' Some copies of the text have *Ayya*, *Āba* and *Ayyat* Khan.

12. The author of the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* learnt all these details regarding the Early life of Balban from Malik Kureet, Khan-i-Sanjar.

the Qira-Khitais and dominated the whole of Central Asia and Persia. The Khwajah Jamalud-Din of Basrah, a man celebrated for his honesty and fair-dealing purchased him from the Mongols, fostered him like his own son and along with other slaves brought him to the capital city of Delhi in the year 1232 A.D.¹³ Sultan Shamsud-Din Iltutmish purchased the whole lot of Turkish slaves and appointed them to different posts.¹⁴ Balban started his career as a *Khasadar*¹⁵ (King's Personal Attendant), and later on his position was strengthened by the appointment of his brother Kashli Khan as *Amir-i-Hajib* (Lord Chamberlain).

In the reign of Sultan Rakn-ud-Din Firoz Shah, he joined the conspirators against the Sultan; but on the accession of Sultan Razziya, their alliance broke up and they dispersed in different directions, Balban himself being captured and thrown into prison.¹⁶ He was, however, released and continued as *Khasadar* (King's Personal Attendant) until he became *Amir-i-Shikar* (Head of the Royal Huntsmen).

In the time of Sultan Muizzud-Din Bahram Shah, the office of *Amir-i-Akhur* (Lord of the Imperial Stables) was assigned to him. Fortune favoured him, and Malik Badrud-Din Sanqar, the Sufi, the *Amir-i-Hajib* (Lord Chamberlain) raised him to a still higher position. The fief of Rewari¹⁷ was entrusted to his charge, where he chastised and subdued the rebellious tribes of the Koh Paya¹⁸ or Hill Skirt (the Tarai: foot of the Himalayas) and established his reputation for leadership and enterprise.¹⁹ He, along

13. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 282.

14. The text of the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 282, has been wrongly translated by Major Raverty as "the whole of these Turks were disposed of and he (i.e., Balban) was honoured with an office before the throne." The correct translation is given above in the text. Ibn-Batuta confuses the anecdote regarding Iltutmish and attributes it to Balban that the latter entreated the former to purchase him for the sake of God.

15. Ibn Batuta *Travels*, Elliot III; pp. 594; 595 says that Balban started his career as a water-carrier. One day an astrologer prophesied to the Sultan that one of his water-carriers would succeed him as Sultan of Delhi. The Sultan wanted to identify him, but at the fixed time of interview Balban was absent and thus he was saved. The story is not reliable for Iltutmish does not seem to believe in astrologers.

16. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 282.

17. *Firishta*, p. 74, incorrectly adds Hansi also, which Balban received hereafter.

18. *Ibid.* has 'the infidels of Mewat.'

19. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, pp. 285, 286.

with other Maliks, rebelled against the Sultan and after the capture of the city of Delhi by them, the fief of Hansi was made over to his charge. Day by day his power increased until the year 1244 A.D. he became the Amir-i-Hajib (Lord Chamberlain) of Sultan Alaud-Din Masud Shah. Accompanied by the Sultan, Balban marched on an expedition into the *Doab* of the Ganges and the Jumna, where the rebels of Jalali and Chatroli, old places near *koil*²⁰ were pursued and severely punished. The same year, the Mongol leader, Mangutah, led an army from the borders of Taliqan and Qunduz into the territory of Sindh and invested the fortress of Uchchah.²¹ When the intimation of the Mongol irruption reached the capital, the royal army advanced towards the river Biah, and after crossing it reached the river Rawi of Lahore. Balban²² sent forward messengers bearing letters from the Sultan to the garrison of Uchchah, intimating the approach of the royal forces. Some of these letters fell into the hands of the Mongols, who were so terrified that they raised the siege and retreated.²³

On Sunday, June 10, 1246 A.D., Sultan Nasir-ud-Din ascended the throne of Delhi; but he was a king in name only and remained under the tutelage of his deputy Ghias-ud-Din Balban, in whom resided the supreme power during the next twenty years of his reign. As a matter of fact, the events of Sultan Nasir-ud-Din's reign constitute the details of the early career of Ghias-ud-Din Balban as Naib of the Sultan, which are, however, summarised as follows:—

In the year 1246 A.D., Ghias-ud-Din Balban led an expedition into the Jud hills and wreaked his vengeance upon the Rana of the territory.²⁴ In 1247 A.D., he captured the fort of Talsandah.²⁵ in the *Doab*, and then subdued the Ranahs Dalki and Malki in the year 1248 A.D. In the following year he proceeded towards Ranthambhor²⁶ and ravaged the Kohpaya (skirts of the hill) of Mewat and

20. The different copies of the text according to Major Raverty have Deoli, Datol, Jalali and Jirali.

21. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 287.

22. He did not as yet receive the title of Ulugh Khan, but at this stage he was Malik Ghias-ud-Din Balban only. Consequently Minhaj Siraj is wrong to entitle him Ulugh Khan so early.

23. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, pp. 288, 289.

24. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 290.

25. The text on p. 291 has—Talasandah, Talandah and Nandanah.

26. Ranthambhor was conquered by Sultan Shamsud-Din Iltutmish in the year 1226 A.D., but, after his death, the Hindus had captured it, and during Sultan Raziyya's reign the garrison was withdrawn and the fort was destroyed.

the territory of Nahr Diw. On Monday, August 2, 1249, A.D. Balban's daughter was married to the Sultan and on Tuesday, October 12, the Sultan assigned to him the post of *Naib-ul Mulk* (Regent) and the commander of royal forces with the title of Ulugh Khan-i-Azam.²⁷ In 1251 A.D. Ulugh Khan overthrew Chahada Deva, the Acharya, Raja of Chanderi, and captured the fort of Nurwar.

In 1252 A.D., Imad-ud-Din Raihan grew jealous of Ulugh Khan's power and achievements, and on his instigation, the Sultan ordered the latter to proceed to his fiefs of Siwalakh and Hansi.²⁸ Having reached there, Ulugh Khan retired towards Nagore, and invaded the territories of Ranthambhor, Bundi and Chitor. In 1253 A.D., the Maliks and Amirs revolted against Imad-ud-Din Raihan²⁹ and, as a result of it, Ulugh Khan again came to power in the year 1254 A.D. He was then ordered to pursue the rebel, Malik Qutlugh Khan, who had fled to Santur, which place Ulugh Khan devastated and put a large number of the inhabitant to the sword.³⁰

In 1257 A.D. Malik Qutlugh Khan joined hands with Malik Izzud-Din Balban-i-Kashlu Khan, and a party of Turkish Amirs also conspired against the Sultan at Delhi.³¹ On June 17, 1257 A.D., the disaffected Maliks were exiled from the capital and were ordered to proceed to their respective fiefs. In 1258 A.D. Ulugh Khan marched against Malik Taj-ud-Din Arsalan Khan Sanjar and Qutlugh Khan Masud Jani but the latter made their submission.³²

On September 19, 1259 A.D., a son was born to the Sultan from the daughter of Ulugh Khan but did not live long. Shortly after, Ulugh Khan resolved upon an advance into the hilly tracts of Mewat, and plundered and devastated the whole territory. The Sultan was pleased on this wonderful exploit, and held a public assembly at the Jud-gardens, where the captives were put on gibbets.³³

27. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 294.

28. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 298.

29. Who had been created *Vakil-i-dar* (Representative in Durbar).

30. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, pp. 222 and 307.

31. *Ibid.*, pp. 308 and 309.

32. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 311.

33. *Ibid.*, pp. 315, 316.

In 1260 A.D. the Mongol emissaries arrived at the capital, and were received with great honour. The reason being that of Malik Nasir-ud-Din Mohammad,³⁴ son of Malik Hasan the Karlugh, the ruler of Sindh had contemplated the betrothal of his daughter to Ulugh Khan's son and consequently he despatched the Hajib Jamalud-Din Ali to the capital Delhi. But when the messenger reached Uchchah, he was detained by Malik Izzud-Din Balban-i-Kishlu Khan, but was soon released on the pretext that he was an emissary from Delhi and was going on a mission to the Mongol Court. Hajib Ali then approached Hulaku with forged letters from his patron Malik Nasir-ud-Din Mohammad.³⁵ These were the emissaries sent by Hulaku to the court of Delhi. In the same year Ulugh Khan, for the second time, started against the rebel inhabitants of Mewat, captured their strongholds and massacred about 12,000 persons.³⁶ In short Balban's early career is that of a ruthless, unprincipled intriguer, who might terrorise but could not win the respect of his contemporaries. Indiscipline and factiousness for personal gain seem to have been the main motives.

The contemporary as well as later authorities suddenly stop at the year 1260 and do not mention any event upto 1266, when Sultan Nasir-ud-Din died. With him was extinguished the family of Sultan Shamsud-Din Iltutmish, and the Khans, Maliks and Amirs unanimously elevated Ghiyas-ud-Din Balban to the throne of Delhi.³⁷

CHARACTER

Sultan Ghias-ud-Din Balban was a wise and sagacious ruler, endowed with many rare virtues and talents. He was an experienced hand in the art of government, and directed the affairs of the state with discrimination and judgment. It goes to his credit that he passed through all the stages of authority—those of Amir, Malik and Khan—and ultimately attained sovereignty and kingship.³⁸ While yet a Khan, Balban was notorious for his convivial

assemblies and drinking, but, after his accession to the throne, he never indulged in these vices, and made it a point to dine with the Ulema.³⁹ He gave himself up to worship, fasting and nightly prayers whether at home or abroad and kept awake at places of pilgrimage.⁴⁰ He assiduously attended all congregational prayers and was never without his ablutions.⁴¹ After attending to Friday prayers he used to visit the tombs of saints and took a round to see mystics and scholars like Shaikh Burhanud-Din Balkhi, Maulana Siraj-ud-Din Sanjari, Qazi Sharfud-Din Valvaji and Maulana Najimud-Din Damashqi, whom he held in the highest esteem. He always attended the funeral ceremonies of ecclesiastics and distinguished personages, and, with a profusion of tears in his eyes presented robes of honour to the sons and relations of the deceased and bestowed stipends for their maintenance.⁴² With all his kingly dignity and magnificence, he used to alight from his horse, when he saw or heard people saying their prayers, sat amidst his subjects and listened to religious sermons.⁴³ All this was show, as Barni half implies—it did not however sanctify Balban's character.

Sultan Ghias-ud-Din Balban decorated the court and palace after the manner of the Kings of Persia, and attached much importance to the pomp and dignity of the court and of the riding procession.⁴⁴ The sight dazzled the spectators and rebels of distant lands became submissive and loyal. He maintained the royal dignity by issuing strict orders for the observance of etiquette and himself followed the essential traditions of kingship. He took the greatest possible care regarding his behaviour in public and in private as to how he ate, drank, sat, stood and rode. His private servants never saw him without being properly clad in the palace. He himself never laughed, nor allowed anybody else to laugh before him.⁴⁵ In short Balban's object in thus re-instituting the forms of pagan Persia was to raise the status of the king above the nobles, to hide the defects of his physical personality and of his low origin, and to maintain the authority of the Central Government.

34. He seems to have succeeded to the dominion of his father.

35. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 321.

36. *Ibid.*, p. 323.

37. *Mss. Intakhabul Muntakhab of Abdul-Shakur*, p. 171, *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, p. 78, Badauni, p. 127 state one year earlier, i.e., 1265, and *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh*, p. 197, a year after, i.e., 1267—all of which is wrong.

38. He was a king having an experience of forty years—see *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi of Zia Barni*, p. 53.

39. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi of Zia Barni*, pp. 45 and 46.

40. All the above and following account of Balban has been narrated and learnt by Zia Barni from his forefathers, who held important posts in the reign of Balban.

41. Badauni's *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, p. 128.

42. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi of Zia Barni*, p. 46 and *Firishta*, p. 76.

43. *Ibid.*, p. 47.

44. *Ibid.*, p. 26.

45. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi of Zia Barni*, p. 83.

As a matter of fact true leadership does not require such pretences. It was a symbol of inferiority complex.

Balban was equally stern and persevering in the enforcement of justice. He was quite different from other kings in anger, kindness, indignation, mildness, excitement and affection.⁴⁶ Even in delicate situations he inflicted severe punishments upon the fearless and disobedient persons, while he was always kind and smooth in case of obedient, submissive and fearful people. In matters of justice he showed no favour or partiality towards relatives, confidants and trusted persons. Balban was relentless in his punishments of all rebels and disturbers of public peace, Muslim or non-Muslim. He never stopped to consider whether his actions were sanctioned or prohibited by the *Shariat*; but ruthlessly killed, flogged and imprisoned people for what he considered to be the welfare of the kingdom.⁴⁷ Many descendants of Sultan Shamsud-Din Iltutmish were publicly beheaded. He gave an order for the execution of Malik Baqbaq,⁴⁸ *Sar-i-Jandar* (Commander of the Royal troops at the centre) who had killed his personal servant in a fit of intoxication, and his corpse was hanged on the gate of Badaun.⁴⁹ On another occasion he inflicted five hundred lashes upon Malik Haibat Khan,⁵⁰ the governor of Oudh, for having beaten a person to death. With apologies and tears, the Malik purchased his safety by offering one thousand *tankas* to the widow of the deceased. The desire to maintain the public peace often led Balban to destroy a whole army or sack an innocent town in retaliation for the treason of a single individual.⁵¹ Consequently no one could have the courage to defy his orders, and the laws of the state, which had been ignored and violated during the past years, were once more enforced rigorously.

Balban employed in his service only such persons as were of high birth and noble lineage, and never allowed the low class

46. Ibid., p. 39. Ibn Batuta, Elliot III, pp. 593-94 says that Balban had built a house named 'Abode of Security'—all debtors who entered it had their debts discharged, and if a murderer fled there for refuge, the friends and relations of the deceased were offered handsome presents and money to forego their claims.

47. Firishta, p. 76.

48. Ibid. has Malik Naiq, son of Jandar.

49. Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi of Zia Barni, p. 40.

50. 'Father of Malik Qiran-i-Alami, an associate of Balban'—*Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, p. 79.

51. Firishta, p. 76 and Khulasat-ut-Twarikh, p. 199.

people to meddle with it.⁵² He was extremely particular about the social status and descent of his officers, and inquired about it very diligently; if, even after appointment, any of them were found wanting in character or birth, he was immediately dismissed. Among Musalmans highbirth, generally, is defined not with reference to wealth but on the consideration of a particular group—in this case the Turkish aristocracy. A certain Kamal Mahya⁵³ was recommended to him for the post of governor of Amroha, but on investigation it was found out that he was a convert and that Mahya was his father's name. Thereupon the Sultan strictly forbade such appointments and at the same time dismissed a number of other officials for the same reason.⁵⁴ During his twenty-two years' reign, Balban never condescended to talk to any ordinary or low-born person, and never admitted any buffoon to his assembly.⁵⁵ An officer named Fakhre Baoni⁵⁶ who had been in the service of the state for years, asked a noble of the court for an interview with the Sultan and promised a substantial present. But the Sultan refused. "He is an officer of the Market (*Amir-i-Bazaryan*)," Balban replied, "granting him an interview would reduce the status of the king in the eyes of the common people and diminish the prestige of the throne."⁵⁷

Ghias-ud-Din Balban took great pleasure in hunting campaigns; the 'royal huntsmen,' therefore, attained to great dignity during his reign. In spite of pressure of work, he often spent whole days in hunting; he welcomed the winter season and anxiously awaited its return.⁵⁸ Game was preserved in the land twenty *Krohs* round Delhi, and Balban came out of the Ruby Palace (*Qasr-i-Lal*) in the early hours of the morning and proceeded towards Riwari and did not return till late at night. A thousand horsemen and a thousand archers on foot started with him at the beating of the kettle-drum; their food and drink was provided by the government.⁵⁹ Hulaku Khan at Baghdad com-

52. Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi of Zia Barni, p. 29.

53. He was recommended by Malik Alaud-Din Kushli Khan and Malik Nizamud-Din Buzghala.

54. Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi of Zia Barni, pp. 36 and 37.

55. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, p. 78.

56. *Khulasat-ut-Twarikh*, p. 197, has Fakhra-nami Badauni, p. 127 and *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, p. 78, have Fakhr-nam and Fakhr-i-Amani.

57. Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi of Zia Barni, p. 33.

58. Ibid., p. 54.

59. *Khulasat-ut-Twarikh*, p. 201 and *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, p. 83.

mended Balban's devotion to hunting. 'Balban is a wise and experienced ruler,' he remarked, 'It might appear that he is merely enjoying a game, but Balban's real object is to exercise his horsemen and to keep his troops in order. Balban made ample preparations before fitting out an expedition, and informed the Revenue and Military departments accordingly.⁶⁰ But he kept matters confidential and until a few hours before his actual departure nobody, not even the *Amir-i-Hajib* (Lord Chamberlain) had any knowledge as to which part of the territory the Sultan was going to invade.⁶¹

BALBAN'S COURT

"It was a sufficient glory for Balban," says the *Mulhiqat-i-Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* written by Sheikh Ain-ud-Din of Bijapur. "that apart from the kings and princes, who had sought refuge in India during the reigns of his predecessors, no less than fifteen princes of Turkestan, Mawaraun Nehr, Khorasan, Iraq, Azarbaijan, Fars, Rum and Syria, whose power had been shattered by the Mongols, fled for safety to Balban's court at Delhi. They were appointed to offices of dignity and power, and stood with folded hands before his throne; only two of them were granted the privilege of sitting at the foot of the throne because they belonged to the Abbaside dynasty.⁶² Balban allotted a separate portion (mohalla) of the city to each of them, and fifteen such quarters grew up in Delhi, viz., the Abbasi, Sanjari, Khwarazm Shahi, Dilami, Alivi, Atabaki, Ghorī, Chengizi, Rumi, Sanqari, Yemini, Mosuli, Samarqandi, Kashghari and Khitai.⁶³ As all the leading men of the pen and the sword, musicians and singers and artisans collected together at Balban's court from every quarter of the globe, it was naturally ranked above the courts of Mahmud and Sanjar." Mystics and scholars, it is said, congregated at the palace of the Sultan's elder son known as the Khan-i-Shahid, while musicians, wits, storytellers and buffoons found an asylum with the younger son, Bughra Khan.⁶⁴

60. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* of Zia Barni, p. 60.

61. *Ibid.*, p. 61.

62. As quoted by Firishta, p. 75.

63. *Ibid.*, p. 75.

64. Firishta, p. 75.

The court of Balban was 'adorned by the presence of a large number of eminent nobles and notables.⁶⁵ From the family of Syeds—the Sheikhul Islam-i-Shehr Qutbud-Din, Syed Muntakhab-ud-Din, Syed Jalal-ud-Din son of Syed Mubarak, Syed Aziz, Syed Moin-ud-Din Samana, Syeds of Kardaz, Kathel, Bayanah, and Badaun; professors like Maulana Burhan-ud-Din Malkh, Maulana Najim-ud-Din, Qazi Rafi-ud-Din and Qazi Shams-ud-Din and others; saints and mystics such as Sheikh Sheukhul Alam Farid-ud-Din Masud Qutb-i-Alam, Sheikh Sadrud-Din, son of Sheikhul Islam Baha-ud-Din Zakarya, Sheikh Badrud-Din Ghaznavi, Khalifa-Sheikh Qutbud-Din Bakhtiyar, Sheikh Malkyar Paran, Debi Sam, Saidi Maula, and others; and rare physicians and philosophers like Maulana Hamid-ud-Din Mutraz, Maulana Badrud-Din Damashqi and Maulana Hisam-ud-Din Bazghalah.⁶⁶

Among the great officials and servants of the court was Alaud-Din Kashli Khan, the Sultan's cousin who was famous for his generosity and munificence and was unrivalled in archery, spear-manship and hunting.⁶⁷ Hearing of his liberality, scholars and poets came in expectation of his favours from the remoter parts of the world and went back with a happy and contented heart. Sultan Balban confirmed him on his father's post as *barbak* (Master of Ceremonies) and the governorship of Koil was also conferred upon him. The Khwajah Shamsud-Din Moin composed a number of verses in his praise and was duly rewarded.⁶⁸

The other famous Malik Imamdul Mulk Rawat-i-Arz (the Minister of war), formerly a slave of Sultan Shamsud-Din Iltutmish was an intimate friend of Sultan Ghias-ud-Din Balban. He was a pious and kind-hearted Malik, and never accepted any bribes.⁶⁹ He organised the affairs of the army with tact and energy, and had parental affection for his subordinate officials; at times he used to invite the whole retinue to dine with him and conferred robes upon Khans, Maliks and Amirs.⁷⁰

65. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* of Zia Barni gives this list of names on pp. 111 and 112.

66. Zia Barni—*Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 112.

67. It is related by Zia Barni on p. 114 that Hulaku sent a dagger as a present to Malik Alaud-Din for his excellence in archery, spear-manship and hunting and called him to his presence with the promise that he would make him governor of Iraq. The message did not please the Sultan.

68. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* by Zia Barni, p. 113.

69. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* of Zia Barni, p. 116.

70. *Ibid.*, p. 115.

The other Malik worthy of mention is Malik-ul Umra Fakhrud-Din Kotwal (Superintendent of Police). He rendered valuable services in his official capacity, but his private life was also remarkable. He had under his employment twelve thousand reciters of the Quran, one thousand of whom were ever engaged at every hour of the day. He wore new clothes and used fresh bedsteads and carpets every day all of which was given in charity the next day.⁷¹ He further made provision for the marriage of about a thousand poor girls every year. All this was done from his personal pocket.

Another Malik of renown was Malik Amir Ali Sar-i-Jandar (Commander of the Royal bodyguards at the centre), son of the Sultan's preceptor. He was entitled Hatim Khan by the Sultan and Amir Khusro composed *Aspanama* in his praise, for he was a very liberal man.⁷² "I hear, you are bounteous while in a fit of intoxication" said the Sultan one day, "be liberal at a time when you are sober." The Malik was greatly touched and since then he abandoned wine and proved all the more beneficent.

The *Sipah salar* (commander of troops) Hisamud-Din *Vakil-i-dar* (Representative in court) was another illustrious Malik of Sultan Balban's court. He was a maternal uncle of Zia Barni, the famous author of the noted *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*.⁷³ He too did not lag far behind the time; for it was a period when the *Maliks* and *Amirs* tried to excel one another in matters of liberality, generosity and munificence, and had consequently run into debt.

BALBAN'S THEORY OF KINGSHIP AND GOVERNMENT

The origin of Balban's political ideas lay in Persian paganism. 'Excluding the functions of a prophet,' the Sultan declared on one occasion, 'there is no work as great and noble as the task of government.'⁷⁴ Balban's theory of kingship, or his political ideas regarding the institution of kingship, may be described as follows: Kingship is a great blessing and the highest office of the world.

71. Ibid., 117.

72. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* of Zia Barni, p. 118.

73. Ibid., p. 119.

74. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* of Zia Barni, p. 27.

[With apology to my cousin Sabrah Khatoon Sahiba, who contributed an article on the same subject to the *Aligarh Magazine* 1936.]

The kingly office is the creation of God and is received from Him alone. A king is a representative of God on earth, and the heart of the king reflects the glory of God.⁷⁵ The creator inspires him with His commandments for the created. A king, therefore, must feel the importance and significance of the glory and grandeur thus conferred upon him, and must be grateful to God for this great honour. An ungrateful king soon loses his position; incompetent and worthless persons take charge of his government, and this ends his political career. A grateful king is sheltered under 'the canopy of God's protection.'⁷⁶ A king therefore, must seek God's pleasure by doing the approved and virtuous deeds, which is really a means of salvation.

A king must be brave, enterprising, just and benevolent. He should be neither sweet-speaking nor very harsh. To retain the kingship he must maintain his prestige. Kingship has got a dignity, glory and grandeur of its own, and when these disappear on account of friendship and familiarity, there remains no distinction between the ruler and the ruled; subjects become impious and rebellious and the result is vice, immorality, and sinning throughout the dominions,⁷⁷ and the execution of orders becomes faulty. Only those kings can command respect and dignity, who have been descendants of the noble line of illustrious sovereigns. It is necessary, therefore, for a king to abstain from such undertakings either by words or deeds as may cause injury to his prestige.⁷⁸ Mere mildness, indignation, harshness and anger cause a general condemnation of the king's activities,⁷⁹ but kingly dignity and terror of authority contributes more than mere chastisement to the establishment of a good and stable government. His society should be composed of the virtuous, faithful, wise, skilled and sagacious people, but he should not grant audience or give posts to the worthless, humble, or low-born persons.⁸⁰ A king should not degrade his dignity by mean and undeserving actions, or by admitting mean or unworthy people into partnership.

The primary duty of a king is to maintain peace and order in his dominion. He must protect and patronise the faith, and if he

75. Ibid., p. 70.

76. Ibid., p. 71.

77. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* of Zia Barni, p. 34.

78. Ibid., p. 71.

79. Ibid., p. 79.

80. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shah* of Zia Barni, p. 29.

himself is weak and powerless, other religions flourish at the expense of Islam. He must minimise vice, immorality and crime by means of penal restrictions.⁸¹ His rule must facilitate his subjects leading a happy and virtuous life. The execution of the orders of the *Shariat* should be entrusted to the learned, pious and God-fearing officers. Not only he but his officials, judges and generals must administer absolute justice and equity. A king must pitch his ambitions high, for kingship and aspirations go hand in hand. He should never grant interviews to revenue officers, for their familiarity, frankness and forwardness will terrify the obedient and trustworthy servants.⁸² He must keep himself well-informed of the conditions of his provinces and the doings of his governors and to incite them to noble and virtuous actions. Before organising an expedition he should consider its consequences and make ample preparation. He should not proclaim his motives; at the same time he must not indulge in any war without seeking advice from his courtiers and confidants.⁸³ A king should not be negligent in looking after his relations; but he must be more cautious about his personal security, and keep his generals, guards and police officers satisfied. There should be no hesitation in suppressing the power of the nobles and chiefs, for their degradation and dishonour strengthens his own position and gives a new vigour to his government.⁸⁴ Balban's theory was to be moderate in matters of chastisement, but he was fearless in slaying rebels. At the same time he never exercised meaningless cruelty or oppression. Balban tried neither to please nor to displease his subjects, and was always moderate in levying taxes.

The three essentials of kingship are the army, treasury and nobles. The means of success are justice, beneficence, pomp and show.⁸⁵ The stability and permanence of the government rests upon the establishment and maintenance of a well-disciplined and a well-equipped army. The ruler should not hesitate to allot a larger portion of the revenue for the upkeep of the army: he may appropriate half of it, but the other half must go to the treasury.⁸⁷

81. Ibid., p. 42.

82. Ibid., p. 43.

83. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* of Zia Barni, p. 78.

84. Ibid., p. 97.

85. Ibid., p. 78.

86. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* of Zia Barni, p. 77.

87. Ibid., p. 79.

If the king observes negligence and carelessness in this respect, there is anarchy and confusion in the state, and the army loses its strength and stability; re-establishment and reconstruction after dissension and disorganization are not possible.⁸⁸ A king must have under his command ten *Khans*, each Khan having ten *Maliks* under him, each Malik ten *Amirs*, each Amir ten *Sipah Salar*s (commanders of troops), each Sipah Salar ten *Sar-khil* (corporals) and each Sar-khil ten horsemen or footmen.

