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EDITOR

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

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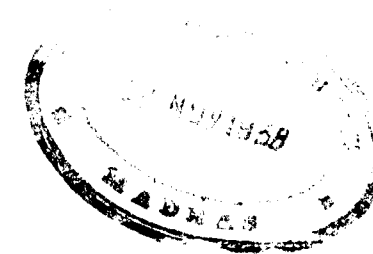
V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR, M.A., Dip. Ec.,
Lecturer, Dept. of Ind. Hist. & Arch., University of Madras.

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CONTENTS

SOME PROBLEMS CONNECTED WITH RAJADHIRAJA II—By Pandit Soma Sundara Desikar ..	141
BALLAPPA DANNAYAKA—By Mr. A. Venkatasubbiah ..	149
REFERENCES TO MUHAMMADANS IN SANSKRIT INSCRIPTIONS IN NORTHERN INDIA—A.D. 730-1320—By Mr. Rama Shankar Avasthy and Mr. Amalananda Ghosh ..	161
GUNPOWDER ARTILLERY IN THE REIGN OF SULTAN ELTUTMISH OF DEHLI—By Mr. M. Akram Makhdoomee, M.A. ..	185
MECHANICAL ARTILLERY IN MEDIEVAL INDIA—By Mr. M. Akram Makhdoomee, M.A. ..	189
PROCEDURE OF SUCCESSION TO THE SULTANATE OF DELHI—By Mr. Anilchandra Banerjee, M.A. ..	196
THE CONTEMPORARY VIEW OF THE COURT OF FARRUKH SYER—By Mr. A. M. Daula, M.A., PH.D. (LONDON) ..	201
APPOINTMENTS IN THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S SERVICE—By Dr. Prakash Chandra, M.A., LL.B., PH.D. (LONDON) ..	210
JAMES GRANT DUFF'S PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE WITH MAHARAJA PRATAPSIMHA OF SATARA—By Mr. D. B. Diskalkar, M.A. ..	221
THE EDUCATIONAL REFORM OF LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK—By Mr. Ishwar Sahai ..	237
THE CHOLA INSCRIPTIONS OF RENADU—APPENDIX—By Dr. P. Srinivasachari ..	255
A NOTE ON THE GENEALOGY AND CHRONOLOGY OF THE VAKATAKAS—By Sir Richard Burn, C.S.I. ..	260
EDITORIAL ..	261
REVIEWS—'Events at the Court of Ranjit Singh'; 'Dynastic History of Northern India (Early Mediaeval Period)'; 'India Analysed'; 'The Problem of the Indian Polity'; 'Kachari Buranji'; 'The First Century of British Justice in India'; 'Annual Report of the South Indian Epigraphy'; 'The Colas'; 'The Saiva School of Hinduism'; 'The Cambridge History of India'; 'Tandava Lakshanam'; 'Tattvabindu with Tattvavibhavana'; 'Burhan's Tuzuk-i-Walajahi, Part I'; 'The Sundarananda and the Buddhacarita of Asvaghosa' ..	266
SELECT CONTENTS FROM ORIENTAL JOURNALS ..	289
OUR EXCHANGES ..	299



93468

299
141

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Journal of Indian History

Some Problems connected with Rājādhirāja II

By

PANDIT SOMA SUNDARA DESIKAR,
Tamil Lexicon Office.

IN the April 1935 issue of the *Journal of Indian History*¹ Mr. S. K. Govindaswamy Pillai of the Annamalai University has thrown out some suggestions about the reign of Rājādhirāja II. He is of opinion that the reign of Rājādhirāja should have begun in 1172 A.D. This point, I believe, has been satisfactorily met by Mr. V. Venkatasubba Iyer of the Epigraphical department in the December issue of the *Journal*.² But some more points have to be cleared in Mr. Govindaswamy's article and that of Mr. Venkatasubba Iyer contributed to the *Epigraphia Indica*. Vol. XXI, parts iv and v.

THEORY OF TWO CORONATIONS.

Mr. Govindaswamy is of opinion that 'A sort of hasty stopgap coronation took place on the day of the death of Rājārāja though a more formal ceremony of coronation occurred on the fourth anniversary when the royal title of Rājādhirāja was bestowed upon prince Edirilapperumāl.' The reason, he assigns for this arrangement is the sudden outbreak of war in the Pāndyan Kingdom about A.D. 1168. In support of this statement, he quotes the free translation of lines 11 and 12 of the Pallavarāyanpet Inscription, No. 433 of 1924. They are reproduced here for ready reference.

'As there were no sons fit for anointment on the day that Periyadēvar passed away, Pallavarāya enquired into the practice in the past (under similar circumstances), and caused the bringing of the prince Edirilipperumāl the son of Neṟiyuḍaipperumāl and the grandson of Uḍaiyār Vikramaśoḷadēva from Gangaikonḍaśoḷapuram. As Edirilipperumāl had a right to it he was considered and was anointed as king.'

1. J. I. H. pp. 39-49.

2. J. I. H. pp. 347-350.

Four years after, he was again crowned under the name of Rājādhirāja. p. (41).