Since the beginning of his reign, Sultan Ghias-ud-Din Balban decorated the court and palace after the manner of the kings of Persia, and attached much importance to the pomp and glory of the court and of the riding procession.⁸⁹ The Sultan with his bright face and white beard sat upon the throne with an air of dignity and authority. Behind the throne stood the Maliks, Amirs, Chamberlains, Police Officer, Head Executioner, Commanders of Forces, Sergeants, Head Swordsmen, Proclaimers, Wrestlers and horses and elephants glorifying the right and left wings of the army.⁹⁰⁻⁹¹ The Rais, Ranas, Princes, Messengers and Muqaddams (Head Villagemen) came to perform the kissing ceremony at the threshold of the court. The brightness of the Sultan's face, the glittering of the swords and the noise produced by the commands of generals, sergeants and proclaimers kept the spectators spell-bound, and the rebels of distant lands became submissive and loyal.⁹² The dignity of the carriage was enhanced by the presence of a large number of *Sistāni* wrestlers, who accompanied the Sultan with open swords. For miles on both sides of the road, stood eager spectators to witness the glory of the riding procession. On occasions of festivals, grand assemblies were held in the royal palace, which was decorated and furnished with embroidered carpets, variegated dresses and cloth, gold and silver vassels, brocade curtains, gardens of various kinds, fruits, food, drink and betel-leaf. The Sultan remained seated in the middle, and the *Khans*, *Maliks* and *Amirs* passed before him and offered valuable presents, and poets recited *Qasidas* in his praise.⁹³

According to Sultan Ghias-ud-Din Balban, the salvation of a king lay in the observance and fulfilment of the following four

88. Ibid., p. 97.

89. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* of Zia Barni, p. 26.

90-91. Ibid., p. 30.

92. Ibid., p. 31.

93. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* of Zia Barni, p. 32.

duties—firstly to protect religion and to execute the provisions of the *Shariat*; secondly, to crush or to minimise vice, immorality, sinning and crimes; thirdly, to appoint pious, God-fearing and noble officers, and, fourthly, to administer justice with equity.⁹⁴ How far the Sultan himself followed these rules and theories can be best illustrated by his own statement—"All that I can do is to crush the cruelties of the cruel and to see that all persons are equal before law. The glory of the state rests upon a rule which makes its subjects happy and prosperous, but does not make the rich prosperous or the indigent happy—a cause of sedition and rebellion."⁹⁵ 'Justice and impartiality secure the permanence of the throne; a tyrannical king is like an open light in a high wind.'

CONDITION OF THE STATE AND BALBAN'S REFORMS

Sultan Shamsud-Din Iltutmish had forty Turkish slaves, who held positions of responsibility and command during his reign; and they were generally known as the 'Chahelgani' or the 'Forty'.⁹⁶ After his death, they collected together in a meeting and swore to stand by each other and to divide the empire of Hindustan equally among themselves. The dignity of the state had withered away during the thirty years' government of the successors of Iltutmish due to their addition to pleasures, weak rule and mal-administration.⁹⁷ There was no money in the royal treasury and no horse in the imperial stable. The 'Forty' had set aside the old *Khans* and *Maliks*, themselves took their places and dividing the sources of income each held a separate court with great pomp and dignity.⁹⁸ Nevertheless, they soon fell out; none would obey the other and each of them aspired to be the sole master. In their 'proud vaunts and boasts' every one said to the other, 'what are thou that I am not; and what wilt thou be that I shall not be.'⁹⁹ Thus the period under review is marked by the ascendancy of Turkish slaves, who had become the virtual masters of Hindustan.

94. Ibid., p. 43.

95. Ibid., p. 100.

96. Firishta, p. 75, calls them *Turkan-i-Khwaja Tash* (Turkish fellow servants). All of them made a common cause, and on principles of co-operation and good-will, they called themselves Turkish fellow-servants. Zia Barni styles them as 'Chahelgani' or Forty. In fact they were 'forty' Turkish families. The number is, however, a supposition.

97. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* of Zia Barni, p. 26.

98. Ibid., p. 27.

99. Ibid., p. 28.

Ghias-ud-Din Balban was one of the 'forty.' The assassin's dagger, he thought, was the only remedy to restore peace and order. Soon after his accession, he overthrew his principal colleagues, whose existence was dangerous to the continuance of his power; and had his own uncle's son, Sher Khan, the greatest of them, poisoned¹⁰⁰ during his illness. Thus he cleared Hindustan of all rivals, and the surviving Turkish slaves were obliged to make their submission. Now he became the sole master of Hindustan and was revered as a great king.

Sultan Ghias-ud-Din Balban decorated the court and palace after the manner of the kings of Persia and himself followed the essential traditions of past kings.¹⁰¹ He reorganised the affairs of the state, and strengthened the various departments of government. He took drastic measures to restore peace and order, and brought the high and low under his subordination by means of strict rules and penal restrictions.¹⁰² The dignity of the court, the magnificence of the riding procession, and above all his indignation, impartiality and justice contributed to the establishment of a strong and stable government.¹⁰³

At the very outset of his career, Balban directed his attention towards the reorganization of the army. The cavalry and infantry, both old and new, were placed under the charge of experienced officers, who were granted different fiefs for this maintenance.¹⁰⁴ Balban's next measure was to exact treasure, elephants and horses, the sources of the strength of the state, from the different parts of Hindustan. He conferred the territory of Sindh upon his elder son Mahmud, who was directed to supply horses from Harj and Tatar to the Imperial stable.¹⁰⁵

PACIFICATION OF HINDUSTAN

In the first year of the reign 1266 A.D.¹⁰⁶ Tatar Khan, son of Arsalan Khan, despatched sixty-three elephants¹⁰⁷ to Sultan

100. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* of Zia Barni, p. 65.

101. Ibid., p. 26.

102. Ibid., p. 28.

103. The *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, p. 79, says that 'on account of his terror and chastisement, nobody had the courage to defy his orders!'

104. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* of Zia Barni, p. 29.

105. Ibid., p. 53.

106. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* of Zia Barni, p. 53, gives 1263 A.D. which is quite impossible considering the fact that Sultan Nasirud-Din died in 1266 A.D., and Balban, therefore, could not ascend the throne before that time. Curiously enough, Firishta, p. 77, gives 1265 A.D., which is also impossible.

107. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* of Zia Barni, p. 53.

Ghias-ud-Din Balban from Lakhnawti. The Sultan interpreted this act of Tatar Khan as a token of submission and loyalty and, in its honour, held a public court on the Nasiri platform outside the Badaun-gate. The *Maliks* and *Amirs* offered valuable presents and were duly rewarded by the Sultan. The Capital city was decorated and there was a general rejoicing among the people.¹⁰⁸

Towards the close of the year 1266 A.D. the Sultan was engaged in harrying the dense jungle in the vicinity of Delhi and in routing out the Miwatis, who had embarked on a career of loot and plunder.¹⁰⁹ They waylaid the travellers, broke into the houses and repeatedly sacked the suburbs of the city. The exit and entrance of traders was barred, and the gates of the city were closed at the time of the evening prayer. Considering the suppression of the Miwatis as his first duty, the Sultan marched¹¹⁰ against them, and put a large number of them to the sword. It took full one year to clear the jungles. Balban took the protective measures by building a fort at Gopalgir,¹¹¹ and by establishing several posts in the neighbourhood of the city under the charge of responsible officers.

Next year 1267 A.D. Balban undertook the suppression of the insurgents in the Doab, who had laid waste the territory and caused much tumult and sedition. The province was assigned to powerful officers, who were directed to slay the rebels, to crush all risings and to suppress all lawlessness. The Sultan himself twice rode to Kampil and Patiali,¹¹² the headquarters of the rebels: there he remained for about five or six months and put several thousands of them to death, while great spoils and captives were brought to the capital. Thus the way from Hindustan to Jaunpur, Behar and Bengal¹¹³ was cleared. The Sultan built strong forts and magnificent mosques at Kampil, Patiali and Bhoj-

108. Ibid., p. 54

109. Ibid., p. 55.

110. The *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, p. 40 says, he "proceeded towards Koyaldikar and after suppressing the revolt marched to the *Kohpaya* of Santur.

111. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, p. 84, has Kawalkar and *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, p. 40 has Makar Kajuri.

112. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, p. 84, has Kathel and Patiali. *Firishta*, p. 77, while agreeing with the contemporary authority adds Bhojpur also. So does Badauni, pp. 128, 129.—Kampil and Bhojpur were in Farrukhabad District and Patiali in the Etah District.

113. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, p. 85.

pur, repaired the fort of Jalali and garrisoned them with Afghan regiments.

Soon after the rebels of Kather¹¹⁴ acted in a refractory manner, and ravaged and plundered the districts of Badaun and Amroha, the governors¹¹⁵ of which places conveyed the news to the Sultan. Balban immediately retired to the capital, and marched with strong army to subdue the rebels. On reaching the spot, the Sultan ordered a wholesale massacre of the inhabitants of Kather excluding women and children.¹¹⁶ The extensive forests were cleared, and the territories of Badaun, Amroha, Sambhal and Gannaur were purged of robbers and continued safe from their violence and assaults.¹¹⁷

After staying a few days at the capital, the victorious Sultan marched to the foot of the Jud-hills, and devoted the following years 1268 and 1269 in the annihilation and suppression of the rebels.¹¹⁸

Two years after the Jud Expedition, the Sultan marched to Lahore in the year 1271 A.D. and ordered the reconstruction of the fort, which had been destroyed by the Mongols during the reign of his predecessors.¹¹⁹⁻¹²⁰ On his return to his capital, the Sultan was informed that a large number of soldiers, who were granted lands by Sultan Shamsud-Din Iltutmish, still continued on the rolls, and on account of their old age failed to perform their military duties; they gave large sums of money in bribes to the Ministry of War and obtained exemption from attendance and service. Balban at once ordered the confiscation of lands, and assigned 20 to 30 *tankas*' pension for the infirm or old officials, while the young soldiers were allotted fixed allowances. The measure caused a great upheaval in the army. However, on the recommendation of Malikul Umra Fakhrud-Din Kotwal, the Sultan revised his order and reconfirmed lands to the applicants.¹²¹

114. Ibid., p. 85 and Badauni, p. 129, have Kathir.

115. Ibid., p. 85, names the governor as Zubuni.

116. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, p. 85, says that every child attaining the age of 8 was also killed.

117. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* of Zia Barni, p. 60.

118. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, p. 85, says that the number of horses captured by the Sultan during the expedition was so great that the price of a horse lowered down to 30 to 40 *tankas*.

119-120. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* of Zia Barni, p. 61.

121. Ibid., pp. 63 and 64.

THE FRONTIER AND THE MONGOLS

It is said that when Balban's government had become firm and stable, his generals Adil Khan and Tamar Khan and several other Amirs represented to the Sultan, "Your Majesty's power is at its height. It will be most expedient for the Sultan to agree to our suggestion that we should now establish our authority over Gujarat, Malwa and other provinces of Hindustan, which were under the domination of Aiybek and Iltutmish."¹²² "It will not be an act of wisdom," Balban replied, "to leave Delhi and to go on distant campaigns in these days of turmoil and insecurity, when the Mongols have occupied all the lands of Islam, devastated Lahore, and made it a point to invade our country once every year."¹²³ The Sultan further added "If I move out of the capital, the Mongols are sure to take advantage of this opportunity by sacking Delhi and ravaging the Doab."¹²⁴ Maintaining peace and consolidating our power in our own kingdoms is far better than invading foreign territories, while our own dominion is insecure. Further the newly-conquered areas require competent officers and well-equipped armies, which I am unable to spare at the present juncture."¹²⁵ I have, therefore, made up my mind to face the Mongols with strong and organized forces; but if I get an opportunity, I shall undoubtedly subdue the rest of Hindustan and extend the frontiers of my kingdom."

Two years after the Jud Expedition, the Sultan marched to Lahore in the year 1271 A.D., and ordered the reconstruction of the fort, which had been destroyed by the Mongols during the reigns of his predecessors.¹²⁶ The fort was entrusted to the charge of Afghan regiments, and the neighbouring districts were assigned for their maintenance. About this time, the Sultan's cousin, Sher Khan¹²⁷, a great barrier to the Mongol inroads was, in all probability, poisoned by Balban, and the territories of Samana and Sunam were made over to the charge of Tamar Khan,¹²⁸ the most

122. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* of Zia Barni, p. 50.

123. *Ibid.*, p. 50.

124. *Ibid.*, p. 51.

125. *Ibid.*, pp. 51 and 52.

126. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* of Zia Barni, p. 61.

127. Sher Khan founded the city and fort of Bhatner and erected a high tower there. Since the days of Sultan Nasir-ud-Din he held the districts of Samana, Lahore, Depalpure, and other territories, and had successfully withheld the Mongols from invading Hindustan. See Zia Barni, p. 65.

128. *Firishta*, p. 78, has Taimur Khan.

respected of the 'forty.' The other territories were assigned to various Amirs. But the Mongols who were held in check by Sher Khan, now began ravaging the frontiers once more. Finding himself helpless, Balban appointed¹²⁹ his eldest son Mohamed Sultan, who bore the title of Qa-anul Mulk and is popularly known as Khan-i-Shahid (the Martyr Prince)¹³⁰—the governor of Multan, Sindh, Dipalpur and Lahore, and sent him to Multan with all the requisites of war and a body of experienced counsellors. After establishing his power in his territories, the Prince came to see his father every year with treasure and valuable presents. On his last visit, Balban proclaimed him his heir-apparent and gave many counsels.¹³¹ The Sultan despatched his younger son, Bughra Khan, entitled Nasir-ud-Din, to the territories of Samana and Sunam, and advised him to make fresh recruitments in the army as a precautionary measure against the Mongol invasions.¹³² The Sultan further forbade the use of wine to Bughra Khan, and appointed spies to look after him and to report regarding his behaviour.¹³³

Soon after in 1279 A.D. the Mongol troops crossed the river Biah, and Balban despatched against them Khan-Shahid from Multan, Bughra Khan from Samana and Malik Mubarak Bektars from Delhi. The combined forces marched to the Biah, repulsed the Mongols and obtained several victories over them; and since then the Mongols are not to cross the river and invade Hindustan.¹³⁴

129. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, p. 87, *Firishta*, p. 78 and *Badauni*, p. 130, all wrongly assert that at the very outset he was made heir-apparent; while Zia Barni says that on his last visit, Khan Shahid was proclaimed heir-apparent.

130. During the early part of the reign, the prince held the territory of Koil. He was regarded dearer than other children by the Sultan, and was adorned with many rare virtues and talents. His court was graced by scholars of the greatest eminence and poets of the highest order like Amir Khushro and Khwajah Hasan. At Multan, a great mystic of the age Usman Tirmizi visited the Prince, but refused to stay at the court any longer. Among other saints, Sheikh Sadrud-Din Qadoh, son of Sheikh Bahaud-Din Zakariya attended the court. Zia Barni, pp. 67, 68.

131. *Ibid.*, p. 69.

132. *Ibid.*, p. 80.

133. *Ibid.*, p. 81.

134. *Ibid.*, p. 81.

THE REBELLION OF TUGHRIL

At length news was brought that Tughril,¹³⁵ the governor of Lakhnawti, and one of the Sultan's Turkish slaves, had broken out into rebellion in the year 1279 A.D.¹³⁶ The rebel had a reputation for generosity, courage and cleverness, and led his army from Lakhnawti to Jainagar, and obtained many elephants and vast treasures by defeating the Rae of that place. Balban was old; his sons were engaged in a fierce struggle with the Mongols, and Tughril, who wished to make himself king of Lakhnawti, refrained from sending the spoils of Jainagar.¹³⁷ Tughril ventured too far; he assumed a canopy of state, caused his name to be read in the *khutba* and to be inscribed on the coinage, and proclaimed himself king of Lakhnawti with the title of Sultan Mughis-ud-Din.¹³⁸

When the Sultan was informed of the persistently rebellious character of his most cherished slave Tughril, he despatched Malik Alptigin *Mu-i-daraz* (long-haired) entitled Amin Khan at the head of a large army towards Lakhnawti along with a number of other officers such as Tamar Khan Shamsi, Malik Taj-ud-Din, son of Kutlugh Khan Shamsi¹³⁹ and 'Jamal-ud-Din Qandhari'.¹⁴⁰ Amin Khan crossed the river Sarayu (or Sarju, the modern Gogra) with his army, and Tughril came forward to face him; but when the two forces were face to face, many *Amirs* and soldiers of Amin Khan deserted to Tughril owing to his lavish gifts and in consequence he was defeated in battle. The army of Amin Khan was put to the rout, and during their flight they were severely dealt with by the Hindu tribes. Having heard of the defeat, which his army had sustained, Balban ordered Amin Khan to be hanged

135. *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, p. 40, makes a nice blunder here. The author asserts that "after the death of Sher Khan, Amin Khan became governor of Lakhnawti and Tughril became his deputy." The same historian, p. 41, and Badauni on page 129 further state that "Tughril fought with Amin Khan and came out successful."

136. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* of Zia Barni, p. 81.

137. *Ibid.*, p. 82.

138. *Ibid.*, p. 83.

139. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, p. 92, has 'son of Ali Khan Shamsi.'

140. This name is added by Firishta, p. 79 and *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, p. 41, makes a whole sweep of affairs—according to it the generals were Amin Khan, Tughril, Jamalud-Din Qandzi and Abtigin Musi.

by his neck to the gate of Oudh.¹⁴¹ Next year in 1280 A.D. another army was fitted out under 'Malik Tirmani, the Turk',¹⁴² but Tughril inflicted a crushing defeat upon him as well.¹⁴³

Balban was perplexed and worried at this turn of affairs and determined to march in person. He ordered the construction of a large number of boats on the Jumna and the Ganges, while he himself went on a hunting expedition to Sanam and Samanal.¹⁴⁴ The governorship of Samana was transferred to Malik Siraj,¹⁴⁵ *Sar-i-Jandar*¹⁴⁶ (Commander of the Royal bodyguards at the centre) and Bughra Khan was directed to accompany the Sultan with his troops. Balban marched from there to the Doab and appointed Malik-ul Umra Fakhrud-Din Kotwal to act as his Regent at Delhi during his absence; and, regardless of the rainy season, he crossed the Ganges and moved towards Lakhnawti by continued marches. While his movements were inevitably delayed by the difficulties of the season, Tughril gathered his forces and intended to move with his elephants, treasures and army to Jainagar,¹⁴⁷ and conquered it. So long as Balban was at Lakhnawti, Tughril proposed to remain at Jainagar, when the Sultan returned to Delhi, he would occupy Lakhnawti once more. He was frustrated in his designs: when Balban reached Lakhnawti, he entrusted it to the charge of *Sipah-salar* (commander of troops) Hisamud-Din, *Vakil-i-Dar Malik-i-Barbak* (a high officer in charge of the Court) the uncle of the author of the *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, and himself advanced towards Jainagar in pursuit of Tughril.¹⁴⁸

141. *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, p. 41, asserts that 'Tughril now went towards Bihar and imprisoned Aetkin, Jamalud-Din Quandzi and Amin Khan at Narkela.'

142. The name of the general is given by Firishta, p. 80; *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, p. 41, calls him Malik Tarmati.

143. *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, pp. 41 and 42 says "Tughril attacked Tarmati unawares; the latter being defeated fled to Oudh. The Sultan then ordered Malik Shahabud-Din of Oudh to lead the campaign and hang Malik Tarmati on the gibbet. He acted accordingly, but was defeated by Tughril."

144. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* of Zia Barni, p. 85.

145. *Ibid.* has Malik Sanj, *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, p. 93, calls him Malik Sunch while Firishta, p. 80, names him as Siraj.

146. Firishta, p. 89, has 'son of Jamdar' which is quite incorrect.

147. *Ibid.* has Jainagar; but *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* of Zia Barni, p. 86, has Hajinagar—Jamnagar is meant here.

148. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* of Zia Barni, p. 87.

Bhoj¹⁴⁹ the Rac of Sunargaon¹⁵⁰ came to offer his homage, and promised to bar the rebel's passage in case he tried to fly to the sea.¹⁵¹

The Sultan moved forward restlessly, but no information regarding the whereabouts of Tughril could be obtained from anyone. Balban refused to relax the pursuit, and ordered *Malik Barbak Bek Berlas*¹⁵² at the head of seventy or eighty horse to march ten or twelve *kos* in advance of the main army, but his most vigilant search revealed no trace of Tughril.¹⁵³

At length one day, Malik Mohammad Sher-Andaz¹⁵⁴ and his brother Malik Muqaddar and a person later on known as Tughril Kush (slayer of Tughril) were appointed to march ahead with thirty or forty horsemen. They suddenly came across a group of corn-dealers¹⁵⁵ and tried to frighten them to find if they knew anything about Tughril. They professed ignorance, but when the heads of two of them were chopped off by Malik Sher Andaz, the rest cried with one voice, "we are prepared to tell you his whereabouts, but spare our lives." "We carried our corn to Tughril's camp, and are just returning from there," added the corn-dealers, this camp is only *half-a-far-sank* (about a mile) from here near a stone-built reservoir."¹⁵⁶

Malik Mohammad Sher-Andaz sent the corn-dealers to Malik Barbak Bektars and requested him to come immediately, lest Tughril should march off to Jainagar and disappear in the neighbouring forests. He then went on an eminence and caught a sight of the rebel's camp—Tughril's pavilion had been pitched, his army was resting with a sense of security, the horses and elephants were feeding. It was

149. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, p. 93, has Hujrai. *Firishta*, p. 80, has Bhoj Rae. Badauni, p. 129, Dhanuj Rac, *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, p. 42, has Rae Wanuj.

150. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, p. 93 and Badaun, p. 129, have Sunargaon while *Firishta*, p. 80, has Rae Sanam.

151. *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, p. 42, gives an interesting account—"on the advice of Bektars, the Sultan sat upon the throne, and Rae prostrated before him."

152. *Firishta*, p. 80, has Malik Barhete Berlas Badaun, p. 129—Malik Ikhtiarud-din Begbarias.

153. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* of Zia Barni, p. 88.

154. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, p. 94, has "and governor of Koil."

155. *Ibid.* has —'Some soldiers from Tughril's army.'

156. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* of Zia Barni, p. 89.

a unique opportunity and Sher-Andaz determined to avail himself of it. On reaching the rebel's camp, they shouted the name of Tughril, drew their swords and dashed into the pavilion. Tughril slipped out of his bath-room, jumped on an unsaddled horse and flew to a river near by. Malik Muqaddar pursued him and Tughril Kush shot an arrow, which struck him in his side and brought him down from his horse, and cut off Tughril's head and cast his body into the river.¹⁵⁷ But as Tughril's men were wandering everywhere in search of their master, Muqaddar buried the head in the soft earth by the river-side, then he took off his clothes, and was busy washing them. A little later, Malik Barbak Bektars arrived, and he despatched Tughril's head with a message of victory to the Sultan. Next day he himself reached the royal camp and gave a verbal account of what had happened. The Sultan felt angry at the rashness displayed by Sher-Andaz and his brother; but ultimately raised their ranks and bestowed special favours upon them. The man, who shot the arrow, was given the title of Tughril-Kush,¹⁵⁸ and Malik Muqaddar who cut off his head was awarded a robe of honour.¹⁵⁹

On Balban's return to Lakhnawti, a regime of terror and chastisement began. He ordered a row of gibbets to be erected on each side of the market for more than two miles in length, and all the friends, supporters and relations of Tughril were impaled upon them.¹⁶⁰ Among the captives, who were executed, was one Qalandar Shah, whom Tughril held in high esteem and had given him three *mans* of gold. The remaining soldiers of the rebel's army were reserved for punishment at Delhi.

The Sultan assigned the territory of Lakhnawti to his younger son Bughra Khan, and granted him a canopy of state and other insignia of royalty.¹⁶¹ Bughra Khan took up his residence in the

157. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* of Zia Barni, p. 90.

158. *Firishta* throughout confuses Muqaddar with Tughril Kush, as if they were the same person Zia Barni, p. 88, rightly asserts that there were three persons, Malik Sher Andaz, Muqaddar and a person later on called Tughril Kush.

159. *Firishta*, p. 61, asserts that the Sultan ordered that "Tughril may henceforth be called 'Tughril-i-Namak-Haram.'"

160. Zia Barni *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 91.

161. *Firishta*, p. 81, adds that 'he was permitted to strike the coin, and have the *khutba* read in his name'; but Zia Barni, who is a better authority than *Firishta* does not mention it. It is improbable that he was allowed to

royal mansion near the great *Bazaar*. One day, the Sultan asked him, "Mahmud: didst thou see?" The prince was thunderstruck and was quiet. The Sultan repeated a second time, but received no reply. Balban said a third time, "Didst thou see my chastisements in the *Bazaar*." "I saw," replied Bughra Khan, and bowed low. The Sultan continued, "If ever designing and ingenious persons induce you to break away from Delhi and throw off its authority, remember the vengeance and chastisement inflicted by me on Tughril and his companions."¹⁶² He further forbade the use of wine to Bughra Khan and advised him to observe moderation in levying taxes, to decide political affairs in consultation with his sincere and genuine counsellors, and to be very particular about prayers and fasting.¹⁶³ The Sultan strictly told him that he should remain obedient and loyal to the Sultan of Delhi, and must despatch reliable messengers and a number of elephants every year to the capital. If the Sultan of Delhi invaded Lakhnawti, he should never face him but fly to a distant land¹⁶⁴—a lesson Balban learnt from Tughril. After completing his counsels, the Sultan bade farewell to Bughra Khan and continued his march towards Delhi.

After crossing the river Sarayu (Gogra) Balban reached the capital after three years, and the people welcomed their sovereign with congratulations and offerings.¹⁶⁵ Balban showered many favours on Malik-ul Umra Fakhrud-Din Kotwal, who had performed distinguished services during his absence, presented him with the cloak he was wearing and gave him the title of 'brother.'¹⁶⁶ Charitable gifts were distributed to the poor and the needy. The Sultan went to visit the tombs of saints, interviewed the leading scholars and mystics of the day, and set a large number of prisoners free. Balban then ordered the erection of stakes in the market of the city, so that the captives of Tughril's army, who had fled from Delhi and joined the rebel at Lakhnawti, may be impaled on them. Many of the prisoners were relations of the citizens, and sounds of wailing and weeping

strike coins in his name and to have the *khutba* read in his name, for the Sultan definitely asserted that Bughra Khan's position was inferior to the sovereign of Delhi.

162. Zia Barni—*Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, pp. 92, 93

163. Zia Barni—*Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, pp. 97 to 102.

164. *Ibid.*, pp. 95 and 96.

165. *Ibid.*, pp. 106 and 107.

166. *Firishta*, p. 81 i.e. 'made him the second man in the kingdom.'

arose from them. The Qazi of the army, one of the most pious men living, went to the Sultan and softened his heart with touching words. Balban granted his appeal for mercy, and forgave all of them.¹⁶⁷

THE DEATH OF SULTAN MAHMUD AND LAST DAYS OF SULTAN BALBAN

At this juncture, Prince Mahmud arrived with many presents and horses from Multan, and the Sultan was delighted to receive him. Before his departure, Balban called him to a private interview and gave a number of counsels to him.¹⁶⁸ The Prince then retired to Multan.

During his stay at Multan, Mahmud had cleared his territories of the Mongols and put a large number of them to death. In a spirit of retaliation, Timar Khan, a great Chingizi noble and governor of Herat, invaded Sindh with an army of twenty thousand men. At length the catastrophe approached. In the year A.D. 1285 Mahmud proceeded to Dipalpur and Multan to repel the Mongols.¹⁶⁹ One morning, Sultan Mahmud, hearing that the enemy was quite near, arranged his forces on the borders of Sarir-gardens on the bank of the river Ravi, which then used to flow to Multan at a place named Mandi Kolapi.¹⁷⁰ The place was safe and secure; but Timar Khan, who had encamped on the other side, unexpectedly crossed the river at mid-day and began fighting. In the fierce battle that ensued many Mongol officers were killed and Timar Khan was defeated. Mahmud, who had not said his *zuhur* (mid-day) prayers, alighted by the side of a large pond near by and with a small contingent began to pray.¹⁷¹ Meanwhile a Mongol officer who had been lying in ambush arrived at the spot and considered it a good opportunity for attacking Mahmud's party. The Mongols succeeded in breaking the lines; but Mahmud courageously mounted with his friends and rashly pushed forward to check the onslaught of the enemy. In the thick of battle, a fatal arrow struck Mahmud, and the heroic prince instantly breathed his

167. Zia Barni, p. 108.

168. These counsels have been summarised in a previous section of the chapter—'Balban's theory of kingship and government.'

169. Zia Barni *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 109.

170. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, p. 98 and Badauni, p. 132. The place is uncertain.

171. Badauni, pp. 133 and 134.

last. The Turkish army fled at full speed.¹⁷² Amir Khusro,¹⁷³ a celebrated poet of Mahmud's court, was captured by the Mongols along with other soldiers and *Amirs*, but he soon effected his escape.

The martyrdom of Mahmud was a severe blow to Sultan Balban, who dressed himself in mourning clothes and lamented the irreparable loss of his son for several days.¹⁷⁴ Kai-Khusro, the son of the Martyr Prince, was appointed governor of Multan with a canopy of state and other insignia of royalty. Balban, an old man of eighty, 'his heart broken and his back bowed,' kept up an unperturbed appearance throughout the day, but at night, and when he was alone, he lost his self-control and wept bitterly. Sadness and despair overpowered him and he fell dangerously ill. He summoned Bughra Khan from Lakhnawti, and said to him, "The loss of your brother has ruined me. I see, my death is near, you are my only heir, and it is not advisable for you to leave me at such a stage. Your son Kaiqabad and your nephew Kai-Khusro are young and inexperienced and are not capable of government."¹⁷⁵ Bughra Khan was a heedless prince. He remained at the capital for about two months, but soon found a pretext to leave for Lakhnawti.

No sooner had Bughra Khan left Balban, than he sank under sorrow. He became very ill, and three days before his death, he summoned the Malik-ul Umra, Hazrat Khwajah Hasan Basri, the Vizier and a few other officials to his presence and said,¹⁷⁶ "Bughra Khan has left for Lakhnawti, and the throne cannot remain vacant. My death is near, and, I, therefore appoint Kai Khusro as my heir-apparent." Balban died¹⁷⁷ at the close of the year A.D. 1287 after a reign of 22 years. The Malik-ul Umra was not on good terms with Khan Shahid. He, therefore, sent Kai-Khusro to Multan and

172. Ibid., pp. 135 and 136.

173. Both Amir Hasan and Amir Khusro composed *Marsihs* on the death of Mahmud. The *Marsiha* of Amir Hasan is given by Badauni in his *Muntakhab-ut Twarikh*.

174. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* of Zia Barni, p. 110.

175. Zia Barni—*Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 120.

176. Ibid., p. 121.

177. The *Khulasat-ut Tawarikh*, p. 142, says Balban ruled for twenty years and three months—a wrong version. *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* and some months. *Firishta*, p. 83, correctly says 22 years. From 1266 to 1287, it is a period of 22 years.

placed Kaiqabad on the throne with the title of Sultan Muizz-ud-Din.¹⁷⁸

ESTIMATE

A kingdom is held to be one and indivisible; chance, intrigue, the will of the deceased monarch or the accidents of civil war may take it to any one. The successors of Sultan Shamsud-Din Iltutmish, were one by one, set up and pulled down with bewildering rapidity by the all-powerful *Maliks* and *Amirs*. The dignity of the state withered away during the thirty years government owing to their addiction to pleasure, weak rule and maladministration. There was no money in the royal treasury and no horse in the imperial stables. The revenues of the state were divided among the forty Turkish slaves of Sultan Shamsud-Din Iltutmish, who sought equality in every respect and in their proud vaunts said to one another, 'what art thou that I am not and what will thou be that I shall not be.' Thus the previous reigns were very much disturbed by the rivalries and insubordination of the *Maliks* and *Amirs*. War was a prevailing madness: all was blood, horror and confusion. Such was the chaotic condition of the kingdom of Delhi when Balban ascended the throne. Apparently the Turkish rule had been shattered beyond the possibility of reconstruction. The power was considered to have fallen for ever, but the most astonishing characteristic of the Turkish rule is its vitality. Its doom had been pronounced, but still it survived. The position of Balban was insecure from rivals, revolts and the hostilities in his own family; but he knew how anarchy was to be prevented by severe measures of repression. To reform the corrupt condition of the kingdom and to infuse fresh vigour in the crown, Balban resolved upon devising more effective schemes. Only strong measures could restore tranquillity to the distracted empire. Balban decorated the court and palace after the manner of the kings of Persia, set in order the affairs of the state and reorganised the army. For the rebellious *Maliks* and *Amirs*, he thought, the assassin's dagger was the only remedy possible. He got rid of most of the 'forty' by poison or murder, and in order to

178. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* of Zia Barni, p. 122. Ibn Batuta states, "The *Malikul Umra* drew up a document and forged the signatures of the Chief *Amirs*, attesting that they had taken the oath of allegiance to Muizz-ud-Din. He showed it to Kai Khusro and advised him to fly to Sindh. He opened the gates of the city and Kai-Khusro left the capital." *Elliot*, Vol. III, pp. 595, 596.

reduce the rest to a sense of their inferiority, he made them stand motionless in his presence with folded arms and vexed them with petty rules of etiquette. Frequent executions and even massacres restored the loyalty of the people and their governors. The rebels were punished with unsparing severity. The result was that the state slowly recovered from its ruinous condition. Balban's inflexible yet just severity restored order in all parts of the Empire, and the Turkish rule once more rose stronger and vigorous. Surrounded by all the pomp and magnificence that oriental imagination could devise, Balban was admired and cherished by his courtiers and subjects with a feeling of horror and bewilderment. At length peace, prosperity, and a profound tranquillity reigned. Never was a strong will better obeyed than during this epoch, and never was the state so triumphant over disorder, or the power of law widely felt and respected. The restoration of Delhi from the hopeless depth of misery to the height of power had been effected by the intellect and will alone of Balban. Few, in fact, have achieved the high ideal of kingly greatness. Out of chaos and imminent destruction Balban had evolved order and prosperity, and the people welcomed the new regime rather cheerfully.

Sultan Ghias-ud-Din Balban was an experienced hand in the art of government. He had experienced too horribly the ups and downs of the state, and had tasted enough of the joys and sorrows of the empire. At the time of his accession he was 'forty,' but full of hope and ambition, and had already inaugurated the sway of his sword in the days of his youth. The old soldier did not belie his reputation and turned out to be a just, high-minded and vigorous king. His martial powers were considerable and to these he added the advantage of an awe-inspiring stature and great physical energy and courage. Gifted with unusual administrative as well as military talents, Balban's ability and wisdom are unquestioned. Endowed with a gift of commanding personality, dignified bearing and a strong and unbending resolutions, Balban commanded the respect of his Maliks, subordinates and the people, all of whom were terrified by his achievements and held their breath in fear. His private life was simple and austere. The rites of religion found full observance with him, and he was very strict in matters of worship, fasting and nightly prayer. He never failed to pay a visit to saints of renown and Alims of eminence on every Friday. He was, in short, the most accessible though the most stately of monarchs. Prompt and decisive in action, troubled by few scruples, terribly severe and perfidiously diplomatic Balban possessed an ambition

for greatness and ruthless sway. He was terrible in anger and intolerant of opposition, and the series of tortures and execution adopted by Balban makes one's blood run cold. He, however, administered an even-handed justice throughout the length and breadth of his vast dominions, and even his relations could not escape his ferocity. He was stern and uncompromising; but his authority was just, enlightened and tolerant. In the hour of dismay as well as in the moment of triumph, Balban was master of the situation. It goes to his discredit that he poisoned Sher Khan and this really deprives him of the title of hero which many of his brilliant qualities almost attain.

Sultan Ghias-ud-Din Balban ruled for a period of 22 years, but could not broaden the borders of his kingdom on account of the swift and irresistible inroads of the Mongols. His Amirs dreamt of world-wide conquests, but he was content with the occupation and good government of his own dominions. Ambition brings its own dangers, and the newly-conquered territories required a fresh army and a large number of officials and attendants, which Balban was unable to spare at the time of crisis and confusion. His aim was not further conquest, but organization and consolidation of his dominions, and consequently he directed his attention towards the affairs of the state. He believed in the 'divine Right of Kings,' and attached much importance to the pomp and dignity of the court and palace, and of the riding procession. The sight dazzled the spectators and rebels of distant lands became submissive and loyal. Kingly dignity and terror of authority, he rightly thought, contributes more than mere chastisement to the establishment of a strong and stable government. Strict in etiquette, brutal in massacres, and fearless in punishment, Balban took delight in diminishing the failing power of the Maliks and employed in his service only such persons as were of high birth and noble lineage. He kept the Turkish nobility under severe repression, and his attitude even to his most trustworthy allies was one of distant respect. As regards his subjects, Balban thought they would never become submissive until they were reduced to poverty. He, however, did not believe in the time-honoured theories, and his memorable remark may be cited to give an insight into his policy—"all that I can do is to crush the cruelties of the cruel and to see that every one is equal before law. The glory of the state rests upon a rule, which makes its subjects happy and prosperous, but does not make the rich prosperous or the indigent happy—a cause of sedition and rebellion."

Balban's government enjoyed profound tranquillity, broken, of course, by one rebellion of political importance. His most cherished slave, Tughril, became infected with the spirit of rebellion, and raised the banner of revolt in Bengal. The ambition of powerful governors to make their own dynasties independent of the central authority is a well known feature of Oriental History. Tughril received powerful support from the sentiment of local patriotism, and strengthened in this way, he manifested great fierceness and defiance. The duty of revenging a wrong did not sit lightly upon Balban's conscience, and it was only a matter of time for his arms to penetrate into Bengal. The two repeated invasions had made his life uncomfortable and he now resolved to drive matters to a final issue. His indignation knew no bounds, and it was a striking picture of the vigorous old age that he became filled with a burning desire to subdue the rebel. Tughril proved a menace to Bengal, surprised and carried away the entire population towards Jainagar, but his ill-considered plan failed miserably. Balban converted the insurrection into a wholesale massacre, the horrible memory of which never faded from the imagination of the people. Balban gazed with satisfaction at the gibbets, and emerged stronger and more triumphant than ever.

The Mohammadan realm was often menaced by more dangers than those of internal anarchy. The Mongols were a standing danger, and repetition of their horrible raids brought desolation and tyranny in their wake. The physical strength of the invaders and their unrivalled brutality carried fire and sword through the land wherever they went. Balban took the fatal step of murdering Malik Sher Khan, who had successfully checked the progress of the 'infidel Mongols' for a long time. It was no easy job to resist their unprovoked invasions, and in order to ward off their attacks of his territory Balban had to appoint his own dear son Prince Mohammad. However, the Mongols broke loose from time to time, but the Prince drove them inch by inch out of his dominions, and kept a vigilant watch on the frontier. It was an evil day for the Prince when he was hard beset near Multan by the Mongols. rapidly gained the mastery but suddenly the fortune of the day was reversed. The battle ended with the irreparable loss of Mohammad. The Sultan was shocked to hear of his son's death, and mortal illness seized him. Though invincible by man, Balban was no proof against death. The strain of sorrow and anxiety was too much for him, and he could not brook disappointment. The

world seemed comfortless and gloomy to him, and left in mournful solitude, the gallant old Sultan, met his death with the courage of despair. Balban was one of those unfortunate people who leave no competent successor. On his part, he left almost undisturbed possession of the territories, but no fit heir to carry on his wise schemes. The larger part of his reign he spent in the saddle in the vain attempt to found his own dynasty, but the effort was foredoomed to failure. It was, however, under Balban that the Turkish domination was destined to revive, but a rapid decline set in just after his death. Revolution and anarchy succeeded him, and his commanding influence was felt sometimes after his death.

It was a transient dictatorship depending upon the ability and ferocity of one man. The Turkish officers merely bowed their heads and waited for their chance. Balban, on his part, had no idea of administrative reorganization. His precepts were common place, and if Alaud-Din is to be believed, there was with a proper system of local government nor of land-revenue. The Khilji Revolution was the outcome of the hollowness of Balban's policy.

Some Contemporary Evidence regarding the Asvamedha Sacrifice performed by Sewai Jayasingh of Amber (1699-1744 A.D.)

By

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IN an article¹ on "Sewai Jayasingh of Amber, A.D. 1699-1743" Mr. Dines Chandra Sircar states :—

"I am going to show that Sewai Jaysingh most probably did not celebrate any Ásvamēdha and that he was certainly not a vassal² of the Mughal emperors of Delhi during the later years of his reign."³

He further concludes his article with the remarks : "We, therefore, hold that the suggestions that Sewai Jaysingh of Amber performed a horse sacrifice and that he was a feudatory of the Mughal emperors all through his life (or at the time of celebrating the supposed Ásvamēdha) are both inadmissible. (Some points in this note were suggested to the author by Prof. H. C. Ray Chaudhari)."

1. *Indian Culture*, Vol. III, No. 2, pp. 376-379.

2. Vide *Peshwa Daftar Selection* No. 14 (Maratha Conquests in the North) Letter No. 39, dated 21st October, 1735—This is a news letter received at Satara from the Maratha agent, Mayaram at Delhi and communicated to the Peshwa. It mentions the plans of the Emperor to oppose the encroachments of the Marathas. It states further :—"The Mogul Emperor (pāta-shah) is displeased with Jaya Singh because he made an alliance with the troops of the enemy (i.e. the Marathas) by paying them some money.

Another letter in the *Peshwa Daftar* (selection 9, Letter No. 16, dated April, 1736?) from Narayan Dikshit Patankar to Bajirao Ballal advises the latter to perform religious sacrifices (while at Jayapur) only through Deccani priests. It further states :—"I hear that you have gone to Jayanagar this year.....the Raja (viz., Jaya Singh) is very tricky (pratāraka). He will press you to perform Agnihōtra or sacrifices but please tell him that you are unable to do so without the command of your guru..... If, however, you are constrained to respect his pressing request I am sending priests (to help you to perform these sacrifices) etc."

3. *Ibid.*, p. 377.

It is for students of history proper to see how far the conclusion reached by Mr. Sircar regarding the Ásvamēdha sacrifice is tenable. I shall, however, record here the following evidence which definitely contradicts Mr. Sircar's conclusion that Sewai Jayasingh did not perform the Ásvamēdha sacrifice.

I think the testimony of a court-poet of the Jayapur State will have to be considered with some respect to decide the point at issue. Such testimony is fortunately available in a historical poem called the *Īśvaravilāsa Kāvya*,⁴ which was written by order of Īśvara Singh, the son of Sewai Jayasingh of Jayapur, the subject of Mr. Sircar's note referred to above. The following verse 13 of Chapter I of the *Īśvaravilāsa Kāvya* supports my statement :—

“अज्ञातः श्रीसवाईश्वरधरणिपतेः शसभूरिप्रमोदः
संप्राप्तोत्साहकश्रीहरिहरसुकवे संशयं संशयघ्नं ।
काव्यं नव्यं सुभव्यं भुवि रचयति यः प्रीतये पंडितानां
सोऽयं श्री कृष्णशर्मा कृतमति नमति श्री गुरोरंघ्रिपद्मं ॥ १३ ॥

It is, therefore, clear that Kṛṣṇa Kavi was the court-poet of the Jayapur State about A.D. 1743-44 and even earlier. He composed the poem under reference at the time of the coronation of Īśvara Singh under an express order from this prince as stated in verse 34 of chapter X which reads as follows :—

“तत्रैव राज्यतिलकोत्सव एष राजा
श्री कृष्णभट्टकवये कुरु काव्यमेकं ।
अस्मत्कुलक्रमकथा कथनाभिरामं
इत्याज्ञया सह ददौ सुमहाप्रसादं ॥ ३४ ॥

The poet was duly rewarded for composing this poem and a village was granted to him. This village was situated near Hiranyapura. It appears that this court-poet was present at the Ásvamēdha sacrifice performed by Sewai Jaya Singh. He was one of the two Brahmans entrusted with the work of singing the praise of the *Yajamāna* who was no other than Sewai Jaya Singh himself as

4. The only MS. of this poem is No. 273 of 1884-86 in the Govt. MSS. Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona. The writer of this note has studied this poem and will shortly present in a separate article a critical estimate and analysis of the same.

stated in verse 22 of chapter V which deals with अश्वमेधवर्णन or description of the Aśvamēdha sacrifice :—

“ द्वौ वीणागायिनौ विप्रौ श्रीकृष्णकविलक्ष्मणौ ।
राजर्षिभिः सम तत्र यजमानमगायताम् ॥ २२ ॥

Chapter IV of this poem deals with वाजिमेघारंभ or the preparations of this Aśvamēdha sacrifice while the next chapter V deals with the detailed description of the sacrifice. Brahmans wearing red turbans stalked in the sacrificial *mandapa* distributing blessings to the *Yajamāna* :—

“ घिरेजुलौहितोष्णीषाः प्रचरंतो मखे द्विजाः ।
राज्ञेऽस्मै यजमानाय दायमानाः शुभाशिषः ॥ २८ ॥

A beautiful picture of the *Yajamāna*, Sewai Jaya Singh, is given by the poet in the following lines :—

“ तत्र धौततमे सूक्ष्मे वाससी विमले वहन् ।
कृष्णाजिनधरः स्कन्धे मृगशृंगं करे दधत् ॥ ३७ ॥
अश्वमेधमखे दीक्षां बिभ्रत्परमदुर्लभा ।
महाभाग्यवतामीशो पारपौरुषसारभृत् ॥ ३८ ॥
शिखासूत्रधरोदारं दीप्तिराजर्षिसंस्तुतः ।
साक्षाद्भवितारोऽसौ यजमानोऽव्यराजत ॥ ३९ ॥

The *Yajamāna* had his sacrificial bath in the waters of the *Mānasāgara* lake :—

“ नानातीर्थशतानीता नीरनिक्षेपभासुरे ।
मानसागरतोयेषु चकारावभृथं नृपः ॥ ५१ ॥ ”

In verse 8 of chapter III Sewai Jaya Singh is called “वाजिमखयाजि-भूषति” In verse 23 of chapter IV we are told that Sewai Jaya Singh announced his intention of performing an Aśvamēdha sacrifice “अतः परं कर्तुमनाः किलासं भवत्प्रसादादहमश्वमेधं” and sent letters to learned Brahmans of Benares to that effect “चक्रेऽधिवाणसिपत्र लेखं महामहापंडितराजचक्रे”(verse 28). The sacrificial *mandapa* was erected on the banks of the lake *Mānasāgara* as stated in the closing verse of the chapter called वाजिमेघारंभ

“ पूर्वं मानक्षितिपतिकृतेः सागरस्य प्रतीरे ।
राज्ञा तेन व्यरचि विभवैर्मंडितो यज्ञवाटः ॥ ”

The date of Sewai Jaya Singh's death is recorded by Kṛṣṇa Kavi in verse 11 of chapter X :—

“ वर्षे सोष्टादशशततमे विक्रमार्कस्य शाके
मासे चैवाश्विननिगदिते शुक्लभूतादिने च ।
प्रातःकाले हृदयकमलानीतगोर्धितदेवा
देवा देवोपमगतिरसूत्रांग्यतस्मिन्विलिख्ये ॥ २१ ॥

The date recorded in the above verse tallies in material particulars with the date of Sewai Jaya Singh's death as given in *Viravinoda*⁵ viz., 14th day of the bright half of *Aśvina*, 1800 *Vikrama Samvat* which corresponds to Tuesday, 9th October, 1744 A.D.⁶

In view of Kṛṣṇa Kavi's testimony regarding the performance of the Aśvamēdha sacrifice I find it difficult to agree in the opinion expressed by Mr. Dines Chandra Sirkar that Sewai Jaya Singh did not perform the Aśvamēdha sacrifice. Mr. Sircar states : “ If he (Sewai Jaya Singh) performed any Aśvamēdha at all he might have done it after 1739 and before 1743 ”. Presuming this statement to be correct I would like to point out that the difference between the date of composition of the *Īśvaravilāsa Kāvya* and the date of the performance of the Aśvamēdha sacrifice would not be greater than 5 years and consequently the testimony of Kṛṣṇa Kavi, regarding the performance of the Aśvamēdha sacrifice and its graphic description as indicated above, will have to be regarded with some respect as it is a contemporary piece of evidence. Secondly, Kṛṣṇa Kavi was himself present at the sacrifice as stated by him.

5. I am indebted for this information to my friend, Mr. Bisheswarnath Reu, Superintendent, Archaeological Department, Jodhpur.

6. Indian Ephemeris, Vol. VI, p. 29.

James Grant Duff's Private Correspondence with Maharaja Pratapsimha of Satara

By

MR. D. B. DISKALKAR, M.A.,
Curator, Historical Museum, Satara.

(Continued from Vol. XV, part 2, page 236.)

(8)

SATARA, 1ST JUNE, 1830.

To

JAMES GRANT DUFF, ESQ.,
EDEN, NEAR BANFF, N.B.

1. We have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 17th November 1829. Our reply to your last might have reached you by this time. The death of Captain Adams is an event with which we are both as well acquainted that it needs no detail here to pen. As to a tomb over his remains—he has served this Government of course it shall be caused to be erected. You wrote that you always received information from Captain Adams regarding this place but that that source was now cut off since his demise. But (we assure you) our answers to your letters contained full in detail. You will (we hope) entertain no doubt of hearing from us in the same manner. Herein also we have written all the particulars.

2. You wrote that you heard we are conducting our government in a steady and respectable manner. (Our reply is) we have constantly been endeavouring in taking such steps as came in our way for the prosperity of our subjects.

3. You write that you were highly gratified for the very honor we had paid you (as you say) when addressing Sir John Malcolm and that Mr. Elphinstone wrote you to the same effect. We are equally gratified for your acknowledgement of the same.

4. You wrote on the subject of your wise counsels (counsels) and advice. We have the same committed always afresh to our memory.

5. We learnt by your writing that the present Resident is of an excellent character and that it is better should he remain here long. Be sure! Col. Robertson the present Resident is a very good natured man and our wish is that he may remain here for a long period of time. But this depends on the will of the H. Company's Govt. We are anxious that his successor any one that shall come as a Resident, may happen to be like him; and we have spoken to Sir John Malcolm to the same effect. We propose to present Col. Robertson with an address expressive of the high sense we entertain of his

good qualities; it will attract your notice when it shall have been given to him.

6. You wrote on the subject of the internal management of our government, and of the means and vigilance due thereto.

1. To see equal justice administered to the rich and the poor. We are aware of this and so it is continued.

2. You wrote that no high tax should be levied from the subjects and the assessments should be rendered as light as possible. As to this—We have reduced the amount of the Jumabundee you had fixed as well as the whole over-rates Captain Adams had established by assessments, in which the amount of reduction isRs. 150,000.

Remissions allowed from the amount of the Jumabundee you had fixed¹ Rs. 100,000.

We did so following the *Koolwar*² system by personally examining the cultivators individually in our presence in each village. This we did with a view to make our subjects happy and prosperous. The consequence is a depression of Rs. 250,000 in the revenues, as above-stated. Notwithstanding this the villagers complain stating "previous to the introduction of the Hon'ble Company's administration throughout these territories, the revenues of this territory amounted to 12 or 13 lacs of rupees and we were then better provided for by having other sources of income, such as employments, etc., which we are now deprived of. Although so much (2½ lacs of rupees) has been given up by the Sirkar yet we are obliged to pay 15 lacs of rupees. The rains fall in a less quantity than they had been formerly. And we now hold no public situations nor have we other advantages, etc. In fact there is little produce and gain." Under these circumstances we have granted the remissions, etc., as above alluded to. Nevertheless the ryots' importunities are the same and never diminish. During the time of the circuits the Mamledars were in the habit of supplying provisions and forage to the camp, whereby the Ryots had been very much injured. To avoid this we ordered—there is no cause of such supplies and every one ought, without compulsion, to buy himself provisions. The same orders were issued to the purchasers at Satara, who since that time always keep provisions with them ready for issue. We have done this also for the benefit of the Ryots. The statements of the receipts and expenditure you had made, we took under our consideration and made a decrease of the disbursements under the heads of the cavalry, sibundies, etc., to the amount of . . . Rs. 100,000 (one lac). But notwithstanding this, it is hard to manage the expenses; and the (annual) surplus or balance, as struck by you in your statements of cash that would remain behind in the Treasury, after defraying the charges, is no where to be found at present. No surplus remains at all. So it is impossible to support the expenses. A detailed account on the subject is in every year communicated to the

1. James Grant had estimated 18 lacs as revenue from the Satara State but it was found to be too high. See Selections from the Peshwa Daftar No. 42 p. 60.

2. Koolwar, i.e., Kulavadi, or tenant, a cultivator.

Resident. And the remissions allowed to the Ryots and the present Koolwar system of fixing the amount of the annual revenues on inspection of every village were upon the advice of Col. Robertson only. His advice is not of the like nature you had expressed in your letters. The present practice with respect to the statements is this—In every year after the Koolwar Jumabundy was over the amounts of the receipts and disbursements are estimated to answer each other, in equal balance, and a yând or memorandum is made out thereof which is then carried into execution. But the amount of the receipts being less than that of the charges we experience a great deal of embarrassment. And moreover we have under our deliberation some measures to be adopted to diminish more the expenses, cautious at the same time to avoid any mismanagement. But it is difficult to maintain the expenditure (even under its present diminished state) it being unmanageable.

3. With respect (to) what you wrote about the servants of this Government we have been always acting in the same manner according to the character and conduct of each of them.

7. You wrote on the subject of the more vigilant attention we should pay to all arrangements and of the good name we had acquired. We have constantly been without negligence paying every attention that is due, and as to the good name and reputation we had gained it is owing to the confidence the H. Company has placed on us and to continue this confidence in us it rests with that Govt.

8. You wrote on the subject of Mr. Elphinstone's health with respect to the climate of that region, etc., etc. We also fear how that climate would agree with his constitution (at his first arrival), and we very often remember him. You will communicate him this when you see him and at the same time show this letter to him. Your letter dated the 17th Nov. reached us at Nehr Malcolm Peht, where Sir John Malcolm perused it and was highly pleased thereabout. We showed him this answer also. Sir John Malcolm, the Governor, has very rapidly improved Malcolm Peht and brought it to a better flourishing state in a short time. For the benefit of health a great many Saheb Loge have come to that climate. In compliance to the wish of Sir John the road from Satara to Paur Ghaut is completed by us; and thence the road through the Ghauts is carried into execution by the H. Company's Government.

9. You wrote to be known what (Willattee) Jins we want for the small balance remaining in your hands. You get, we wish, for us as many pairs of very good pistols and a number of guns (firelocks) as possible, more better than the pistols and the gun you had given us as well as 2 Badshahee or royal Goopteas (a sword called a long cut and thrust). All these articles you will procure by purchasing within the amount of the above balance.

10. We understand what you wrote on the subject of your private affairs, and that you got two children; for which we are rejoiced. We have two daughters; one the first and the other is now five months old; and all the members of our family are in perfect health.

11. You wrote that the roads and other improvements made at this place were particularly described to you and that nothing would give you greater

pleasure than to visit Satara and that Mrs. Grant Duff would like very much to see Satara. This affords us a great deal of pleasure. We have it in our contemplation to make better the road from the Bazar Pedh, leading to Chiploon via Purlee, as far as the Teevra Ghaut near Vassota: but this will be done gradually in proportion to the means we could be enabled to afford to meet the expenses of that undertaking. This year when going to Malcolm Peht we first went to view the Teevra Ghaut and thence directed our course to the former place. It had better should the Company's government undertake to execute the road to the other side (of) the Teevra Ghaut as far as Chiploon. There are persons in our services who have newly been well qualified in conducting the works of this nature, the art of road-making.

12. The construction of the double-aqueduct at Mahr Duray³ which had been begun already at work is now finished. A third conduit is formed and conveyed into our Royal Palace. The former two and the Vittobha's aqueduct are appropriated for the use of our subjects (within this metropolis)—and the aqueduct called Yevteshwer's Null, being found in disorder we caused works to be carried on for its repair slowly according to the convenience available by us for the supply of cash for its expenses, from the limited means as above alluded to.

13. At this city (Satara) there are two or three Bengaloese, etc., newly built in the Sirkar's gardens, and there are houses newly building (built) by the individuals in this city and encouragement is given to some of them by this Sirkar according to their work. As we frequently visit Pratapguhr we have raised a building at that place for our accommodation. And we have resolved to repair the temple of the Goddess at that place, etc., in a manner as the estimate of our annual expenses would permit. We have some Bengaloese built at Malcolm Peht. Here at Satara we fancy to build four or five tanks. These shall be executed when convenient according to the state of receipts for expenditure.

With a view to increase and improve the Bagayet lands out of the Jeerayet it was enacted by us "that whosoever shall newly convert any lands into Bagayet he will be taxed for the same according to the Jeerayet rates instead of Bagayet ones for the space of 5 years. At the expiration of that period he shall thence pay one half of the tax usually levied for Bagayet. Thus have we resolved on and a proclamation issued to that effect. Since this some of the Ryots are busily engaged in the plantation of Bagayet.

15. You wanted to know who are the present Sirsoobhaydars. Tatya Ubhankar having being found guilty, Yeswant Row was nominated in his room; and in the latter's stead Babah Tilak had been appointed. And at Babah Tilak's demise Anatjee Ballal Rahalkur, Mamledar of Valwa Pettah was promoted as a Sirsoobhaydar. Yeswant Row having gone to Benares, Dajeebah was engaged in his place as Dufturdar. Now Yeswant Row has returned from Benares. He turned weak since he has been to that climate. Baboo Soobhaydar being found guilty and dismissed from service we have it now under our consideration to appoint Yeswant Row in the room of the former, continuing for it the same salary what he gets at present, as Dufturdar, and to confirm Dajeebah as Dufturdar. This arrangement is not yet

3. A suburb to the west of Satara.

confirmed. We settled this year's Koolwar Jamah Bundy and the assessments and the classification of lands were finished. It does not appear to our judgment that these twelve years since the establishment of the Sirsoobhaydary Department, Mamledars were ever exonerated from the burdens of expensive public business and that it was of some advantage. Among the Pettas of this territory we intend to make three Pettas more out of five Pettas for the five Pettas are unwieldy under the present number of Mamledars over them, in consequence of those five containing a considerable number of villages; and to answer the expenses of this intended arrangement we deem it advisable to lessen the present number of Sirsoobhaydars. The surveying, the classification and the assessments of lands are over. And the Koolwar system of personally settling yearly with the Ryots of every village is strictly pursued and enforced and this renders it unnecessary to continue the Sirsoobhaydary Department.

16. You wrote—you wished to hear of Kooshaba Rajah Mahadeek. He is now affected with gout and disabled from riding on horseback and going afar for hunting, etc.

17. We learnt by your writing that your ankle had sprained by a fall from your horse and that it has not yet quite recovered. During our circuit for this year's Jumabundee, now, one month and a half past, we got also a sprain in one of our feet. We caused every remedy to be applied thereto. Now it is better.

18. You wrote to learn whether Appah Saheb Maharaj continued to be useful in the conduct of public business. So it is: he has the charge of the administration of justice in the Adalat; as well as the management of the affairs of the Jagheerdars. He goes yearly separately on circuit of Jumabundee: he transacts public business in Satara too. He is now very active and well qualified for business. And he leaves us no room for our taking too much trouble. There is now a great deal of difference between the former time when you had been observing him and entertained a different opinion of him and the present. And if there be a multiplicity of business committed to his direct management, he is so far fit for business as to have met with your entire European approbation in a year or two.

19. Bulwunt Row Rajah Bhoslay has the sole command and whole management of the Cavalry and the Sibundies and yearly goes without our company on circuit for Jamabundee and he is entrusted with the function of treating with the British Resident on the part of our Government. He has reformed our army and keeps it well disciplined and at a less expense than it had been formerly. Now there is a small number of centries on guard over the prison and other places than it had been before; and in those guard places, new sepoys were enlisted and placed and paid within the fixed amount of the present military establishment. Now a quite distinction prevails between his disposition, judged of by you at that time and his present behaviour. He will become fully qualified in the course of two years to merit your satisfaction.

20. As to the wish expressed by you in your letter to know what new improvements are carried on by us at present—we are principally occupied with great anxiety in thinking to have the amount of the permanent revenues

or receipts kept up without depression and the disbursements diminished and the ryots happy; and at the same time every advantage is availed of to carry on the expenses of the water works for the supply of water. This year's settlement of Koolwar Jumabundee is carried into execution upon strict enquiry into the condition of the cultivators in every village and upon their free consent for their satisfaction. The artists, artificers and other workmen of every description in this city are employed on various new works with a view to render them more industrious and accomplished. A College is founded here at the expense of this Government for the education of the children of persons of all ranks, who would voluntarily apply for the same.

21. You mentioned that had Babah Tilak survived Captain Adams it would have been better and that if an European was necessary at present for the survey we might get Mr. Duell. Yes, Babah Tilak was a fit person and there are now persons in the service of this Government well qualified to perform the duties of the Survey Department including the classification and assessments of lands. And the Survey, etc. of the Pettas are over. Besides these some persons are under tuition in the Government's College here, to become qualified in the art of Survey. And in case of our having occasion for Surveyors, we shall have them for a short pay and at a little expense.

22. In the Chitneesy department as well as in the Adalat the same persons who had been entertained during your stay here are still continued in the service.

23. Col. Smith having gone from this place Col. Robertson, the Resident, has the command in his room, and performs both of these duties.

24. We handed over your salams to all the persons as you wrote.

25. Of the persons who have newly been engaged in the service of this Government, there is the prospect of Deenkur Row Mohitay and Govind Row Vittal also appearing as competent for public business and they are now actually conducting business.

26. Khunday Row Mamath Sirkay, who had not been in public service during your stay here, is now on employ commanding the Cavalry, Sibundies, etc., and is doing duty with great activity, sparing no pains; and Dawlut Khan is now Risaldar.

27. Keshew Row is serving as before in the conduct of our private or household affairs. And all our personal attendants and other household servants, etc. the old and the new are now serving more diligently better than they had been when you had seen them.

28. A detail on the subject of the Jagheerdars is as follows:—

- (1) The present Pruthee Nidhee is the same person whom you know.
- (2) The present Dufflay is Ram Row and Bajajee Naik who had succeeded Janrow Naik Nimbalkar being found incapable of governing his Jagheer and a great many complaints being made by his creditors for his debt the Jagheer is now managed under one control sanctioned by the British Government and we have appointed certain persons for its management and their house in this Government's actual service, according to the established regulations.

(3) Malojee Bhoslay Ukulkotkur having deceased his son, a minor of seven years old acceded to his place and the consequence was confusion and mismanagement. To prevent the recurrence of which, we have kept that Jagheer in good order under our direct control.

(4) Shaik Meera died and Khan Mahomed, his son, is serving in his room.

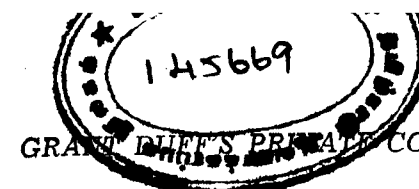
(5) Sucheew was dead and being allowed an adoption, his adopted son conducts his affairs.

29. All the boundary disputes within the limits of this territory are finally settled, except those, on the frontiers of the neighbouring states, to adjust which the Hon'ble the Governor is going to appoint an European officer.

30. Throughout the districts of this territory a considerable number of arable lands were found destitute of cultivation to their full extent, and the Deshmookhs, Deshpandays, etc., were discovered enjoying their rights without being in any wise useful and servicable, it was settled that to the gross value of their rights, arable land should be granted them. And provided they strived to cultivate under well their produce will be more than what they yield now, as those lands were given them to the value of the *kumal* or gross amount and the present collections which are at present paid them will revert to the Sirkar at the end of five years, being yearly the sum of (80,000) Eighty thousand rupees and at the same time cultivation facilitated.

31. In the territory of this and those of the Hon'ble Company's government robberies were now lately since too frequent and its consequences intolerable and the roads being infested with robbers and banditties, impassable; and a considerable injury was done in every respect; public revenues were received by themselves and the persons of the women were violated; these are the consequences from their being treated with impunity. The only punishment inflicted on them was to seize and imprison them and soon after they were liberated on certain conditions. Now it was enacted by us under the sanction of the British Government that any person apprehended from among the robbers, his house and Vattan will be confiscated and he be hanged. These measures were carried into effect and consequently peace was restored and no robberies were since committed. These means were taken only for the first time in order to strike terror and awe into the hearts of the ruffians.

32. Our old servants, personal attendants, domestic servants, superintendents of the various establishments and other servants having been very useful to and served the late Abah Saheb Maharaj, during his residence under restraint in the fort of Satara, as well as the late Mayee Saheb, and as in those days, for the troubles and privations they had undergone along with the late Chutur Sing Rajah and for their excessive distress and sufferings on those occasions we have granted them respectively according to the merits of their services—Enam villages to some of them, Enam lands to others, and rewards bestowed once only on others, and pensions to some. These were given on enquiry out of the Sivaye Jamah of Mhasoornekur in the village of Mhasoorna, which Juma we have received according to the settlement you had made upon strict investigation.



33. Owing to the want of good crops in this year a remission is given to the Ryots to the amount of 5 lacs of rupees.

34. We intend to give to Sir John Malcolm, the present Governor, an address of compliment nearly the same as the one given to Mr. Elphinstone. We have determined to commission Sir John Malcolm, the Governor to take with him our answer to the diploma we received from His Majesty and other members of the Royal Asiatic Society.

EDINBURGH, JULY 1, 1830.

(9)

My dear Maharaj,

You will receive this letter in a box containing some articles of Glass now manufacturing on purpose for you by the same people who made the last and with which you were pleased.

In the box there is a small case for private letters packed in an outer and inner wooden case. The inner one will of itself be useful for holding papers. There is also a parcel of cutlery—pen knives of the best kinds and the handles are so contrived that when one blade fails you can replace it with another.

About two months ago, I sent you from London a bracelet and a gold ornament. The bracelet contains a very good watch—it was selected for you by my wife, and although I said it would be too small for your wrist, much more so for your arm, she said it did not signify *that it would do for the Ranees*. Thus it is, that *women, however far apart, will be combining together for their own purposes!!* Poor Mrs. Adams whom I saw in London told me you liked the specimen of Scotch stones sent by Mr. Morris and I have got a Bhuj-bund in which the pearl or rather half pearl and most of the stones were all found in this country (Scotland)—it is packed into the little case. Poor Mrs. Adams continues in great grief, her little daughter however enjoys health, and her being spared is now the consolation, and I trust will become the happiness of her life. She earnestly begged I would thank you for your great kindness to her husband especially for what Colonel Robertson mentioned you had said to him just before his death. I told her that I had asked you to erect a tomb for him, similar to the one over the remains of my much esteemed friend, Dr. Gordon, which gratified her very much.

When in London I also saw Mr. Elphinstone frequently—he was then in good health, but I am concerned to learn that he has not been so well lately. If he lives I think it not impossible that he may again return to India as Governor-General, but at present he would not, I think, accept of that high office even were it offered. I hope to continue to hear good accounts of your health and of the prosperity of Satara, your government, and all my old friends. Nothing can now give me so much pleasure. Many flattering things were said in my presence by several distinguished personages in London of the manner in which the Satara Government was conducted and of the prosperity of the country, and I was glad to be able to assure them that

although you had the generosity to assign so much of the credit to me, the very circumstance of your doing so proved that most of the country's prosperity was owing to your persevering in the rules which you and I, and the various Karbarees had established as regulations after fully consulting on what seemed best for the circumstances of your Sirkar. I hope and trust you will continue to preserve the very high character which your Government possesses, by never relaxing in your personal superintendence of business and always transacting your affairs in the public offices in the various departments and not allowing any thing connected with Government to be settled or discussed in your private palace. Such a system leads to corruption in a manner which you cannot so easily check or discover as when every thing proceeds in the fair open manner.

The subject of renewing or annulling of the charter of the Honourable Company is now under discussion in the great assembly of the nation and a Committee has been appointed to examine all persons supposed to be most conversant with Indian affairs. Mr. Elphinstone, Mr. Chaplin, and Colonel Briggs have been already examined with many others who reside in London. Col. Briggs has also written a book, the principal object of which is to prove that the land is not the property of the Raja or of any Government, but that it is the property of the villagers. He recommends *village settlements* and does not approve of measurement and appraisal or individual settlement. He and I do not agree, as you know, upon these subjects but many of his arguments are so plausible that persons who have not had practical experience cannot perceive their fallacy. I recommended a measurement and appraisal at Satara for the purpose of being able in the first place to form an individual settlement, and after that, a settlement could be made in any way, on secure grounds, affording equal security to the Raja and the Ryot. The one would know if there was any thing materially wrong and the other would be..... that however much less.....might be he could not exact more than the Government appraisal. Had I remained long enough at Satara to have seen the completion of the appraisal, I think I should have recommended to your Highness to let the lands to the ryots at a fixed rate for twenty years and at a rent very considerably less than the appraisal, especially for the first half of the lease. At all events it would be worth while to try it in some villages, and gradually extend the experiment if you found it likely to prove a stimulus and encouragement to Industry. I am well aware of the many difficulties—the greatest of which proceeds from the improvidence of the ryots themselves in case of a bad year, and the consequent loss of revenue to Government. But I always thought the improvidence of the people in your country proceeded chiefly from their poverty and the want of that security of life and property which they now enjoy, and I am persuaded that after the measurement and appraisal are completed leases may be granted to villagers at a reduction of so much per cent. on every cultivated field, which would in a very short time greatly ameliorate the condition of the people. When this plan can be generally adopted throughout India and when the products of that country such as sugar, cotton, tobacco, drugs, spices, etc., are admitted at a low rate of duty into ports of this country, then the people of India, who are now poor, will become rich, and England and India mutually prosperous. Sooner or later this will happen, but at present there are many difficulties.

I have sometimes thought of sending you out a machine for threshing grain such as wheat, barley and pease—it could be made for Juvaree, Bajaree, Muth, Moogh and grains. It is an implement of such importance that it would certainly produce one fourth more grain from the straw than is effected by the way in which your ryots thresh. Besides which it will thresh more with the same strength in an hour than they could in a day. But without calculating the saving of time, consider the immense number of additional people whose bellies would thus be filled, and how much its general introduction would increase the revenue. It can be drawn by water, wind, steam, horses or bullocks. However the one I was thinking of sending you would be merely a small portable one accompanied by a model for the purpose of explaining it, and I would have it constructed so as to be worked by oxen. Really I may not have enough of money left for this purpose but if you would like it sent I shall do so that you may have the merit of introducing an implement into India which will *one day* be common in every village. Every part of it could be made in India excepting the *cast iron*, which until iron foundaries are introduced there, must be ordered from this country. If there were any European gentleman at Satara who had ever seen and understood a threshing mill it might save the expense of the drawings and model which must otherwise accompany it, and this would be a very material saving.

You will require Col. Robertson's assistance to read this long epistle, as few persons will be able to read or rather to explain the meaning of many parts of it. I remain

My Dear Maharaj—always

Your sincere and affectionate friend,

J. GRANT DUFF.

In my last letter I believe I forgot to say that I sent the letter for Mr. Elphinstone which was restored to me by Col. Robertson and that he duly received it.

(10)

SATARA, 28TH OCTOBER, 1831

To

CAPTAIN JAMES GRANT DUFF. ETC., ETC.¹

The Honourable the Governor Earl of Clare, having had no time to visit this capital we have been to Poona and our interview had taken place there between His Lordship and us. The particulars are—

1. His Lordship has kindly paid great attention during our reception, etc., with all due honors and formalities in a degree far surpassing his predecessors. His Lordship proposed to visit this metropolis next year.

2. We and the Honorable the Governor held a private conference according to the hitherto existing usage and His Lordship gave us much assurance

1. An endorsement in Marathi in the margin states that this letter was sent with Mr. Robertson

during this meeting and we were thereby led to believe that every thing that was once decided and confirmed, would continue on a firm footing. We were then assured also by His Lordship (as the Honorable Mount Stuart Elphinstone did in his letter addressed to us on the occasion of the nomination of Col. Robertson as Resident in our Royal Court), that His Lordship would appoint one of his (Lordship's) best friends as a Resident in the room of Col. Robertson; who subsequently intimated us that Col. Lodwick is going to succeed him.

3. As you had in the course of the conversation we and you had both held here used to say—that on any affair whatever newly proposed and once resolved upon often discussion we should on our part firmly accede thereto without deviation as such strict observance does honor both a communication to the British Government and the line of conduct one Government should pursue we have conformably been always striving on our part to aim at and adhere to this rule conduct without fail and in case of any alteration on the part of the British Govt. we should be led to follow its example. You are aware how far and with what moderation disinterestedness our desire if any is limited and whether it is so or not. It is therefore incumbent whenever if such to pursue in time such course as the then case may warrant.

4. You have in mind you may recollect the persons in this country who are apt to befriend us. Col. Robertson the Resident also proposes information on this topic. So we need not enter upon detail.....

(Incomplete.)

(11)

EDEN BY BANFF, SCOTLAND.

DECEMBER 9TH 1831.

My Dear Maharaj,

It is now a very long time since I had the pleasure of hearing from you, and since the death of Captain Adams I seldom know of events at Satara. When Colonel Robertson returns to Europe I shall have no means of information unless you write. Suppose you write to me at least once a year and fix on any day most agreeable to yourself for that purpose—only let it be some specific day that I may know when to expect it.

The last time I wrote was to forward some things I purchased for you about 16 months ago, but as yet I have not heard of your having received them. It is only lately that I could make a proper calculation of our account and I find, that instead of your owing me, I shall be indebted to you in a sum which at the present low rate of exchange will amount to about 2,700 Bombay Rupees. Therefore in order to settle everything I have desired a Hundee to be sent to your Highness for that account. It is very easy for your Highness to obtain a Hundee on London from Forbes & Co., or any of the English merchants in Bombay should you at any time wish me to make any particular purchase on your account, but I can think of nothing you want. Indeed if there was any thing you wished, I should only regret my not being able to afford to present it to you.

Sir John Malcolm has returned to this country but I have not seen him since. Mr. Elphinstone is travelling on the continent of Europe but will return in about five months—it is possible he may again return to India, although at present he neither expects nor wishes it. I would give a great deal to see you and all at Satara even for one month. I have had no late letter from Mr. Morris, but I hear he is married. His mother is lately dead which will occasion him great affliction. All my family are, thank God, quite well. I have only one son and one daughter—both fine children. Capt. Adams' widow came to see me and lived here two months last summer—her little daughter is not very strong, but I hope, in this climate her life may be preserved. Mrs. Adams expressed great gratitude to you for your kindness to Capt. Adams, and for the respect paid to his memory by your Highness' direction, before you could have received the letter wherein I requested of you to erect a tomb over his remains as a favor to myself. Mrs. Adams is in great and lasting grief for her husband and if her daughter should die she will not long survive her. I earnestly hope however that she may be long spared to her.

You will have heard before this reach(es) you that the cholera has landed in England—it is not spreading fast this being the cold weather, but when the warm season comes it will be destructive. It is curious, but I now just recollect that it was this day of the month, nine years ago that I was attacked by it at Auklooj, when the Nobut which you so kindly sent for Dr. Cooke became of such service to me. I often think of all those events.

Pray do me the favor to offer my best respects to Appa Sahib, my kind regards to Baba Sahib and all your Highness' *mundalee*, many of whom, I have no doubt, would be quite new persons to me. I say nothing on your Government matters, but shall be very happy to hear that you continue to keep out of debt, to maintain the faith of your treaty inviolate, to be as light in your assessments of revenue as possible, and to do justice to your subjects without favor or partiality.

Believe me to remain your Highness' old and faithful friend,

J. GRANT DUFF.

(12)

11TH JANUARY, 1833.

To

HIS HIGHNESS,
MAHARAJA CHUTRAPUTTEE, ETC.
SATARA,

My Dear Maharaj,

It is now six months since I had the pleasure of receiving your packet as transmitted to me by our mutual friend Col. Robertson. Col. R. at that time wrote to me promising to visit me very soon, but having been suddenly called to London, I have heard nothing of him or from him up to this date. As this is the winter season I have now no hope of seeing him for several months

and I shall therefore no longer delay acknowledging and thanking you for your letters all of which were exceedingly interesting to me, a great portion of the 52 paragraphs being a recapitulation of letters not one of which ever reached me.¹ I am principally desirous of seeing Col. Robertson relative to the list of Jagheerdars which you mention as having received from me the night before I quitted Satara. I have referred to my old mem^m and to my private journal² but I cannot bring the document to my recollection and find any mention of the Jagheerdars excepting something relative to the Jagheer at Jhutt the succession to which was unsettled. If it be a public document it must be attested by my signature and a copy of it will be found in the Records of the Residency—without that, it could be of no use in any matter of discussion between you and the British Government. But, if after conversation with Colonel Robertson, I can bring it to my recollection you may rest assured that I will write to your Highness a full explanation of the subject and my reasons for having made it over to you. Mr. Morris, now in Bombay, was then in my entire confidence, and should, I think, be able to satisfy enquiry on the subject—in the mean time I have not the slightest idea of what it can be.

I am very much pleased with all you write to me respecting your Government, I perceive you labour under the same difficulty which is now general throughout the world. I mean the very low price of any species of agricultural produce, which is compelling every Government to lighten its assessments and reduce its expenses. The cause of this extraordinary change is partly attributable to a reduction in the produce of the gold and silver mines of America, and to the acts of the British Govt. in reducing their paper currency and substituting gold, by which means the gold in all other countries is diminished, and money has thus become proportionally dear and produce cheap. There are several measures which, I think, might be introduced to ameliorate this state of things, and that which of all others would be best for India would be that of permitting its products to come into European markets lightly taxed. This subject, however, is one of great difficulty which Colonel Lodwick will particularly explain. I was last summer called upon by the Board of Control for a variety of opinions of which if I can procure a printed copy I will send one to Colonel Lodwick who will explain such parts as bear upon this important point. I believe the British Parliament will do all they can for the benefit of India, but the whole world now labours under the precise same difficulties of which you complain and there is no way of overcoming them except by lightening the assessments and reducing your expenses in every possible way. Keep your public offices efficient and pure, but discourage all wasteful show whether in retinue or clothes—in horses or houses. Stop your improvements in the city of Satara—the *too great* encouragement of artisans and labourers in one place at the expense of other towns in your territory must be guarded against by a wise prince in such times as the present—and recollect that the adornment of a capital and the neglect of other places is not a sign of prosperity but of decay. Look to the grandeur of Beejapoor and the misery which must have long surrounded that capital at the very time

1. Really the loss of these letters is very much to be deplored. Grant Duff is said to have written a letter to the Maharaja on 3 July 1832 but it is not traced.

2. This private journal of Grant Duff, if it is traced, is bound to be very interesting.

when the officers of state were building mausoleums to record their own folly, oppression, and improvidence—set an example yourself by abandoning all useless expenditure and let your dignity and fame rest upon acts of wisdom rather than in the splendour of a palace or a retinue. The best of all saving is to leave plenty in the hands of the ryot—that is a treasury which will bring a prince more interest for his money than any other plan of accumulation. You will no doubt perceive that the Honorable Company are reducing every part of their public expenditure, the reason of which is, that the whole of their finances are inadequate to meet the expense of governing the country. This will no doubt appear extraordinary but it is a well ascertained fact, and great as their reductions have been, they must be still greater before the country can flourish. The same causes which affect you are equally felt by them and they can no more control them than your Highness.

You may recollect that when I made the last revenue settlement in 1822, I told your Highness that the assessment was too heavy and that it must be reduced. My reason you also know was to afford your Highness' Government the merit of lowering rather than the odium of increasing the burdens of your subjects when my superintendence was withdrawn. If I had been so selfish as to put my own *nam* in competition with your welfare and fame, I, of course, should have asked differently. But, in regard to the assessment if I told you at that reason of prosperity, that it was too high, of course I am well aware that it must still be too high after granting 2½ lacks of Rupees of remissions. I foresaw and calculated the occasional loss which must be sustained by bad crops, but the extraordinary low price of produce was unlooked for. There is no way of meeting such a change excepting by a proportionate reduction of expenses and let your own household be the first to set the example. Grant no pensions unless the circumstances be very particular. I know of nothing that cannot be reduced, unless some of the horses of the old Moghlay Risala be still alive. Your Highness was bound to keep them up so long as their horses were servicable, but every thing not fixed must be lowered according to the reduction in the value of the necessaries of life. In the same way Captain Adam's assessment—it should never be understood to be fixed unless relatively—that is, in a proportion according to the price of produce and the expense of cultivation.

Observing that you wish for swords and pistols I am sorry that I transmitted the balance in my hands, which I trust you have long since safely received. I desired Mr. Cockburn in London to send your Highness six sword blades, not mounted, and pistols of various patterns with the prices marked—so that if either of them please you (you) can send an order to that gentleman for whatever number you may be pleased to direct. Every thing is now so exceedingly cheap that one half, in some instances one third of the money is an equivalent for various articles—compared with this time seven years. Swords and pistols of good quality Mr. Cockburn could procure for you at a very cheap rate although these have rather increased in value of late as the manufacturers in Great Britain have been supplying arms for every part of the world.

I, like other people, find such a reduction in my income that I cannot at present afford to leave my place of residence when I can possibly avoid it and therefore although Mr. Elphinstone is at present within a day's journey I shall probably not see him for several months, although we have not met for two

years. I had a letter from him yesterday. Pray offer my best respects to Maharaj Appah Sahib, to Bala Sahib and all my old friends at Satara. I shall reply to Dajeeba's letter. Your Highness will observe that I think it unnecessary to recapitulate the heads of intelligence you communicate but I am nevertheless much interested in the various persons and particulars of which your Highness writes. I feel sincerely obliged by your kindness in erecting a monument to the memory of my lamented friend Captain Adams. He merited this mark of respect from your Highness as he was your faithful friend as well as mine. At Satara are the remains of two of my earliest friends Dr. Gordon and Captain Adams. The world contains no two such for me as they were. They were faithful, tried and honest. I am sorry to think princes can rarely find such friends and even in private life they are uncommon.

I send this long letter to Bombay by a nephew of mine who goes out there as a Doctor of Medicine—his name is Dr. Alexander Walker. He has been educated at the great medical schools of Britain and France, and is a very superior young man. I hope if he ever come to Satara you will do him the honor to notice him. I must have done—my paper is finished—but until life also be ended.

Believe me your most sincere and
affectionate friend,

J. GRANT DUFF.

(13)

EDEN, DECEMBER 29TH, 1833.

My Dear Maharaj,¹

I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your Highness' letter and of that of Dajeeba Joshee which accompanied it. Since I wrote to your Highness I have seen Colonel Robertson who was here for two days only. During the time we had much conversation relative to Satara and upon my mentioning the subject of the Jagheerdars and asking what your Highness meant, he replied that he had arranged all that affair entirely to your Highness' satisfaction—that it was some affair relating to the Jagheer of Fultun—but up to this hour I am perfectly ignorant of the object or intention of your writing, and I am convinced Mr. Elphinstone would be equally at a loss. Write therefore expressly and unreservedly what you want, and if I can honorably and conscientiously afford any information useful to your Highness it shall be done and I think I may promise the same on the part of our friend Mr. Elphinstone.

The Treaties with the Jagheerdars were sufficiently specific and the separate treaties with them and the British Govt. were calculated to prevent all

1. A Marathi translation of this letter caused to be made for the Maharaja is published in the Selections from the Peshwa Daftar No. 42.25.

The cover of this letter contains the following :—

Messrs. J. Cockburn & Co., at the request of their good friend Captain J. Grant Duff have the honor to forward the enclosed letter to His Highness the Rajah of Satara. J. C. & Co. hope soon to have the honor of receiving the commands of His Highness to which they will pay their very best attention. London, 1 Feb. 1834.

misunderstanding—intended for the general benefit of all concerned. My advice in regard to them was and is, simply this—"Maintain your treaties with them in the same spirit you would wish the British Govt. to observe its treaty with you.—If your Highness means any thing relative to personal Surinjams ending with the life of the persons then enjoying him within your Highness' territory, these Surinjams in my opinion and as far as my memory serves me were decidedly to revert to you. I think it very likely to have been in this list I left with your Highness but I really have no distinct recollection of it.

I shall take no notice of what you say on the subject of assessments, because the size of a letter will not admit of my saying one half that I could offer upon the subject, but all I shall observe is, that every thing your Highness writes convinces me of the great necessity of lowering the assessment and curtailing expenses of every kind to meet the exigencies of times. My belief is, that there will soon be ameliorations in the state of India, which will reach your Highness' territories in an imperceptible manner and find causes which cannot be easily explained in the short limits of my paper. Your Highness blames Mr. Elphinstone and me—well—perhaps I am worthy of blame in many things, but if Satara had been my own, I could not and would not have toiled for it as I did for the benefit of others.

In regard to what I write of my own private affairs—of Mr. Elphinstone's being like myself poor—it was as your Highness says unfit for public discussion—but, what I wrote to your Highness of Mr. Elphinstone's having no pension for all his long services to his Government will convince many of your Highness' expectations that if they do not obtain the pensions they apply for, they have no right to complain—I am, in truth, no friend to pensions, except for very long service, or for rewards.

Your Highness will recollect that you particularly asked me to write to you of myself and to speak of my own private affairs. I have hitherto done so exactly as if I had been conversing in private with your Highness in the little bungalow above the gate or in the Joona Waraa—hum nu likhte Raja ko tukht pur—men likhta hoon upne dost ko, ooske khilwut khane men—kubhu do bat kee sulat botta kubhee dusbat chhoop upne gup shup. Udat se albuttah likhne chaheee, lekin Maharaj ko maloom hy, ki khorshamud kee bat mera dustoor nuheen. Koe waght Maharaj buhot ghoopa hooa hoega mere oopur—lekin Maharaj ne upne dil ko poochna kis ke kurne se humara achha hooa. Ugur ab Maharaj dooshmun ke khooshamud se—(flatterers are only pretended friends and we say in English

"An open foe may prove a curse,
But a pretended friend is worse."

Our bura adubse-chahta nu, is turah kia dostu ku khut bhala hum kea..... I have forgot Hindoostanee as well as Mahrattee and it is difficult to convey my meaning through an Interpreter. I conclude the same difficulty exists with your Highness as a letter of yours and of Dajeeba's are not intelligible.

I wrote to your Highness that I seldom went to London—that I strongly recommended Mr. Cockburn as your agent for the purchase of any thing you might require from this country as he could procure any thing better and cheaper than I could even were I on the spot. I noted although he charges

agency I am convinced he will save your Highness 25 per cent. I am glad you approved of the things sent. They were sent by Mr. Cockburn not by me as I had some time provisionally remitted (in fact over-remitted) the balance in my hands.

Some people think Mr. Elphinstone will be sent to India as Governor-General—but this is mere *gup*. I am sure he does not wish to change his present condition—when the steam communication is established, I think I shall come out and spend a few months at Satara. Will your Highness promise to lend me a good house for hog hunting?

Every thing communicated by Colonel Robertson of your Highness . . . gave me great satisfaction, and his assurances of your friendly remembrances and regard make me view . . . passages of the letter before me as unintentionally misinterpreted. The handwriting is familiar to me and I hope it is that of my friend Narrain Rao¹ who translated the Chitnees bukr, as I think him a worthy person who will be a faithful servant to your Highness. He ought to be able to explain to your Highness that the style of a private English letter admits of being written in a strain altogether different from that of official correspondence with Government of which I trust I shall see or write very little whilst I live.

I remain your old and faithful friend,
J. GRANT DUFF.

I am very sorry to learn that Mr. Morris is very unwell. He is a good friend of yours and will prove proper to the manner in which you raised him up when he fell in hunting.

I beg you will offer my kind remembrances to Col. Lodwick—if Col. L. wd. explain to Mr. Elphinstone or to me what is wanted about the Jag-heerdars it would be less liable to mistake.¹

APPENDIX A

A letter of Col. Briggs' to Maharaja Pratapsimha of Satara.

LONDON, 20TH AUGUST, 1827.

To

HIGHNESS MAHRAJAH CHUTRPUTTY SHREEMUNT PRUTAB SHEWN BAHADUR.

After taking leave of your Highness I proceeded¹ to Bombay when I took my passage on board the ship Upton Castle the same on which your Highness' friend, Captain Grant Sahib, embarked and we sailed on the 16th January on account of which I wrote to your Highness from Bombay and Balajee Punt Kibby who came on board the ship to see it would have given your Highness some account of the cabin which myself and family occupied.

1. See Selections from the Peshwa Daftar No. 42.13.

1. Col. Briggs on account of ill-health handed over charge of the Satara Residency to Mr. William Simson, a young civilian in December 1826 and proceeded on leave to England.

After a favourable voyage of twelve weeks during which time we saw nothing but water and sky we reached the small Island of St. Helena only four coss in length and three in breadth situated several hundred coss from any other land. Your Highness will probably find this Island by consulting the small map I had drawn from (for) you and which I presented the day before I left Satara. At St. Helena I found Colonel Robertson² who, I conclude, is now my successor and Resident at your Highness' Court. I endeavoured all in my power to impress that gentleman with a sense of your Highness' merits and I feel assured you will be much pleased with his mild manners as he will be with your Highness.

The ship left St. Helena on the 8th April and reached England on the 27th May after a prosperous voyage having completed the whole distance in four months and a half. I cannot describe my feelings on reaching my own country after an absence of twenty-six years and indeed I have been so engaged in renewing my acquaintance with my elder relations and becoming acquainted with the younger branches of my family that I have not before had time to write to India. I found all my relations well and my father who though seventy-four years old, full of life and activity. He rises early and walks a coss before breakfast and during the day he walks two or three more. His teeth are all firm (sāboot) and he reads without using spectacles, so that he may still live fifteen or even twenty years. My business has obliged me to travel much since my arrival and your Highness will be surprised to hear that I have gone over nearly *five hundred* coss in two months and that I can travel dawd in a coach with four horses 50 coss in twelve hours for *ten Rupees*. Within the last week I have rented a house with thirteen Begas of garden and grass land into which I am to enter the 1st of next month. Long before this letter reaches you, your Highness will be glad to hear of the arrival of General Sir John Malcolm Bahadur as Governor of Bombay.³ I had the pleasure of seeing him frequently before he sailed and I went on board ship with him from the *Bunder* and remained till he went away. His daughter, Lady Campbell, and her husband, Sir Alexander Campbell, also accompany the Governor and before the next rainy season, his wife Lady Malcolm will also arrive. I have not heard from my brother since I left India, but I trust he was employed by your Highness in constructing the road to Prutabghur, which I hope ere this finished. I beg my respects to His Highness Appa Sahib and my regards to Bala Sahib and your Highness' apt *mundly*.⁴ My house⁵ frequently speaks of the Ranee Sahib and the other ladies of your Highness' family, and desires her respectful salams. Our little girl recollects your Highness' daughter, Goojra Bye Sahiba, and she begs to offer her kind regards to her. Always hoping to hear of your Highness' welfare and prosperity, I remain with respect your Highness' faithful and obedient humble servant.

BRIGGS.

I have not seen captain Grant Sahib Bahadur but have received two or three letters from him; he is in affliction for the death of his little daughter.

2. Lt. Col. Archibald Robertson took office from Mr. Simson, the officiating Resident of Satara in June 1827.

3. Sir John Malcolm took office from Mount Stuart Elphinstone on 1-11-1827.

4. i.e., relatives.

5. i.e., wife.

I trust your Highness has received his history of the Maratta Empire which Your Highness should procure to be translated⁶ by degrees into the Maratta language, after which it might be struck off on lithography (Châpp) at Bombay, which would obtain as great a name for your Highness in the East as your friend Captain Grant Duff has established for himself in Europe by compiling his excellent history.⁷

J. B.

APPENDIX B

A letter of Mount Stuart Elphinstone to Maharaja Pratapsimha of Satara.

ALLANY, AUGUST 12TH, 1833.

To

HIS HIGHNESS THE RAJA OF SATARA.
etc. etc.

My absence from this country prevented my receiving your Highness' letter sent by Colonel Robertson till long after it was written. On my return from the continent I went almost immediately to Scotland where I hoped to have met Captain Grant Duff and to have communicated with him on the subjects on which your Highness is pleased to refer me to him. His residence however is very distant from the part of Scotland where I was and circumstances prevented me from making any arrangement for a meeting. No inconvenience can however have resulted to your Highness' affairs from this circumstance, for although both of us would have felt the greatest desire to promote any wish of your Highness yet you are sufficiently acquainted with English practice to know how to influence any public business.

I was happy to hear that Colonel Lodwick had been appointed Resident at your Highness' Court and it gave me very high gratification to learn from Lord Clare the prosperous state of your government and his own satisfaction with the general state of your interests. I shall always feel the greatest interest in your Highness' prosperity. I saw Sir Lionel Smith¹ within these few months and was happy to receive from him also very favourable accounts of your Highness. He is now gone to a part of the West Indies where he has been appointed Governor.

With every good wish for your Highness' health and welfare.

I have the honour to be,
Your Highness' sincere friend and most humble servant,

M. ELPHINSTONE.

6. It was translated into Marathi by Captain David Capon and published in Bombay, January 1830.

7. An endorsement in Marathi on the back of the letter shows that this letter was received (by the Maharaja) through Mr. Robertson on Monday the 11th February 1828, or 26 Rajab 1237 (saman), or 10 Maga of Saka 1749 Sarvajit Samvatsara, or 154 Rajyabhisheka Saka.

1. He was Assistant Resident of Satara in the time of James Grant Duff. A letter of his preserved in the Satara Museum and dated Camp. Seroor, June 1820 shows that Raja Pratapsingh had presented him with a sword 'which had been possessed so many years by his illustrious Family.'

The Marathas in Bengal after 1751

By

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ONE might expect that after the peace of 1751 between Nawab Allahavardi and the Nagpur Court, the Maratha danger would no longer disturb and desolate Bengal, and that she would breathe an air of relief. Allahavardi reduced, therefore, the number of soldiers in his army, and devoted himself to healing the wounds, that had been inflicted on his kingdom by the terrible Maratha invasions, by "re-building villages, tilling abandoned lands, cherishing the husbandmen, and recalling to their homes the inhabitants of an infinity of towns, plundered and ruined by the Marathas"¹

THE MARATHA MENACE AFTER 1751

But we are often deceived in our hopes, and events, different from our expectations, affect our destiny. In the very year of the peace want of a good shower destroyed the rice crop and caused a terrible famine in Bengal. The French factory at Chandranagore then experienced great difficulties in getting rice for their ocean-going vessels.² Further, by an irony of fate, Bengal was yet destined to suffer from occasional Maratha raids. The peace of 1751 simply closed one period of these invasions, that is, invasions from outside the province of Bengal. A new period of Maratha invasions from within the limits of the original Subah, i.e., from the side of Orissa, but reinforced, from time to time, by various irregular troops and other help from the Maratha country proper, was yet to begin.

INTRIGUES OF MIRZA SALEH WITH THE MARATHAS IN 1756

In January 1753, six hundred of the Marathas plundered Balasore and went down towards the Nilgiri hills.³ We find in

1. Seir, Vol. II, P. 113.
2. Correspondence du Conseil de Chandernagore avec divers, Ze partie p. 435.
3. Consultations, February 1, 1753 A.D.

some Records of 1756 A.D. that towards the end of that year Mirza Salch, who had been appointed Deputy Governor of Orissa, entered into intrigues with the Marathas against the Nawab of Bengal, and the Marathas "imprisoned the person sent to pay them their annual chaut" from Bengal.⁴ In the month of May 1757, when the political situation of Bengal was greatly disturbed, the Marathas sent the following letter to Mr. Drake in Calcutta:—"I have long wished for a meeting with you, which the great distance has prevented; everything prospers with me; and it is my wish that success attend you with long life and happiness. Your misfortunes have been related to me by Ragooje, son of Janooge. Make yourself easy and be my friend. Send me your proposals, such as you imagine may be for the best; and with the divine assistance, Sumseer Caun Bhadre, and Ragho Babu, son to Bajorey, shall enter Bengal with 1,20,000 horse; besides there are other forces (which) shall be ready at your call if you have need of them, having wrote to Men Caun to proceed to you, whenever you shall write to him to that effect. Whatever goods or riches you have lost in Bengal, the double of its value shall be restored by me. Do not, on any account, make peace with the Nabob. In a few days my forces shall enter Bengal and the trade of that province shall be entirely yours. Govinroy will relate to you further particulars; to him communicate what force you have need of and due regard shall be paid to your directions. The French shall not remain in Bengal; your forces shall keep them out by sea, mine by land."⁵

After Govin Roy's arrival in Calcutta, Colonel Clive sent the letter to Siraj-ud-dowla through Mr. Scrafton, with two objects in view,—one to "deceive the Soubah into a firm persuasion" that the English had 'no jealousy of his designs' and the other 'to awe him by the fear of so powerful an alliance',⁶ if the letter was true. The Nawab expressed his dissatisfaction with the Marathas, and

4. Letter from the Council in Calcutta to the Council at Fort St. George, dated . . . (1756), Bengal; Madras Papers, Vol. II; Clive's letter to the Select Committee at Fort St. George, dated 8th January, 1757, Hill, Bengal in 1756-57, Vol. II, p. 88; Clive's letter to Secret Committee, London, dated 1st February, 1757, *Ibid.*, p. 207.

5. Scrafton, *Reflections on the Government of Indostan*, pp. 82-84; *Martin's Indian Empire*, Vol. I, p. 176; Clive's letter to the Secret Committee, London, dated 6th August, 1757. Hill, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 465-67.

6. Scrafton, *op. cit.*, p. 83; Orme, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 156-57.

spoke in good terms about Clive. The English sent no immediate response to the proposals of the Marathas. But after the Nawab's defeat at Plassey, Clive thought it proper to humour them and wrote the following letter to the Peshwa on the 5th of July, 1757:—"By your letter to the Governor of Calcutta and from your servant Roy Govindroy I am informed of your kind offers and intentions towards the English of which they will ever retain a grateful remembrance. They would have courted your friendship and alliance had we not been under previous engagements. From your servant Roy Govindroy and the mouth of the whole world you will have heard the bad character of Siraja-ud-dowla and how universally he was detested by his own subjects. You will have also heard that on the arrival here from Chinapatam to demand justice for the injuries he had done the English Company he came down against me with a numerous army which by the blessing of God, I defeated in a battle fought the 5th of February, and obliged him to enter into a treaty, whereby he engaged to restore to the Company all he had taken from them; that our enemies should be his, and his ours, and many other articles. In full reliance of the sacredness of his oath, I put my army into quarters and quietly waited the execution of the treaty. But over a month was passed without the least provocation on my part I found that he has entered into engagements with our bitter enemies, the French, to drive us again from his province. Self-preservation obliged me to march towards his capital to demand justice of him. He scorned my friendship and met with numerous army on the plains of Placis (Plassey), where by the Divine assistance I gained a most complete victory over him, and followed him till night sheltered him from further pursuit. All his cannon, camp and baggage fell into my hands, and in two days I reached the capital where by the consent and approbation of all the great men, Meer Mahmud Jaffr Cawn Bahadre, was declared Nabob of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. As he is a very brave and good man and universally beloved, I hope by the blessing of God these provinces will flourish under his Government, and he will be as able as he is willing to pay you the customary chout. The great friendship that subsists between your Excellency and the English and the strict engagements we have entered into with the Nabob, induces me to offer myself as mediator to recommend friendship between you. It appears that Mohabut Jung agreeable to your writing paid the chout to Rago Jee Bonsala and Siraj Doula to Janungee. I have represented to the Nabob that it will be proper for him to pay it to whomsoever you direct. He

being a prudent and wise man has agreed, and by the blessing of God he will not deviate from what I desire and you write".⁷

In 1759, owing to "a prospect of the Marathas coming into these provinces" (Bengal and Bihar), Mr. Gray was ordered by the Council in Calcutta not to leave Cuttack, so that the Company might be "informed frequently of their numbers, motions and designs".⁸ Early in February, 1760, the Marathas invaded Bengal under the command of Sheo Bhat Sathe, the Maratha Governor of Orissa, who came with a "commission from Janajee and Balajerow, to demand the arrears of chout due to the Marattee nations from the province of Bengal, which amounted to 24 lacs of rupees".⁹ At the head of 3,000 cavalry and a few infantry, he marched from Balasore and advanced as far as Midnapur,¹⁰ where he defeated Khosal Sing, the Nawab's officer in charge of that place. He remained there up till the middle of February; some of his people advanced up to Chandracona and to Bhavanipur,¹¹ "from the former of which he threatened Calcutta and Hugli and from the latter commanded Burdwan." We find in Public Proceedings dated 21st and 25th February, 1760:—"Messrs. Watt and Howitt being returned from Burdwan and Kishnaghur, and reporting to us that Naugurs and Mahrattas have advanced into these countries and commenced plundering which has obliged them to retire to Calcutta and will totally put a stop to the collection of the tuncanes (revenue) in those countries; agreed, that the President send such a military force to those countries as may be necessary for their defence and security".¹² The English factors at Cassimbazar wrote to the Council in Calcutta expressing their apprehension that the Marathas would proceed to Cassimbazar and desiring the recall of the Company's *gomastas* from the different *aurungs*. But the Council "could not conceive they had any grounds for the apprehensions they entertained" of the Marathas.¹³

7. Clive's Correspondence, Military Sundry Book, No. 10, 1756-1758 quoted in Bengal and Madras Papers, Vol. II.

8. Consultations, 10th April, 1759.

9. Orme's Indostan, Vol. II, p. 282.

10. Holwell's letter to John Caillaud, dated 15th February, 1760, *vide*, Indian Tracts, p. 23.

11. Holwell's letter to Warren Hastings, Resident at Moradbagh, dated Fort William 22nd February 1760. *Vide* Indian Tracts p. 25.

12. Long's Selections, p. 206.

13. *Ibid*.

The Danes at Serampore requested the English Council in Calcutta "four pieces of cannon, flints, ammunition for their defence against the Mahrattas, should they approach their settlement"; but the English replied that "the Danes have little or nothing to apprehend from the Mahrattas so long as the Company's party under the command of Captain Spears, remains in their neighbourhood".¹⁴

The Mahrattas then penetrated into the territory of the Burdwan Raja and committed there many hostile acts.¹⁵ They remained there for three months "burning, plundering, and laying waste the whole country" so that many of the inhabitants left their hearth and home and did not return till August.¹⁶ These acts of the Marathas created a panic throughout the country; in Calcutta "the Militia were again called out, and all armed natives not in the Company's service ordered to quit the settlement."¹⁷ John Burdett at Balasore also requested the authorities in Calcutta "to be allowed to keep the spies allowed for that Factory whilst the Maharattas remain in the country", so that he might acquaint them with their movements.¹⁸

The Nawab made up his mind to send a force to Burdwan and solicited the help of the English in that matter. The English, thereupon strengthened his forces by lending a European detachment under Captain Spear, 100 more Europeans, 200 Sipahis and 2 field pieces.¹⁹ Mir Kasim, the Nawab's son-in-law, was commissioned to the task with his own 1,500 horse. But according to the Nawab's instructions, he proceeded to Katwah instead of going directly to Burdwan and driving out the Maratha detachment at Vishnupur. This gave them an opportunity to carry on their plundering activities for some time.²⁰

HOLWELL ACCUSES MIR JAFAR OF ENTERING INTO A SECRET TREATY WITH MARATHAS.

Mr. Holwell says that towards the end of June 1760, Mir Jafar entered "into secret negotiations with the Marattees, to

14. Proceedings, 21st February, 1760.

15. Proceedings, 21st February, 1760; Original Papers, Vol. I, p. 13.

16. Letter from Raja Tilak Chand of Burdwan to the Company, August 1760. Long's Selections, p. 233.

17. Holwell's Indian Tracts, p. 28.

18. Proceedings, 27 March, 1760 A.D.

19. Indian Tracts, p. 27.

20. Original Papers, etc., Vol. I, p. 13.

introduce a body of 25 or 30,000 of them into the provinces. He agreed to pay them 12 lacs in three months; a considerable sum was near being advanced to them. . . . Mussalood Mahomet Khan was despatched to Cuttack with two Marattees to finish this business".²¹ In the absence of any other documentary evidence, it is hard to believe Holwell's statement. Mr. Holwell's Memorial submitted to Mr. Vansittart in 1760, when the latter accepted the charge of the Company's government in Bengal, shows that he was highly biased against Mir Jafar. So he might have probably created this story of his secret alliance with the Marattas in order to justify his own conduct towards the Nawab in connection with the revolution of 1760.

THE MARATHA DANGER IN THE TIME OF MIR KASIM.

Nawab Mir Kasim had also to deal with the vexed Maratha problem. Early in the month of November 1760, "four or five hundred Mahrattas were arrived at Balasore and had action with Meer Abdulram Khan (Mir Abdur Rahaman Khan) the Nawab's Phousdar (faujdar) there; that on both sides many men were slain and wounded, and Meer Abdulram Khan was made prisoner and carried away."²² Misoree Khan, "through the apprehension from the Mahrattas", could not remain at Midnapur; and so "Gawsib Sing, the Jellasore Thanadar, . . . a man of great valour", was ordered to remain at Midnapur and protect the ryots.²³ Apprehending that they would again advance towards the north-east, the Raja of Burdwan was collecting troops.²⁴ On the 29th of December, 1760, Captain Martin White wrote to the Council in Calcutta, from his camp at Battasy, about the "arrival of Marattees at Noor Cotunga, the Beerboomers at Aundra (?), and that a part of two thousand Marathas had been detached to Dackbarry."²⁵ Early in January 1761 the Nawab's spies informed him that Sheo Bhat with 2,000 or 3,000 cavalry and as many infantry has joined the Beerboom Rajah, and the Burdwan Zemindar acts in conjunction with them."²⁶ But Raja Tilak Chand of Burdwan wrote to the Council in Calcutta in February 1761 that

Sheo Bhat's followers greatly distressed Burdwan and the adjoining parts by still "plundering the ryots and destroying their houses and wounding the inhabitants."²⁷

On the 25th of January 1761, the Company had written to Mukand Pandit, Sheo Bhat and Ragmanji Jachak directing them not to molest the Company's forces,²⁸ because Sheo Bhat and his party had advanced to Midnapur and had attacked Mr. Johnstone, the English Collector of that place, from all sides on the 22nd of January. Mr. Johnstone wrote to the President of the Select Committee in Calcutta on the 26th January, 1761:—"Surrounded by a numerous army without a friend to help us."²⁹ The Company, therefore, sent Lieutenant Wilson to Midnapur with a small detachment of Europeans and sepoy and one field piece³⁰ and wrote to Raja Rajnarayan of Kasijora, on the 29th of January, requesting him to assist them.³¹ But day by day Mr. Johnstone's situation grew serious, which made him again write to the authorities in Calcutta, on the 3rd of February, 1761: "I received and replied to your two favours both dated the 28th and have just now the pleasure of yours of the 30th. Sorry am I to find that none of six letters despatched since the 26th have reached you representing our great distress and the number of the enemy. We have now left about four days' provisions at six chittaks of rice per day, and without any hope of supply from any of the Zemindars or country people—the enemy's horse that can't be less than 6000 and about 1,000 or 1,500 Buxarries (match lookmen recruited from Buxar) possessing the whole country round and visiting us daily. Sewbut, Rajaram, Cosal Sing, Jugul and several other Zemindars these chiefs with a large body of horse lie within a coss, some parties with the plunder are stretched towards Benapoo six coss; perfectly well acquainted with the quantity of our provisions, they depend on the consumption of that to reduce us, rather than by force, in which attempts they have not had the success they expected—this inconvenience even when White's party does arrive (which admits of much doubt with me) will still, subsist, as the people with their cattle and goods are all gone away, nor dare

21. Holwell's letter to Peter Amyatt, dated 1st July, 1760, *vide*, Indian Tracts, pp. 85-86.

22. Letter from Nawab Mir Kasim, November, 1760, Long, p. 239.

23. Letter from Mir Kasim, December, 1760, Long, p. 241.

24. *Ibid.*

25. Select Committee's Proceedings, 5th January, 1761, Long, p. 261.

26. Letter from Nawab Mir Kasim, January, 1761, Long, p. 250.

27. Letter from Raja Tilak Chand, February, 1761. Long, p. 251.

28. Abstracts of Persian Letters issued, 1759-65, p. 47. Imperial Record Department, Calcutta.

29. Select Committee's Proceedings, 28 January, 1761.

30. *Ibid.*

31. Abs. P. L. I., 1759-1765, p. 64, I. R. D.

they return while the enemy's horse remain in the country. Rajaram proclaims our weakness at Calcutta, and boasts and bullies among the Zemindars of the mighty feats he is about to do. The party you have sent I must hope is as strong as you could make it. I could heartily wish it had been conducted by Mr. Wilson or some other of experience and capacity sufficient for a command of such consequence, and I believe I may venture to say both Nollkens and White would be better pleased to obey than command. Permit me to request—that Mr. Wilson if possible or some other senior to Mr. Nollkens may be sent to take the command, the troubles in those parts are but beginning, nor can it be imagined Rajaram will quit a place, whose advantages he knows so well, while any rents can be collected; and if I should venture to propose Major White's return thither, as the most speedy and prudent method to secure this country, expel the Mahrattas, and reduce the Zemindars—attribute it not to timidity, but consider it as the result of my maturest reflection on the present state of affairs here. Our stores of every kind are near expended, and no possibility of recruiting them but from Calcutta. Judge of our situation if not speedily assisted—our people at six chittaks of rice those two days past, my own suffering though great I forbear to mention, while there remains any way of acquainting you of our situation shall not fail to do it, and must request you will forward Harcaras (messengers) to me as surest way. Bahadur Sing proves as great a traitor as the rest, and refuses to march to join Mr. White, this is of a piece with his former behaviour, indeed, I fear White will not be able to join us.”³² Mr. Johnstone's situation had become very critical as many of the native Zemindars had joined the Marathas. On hearing of Sheo Bhat's march from Mongyr, Mr. Johnstone had advanced money for rice and other provisions, but “by dialatoriness of the dewan and other pretexts”, he was not supplied with above a third of his order till two days before he was attacked, and from that day till the 7th of February, 1761, he could get only 6 maunds of rice from Motiram Khan of Karnagara. On the 5th of February, the Marathas made a severe “effect with all the sepoy and Buxarries they could assemble and took possession of the house and walls” that surrounded the buildings occupied by the English from which places, however, the Company's sepoy—“having sallied out dislodged them and killed and wounded of them 10 men”. Next night Mr. Johnstone “despatched 85 sepoy to join Lieutenant White at Shawpoor, which

32. Select Committee's Proceedings, 9 February, 1761.

they happily effected; 200 horses sent after them by the enemy not daring to attack them.”³³

The Company's forces arrived at Midnapur on the 10th of February,³⁴ and Sheo Bhat then fled away to Cuttack by evading an open engagement.³⁵ Raja Rajnarayan, Raja of Kasijora Paragana, informed the Council in Calcutta that Sheo Bhat “with his troops and equipage went from Midnapur to the southward. And that 2,000 of his flying horse are at Pattaher Ghatta, two koss from Midnapore, the other side of the river towards southward, and Mr. Johnstone is well in the fort at Midnapore, The successful troop which you have sent to Midnapore, remained three days at Cossijeerah Pergunnah, and I your subject, agreeable to your orders, and the direction of the Commanding Officer, supplied.”³⁶ In response to the Nawab's request, the Company sent another body of troops to Midnapur under Mr. Knox in order to prevent the Marathas from advancing towards Murshidabad, while the Nawab was at Patna.³⁷ At the same time letters were sent to Raja Rajnarayan, Raja Anand Lal and the Naib Mahabat Kuli Khan asking them to supply Mr. Knox “with bullocks, coolies, beldars, provisions, and other necessities and also with a Vakil.”³⁸ Kushalchand, a poor man who had been “stationed at Cuttack to forward letters” was made a captive by the Marathas, and the Company, therefore, wrote³⁹ to Mukand Pandit, Sheo Bhat and Ragmanji Jachak on the 23rd and 28th of February asking them “to release Kushalchand and not to intercept letters, but to despatch them immediately on their arrival.” Sheo Bhat at last released Kushalchand and gave the Company's people a *dastak*⁴⁰ for the despatch of letters. The Company's troops were stationed also at Pataspur, which had been under the control of Sheo Bhat, who was requested by the Company through a letter of the 8th of March “to order his ‘amlah’ (officer) not to create disturbance or molest the inhabitants.”⁴¹ Mir Kasim in his letter to the

33. Letter from Mr. Johnstone, Midnapur House, 8th February, 1761, Select Committee's Proceedings, dated 10th February, 1761.

34. Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. I, p. 58.

35. *Ibid*, p. 59.

36. Letter from Raja Rajnarayan, February, 1761, Long, p. 251.

37. Cal. P.C., Vol. I, p. 61.

38. *Ibid*, p. 62 and 64.

39. *Ibid*, p. 66 and 69.

40. *Ibid*, p. 76.

41. *Ibid*, p. 73.

Company dated 10th March, complained that the Marathas were at that time enjoying practically all the revenue of Cuttack.⁴²

Sheo Bhat did not like that the Company's troops should remain at Midnapur and urged for their withdrawal. But the Company informed him through their letter of the 17th of March that "the Nawab has given the Chaklah of Midnapur to the English for their military expenses, and that the troops have been stationed there to protect the poor and fight the Company's enemies but not to create disturbances." He was also requested to be satisfied with his own possessions, not to disturb the English troops at Midnapur and to forward duly the Company's letters to Madras.⁴³

It appears from certain references that for some time after this both Sheo Bhat and the Company were not engaged in open hostilities but were trying to maintain friendly relations with each other. As has been already noticed, Kushalchand (one of the gomastas of the Company at Orissa) was released, and Ragmanji Jachak sent a friendly letter to the Company writing that Sheo Bhat "has a clean heart and no evil intentions", and that "a capable person may be sent to him." The Company replied on the 23rd of March intimating him that they would send a man from whom he would learn everything and expressing a hope that he would "issue orders to his mutasaddis (a writer, clerk) not to delay the despatch of letters to Madras."⁴⁴ On the same day the Company wrote a letter to Sheo Bhat also, wishing thereby his welfare and requesting him to order his manager at Cuttack not to make any delay in forwarding some letters to Madras.⁴⁵ Sheo Bhat forwarded these letters to Madras and gave dastaks to prevent their being intercepted on the way. But he insisted on the removal of the Company's troops from Midnapur, for which the Company informed him by their letter of the 26th March, 1761, that "if the removal of troops from Midnapur is so persistently urged, a breach in friendship will ensue and war to the loss of both parties will be the result."⁴⁶

But it was not long before that temporary friendship began to disappear. Sheo Bhat soon renewed his claims for the *chauth* of

42. *Ibid*, p. 74.

43. *Ibid*, p. 76.

44. *Ibid*, p. 78.

45. *Ibid*.

46. *Ibid*, p. 79.

Midnapur on the ground of its being part of Cuttack.⁴⁷ But the Company's President sent the following reply to him on the 10th of April, 1761:—

"Your friendly letter with assurances of friendship and acquainting me, that Mha Bhut Jang (Allahvardi) annexed the chaut of Midnapur to that of Cuttack, and at the same time directing me to give it up and recall the people that are now there, I have received. It is true, His Excellency gave up the chaut of Cuttack to put an end to the disturbances, and where you have manager I have no business; but Midnapur has been a long time independent of Cuttack. The Phousdars and collectors went from Moorshedabad, received the revenues and forwarded it to the City. At this time His Excellency has added it to the Company for the maintenance of the sepoys. I am surprised you should write concerning this affair without enquiring properly into it. It is necessary for our friendship that agreeable to former customs you remain in your own country. I cannot act contrary to reason, if you do, I shall not be backward or negligent. You are a sensible man and therefore act in such a manner as will make no breach in your friendship."⁴⁸ Sheo Bhat replied on the 21st of April to the effect that he would invade Bengal if the *chauth* was not forwarded to him.⁴⁹

It appears that about this time, negotiations were going on between Janjoji and the Nawab on the question of *chauth*. So the President of the Company wrote to Sheo Bhat on the 23rd of April, 1761, that the Nawab had sent a proper reply to Janjoji's letter for *chauth* and he hoped that everything would be adjusted there. He also noted that as he was no longer the Chief of Cuttack he had "no business to demand the *chauth* and to create disturbances in Midnapur"⁵⁰ and warned him that this might bring upon him the wrath of Janjoji.⁵¹ Towards the end of April, Mir Kasim informed the Company that he intended to discharge Muslihuddin Muhammad Khan and Ganga Naik, the agents of Janjoji, as his funds did not permit him to satisfy their demands.⁵² But Sheo Bhat still persisted in demanding the *chauth*. About the 8th of

47. *Ibid*, p. 85.

48. *Ibid*, p. 258.

49. Cal. P. C., Vol. I, p. 88.

50. Cal. P. C., Vol. I, pp. 89-92.

51. *Ibid*.

52. *Ibid*, p. 90.

of May, Mr. Briston, the Company's agent at Balasore, was appointed to settle the dispute with him⁵³ and to quell the disturbances in the country lying between Midnapur and Cuttack. But no settlement was arrived at, and Sheo Bhat again wrote to the Company, on the 20th of May that if the *chauth* was not forwarded, "a body of troops will march into Bengal to enforce payment of it."⁵⁴ The Company repeated the old reply and wrote to Sheo Bhat and Ramanji Jachak on the 27th and 28th of May respectively that none of them had "anything to do with the question of the *chauth*; it concerns the Nawab and Raja Janoji only and they can settle it themselves."⁵⁵

The Nawab did not receive any reply from Janoji till July (1761), and Sheo Bhat also grew more and more persistent in his demand for the *chauth*.⁵⁶ A "severe famine" had then broken out in Bengal and food had become so scarce that children were being sold in Calcutta. The Company's President informed Janoji of this disastrous situation in their settlement hoping thereby that "the people will receive favourable attention from him."⁵⁷ But Janoji's agent, Muslihuddin Muhammad Khan, soon appeared in Bengal with a demand for *chauth*.⁵⁸

The constant demand of Sheo Bhat for *chauth* and his threats to invade Bengal in case of non-compliance soon convinced the Company that the question was too vexed to be decided by mere peaceful negotiations. So considering that Sheo Bhat "obstinately continues his pretensions to the Midnapur Province, as well as his demands for *chauth*, and although he pretends a desire to accommodate matters in an amicable manner, yet it is much to be feared from the known treacherous disposition of that caste of people, that if they can find an opportunity they will attempt to send plundering parties into Bengal," the Company decided on the 17th of September 1761, to prevent them from "committing their usual ravages in Bengal."⁵⁹ Instructions were accordingly sent to Mr. Hay "to consult with the Nabob, and learn from him the rents

53. *Ibid.*, p. 94.

54. *Ibid.*, p. 102.

55. *Ibid.*, p. 99.

56. *Ibid.*, p. 102.

57. *Ibid.*

58. *Ibid.*, p. 112.

59. Select Committee's Proceedings, 17 September, 1761.

of the country lying between Jellasore and Cuttack and what parts he will be willing to assign to the Company to defray the expenses of such an expedition which can hardly fail to complete the ancient possessions of the Subahs of Bengal, and make a large addition to the revenues."⁶⁰ But the proposed expedition could not be sent as the Nawab disagreed with the Company on the question of defraying its expenses.

The English thought it proper to wait for the time being and not to give up their outward attitude of friendship towards the Marathas. Both the parties continued to exchange letters.⁶¹ On the 18th of October, 1761, the Company informed Sheo Bhat that Diaram and Husain Beg who came to Calcutta with Mr. Bristow "in order to settle the affairs relating to Pataspur and other Paraganas dependent on Jellasore" has been sent back with directions "to take possession of the parganah and afterwards to wait on Mr. Burdett, Chief of Midnapur, with the papers to receive from him whatever was collected before."⁶²

But at the same time the English did not forget to make internal preparations for driving out the Marathas. They stationed some of the choicest troops at Midnapur and wrote to the Commander at Burdwan to send some troops to Chandracona. Their Governor sent to the Nawab "a letter received by Major White from Sheo Bhat showing the letter's wickedness and knavery," and requested him to direct Turab Ali Khan, Naib of Murshidabad, and Muhammad Taqi Khan, Faujdar of Birbhum, to be on the guard as the Marathas might come by way of Vishnupur or Birbhum.⁶³ The Nawab wrote to the Company on the 15th of November, 1761,⁶⁴ that he had taken steps to prevent the incursions of the Marathas and had sent his brother Nir Bu Ali Khan for that purpose.⁶⁵ The Company also informed him on the 11th of December that Major Carnac and the English troops were ready to help Mir Bu Ali Khan.⁶⁶ On the same date, the Select Committee in Calcutta came to a firm resolution to drive out the Marathas as soon

60. *Ibid.*

61. Cal. P.C., Vol. I. pp. 128-29.

62. *Ibid.*

63. *Ibid.*, p. 130.

64. *Ibid.*, p. 131.

65. *Ibid.*, p. 135.

66. *Ibid.*, p. 135.

as possible, and sent the following letter to the Select Committee at Bombay for attacking the Marathas from their side :—

"Gentlemen—The Bengal Provinces having suffered much from the incursions and ravages of the Marattas ever since they had possession of Cuttack, we have determined in concert with the Nawab, to send a force to rout them from that place and restore that province to the Soobaship of Bengal, to which it by right pertains.

"It is about twelve years since the Nawab of Bengal, after a long and ruinous war with the Mahrattas gave them an assignment upon the Cuttack province for receiving an annual stipulated sum on account of the *chauth*. The Mahrattas, under pretence of collecting their share, usurped by degrees the entire possession of the province, and not contented with that, still continued to harass the neighbouring parts of Bengal, and more particularly the provinces of Midnapur and Burdwan, which now belong to the Company.

"The routing them out of Cuttack seems to be the only effectual means of preventing their continuing these ravages. The execution we believe will not be very difficult, nor do we apprehend it can be attended with any bad consequences, but on the contrary will be a step towards giving a check to the overgrown and dangerous power of the Mahrattas, from which the Civil commotions in their Government, by the death of Ballaje, offer a fair opportunity; and we wish that it suited the situation of your affairs as well as those on the coast to render this attempt more complete by joining the Mogul Government in attacking the Mahrattas on all sides.

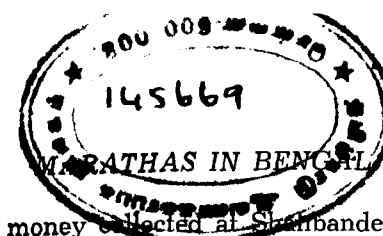
"The President has wrote to the King (Mughal Emperor) as well as the Salbut Jung and Nizam Ali to acquaint them of our intentions, and represent to them the benefit that will accrue to them from this diversion in their favour."⁶⁷

Again in the month of February 1762, Sheo Bhat declared more emphatically than before that if the *chauth* was not forwarded to him then he would invade Bengal.⁶⁸ He also demanded⁶⁹

67. Select Committee's Proceedings, 11 December, 1761.

68. Cal. P.C., Vol. I, p. 146.

69. *Ibid.*



that the "money collected at Sheobander⁷⁰ and Pataspur and the goods which were plundered and which his troops now demand from the Zamindars under the jurisdiction of Midnapur, may be returned, and that the Raja of Burdwan may be directed to pay him three lakhs of rupees." To this the Company replied in plain terms on the 16th of February, 1762, that he could not expect any dues whatsoever until the papers had been examined to determine the nature and amount of loss incurred by the Company and Zamindars on account of the ravages of his troops, and that Burdwan had been granted to the Company by Nawab Mir Kasim for the expenses of their troops.⁷¹

During the month of February the Nawab also expressed his desire to expel the Marathas⁷² and ordered Mir Sayyid Muhammad Khan, Naib of Murshidabad, to accompany the English troops with 1500 cavalry.⁷³ But the old question of defraying the expenses of the expedition arose again. The Nawab's idea was that if any profit accrued then he would "assign one or two parganahs as a gratuity to the English troops."⁷⁴ But the Company wanted him to bear all the expenses on the ground that it was more for the benefit of the Nawab than of the Company that the expedition was proposed. The Governor argued that according to the terms of the treaty subsisting between the Nawab and the Company, the latter's troops were bound to assist the Nawab "in defending all the countries belonging to the Sarkar and reducing the rebellious Zamindars to subjection," but "as Cuttack has been separated from this subaship for a long time and given up entirely to the Mahrattas, the Governor will look upon such an expedition as a new conquest."⁷⁵ He also gave him (the Nawab) an approximate idea of the expenses to be incurred by writing to him on the 2nd of April, 1762, that if his troops "take with them 1,000 Europeans, 2000 tilangas,⁷⁶ 10 pieces of cannon, and other necessities, the

70 "A port or hurbour master, a custom master, an officer who regulates the port duties and charges; a royal harbour or maritime establishment."

71. Cal. P.C., Vol. I, pp. 146, 151 and 164.

72. *Ibid.*, p. 146.

73. *Ibid.*, p. 150.

74. *Ibid.*

75. *Ibid.*

76. "A native of Tilangana. The first native soldiers, dressed and disciplined after the European fashion having been raised in that district, it came to denote a soldier."

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monthly expenses will amount to Rs. 1,50,000 and that it will take them three or four months to gain possession of the country, clear it of the disaffected and strengthen the several redoubts. Imagines therefore that the whole expense will not amount to less than five or six lakhs of rupees."⁷⁷ But the Nawab did not agree to it, and the appearance of various other factors (such as the Mongyr Fort incident, the behaviour of Mr. Ellis, etc.) destroyed the possibility of any concerted action. On the 1st of May, 1762, the Nawab wrote to the English countermanning the despatch of an expedition to Cuttack.⁷⁸ After about three weeks Janoji complained of his not receiving the *chauth* from Bengal⁷⁹ and early in July Govinda Ray came to Calcutta as an envoy from the Nagpur court for the amount.⁸⁰

Due to the outbreak of war with the Nawab in June 1763, the English did not think it wise to hazard an open rupture with the Marathas, but they tried to maintain that old attitude of friendship, which is evident from the nature of the correspondence that passed between them.⁸¹ The Council in Calcutta wrote to Janoji "asking him to consider them as security for the *chauth* of Bengal and not to assist Mir Qasim or to distress Mir Jafar on account of these letters, he refused the bills and money sent by Mir Qasim nor did he grant him an asylum in the Subah of Cuttack, which the ex-Nawab desired."⁸² When the forces of the English were engaged in a fight with those of the Nawab at Katwah, Sheo Bhat wrote to the Governor on the 10th of September, 1763, proposing to act in conjunction with the English.⁸³ But the Governor replied on the 13th of September that the Company's forces had gained successive victories over the Nawab at Katwah, Murshidabad, Gheria, Udaynala, and Suri, and did not require his help any longer.⁸⁴ On the same day the Governor wrote to Gulam Mustafa Munshi, an agent of the Company's in Orissa, asking him to acquaint Sheo Bhat that if he continued to oppress the ryots, and interrupt the collection of the revenues then the "friendship then

77. Cal. P.C., Vol. I, p. 154.

78. *Ibid*, p. 160.

79. *Ibid*, p. 164.

80. *Ibid*, pp. 167-68.

81. *Ibid*, pp. 150, 151, 155, 161, 162.

82. *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 25.

83. *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 238.

84. *Ibid*, p. 239.

subsisting between them would be broken off and the army that had just arrived from Madras would be sent against him, and the town of Cuttack taken from him."⁸⁵ In the month of February, 1764, a good deal of correspondence was exchanged between the Company and the Marathas. The Company appointed three Residents, Mr. Marriot at Balasore, Mr. Hope at Cuttack and Mr. Moore at Malood⁸⁶ with the object of facilitating the communications between Calcutta and Madras. A letter was written on the 26th of February to Bhaskar Pandit, Faujdar of Balasore, with a request to assist Mr. Marriot who was to stay at the Company's factory⁸⁷, and another letter was sent to Chaman Sau, Maratha Chief of Cuttack, on the 24th of April, 1764, asking him to "give strict orders to the Zamindars" under his jurisdiction to "furnish oil and Mussahauls (torches) and tom toms and pikemen, etc., according to custom", so that the postmen stationed at different places on the way might "pass and repass without interruption"⁸⁸. Again during the struggle of the English with Nawab Shuja-ud-dowla of Oudh, Chaman Sau wrote to them on the 4th of July, 1764 that Janoji "has sent 5,000 horse to Cuttack under the command of Azam Khan Bhonsla, Bhavani Pandit, Naroji Jachak and other Chiefs and that in case the English have any necessary business on their hands, the said troops will be despatched to their assistance."⁸⁹ But the Company's Governor replied to him on the 8th of July that as the English forces had been strong enough to bring the enemy to punishment and as Shuja-ud-dowla had returned towards his own country, there was no "advantage in their coming into the Company's lands without necessity".⁹⁰ Thus it is evident that the English were very careful to prevent the Marathas from setting their foot within the Company's territory, as they apprehended plunder and devastations from their soldiers.

85. *Ibid*.

86. Letter from the Governor to Sheo Bhat, dated 26th February 1764, Long, op. cit., p. 390.

87. *Ibid*, p. 391.

88. *Ibid*. Early April 1764, Sheo Bhat was dismissed from this office. "..... Subut has by an order of the king been deposed, and a person named Jarness (Chaman Sau) appointed in his place Subut's being in arrears is said to be the reason of this change." Bengal Secret Consultations, 26th April, 1764, I.R.D. (Foreign Department).

89. Bengal Secret Consultations, 5th July, 1764, I.R.D. (Foreign Department).

90. Cal. P. C., Vol. I, p. 323.

Janoji was then desirous of effecting an amicable settlement of the *chauth* question. Bhavani Pandit, who had been appointed Dewan of Cuttack in April 1764, wrote to the Company early in October 1764, of his receiving a letter from Janoji "mentioning that in the time of former Nabob's the negotiations concerning the *chauth* were never brought to an issue without the approach of an army, and requiring him to march to Bengal, and with the advice of the Governor and the Nawab to settle matters and drive out the enemy."⁹¹ He also informed that he had received an invitation from the Nawab and Raja Durlabhram in response to which he was proceeding to Bengal and had already sent Aminuddin Ali (his *vakil*) to acquaint the Governor with all circumstances.⁹² But the Company replied to him on the 12th of October that "Raghunath Pandit has arrived at Calcutta, with letters for His Excellency (the Nawab) and the Governor from Raja Janoji Bhonsla, and is negotiating with them concerning the latter's business. There is no manner of occasion for the addressee to trouble himself on the subject. The English are strong enough to drive out the enemy. His coming is at present unnecessary. Whenever there is an occasion for it, notice will be given him. Aminuddin Ali has not yet arrived. When he comes, due attention will be paid to his representations."⁹³ On the same day Janoji also was informed by the Company that as the country was in a "ruinous condition by reason of the war, the question of the *chaut* must be deferred for the present."⁹⁴ After the victory of the English at Buxar, Bhavani Pandit sent them hearty congratulations,⁹⁵ but the constant demand of his troops for their pay made him write to the Company's Governor again and again for settling the affair of the *chauth* in an agreeable manner.⁹⁶

Early in December Bhavani Pandit sent the following letter to the Company: 'At the time of Shubat's dismissal the Zemindar of the Fort of Deengonaul (Dhenkanal) which is near Cuttack, murdered an adopted son of his named Booly Khan, and seized his horses and effects. For the punishment of this villany

therefore, I have thought proper to encamp my victorious army in neighbourhood of Deengonaul (Dhenkanal). By the blessing of God this shortsighted man will speedily be brought to disgrace. You must doubtless have heard of the folly and presumption of the Zemindar of Moorbunge (Mayurbhanj,) and Neligree how at the aforesaid time they plundered the inhabitants of some of the districts of Balasore, and entered into a confederacy with Bauskar Pandit, the late Foujdar of that place, who was greatly in arrears on account of the revenues of those districts and carried him away with his effects. Accordingly the said Pandit is still at Neilgree, and for those years past he has neglected paying the Government revenues, wherefore I think it necessary to call these people to an account."⁹⁷ Brajanath Barajena, who flourished during the rule of Trilocana Mahindra Bahadur (1764-98) relates in his "Samaratara" how the people of Dhenkanal defended themselves under the leadership of their chief. He also wanted to punish the Zamindars of Hariharpur and Nilgiri. But as their jurisdictions were on the border of the English territory, he informed the latter on the 15th of December of his real intentions so that they might not misunderstand his movements.⁹⁸ As has been already noted, the English were always on the alert to prevent the slightest attempt on the part of the Marathas to approach any part of their territory, and Mr. Watts, the Company's Resident at Balasore, wrote to his authorities in Calcutta expressing a great anxiety about the movements of the Marathas. So, on the 16th of December, the Company wrote to Bhavani Pandit that he would "issue orders in the strongest terms to the effect that none of his straggling parties enter the district of the English, as that would tend to diminish the harmony subsisting between the Marathas and the English."⁹⁹ They also adopted some defensive measures at Burdwan and Midnapur and requested Nawab Mir Jafar through their letter dated the 17th of December, to "send 1,000 of his horse to Birbhum and to direct them to co-operate with the Company's army."¹⁰⁰ They sent to Midnapur a detachment under Major Champion¹⁰¹ along with another party of 50 Europeans, 300 sepoys

91. Letter from Bhavani Pandit, received 5th October, 1764, Long, op. cit., p. 360; Cal. P.C., Vol. I, p. 344.

92. *Ibid.*

93. *Ibid.*, p. 345.

94. *Ibid.*

95. *Ibid.*, p. 360.

96. *Ibid.*, p. 349.

97. Letter from Bhavani Pandit, received 2nd December, 1764; Cal. P.C., Vol. I, p. 361.

98. *Ibid.*, p. 362.

99. Cal. P.C., Vol. I, p. 363.

100. *Ibid.*

101. Alexander Champion "Second-in-command to Sir Hector Munro, 1764, when opposed to Shuja-ud-daula in the battle of Buxar, October 23,

and 2 pieces of cannon and ordered Mr. Watts to reinforce it by six companies of Midnapur Battalion on its arrival there.¹⁰² Bhavani Pandit¹⁰³ replied on the 27th of December that he had no intention of invading Bengal but had advanced so far only to punish the rebellious Zamindars, and that he was ready to withdraw "if the remaining of his army in those parts causes uneasiness to the people of Jellalore, etc., and if the Governor is willing to put up with the Zamindars misbehaviour," because his master Janoji had given strict orders to avoid any breach with the English.

All this while Sheo Bhat was in Orissa, and "he formed a powerful party amongst the Paiks of eastern Rajwara, and for a length of time disturbed the administration of his successor by frequent contests and inroads. The Paiks of other killahs espoused the opposite side. Troops were poured in from all quarters to quell these ryots, and the frequent marches and counter-marches of the armies of the Government are credibly enough stated to have involved more serious evils to the whole of the five Pergannahs, Hariharpur, Khandi, Jhanker, Deogaon, etc., than the disturbances they were sent to repress".¹⁰⁴

By the beginning of the next year (1765), the Marathas retreated towards Cuttack and showed no designs of disturbing the Company's territory. So the Company's President in Calcutta wrote to Mr. Hugh Watts on the 28th of February, 1765, asking him to send back Major Champion's detachment as there was no longer any occasion for its stay there.¹⁰⁵ In the month of June 1765, Malhar Rao Holkar of Indore was meditating an invasion of Bengal for punishing the English. His agent Muhammad Yar Khan, confederate of Mirza Muhammad Saleh, the leading envoy in the peace negotiations between Allahvardi and Raghuji, sent on the 23rd of June, 1765, a secret letter to Bhavani Pandit at Cut-

1764; Champion succeeded Sir Robert Barket as Commander-in-chief of Bengal, June 18th, 1774 to October 29, 1774; commanded a Brigade in 1774, asked for by the Nawab Vezir of Oudh against the Rohillas, defeated them near Tassunih, April 23rd, 1774; retired 1774; resided at Bath many years." Buckland.

102. Letter from the Council to Hugh Watts, dated Fort William, the 27th of December 1764, Midnapur District Recorded, p. 27; Proceedings, Secret Department, 17, December, 1764.

103. Cal. P. C., Vol. I, p. 367.

104. Sterling, Orissa, p. 92.

105. Midnapur District Records, p. 31.

tack, through a fakir. The letter contained the following proposal:—"Accordingly the aforesaid Subadar (Malhar Rao Holkar) having joined the Nawab Wazir of the realm is encamped with a large force in the districts of Farrukhabad. The English have retreated and must have come probably as far as Benares by this time. As the writer has been in the service of Raja Janoji for these eight wars (? years) and is always heartily attached to his interest, he therefore writes to say that unless the English are expelled, the chauth money can never be paid There is not the slightest differences between Raja Janoji and the Subedar Malharji Holkar, and the affairs of each of them are the same. When the affairs of the Government are settled the addressee can obtain the chauth money by the assistance of the Subadar. Therefore, if he holds it necessary to unite with the latter, he should march from Cuttack to Balasore with his troops. The people here will be struck with a panic. In this case if the Wazir gives him intelligence of it, he will possess himself of Jellalore and even Midanpur. It will be a difficult matter to make head against the Mahrattas on both sides In case the Wazir's army remains this year where it is, it is requisite that the addressee should caution his troops at Balasore. Whenever after the rains the armies of the Wazir and Hulkar advance this side of Benares, the addressee likewise at that time will march to possess himself of the country whereabouts. It is proper that he should write a letter to the Subadar. The Raja will be much obliged to him for his assiduity in cultivating a correspondence with the Wazir and the Subadar and perhaps it may be a means of his rising to a high rank."¹⁰⁶ Instead of replying to this letter Bhavani Pandit sent it the Company's Governor and requested the latter to "strengthen the foundation of the friendship subsisting between the Raja (Janoji) and the English" by sending the stipulated amount of *chauth* through Raghunath Pandit, who was then in Calcutta.¹⁰⁷

Probably the Nagpur court received the *chauth* of Bengal from the English during the war of the latter with Mir Kasim.¹⁰⁸ The Marathas gradually grew impatient, and on the 24th of December 1765, Janoji wrote the following letter to the English Governor in rather strong terms:—"Prosperity and success depend upon the faithful observance of agreements. Even the subsistence

106. Cal. P.C., Vol. I, p. 414.

107. *Ibid.*

108. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 25.

of the heaven and the earth is through the blessing of men of truth and fidelity, especially in this fourth and last stage of the world when these virtues are nowhere to be met with but in the English. At the time when Mir Qasim arrived with the Wazir with all his treasures and effects, and the English were preparing to assist Mir Jafar, the writer received repeated letters (from the then Governor) desiring him not to suffer himself to be allured by the treasures and rich presents of that faithless tyrant, or to assist or support him or to grant him an asylum in Orissa or elsewhere; and telling him to take from Mir Jafar the money which was due. As good faith and justice and the benefit of the people, the most precious charge of God, are all the writer wishes for, he sent Raghunath Pandit as his vakil to establish these foundations of friendship and to receive the money. And whereas vakils worthy of confidence came to the writer from Mir Qasim with rich presents of jewels and elephants, etc., and brought him bills for 50 lacs of rupees asking him to assist the ex-Nawab or to grant him an asylum at Nagpur or in the province of Orissa, having strengthened himself and collected some forces, he might ravage the territories of Bengal, the writer sent them all back. Moreover, he prohibited the 7,000 horse, which had been sent to Orissa, from invading these parts in order that the good understanding between him and the English might not be interrupted; and put an entire dependence upon the writing of Shams-ud-daulah Bahadur (Mr. Vansittart). Notwithstanding that the English arms have been crowned with success, that the Bengal districts have been settled, and that Raghunath Pandit has been residing in Bengal for nearly two years, the writer has received no account. The faithful attachment, which the writer and his ancestors have been paid. This is evidently an infringement of the agreement. The faithful attachment, which the writer and his ancestors have shown to the Sultanate, particularly in the Deccan, in conjunction with the Nawab Nazmu-d-daulah, the Governor must have heard of. If people will be guilty of ingratitude, how can it be helped? Is now also ready with his friends and relatives, who will not be less than 1,00,000 horse, to perform the duties of friendship. As by twelve years' labour and by 50,000 people men and women, being put to the sword, by repeated wars and by the death of nearly two and twenty principal commanders, the writer's claim to an inheritance and share in the Bengal province is established, this his right he will never relinquish as long as there is any breath in his body. But it is a great disgrace to him that he put any truth in the letters of the English containing professions of

friendship giving him hopes of the payment of the money, and desiring him not to assist Mir Qasim. What justice is there in this? If under the cloak of friendship agreements are violated, what remedy is there? As the breach of a promise is very incompatible with that good faith for which the English nation is celebrated, probably there may be sundry reasons for this neglect. But every war is now at an end. It is proper that the Governor should exert his endeavours for the fulfilling of the engagements which have been made with the writer and the payment of the money, which is due, into the hands of Raghunath Pandit; or else empower the writer to take it by whatever means he can, and then it will rest with him, Bengal, and the troops of the Deccan. But without His Lordship's permission he would not choose to do anything contrary to the agreement."¹⁰⁹

During his second Governorship Lord Clive was desirous of settling the affair of the *chauth*¹¹⁰ Muhammad Reza Khan and Nawab Saifuddowla also maintained an amicable disposition".¹¹¹ Lord Clive opened negotiations with Janoji for a settlement on the terms that the latter should cede Orissa to the English who would pay him half of three years' arrears of *chauth* at that time and the other half after the Marathas would go away from Orissa.¹¹² Janoji's vakil, one Udaipuri Gussain, was sent to Calcutta for discussing the conditions of the settlement with the Company.¹¹³ The Court of Directors expressed their approval of Lord Clive's procedure in the *chauth* affair through their letter to the Council in Calcutta dated 20th November, 1767, in the following words:—"We have paid much attention to your negotiations with Janojee for settling the *chout*, on the terms agreed between the Marathas and Alivardhi (Allahvardi) Khan. We think it both equity and sound policy to pay them their *chauth*; and shall much approve if it can be done on the terms you mention of their ceding to us their possessions in Orissa which would join our Bengal possessions to the (Northern) Circars, and would afford us the means of preventing any hostile attempts of any European enemy who might land in that part of Orissa".¹¹⁴ But the Marathas objected to the cession of Orissa and Lord Clive's proposals led to no definite settlement of the *chauth* affair. There was no solution till 1803.

109. *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 454.110. *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 25.111. *Ibid*, p. 311.112. *Ibid*.113. *Ibid*.

114. Long, p. 485.

Zat Rank in the Mogul Empire

By

MR. W. H. MORELAND, C.S.I., C.I.E.,

IN a note in this Journal for August, 1935, Mr. C. S. K. Rao Saheb reached the conclusions (1) that 'suwār', or trooper-rank, indicated the strength of the force of cavalry which a Mogul officer was required to maintain from the allowances provided for this purpose; and (2) that 'zāt', or personal rank, denoted the strength of an infantry force which he was required to maintain out of his personal salary. The first conclusion, which had previously been put forward by Mr. Abdul Aziz in this Journal for August, 1930, seems to me to be established satisfactorily by the data, and I do not propose to say anything more about it: the object of this note is to examine the second conclusion, which, so far as I can find, has not appeared previously in the literature of the subject.

Mr. Rao Saheb did not offer any official evidence to establish the existence of infantry contingent, nor did he indicate how, or when, such an institution can have originated: he inferred it from incidental remarks made by three writers of the period. The first authority cited by him is Father Anthony Monserrate, who described Akbar's army as he saw it about the year 1581. In a note in this Journal for April, 1936, I showed that Monserrate's words cannot bear the interpretation which Mr. Rao Saheb placed on the published translation; the infantry contingents mentioned by Monserrate were maintained by hereditary chiefs or zamindārs, not by the salaried officers of the Empire.

The second authority cited is Willebrord Geleynssen de Jongh, who, referring to the years about 1630, stated that the sūbadār of Gujarāt 'must' or 'has to', maintain 1,500 infantry for the Emperor's service. The ambiguity latent in these two expressions faithfully represents Geleynssen's own words, which leave it an open question whether the Sūbadār was under orders to maintain these foot soldiers, or found it necessary to maintain them for the due performance of his duties. I have failed to find any trace of imperial orders on the subject, and the latter alternative is quite possible, for, orders or no orders, there is no doubt that a Sūbadār

must have needed foot soldiers for some branches of police work; but whichever interpretation is correct, the point is that these foot soldiers were maintained by a high executive officer, not by an ordinary mansabdār.

The same thing is true of the third piece of evidence, the passage in the *Tūzūk* recording the appointment of Bāqir Khān as Faujdār of Agra, for there is no doubt that a Faujdār, like a Sūbadār, must have required a dismounted force; and the fact that Bāqir Khān mustered 2,000 foot before the Emperor probably means that, being a candidate for the post, he offered visible proof that he was in a position to take it up without delay.

The evidence collected by Mr. Rao Saheb thus shows that foot soldiers were maintained (a) by hereditary chiefs or zamindārs, and (b) by two officers holding high executive appointments, who certainly required them for police duties; but it contains nothing to suggest that there was any such general obligation in the case of mansabdārs as a body. Nor can I supplement the evidence by any passage suggesting anything of the kind; and the silence of contemporary writers, while it is not decisive, is a consideration of some importance, for it is hard to believe that an institution of such magnitude should have escaped mention.

Further, it is to my mind impossible to point to a time when such infantry contingents are likely to have been introduced. I have given the detailed history of Mogul rank (mansab) in an article which appeared in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for October, 1936, and here I must content myself with a short summary, leaving readers to refer to that article for the evidence on which the story is based. The method of denoting rank by a numeral with a suffix goes back through Bābur and Timūr to Chingiz, and beyond. There is no doubt that under Chingiz and Timūr it meant exactly what it said, and that the Hazārī, or 'Thousander', was an officer who in fact commanded 1,000 horse; there were certainly no infantry contingents in those days. By Bābur's time effective strength had fallen below nominal, and the ordinary officer maintained far fewer troopers than his designation suggested. Akbar met this situation by introducing trooper (suwār) rank, and thenceforward an officer's position was given by two numerals instead of one, the first, designated zāt, denoting his personal rank in the service, while the second, or suwār, showed the actual strength of his mounted contingent. Things went wrong

again under Jahāngīr, who granted trooper rank lavishly, but let contingent fall far below their nominal strength. Shāh Jahān, faced with bankruptcy, began his reign with a drastic reorganisation, fixing the mounted contingents at $\frac{1}{3}$ or $\frac{1}{4}$ of the trooper rank, and at the same time making large reductions in emoluments; and his regulations appear to have stood, with only minor alterations, until the Mogul empire collapsed.

The question then is: At what point in this evolution can the zāt number, which originally denoted cavalry, have come to denote infantry? I cannot find any evidence on which to rest even a conjectural answer, but the question must be faced by anyone who asserts the existence of these large infantry forces, which in Shāh Jahān's twentieth year would have aggregated nearly 700,000 men. Such a force ought to have left some trace in the military history of the period.

Mr. Rao Saheb mentions that the word zāt signified infantry in the State of Hyderabad in recent times. It is not, however, permissible to argue back from Hyderabad in the twentieth to Agra in the seventeenth century, because administrative terminology in general was developed, or distorted, in the interval. If Raja Todar Mal, for instance, could revisit the earth, and enquire for his old Office, the Diwānī, he would be directed to the court of the District Judge instead of to the office of the Board of Revenue; and the history of such terms as zamindār or taluqdār stands as a warning against the dangers of transference across the eighteenth century. Is there any passage in the literature of the Mogul period to show that in those days zāt ever meant infantry or anything like it? I have not access to the Hyderabad military records, but I would suggest that the word may possibly have acquired a new meaning there at some time in the course of the eighteenth century. It is well known that the importance of infantry was established in Moslem India for the first time during the War of the Austrian Succession, which broke out in 1744, and that the lesson was quickly learned; it is possible then that, in order to meet the new situation, the Hyderabad officers may have been required to maintain infantry contingents, and that the word zāt gradually acquired a novel connotation; but I make this suggestion only for students who may have access to the old records of the State.

Lastly, Mr. Rao Saheb finds in infantry contingents a situation of the difficulty he feels regarding the extravagance of the salaries

paid to Mogul officers; and in this connection he quotes some figures which I gave on p. 66 of *India at the Death of Akbar*. I have recently re-examined those figures, and I have to confess that the last column in the table which he reproduces, which purported to show the 'cost of the appropriate force', was based on a misunderstanding of the data in the days before I had realised the difficulty of interpreting the *Ain-i Akbari*. The actual situation was more complicated than I at first supposed, and the data necessary for such a calculation are not on record; but some idea of the position of a high officer can be formed from general considerations. I may take as an illustration the case, which Mr. Rao Saheb used, of a five-thousander of the first class, who drew Rs. 3,60,000 a year as salary under Akbar, but only Rs. 2,50,000 under Shāh Jahān. From this gross salary must be deducted (1) the cost of managing and policing the assignment, which might be scattered over several districts, or even provinces, (2) short collections due to accidents of season, (3) cost of transport which the officer was bound to maintain, and (4) cost of periodical presents to the Emperor. Taking probable figures for these items, other than the cost of transport, which on the data given in the *Ain* would be over Rs. 1,20,000 a year, the net monthly salary under Shāh Jahān would certainly be much less than Rs. 10,000, and probably not more than Rs. 6,000 or Rs. 7,000. This still looks high, when the value of money is taken into account, but it falls into line with the case quoted by Mr. Rao Saheb of an officer in this grade getting a monthly pension of Rs. 4,000 in cash on retirement; while it would certainly be insufficient to pay an infantry contingent at the cost, as calculated by Mr. Rao Saheb, of Rs. 15,000 monthly. On the other hand, there is very little doubt that under Shāh Jahān such an officer was able to make substantial savings on the allowance for his cavalry contingent, certainly more than the five per cent authorised by Akbar; and it is even possible that he could have paid 5,000 foot from these savings. The data are, however, quite insufficient to justify any precise statement on this point: the existence of infantry contingents cannot be denied on financial grounds alone, but the fact remains that no evidence that they existed has so far been brought forward.

Editorial

OBITUARY

MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA Rao Bahadur A. Narasimhacharya, M.A., Director of Archæological Researches in Mysore, passed away rather suddenly on the 6th of December, 1936. As it was reported, he returned from his usual morning walk, felt somewhat tired on entering his house and breathed his last owing to the stoppage of the heart at a comparatively ripe age, though his general health gave promise of a much longer lease of life for him. It is a pity that he should have passed away. He was a serious-minded scholar and kept up his scholarly activities though somewhat subdued during the last few years, but still doing a substantial amount of work. He belonged to the Education Department originally in Mysore, and had risen gradually to become Kannada Translator to the Department from which, on the retirement of the late K. B. Pathak from Mysore, he became Assistant to the Director of Archæological Researches in Mysore in the last years of service of the late Mr. B. L. Rice. On the retirement of the latter, Mr. Narasimhacharya was made Director of Archæological Researches and was able to do excellent work to supplement the material collected in the shape of inscriptions and published in the *Epigraphia Karnataka* by Rice. With Narasimhacharya the additional material got to be incorporated in the annual reports that he issued from time to time. He was also responsible for certain monographs on important monuments of archæology which are the glory of Mysore, and for the preservation of which the Government have been, during the period of Mr. Narasimhacharya's tenency of the Directorship, taking steps. During the period of his retirement, however, he was able to complete one of those larger schemes on which he was engaged for long, by the publication of the *History of Kannada Literature* in three volumes with the support of the University of Mysore. He was taking active interest in the work of the Mysore University, having been a fellow of the University for some time, and holding the position of Chairman of the Board of Studies in Kannada and Tamil ever since the inauguration of the University. His death is a serious loss alike to Indian scholarship and to Indian historical research.

RIG-VEDA SAMHITA WITH THE COMMENTARY OF SAYANACHARYA

THIS is the second volume of the Rig-Veda containing in it Mandālas 2 to 5, thus bringing the work to just half of the whole of the Rig-Veda with the commentary of Sāyaṇa. The first Mandāla was issued as Volume I of this series. As was pointed out in reviewing the first volume, this is a work which was undertaken by the Vaidika Samshodana Mandāla, in memory of the late Mr. Tilak. Nothing could have been a more appropriate memorial to the late Mr. Tilak as a scholar than this publication, as his interest in Vedic studies was great and abiding. Whatever may be the final verdict upon his investigations upon the Veda itself, there is no denying the fact that his investigations gave a fresh stimulus and a new turn to Vedic studies. Vedic studies have suffered in this country, among many other things, for the lack of organised effort, and what is more for lack of comparatively accessible edition of the Rig-Veda with its commentaries. There has recently been a considerable amount of activity in the study of the Veda, and an edition of the great commentary of Sāyaṇa, published so as to be within the reach of ordinary means, was indeed a desideratum. That want is intended to be fulfilled by this publication of the Tilak Smāraka Mandāla as a memorial to the late lamented scholar. We are very pleased indeed that the Mandāla is up and active, and has brought out the second volume almost at the promised time. Both the regularity of the publication and the actual character of it, do immense credit to the Society and to those responsible for its management, no less than to the editorial committee. This gives us hope that the subsequent two volumes will also be published rapidly bringing this rare work within the reach of struggling scholarship, and thus give an additional stimulus to Vedic studies at a time when Hindu culture and civilization seem to be in imminent risk of being washed overboard by the rising waves of materialistic economic thought. We commend the effort of the Mandāla, and congratulate them on their success so far. We would exhort the Mandāla to persevere and complete the good work as early as time and means will permit.

MAHABHARATA

(Southern Recension)

WE have pleasure in receiving Volume XV, Part 3 of the *Sānti Parva* of the Mahābhārata issued by Messrs. Ramaswami Sastru & Sons, Madras. This completes the edition of the Mahābhārata,

according to the southern recension, undertaken by Mr. V. Venkateswara Sastru some time back. It is matter for congratulation that, with the energetic co-operation of the Editor, Professor P. P. S. Sastri, he has been able to bring the edition to completion with this as the last volume to be issued. This undoubtedly provides a neat and handy edition of the vast work which has important bearing upon all departments of Indian culture and civilization. Those interested in the study of Indian culture certainly ought to be able to consult, if not read, the *Mahābhārata*, and to do so, an authoritative edition, in a handy form, is required. An All-India edition has been undertaken by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, and is in progress. Even for the compilation of that work, one of the valuable contributions is a correct southern recension, one of the four recensions on which an authoritative codex of the *Mahābhārata* text has to be built. As a southern text of that kind has not been available, this work was undertaken, and now it has been brought to a satisfactory conclusion.

In an introduction the Editor explains the method adopted in the publication of this work, and draws attention to the variations in the text of this particular volume. It applies generally to the whole in which an effort has been made to evolve a complete text of the southern version, and bring it down to the measure prescribed in the chapter giving details of the composition of the work by the author himself. Professor P. P. S. Sastri finds at the completion of his edition that the enumeration as given in the initial chapters of the work that the work is composed of 18 *parvas*, 2,000 chapters and a 100,000 *ślokas* is not altogether fanciful, and that it is possible to bring out a critical edition answering to that size. We congratulate the Editor and the publishers on the completion of this work, which takes us much nearer to, if not to the point of, the much desired reliable text of the southern recension.

VIJAYANAGARA SEXCENTENARY COMMEMORATION VOLUME

Published under the auspices of the Vijayanagara Empire Sexcentenary Association and Karnatak Historical Research Society, Dharwar—1936.

MR. D. P. KARMAKAR, Secretary, "Vijayanagar Commemoration Volume," tells us in the preface, that the volume was planned only in May last, along with a picture-album of the monumental relics

of the historic city. The scheme of the volume and of the celebrations which were held at Hampi in the last week of December last, commended itself to the Kannada people in particular, while receiving a generous response from all parts of South India and other Indian provinces and States as well. The preparation of the volume which was to comprehend papers dealing with the political and cultural activity of Vijayanagara in its widest sense and was designed to present a harmoniously arranged picture of the greatness of that pan-Hindu empire, was entrusted to that "distinguished servant and orientalist," Rajasevasakta Diwan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, who had himself laboured hard and long in the field of Vijayanagara research; and with that intense spirit of strenuous conscientiousness that he has been bringing to bear on all work, editorial, constructive or critical that has been coming to his workshop, the learned Professor consented to edit the volume and bring it out in time for publication on the occasion of the celebrations. Kannada and Marathi editions of this volume are being brought out by the Kannada Seva Samiti of Dharwar and the B. I. S. Mandal of Poona, respectively.

Thirty-two papers have been included in the volume and represent the fields of political, religious, artistic, literary and cultural research in Vijayanagara's past. All the numerous illustrations which have been sumptuously got up on art paper, excepting the paintings at Lepakshi and the images of Krishnadeva Raya and his two queens, represent subjects in or near the ruins of Vijayanagara, their titles being the same as in Longhurst's *Hampi Ruins*.

Dr. S. K. Aiyangar postulates that the Hoysala struggle with the Muhammadan powers in the Deccan and at Madura, really led to the foundation of the empire which was "the outcome of that policy of the last Hoysala who dislodged the garrisons planted in the course of the southern invasions under Muhammad Tughlak and getting South India free of the Muhammadans. When the fully established kingdom of Vijayanagara rose into view in the years following A.D. 1350, we see the main block of Hoysala territories formed into a certain number of viceroyalties, like Udayagiri in the east, Penukonda in the middle, Mulbagal, Araga in Shimoga and the present Southern Maratha country in the north-west."

The empire might be said to have assumed final shape under Harihara II who assumed imperial and grandiloquent *birudas*, on the completion of the task of the destruction of Mussalman dominion in Madura and the reconstruction of the great shrines

of Srirangam and Madura. Dr. Aiyangar traces the process of consolidation in the first century of the existence of the empire and its zenith and decline under Krishnadeva Raya and after. Father Heras admires in his paper—Vijayanagar Empire: A Synthesis of South Indian Culture—the broad-minded policy of toleration of all creeds, coupled with the protection of *Dharma* in the largest sense, that was the hall-mark, as it were of the Vijayanagara monarchs. Similar breadth of vision and support marked their encouragement of art and literature. Mr. R. Rama Rao points out three well-marked stages in the religious learnings of the rulers, Saivism or Advaitism, Sri Vaishnavism and Madhvaism; but all pursued an attitude of religious toleration and liberality. Mr. I. Dutt traces the encouragement of Telugu literature under Vijayanagara auspices, particularly under the Tuluvas and the Aravidu kings. Another paper expatiates on the Vijayanagara patronage of Jainism as one item of the traditional heritage of Karnataka.

Vijayanagara painting and coinage come in for copious treatment in a few papers. In one article we read that the famous Maratha general, Shahaji, could have laid the foundation of the Maratha power in the South as easily by entering the service of Vijayanagar, as he did by his Bijapur service—his help could have saved Vijayanagara for some more years. Another paper attempts to prove that Sivaji's ideal of political conduct was formed in the shadow of Vijayanagara both by means of subjective inferences and objective data, perhaps with the too obvious aim of uniting the hearts of the Marathas with those of their southern brethren.

Dr. Saletore of Poona who was the chairman of the reception committee of the historical conference held in connection with the celebrations, refutes the alleged Telugu origin of the empire and holds that their Karnataka origin was never questioned even in the days of Krishnadeva Raya. Mr. S. Srikantaiya says that Vidyanarya was not only the spiritual preceptor, but also the bearer of the burden of the sovereignty of Bukka and that Sringeri became a state within a state. The spread of Vijayanagara rule in the Tamil country is the theme of Mr. V. Venkatasubba Iyer's paper which notices the administrative changes that were brought about. Aspects of Krishnadeva Raya's personality, achievement and rule naturally form the subject-matter of several papers. Prof. K. K. Basu stresses on the significance of Talikota. The connection of Vijayanagara with Kongu, the rule of the Keladi Nayakas, the encouragement of Sanskrit and Kannada literature

by the Empire and its patronage of music are other topics elaborated in this volume. The addresses at the celebrations and the papers read at the historical conference should also be included in any future publication of the Sexcentenary celebration committee and they will form a fitting supplement to this most useful and instructive publication.

C. S. S.

Reviews

CHERA KINGS OF THE SANGAM PERIOD

By

MR. K. G. SESA Aiyar, B.A., B.L.,

Messrs. Luzac & Co., Ltd., London.

Mr. K. G. Sesa Aiyar, till lately Judge of the Travancore High Court, is a scholar well-known in the Tamil land as a serious student of Tamil literature. It is matter for gratification therefore that he should have taken it upon himself to attempt a History of the Chera kings in the Sangam period. His qualifications for doing a work like that, are obvious and it need hardly be said that he is among the most competent to do the work. The book before us is a constructive effort to build up a history of the Cheras in the age of the Sangam, basing that history, if not altogether, at least largely on the literature of the Sangam. A large part of the Sangam literature has been made available during the last half a century by MM. Dr. V. Swaminatha Aiyar. When the time is opportune for a constructive effort Mr. Sesa Aiyar has made a very successful and satisfactory effort at the reconstruction of that history, and has presented a book which is attractive reading, as he renders some of these poems in versified translations which we are accustomed to associate with him. He takes up the *Padiṟṟupattu* which bears upon Chera history exclusively, and reconstructs the history of the Cheras through eight reigns out of the ten, whose history is sought to be presented in the work. Then he takes up references in the other well-known Sangam classics and supplements this list of succession with what he gets from the rest, comparing correlating and interpolating where such interpolation would be justified. On the whole, he has presented a very satisfactory kind of history of the Cheras, which, let us hope, would lead to further work on the subject ending ultimately in the presentation of a connected history of the Cheras which has remained a desideratum.

The work consists of this history for the first part. Then the much discussed question of the identification of the far-famed Chera capital Venji is discussed, Mr. Sesa Aiyar throwing in the weight of his authority on the side of its indentification with Caranganore as he has been holding that opinion through many

years. Then he comes to an investigation of the Sangam period itself, and, after passing in review the various theories holding the field, he comes ultimately to the conclusion that the age of the Sangam is the first three centuries of the Christian era. The final chapters are devoted to summarising the investigations and presenting the chronology of the Cheras as compared with the Cholas and the Pandyas in a correlated table, and giving a general idea of the condition of the people and their civilization in the Sangam age. On the whole, Mr. Sesa Aiyar has succeeded in producing a book giving a fairly reliable general idea of the history of the Chera country in this important epoch.

ORIGIN AND EARLY HISTORY OF ŚAIVISM IN SOUTH INDIA.

By

MR. C. V. NARAYANA Aiyar,

Madras University Historical Series No. 6.

This is a work by a member of the staff of the Presidency College who had been deputed for a couple of years for research work at the University as a Fellow of the University. The work before us is the first fruits of the study by Mr. Narayana Aiyar as a Fellow in the History Department. His object had been to study the history of Śaivism as a whole. But, as his studies progressed he found it was wellnigh impossible to cover the whole history of Śaivism within the limits of a volume such as was contemplated, and, as the subject grew, he thought it wise to limit it to the period ending with Sundaramūrti, 9th century A.D. He goes back to the beginning of the Siddhāntic Śaivism in the Vedas and, proceeding from there, brings down a cogent account of the development of Śaivism through all its evolution down to the tenth century A.D. when we might say the sectarian schools take their origin. In the first two chapters he studies the conception of Rudra in Vedic literature and then proceeds with a chapter on the *Linga* as the symbol of Śiva. One would have expected him to deal here with the question of the actual significance of this and discuss how far it is phallic in its character. He has refrained from doing it for the satisfactory reason that while from the Vedas onwards he can trace consecutively the evolution of the idea of Śiva and his worship, the *Linga* constituting one important item of that worship, he did not take up the question of any possible associa-

tion of this representation of Śiva with the phallic worship of a primitive character, as he found it wellnigh impossible to trace any connection between the Vedic conception of Rudra and with phallic worship. He has therefore left it aside for separate consideration as it were. In two further chapters he studies Śaivism in the Mahābhārata and in the epic-age generally, proceeding thence to the study of the subject in the earliest Tamil literature. Then follow two chapters dealing with the period of the Śaiva Nāyanmārs, and naturally the age of Tirumūlar and the character of his work, Tirumandiram, and Śiva Bhakti as taught by him. He deals with the history of the Aḍiyārs summarily making a detailed study of the three Sumbandar, Appar and Sundaramūrti. Mānikkavāṣagar is brought in the course of this study. Thus we have here a connected and cogent account of Śaivism during the period. Mr. Narayana Aiyar has carried on his investigations in a dispassionate attitude, and has offered a scheme which would commend itself to scholars generally, whether they accept his particular conclusions on all details or no. The work presents perhaps the first serious and connected study of the history of Śaivism down to the tenth century A.D. Let us hope that the same scholar would find it possible to continue the work and carry it one further step forward and bring down that history to modern times.

PRAVACHANASARA OF SRI KUNDAKUNDACHARYA

By

A. N. UPADHYE,

Professor, Rajaram College, Kolhapur.

Kundakundāchārya was a great figure in the history of Jainism and the Pravachanasāra is a classic of early Jain teaching. This great work of one of the pillars of Jaina philosophy is brought out in an excellent edition on the basis of two separate manuscripts, and provided with the more important commentaries, and a translation and notes by the author. It has the necessary apparatus of various elaborate indices and is, on the whole, a production which would do credit to the enterprise of the author and the printers. Mr. Upadhye in the course of an elaborate introduction covers the whole field of the subject and enables the reader to go through the work perhaps with much more preparation than he would otherwise do. The introduction is in six sections. The first sec-

tion is more or less traditional in character, but the traditions are subjected to criticism and evaluation. The second tackles the important question of Kundakunda's date. Here the question is examined elaborately, and the author comes to the conclusion that the date of Kundakundāchārya may in all probability be about the middle of the third century A.D., rejecting alike the traditional date, the second half of the first century B.C., and the first half of the first century A.D., and the date of the Merkara-plates, A.D., 466, which mention the *Kundakunda-Anvaya*, the line of teachers beginning with Kundakunda. He discusses the tradition of Ēlāchārya and his identification with Kundakunda, and the ascription of the composition of the *Kuraḷ* to a disciple of Ēlāchārya-Kundakunda. He seems, on the whole, to be inclined to reject the tradition; at any rate, he is not able to support it by other collateral references of any kind. In the next section, he summarises the reputed works of Kundakunda, again analysing and critically examining previous views and ascriptions. The next section deals with the *Pravachanasāra* itself discussing the historical course of *Pravachanasāra* studies. The first is devoted to the commentaries of which six are discussed as the only available ones so far. The last section is devoted to the study of the particular form of Prakrit in which the work is written.

We welcome this important publication not only as giving us a reliable text and valuable commentaries as also a translation, but as giving in an elaborate critical introduction, running through more than 175 pages, a vast mass of information relating to the work as a Jain classic and of the history of Jainism itself. Professor Upadhye deserves all praise for this great effort of his, and let us hope he will give us more of his studies from time to time.

AURANGZEB AND HIS TIMES

By

ZAHIRUDDIN FARUKI, B.A.,

Bar-at-Law,

Messrs. D. B. Taraporevala, Sons & Co.

This work was originally intended as a thesis and has developed gradually into a book through years of study. The author does not profess to write the history of Aurangzeb; much rather he

makes it more or less a review of the main incidents of his reign envisaging every situation from a broader point of view than has so far been given to it, and attempting a correct interpretation of the tendencies of the times thereby to indicate clearly that Aurangzeb was as much a product of his times as every other ruler. On this plan of the work, the main incidents of the reign of Aurangzeb are passed in review, current notions are examined carefully, new light is brought to bear from sources hitherto not exploited or but imperfectly so, and an effort is made to present the incidents in the correct perspective, at any rate, in a fuller perspective to lead to a conclusion nearer to the truth. The author therefore is rather elaborate in his treatment of the particular incidents and shows himself to be rather hard upon several of the conclusions of Sir Jadunath Sarkar in regard to the matter. It must be said in justice that Sir Jadunath has a habit of expressing himself far more strongly perhaps than his investigations of particular questions would warrant, and that naturally calls of course for a review with a view to correction. But it is no part of that work, necessary undoubtedly in the interest of historical truth, that one should fly to the other extreme. To make our meaning clear, Aurangzeb's treatment of the Hindus is said to be due to his having proclaimed himself a true Muslim and promised or raised expectations among the orthodox Muslim that he was going to rule India as an orthodox Muslim ruler should. The facts may be as they are stated here. But the question would however arise whether that is sufficient justification in an imperial ruler ruling over a country not of Muslims only, but the majority of whose population was other than Muslim, for carrying on his administration, as a Muslim sovereign would rule a country inhabited exclusively by adherents of Islam. Apart from the personal question, or the question of morality, a ruler of that kind would come in for criticism as an imperial statesman whose primary function is not exactly to carry his own individual convictions, however honestly formed, into action, but rule the state in the interest of the state itself as a whole. Any effort made to get out of this position and find justification in individual convictions would certainly fall short of impartial historical criticism. While we commend the effort of this author to introduce the correct perspective which has our whole-hearted sympathy, and even the criticism of Sir Jadunath Sarkar where he is needlessly harsh in his statement of conclusions, we cannot appreciate to the same extent the tendency to fly to the other extreme which we notice sometimes in this author. Except for that kind of a bias which shows itself now and again in the

course of the work, we commend the work as a necessary criticism which serious students of the history of Aurangzeb would do well to read along with Sir Jadunath Sarkar's History of Aurangzeb for gaining a correct historical perspective for anything like just conclusions. The work exhibits considerable labour and shows critical judgment, and on the whole makes a closer approach to the presentation of Aurangzeb as a ruler who did his best, although he did not rise to a higher conception of his responsibilities as in fact Akbar had attempted to do. All the same, we welcome the publication as a valuable addition to the history of an important period.

SHIVAJI THE GREAT

By

BAL KRISHNA, M.A., PH.D.,

Messrs. D. B. Taraporevala, Sons & Co.

Dr. Bal Krishna has planned a history of Maharashtra under Shahji and Shivaji on a somewhat larger scale than has hitherto been done. In the first part published some years since, he has written this history exhibiting the life of Shahji and estimating his contribution to the building of Maharashtra. He proposes to take up the question of Shivaji in two parts. In the first part, he deals with Shivaji as ruler of Maharashtra defacto, and reserves for the second part the last period of his rule as a crowned monarch of the Mahrattas, if not actually of the Hindus. The part before us, part 2 not having been published yet, deals with Shivaji's doings down to the period of his coronation. In this volume Dr. Bal Krishna brings in fresh sources of information to bear upon the main incidents of the life of Shivaji, and is able to introduce valuable corrections wherever needed, as in the actual date of his birth and the character generally given to him as an illiterate man. So also the charge of assassination of the Mores of Javli is shown to be untrue as has been done by others besides. The English and Dutch records are exploited to set the story of the murder of Afzul Khan in its correct perspective. Hitherto unpublished Dutch records have been found to be of value in regard to the question of the alleged murder of the Raja of Mudhol and Shivaji's operations in the Konkan. Shivaji's relations with the English and the various raids against Surat are set forth in an elaborate study of the English records bearing on the question. Unpub-

lished Dutch records have been brought into requisition and they prove to be of the highest value as throwing fresh light upon many of the principal incidents of Shivaji's life.

The method of presentation adopted is that of the documentary school, and, as a matter of fact, in the present state of historical studies, relating to Shivaji where the bulk of it is of a controversial character, it is inevitable that that method should be adopted. The work is of great value as offering the necessary correction to Sarkar's Life of Shivaji particularly. The work is a welcome addition to Shivaji literature, and let us hope it will lead ultimately to a correct understanding of his character as the leader of Maharashtra during a critical period of its history.

A SHORT HISTORY OF INDIA

By

W. H. MORELAND

AND

ATUL CHANDRA CHATTERJEE,

Messrs. Longmans, Green & Co., £0-12-6.

This is a work by two authors, the first of whom is well known as an investigator and writer on various problems connected with Indian History and administration. His works are already well known, and his name stands high among writers in Indian History. His collaborator is quite as distinguished a civilian who has occupied important high positions in the service of India, a distinguished student to begin with and a sympathetic official throughout. That two such gentlemen lay themselves out to write a History of India for the general reader in full sympathy with, and appreciation of, Indian culture and ideals and the response that India made to successive impacts of foreign influence, we are entitled to look for a book satisfactory all round for the purpose of the general reader. We are not disappointed in our expectations. The book may not be what might meet the needs of an under-graduate student, but it is such as a general reader would find it interesting to read. The story is presented with a view to a general idea of the development of Indian History from stage to stage, keeping close to the latest conclusions of modern research, such as are holding the field for the present and gives a sympathetic presentation beyond doubt. The work con-

sists of about 485 pages, of which 475 pages cover the history, the rest being appendix matter, and is divided into 51 chapters. It is not divided strictly in the orthodox style of Hindu, Muslim and British periods, but is taken on more or less continuously. The inclusion of such chapters as the Hindu Way of Life, India in the Tenth Century and chapters like that gives an indication that while detailing the story of the evolution of India, the condition of the country from period to period receives special attention. The interest of the story is throughout sustained and the conclusions of modern research are offered cautiously. We have no doubt that the book will serve the purpose for which it is intended admirably. The publishers have done their part of the work very well indeed, and we have on the whole an attractive reading book on what used to be regarded as a dull and dry subject.

We would, however, invite the attention of the authors to a statement that occurs on page 124 relating to *bhakti* where it is stated "the first recorded apostle of this doctrine was Ramanuja, who belonged to the 12th century." This is in fact repeated on page 193 relating to the same doctrine, and it is stated there "which, as we have seen in an earlier chapter, had existed for an indefinite number of centuries, but *had first been preached effectively by Ramanuja.*" This statement is just an indication of what we might say is the general character of the book, namely, that while it follows closely the results of modern research by Western scholars, there seems to be a lurking disinclination to acknowledge what may even be regarded as more or less generally proved conclusions of the researches of Indian scholars. It would be at this hour of the day almost impossible to prove, even in the somewhat modified form, that Ramanuja was the first effectively to preach the doctrine of *bhakti*. That doctrine has been holding the field in the Tamil country for at least a thousand years before Ramanuja preached effectively in the vernaculars of the country, if Ramanuja could have preached effectively. Ramanuja rather taught than preached, and wrote rather than lectured. He might have spoken to people that went to him. But that could hardly be described as preaching. The Alvars that preceded him, from whose teaching he drew as much as from the other teachings incorporated in his work, spoke in the vernacular of the country, Tamil, and that became perhaps much more popular than ever Ramanuja's *bhashya* could have been, and the age of the Alvars at the most moderate computation would be from A.D. 500 to A.D. 800, while as a matter of fact their history could be carried fur-

ther back by two to three centuries on the basis of reliable evidence. This particular point by itself is not perhaps a matter of very great importance as this error had been committed by several reputable authors before. But this little straw seems to indicate the attitude of mind adopted in the writing of the work, as otherwise we would not have troubled to point it out. The teaching actually associated with Ramanuja is far older than Ramanuja himself, some of which is certainly very much more than a thousand years older, and at any rate it will have to be definitely recognised now at least, if it had not been hitherto. Notwithstanding thus demur, we have not the slightest hesitation in commending the book as a very good exposition of the general trend of Indian History to all those who might take any interest in the History of India.

STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF THE BENGAL SUBAH 1740-70.

VOLUME I:

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC

By

KALIKINKAR DATTA, M.A.,

Lecturer in History, Patna College,

Published by the University of Calcutta—1936, pp. XX and 567.

This study of the material, cultural and social condition of the people of Bengal in the period of transition that intervened between the virtual disappearance of Mughal imperial authority from the province and the effective establishment of the company's rule, is based on the indigenous literature, Bengali, Sanskrit and Persian, and on the company's records and the accounts of travellers. It throws light on a number of obscure phases of popular life and activity, like the institutions that existed for higher Hindu learning and the curricula of general studies followed in the different grades of schools, both for the service of the state and for orthodox learning. Even in that generation there were some Bengalis who were anxious to learn English, while some women could be deemed really educated in the higher sense and others took part in political and administrative affairs. According to the evidence of European observers, the practice of *sati* was far from common and was not prevalent among some castes; while in 1756 the Raja of Bikrampur tried to introduce

widow remarriage in his family. The evils of Kulinism and dowry-demand seem to have been widely prevalent and accompanied by polygamy. Mr. Datta dwells in detail upon the dresses and ornaments in use among the people. It is pleasing to read that the increasing interchange of ideas and customs between the Hindus and the Mussalmans led to the evolution of a common god, Satya Pir; and Vaishnava and orthodox Hindu motions and thoughts permeated the inner stratum of Muhammadan society. But in the Nawab's court there was mutual suspicion prevailing between Hindu noblemen and Mussalman leaders; and the supporters and partisans of English rule were in most cases Hindus or their protégés, and most of the company's *gomastas* were Hindus.

Mr. Datta next proceeds to an account of the English factories and their investments, with details of the sorting, prizing and embalming of the goods to be exported and of the *dalals'* methods of advances to weavers and exorbitant commissions. He discusses the new method of procuring investments directly from the *aurungs* which were to be supervised by a special committee of the council—introduced in 1754-55. Bullion imported from England was exchanged for coins current in the Subah; and occasionally money had to be borrowed at high rates of interest from the house of Jagat Seth. The Cassimbazar factory was always suffering from want of ready money; in the Patna factory the greatest difficulty was experienced in recovering money from debtors as well as in the adjustment of accounts with Omichund (Aminchand of historical notoriety), Deepchund and other merchants. In Dacca the situation was not much better and did not improve even after Plassey.

The section dealing with the Asiatic and inter-provincial trade of Bengal is very informing. The exports of Bengal to the Gulfs of Persia and Mocha and Asia Minor were great. Manilla, China and the East African coast imported raw silk, cotton cloth, opium, rice, turmeric and "all sorts of gruff goods" from Bengal. The Company took advantage of the prevailing confusion in the country and soon established a monopoly of exporting piece-goods to the markets of Bussorah, Jiddah and Mocha; the evils of this monopoly were pictured by William Bolts who, however, was marked by a vindictive spirit against the Company. Gradually all the Asiatic trade of Bengal passed exclusively into English hands. In the matter of inter-provincial trade, again, the Company's agents contrived to close the doors against the common traders of the country.

Nawab Alavardi Khan had adopted an impartial attitude towards all European traders in his dominions; and his strictness begat retaliatory measures on the part of the Company's people and an occasional assertion of superior right of trade over others. Their abuse of *dastaks* which were used for their private trade and often sold to native merchants was much older than the days of Nawab Mir Kasim and only grew worse as an effect of Plassey. Even the Court of Directors could not support the view of the Bengal Council in 1763 that the Mughal *farman* of 1716-17 could cover the right of the Company to internal trade, free of all customs and duties, to the prejudice of the country merchants and the Nawab's revenues.

Mr. Datta critically discusses the English monopoly in salt, betelnut and tobacco established under a society in 1765, as well as their saltpetre trade at Patna which was naturally very important. After Plassey they contrived to secure an absolute control over the saltpetre farm in Bihar from Nawab Mir Jafar. He then passes on to an account of the general economic conditions of the Subah; the roads and riverways were abundant; but the lack of safety of trade and transit due to political causes, drove each village within its shell and enabled trade to be monopolised by powerful agencies like the European Companies, which could withstand the dangers from dacoits. A considerable space is devoted to an account of the cotton manufactures and other handicrafts, whose later decline is a pathetic story of the economic history of India. The process of decline which continued through many years and was first influenced by the incursions of the Marathas, being a sequel to the general political disorders. Market and agricultural conditions are next detailed. We find a gradual rise in prices from 1754 onwards, even in the case of articles of necessity, as well as a corresponding rise in the wages of labourers. Various types of slavery, besides forced labour, prevailed in the country and African slaves were imported by the European Companies.

The book has extensively utilised the available original sources and, though prolix in places, has brought together a vast amount of recondite matter. The documentation is perhaps overfull; and we have here a proper sequel to such works as R. C. Dutt's *Economic History*; Wheeler's *Early Records of British India*; J. C. Sinha's *Economic Annals of Bengal* and C. J. Hamilton's *Trade Relations*.

C. S. S.

NIZAMU'L-MULK ASAF JAH I.

(*Founder of the Haiderabad State.*)

By

DR. YUSUF HUSAIN KHAN, D.LITT., (PARIS).

Reader in History, Osmania University, Haiderabad.

D. B. Taraporevala Sons and Co., Bombay, 1936.—pp. IV & 306,
price Rs. 6.

As the author remarks no historian has attempted to present the events of the first half of the eighteenth century in relation to the dynamic and outstanding personality of Nizamu'l-Mulk. Khafi Khan whose account of Mughal history covers the entire reign of Aurangzeb and comes down to the 14th year of the reign of Muhammad Shah and whose history was judiciously utilised by Elphinstone writes "with interest and favour" in all that concerns Nizamu'l-Mulk who made him a *diwan*. Besides this historian and others, our author has made use of some very valuable and hitherto unpublished material selected from the manuscript collection of the Asafia State Library and from the *Daftar-i-Diwani* of Hyderabad. He has thus given a full-length portrait of the founder of the Hyderabad State who had been hitherto studied only in profile or in parts.

Nizamu'l-Mulk's grand-father and father had both risen high in the service of Aurangzeb and had been the leaders of the Turani Mughals. His father, Firuz Jang, had acquired a most powerful influence in the Deccan. Our hero was born in 1671 and took an active part in the Mughal campaigns in the Deccan even as early as 1688. He quickly rose to be the leader of the Turani element in the Mughal army in the place of his father. He became the *subhadar* of Bijapur in 1702 and was raised to the rank of 5,000 *zat* and 5,000 horse, enjoying the greatest amount of imperial favour in the last years of the old Emperor who had been endeavouring to bring the Turani party at his court to support the claims of his favourite son, Kam Baksh, as against the pretensions of Azam who was backed by the Persian party: He was a rigorous opponent of the dominance of Zulfikar Khan in the confused period following the reign of Bahadur Shah and got the viceroyalty of the six subahs of the Deccan and the *faujdari* of the Carnatic, on the accession of Farrukh Siyar. His first endeavour was to consolidate his position at Aurangabad and to suppress the autho-

rity of local Maratha collectors (*quamaishdars*) of *chauth* and *subhedars* who had established a sort of parallel government in the Deccan, consequent on the grant by Zulfikar Khan to Maharaja Shahu of the right of *chauth* and *sirdeshmukhi* in the Deccan. Dr. Khan insists that this agreement could hardly be called a treaty or a legal instrument, as it lacked imperial confirmation; but it did help Shahu in consolidating his power over Maharashtra and enabled the assertion of further pretensions on the part of the Marathas.

The Nizam took advantage of the dissensions between the party of Tarabai (the Kolhapur party) and that of Shahu and finally contrived to arrive at an agreement with the first Peishwa, Balaji Vishvanath, as well as to effect various administrative improvements benefiting the ryots and putting down petty official tyranny, before his first viceroyalty ended owing to the action of the all-powerful Sayyid Hussain Ali Khan, in 1715. It is contended by Dr. Hussain Khan that his untimely recall to Delhi gave the Marathas an opportunity to reassert their hold over the Deccan and to renew the old agreement of Zulfikar Khan, even claiming a share in the *abwabs* and road duties and stationing two Maratha captain at Aurangabad, as deputies of Raja Shahu. This was possible owing to the growing rupture between the Emperor and the Sayyids who leaned towards Maratha support.

Ranade's seeking an analogy between this Maratha *imperium in imperio* in the Deccan and the system of Wellesley's subsidiary alliances our author, who holds the Maratha claim to be "nothing but an organised system of blackmail, a dishonest and onesided transaction," attempts to refute. So far as a vigorous rising power superimposed itself on an older, but weaker, system and burrowed its way towards ultimate dominion, there could be no essential difference between the two processes; though in legal forms and methods of operation there was fundamental difference.

The events leading to the Nizam's victory at Balapur over Alam Ali Khan, his Wazirat at Delhi, consequent on the fall of the Sayyids and the triumph of the Turani party, his giving up all hope of reforming the imperial administration and resolving to leave Delhi for the Deccan, and his final triumph over Mubarak Khan who was secretly helped by the Marathas and by the Afghan Jaghirdarsat, Shaker Khara—these were the real precedent circumstances that led to the foundation of the Hyderabad State (1724). Hyderabad was now made the headquarters of his government which, though never openly claiming independence of

Delhi, exercised all sovereign rights. The Nizam conferred titles on his own authority, but refrained from using the imperial umbrella, striking coins in his own name or causing his name to be included in the Khutba.

The subsequent relations of the Nizam with the Maratha power, his setting up the Pratinidhi against the Peishwa, and of Sambhaji of Kolhapur against Shahu, and the conclusion of the treaty of Mungi-Shevgaon (1728) led to Maratha irruption into Malwa and further penetration to Delhi itself. The attempt of Nizam-ul-Mulk—the only possible obstacle in the way of Maratha inroads—to push back Baji Rao from the capital only led to a severe reverse at Bhopal which is held by our author to have been an attempt, by timely overtures of peace, to avoid the complete rout of his heterogeneous army. Dr. Khan would reject as completely baseless the legend that Nadir Shah was secretly urged by the Nizam to invade India and would credit the story that, on his departure, the Persian invader asked him to undertake the government of the Indian Empire, which he respectfully declined.

Some space is denoted to the doings of the Nizam in the Carnatic after his return from Delhi; and here we have a disproportionately detained account of his relations with Madras and Pondicherry and of his attempt to invigorate the government of the Carnatic—all mostly based on the European records of the settlements. His testament, dictated by him when he was at the threshold of Death, is a remarkable document embodying a surprisingly keen and appropriate quantity of political maxims for the government of the Deccan. Dr. Khan finds a close resemblance in ideal and aim between his hero and the Emperor Aurangzeb. Like his master, he would never accept a defeatist policy of abdication of power to the enemy, however strong he might be.

C. S. S.

ANCIENT KARNATAKA—VOL. I. HISTORY OF TULUVA

By

DR. B. A. SALETORÉ, Poona.

Published by Oriental Book Agency, Poona, 1936.

pp. x, 659. Crown, cloth bound.

The author of 'Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagar Empire' Dr. Saletore has now come forward with a History of Tuluva, now known by the name of South Kanara. Tuluva is

mentioned as a separate kingdom and sufficiently important in early Śaṅgam literature of the Tamils, and it has therefore a very ancient history. In this work which shows much painstaking research on the part of the author, Dr. Saletore presents a connected history of the Tuḷu country from remote antiquity. In the first chapter the author has carefully examined the legends centering round the Tuḷu kingdom, including the legend of Paraśurāma such as could be gathered from literature and epigraphy. A claim of Tuḷuva antiquity is based on the evidence of Śaṅgam literature (pp. 48-54). It would have been better if the author had quoted his authorities without further comment. For in commenting he has given expression to some wrong statements like 'the Śilappadikāram would then have to be placed posterior to the Maṇimekhalai,' and, in this connection, he quotes the much exploded theory of the late Swamikannu Pillai for the date of Śilappadikāram.

In the second chapter Dr. Saletore has succeeded in reconstructing the history of the Ālupas from the early centuries of the Christian era to the middle ages. He is not in favour of instituting a relationship between the Ālupa rulers and the Uchangi Pāṇḍyas (p. 157). The chapter concludes with a detailed account of the Ālupa administration. The third chapter deals with the foreign relations of Tuḷuva country. The foreign powers examined in this connection are the Śātavāhanas, Western Chālukyas, Senāvaras, Pallavas, Chōḷas, Pāṇḍyas, Rāshtrakūṭas, Santaras, Kadambas, etc. There are several statements in this chapter which may be disputed, e.g., his theory of Uchangi Pāṇḍyas as having nothing to do with Pāṇḍyas of Madura or with Koḍumbālūr chiefs or with the Yādava clan (pp. 244-249).

Much interesting material has been put in the chapter on village organisation, on the primary evidence of the work *Grāmapaddhati* and folk songs styled *Pāḍadānas*. The examination of the *Grāmapaddhati* is as critical as that of the legend of Bhūtāḷa Pāṇḍya. Towards the end of this chapter the *Aḷiyasantāna* law is discussed and it is concluded that it was legalised in Tuḷuva only in the fifteenth century. In the next chapter on religion, attention may be drawn to the author's identification of Gagana Śivācārya, of the Goḷaki mutt, of a life-sketch of Madhvāchārya. He adduces a date for Madhva later than that adopted by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar. The concluding chapter of the book is on the social life of early Tuḷuva peoples. Among the appendices, Appendix A affords special interest. It is on the Greek farce, a classical frag-

ment in which many words in an Indian language occur. Dr. Saletore takes the view that these are words of old Kannada language and furnishes a tentative reconstruction. If it could be established that old Kannada was in vogue at about the commencement of the Christian era, then the view expressed in this work can fully be accepted.

Dr. Saletore deserves congratulation for producing a work of much value, by which he has considerably enriched the history of Karnāṭaka. We would take this opportunity to felicitate the enterprising authorities of the Oriental Book Agency, Poona, who have published this work in their valuable series styled Poona Oriental Series.

V. R. R. DIKSHITAR.

Select Contents from Oriental Journals

The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, October 1936.

Adh-Dhahabi's "Ta rikh al-islam" as an Authority on the Mongol Invasion of the Caliphate by Joseph De Somogyi.

The Question of Gramas by M. S. Ramaswami Aiyar.

Sank (mansab) in the Mogul State Service by W. H. Moreland.

Journal of the University of Bombay, Vol. IV, Part 6 and Vol. V, Part 1.

Account of An Exploratory Tour in Certain Parts of Sind in Search of Pre-Historic Culture by G. S. Ghurye.

The Religion of the Mohenjo Daro People According to Inscriptions by H. Heras, S. J.

The Great Temple at Elephanta by Shridhar V. Sohoni.

A Note on Cross-Cousin Marriage and Dual Organization in Kathiawar by G. S. Ghurye.

Racial Change and Social Change by P. S. Rege.

The Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. XII, No. 3.

Religious Policy of Aurangzeb by Prof. Sri Ram Sharma, M.A.
Kingship and Nobility in the Fourteenth Century by Anil-chandra Banerjee, M.A.

The East India Company and its trade monopoly by Prof. Prakash Chandra, M.A., Ph.D.

Taxation of Vijayanagara by Dr. P. Srinivasachar, M.A., Ph.D.
Sasanka by Dr. D. C. Ganguly, M.A., Ph.D.

Kalicuri Karna's Invasion of Bengal and the Origin of the Varmans and the Senas by Pramode Lal Paul, M.A.

The Identity of the Indus Valley Race with the Vahikas by Prof. K. M. Shembavnekar, M.A.

Narasimhanatha Stone Inscription of Vaijaladeva by Pandit Binayak Misra, M.A.

Bhartrayajna—The Oldest Commentator of Paraskara-Grhya-sutras by Prof. Baladeva Upadhyaya, M.A.

Sri Harsa—The King-poet by Prof. Nanigopal Banerji, M.A.

Geographical Data in Panini by Basudeva Upadhyaya, M.A.

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The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. XII, Part 3.

Chronology and History of Nepal 600 B.C. to 800 A.D. by K. P. Jayaswal.

An Account of Firoz Shah Tughluq (from Sirat-i-Firoz Shahi) (in continuation of pages 96, JBORS Vol. XII) by Prof. K. K. Basu, M.A.

Acta Orientalia, Vol. XV, Part 2.

The Buddha's Mission and last Journey: Buddhacarita, XV to XXVIII by E. H. Johnston.

Wer war Gilgames? by Sigmund Nowinckel.

Zur siebenten Tafel des Gilgames—Epos by Sigmund Nowinckel.

Sinologische Beitrage II, Ubersetzungen aus dem Wen Hsilan. Von Erwin von Zach by J. J. L. Duyvendak.

The Journal of the Assam Research Society, Vol. IV, parts 2 and 3.

Sankaracaryya and Buddhism in Assam by R. M. Nath, B.E.
Timgyadeva and Vaidyadeva by Nalini Nath Das Gupta, M.A.
Kalapahar and the Kamakhya Temple by R. M. Nath, B.E.
A Stray Cannon at Baniyachang by Pandit Padmanath Bhat-tacharyya Vidyavinod.

The Ancient Garo Calendar by Dewan Singh Rongmuty, B.A.
King Dharmapala of Kamarupa as a poet by N. N. Das Gupta, M.A.

Location of the Nidhanpur by Pandit Padmanath.

A Short History of the Panga Family by Srijut Nagendranarayan Chaudhury.

Journal of the Madras University, Vol. VIII, Parts 2 and 3.

Tamil Literature under the Later Cholas by Srimathi T. N. Thanu Ammal.

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No. 34—The Larger Leiden Plates (of Rajaraja I) by K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer (concluded) from line 134-l. 330.

No. 35—The Smaller Leiden Plates (of Kulottunga I) by K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer.—Once published in 1886 in the *Arch. Survey of South India*; Vol. IV, pp. 224 ff—without plates by Burgess and Natesa Sastri; and based on an excellent set of rubbings of the inscription and a photograph of the seal supplied by the Museum authorities in Leiden—The inscription tells that the ambassadors from the King of Katāha requested Kulottunga Chola to have a copper-plate issued in favour of the *sangha* of the *paḷḷi* of Chūdāmaṇivarman Vihāra.

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The author examines critically verse 4 of hymn 71 of the Tenth Maṇḍala of the Ṛg Veda Samhita which is in praise of the Sacrificial Speech.

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