The literal translation of lines 7 to 13 of the same inscription as given by Mr. Govindaswamy is as follows :—

“As the Periyadēvar (Rājarāja II) died and the children were aged only one and two years, Tirucchiṇṇambalam Uḍaiyān Perumān Nambi alias Pallavarāya thought of leaving the fort Āyirattaḷi and as he went protected the royal family and brought them safe to Rājarājapuram. As there were no sons fit for anointment on the day that Periyadēvar left (eḷundaruḷina) Pallavarāyar considered this state of affairs, enquired into the practice of the past, caused the fetching of the prince who had been at Gangaikondapuram and got (him) Edirilipperumāḷ son of Neṇiyudaipperumāḷ and the grandson of Uḍaiyār Vikramaśōḷa Dēvar anointed and crowned by those who were entitled to it. On the fourth anniversary he was again anointed (king) under the name Rājādhirāja Dēva.”

The correct translation of lines 7 to 14 would be, ‘As the children were aged one and two years when Periya Dēvar died they were to leave the citadel of Āyirattaḷi, to remove the harem with their retinue to a place very near to Rājarājapuram, and to live within the Chola dominions at a place where no kind of danger was possible. When Periya Dēvar died, he had left no sons fit for anointment. In these circumstances he enquired into previous practice and caused the children who were living at Gangaikondāśōḷapuram to be brought; and Edirilipperumāḷ the honoured son of Neṇiyudaipperumāḷ, grandson of Uḍaiyār Vikramaśōḷa Dēvar who had been crowned on the day when Rājarāja Dēva died, was requested to go through the anointment ceremony; (thereupon) in the fourth year he is to be anointed as Rājādhirāja Dēva and the *uḍankūṭṭam* and the *nāḍu* was made to obey him without any dissensions, and thus to see that these acts are done correctly and gracefully.

5. ஜயங்கொண்ட சோழமண்டலத்து ஆழர்க்கோட்டத்துச் சிறுகுன்ற நாட்டுக்காரி கைக்குளத்துநர்க் குளத்துழான் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையான் பெருமானம்பியாரான பல்லவ

6. ராயர்; பெரியதேவர் ராஜராஜதேவர் போத்து கோயிற் கோத்தும் ஆவர்க்குத் திறை அகம்படி நியாயம் உள்ளிட்ட துறைகளுக்கும் முதலிகளுமாய் முதலிகளோபாதி காரியத்

7. துக்குங் கடவருமாய் எல்லாவரிசைகளும் முன் ஏவல் உள்ளிட்ட முதலிகள் பெறக்கடவ ஏற்றங்களும் பெற்று நின்று [;] பெரியதேவர் துஞ் சியருளிப் பிள்ளைகளுக்கு ஒன்றும் இரண்டும் திருநகரத்திரமா

8. கையால் ஆயிரத்தனிப்படைவீடும் விட்டுப்போத வேண்டிப் போது கிற இடத்துத்திருவந்தப் புரமும் பரிவ.....ரங்களும் உள்ளிட்டன எல்லாம் பரிகரித்துக் [கூட்டிக்] கொடுபோந்து ராஜ

9. [ரா]ஜ[பு]ர[த்]திலே இருந்த இட[த்துக்குச் சூழ்ந்]க யிடங்..... யருமிகுதிப்ப.....ரத்து உடன் கூட்டத்தா[ர்.....]ராலும் எல்லாக் [கலக்க]சோழ ராஜ்யத்துக்கு.....யே இருப்பார் காரணவருட.....

10. வேண்டிப்புரத்து எல்லா அடைவுகேடுகளும் வராத இடத்து இந்ளும் பரிகரித்து இவ்வாறு].....பெரியதேவர் எழுந்தருளிப் போந்தநாளிலேதிரு அபிஷேகத்துக்கு உரிய பிள்ளைகள் இன்றியே [த, இ ருக்கி]

11. நபடியை பார்த்து முன்னாளிலே காரியம் இருந்தபடிவி..... செய்து கங்கைக்கொண்ட சோழபுரத்திலே எழுந்தருளி இருக்கிற பிள்ளைகளை [பிர]யாணம் பண்ணு.....[உ]டையார் விக்கிரம சோழதேவர் போரூர்

12. நெறிஉடைப் பெருமாள் திருமகனார் எதிரிலிப்பெருமானை பெரிய தேவர் துஞ்சி அருளின நாளிலே மண்டை கவிப்பித்து போந்தாரானவாறே இவரைத் திரு அபிஷேகம் பண்ணுவிக்கக்கடவாராக நியமித்து நாலாந் திரு நகரத்திரத்திலே ராஜாதிராஜதேவர் எ

13. ன்று திரு அபிஷேகம் பண்ணுவித்து உடன் கூட்டமும்நாடு[க்கொ ன்றுபட்டுச் செல்லும்படி பண்ணிவித்தருளினார்; மிகைசெய்யாதபடியும் பரி கரித்து இவர்கள் எல்லாரையுஞ் சேரப்பிடித்துப் பணி அழகிதா

14. கச் செய்வதொரு படியும் பண்ணி;

From the above and the general reading of the Epigraph, one cannot come to the conclusion that the reigning monarch Rājarāja Dēva had no knowledge of his would-be successor. The arrangements were not made all of a sudden. In this connection it has to be pointed out that the reading ‘Rājarāja Dēvar pērttu kōirkottum’ has to be read as Rājarāja Dēvar pōttu kōirkuttum. ராஜராஜ தேவர் போத்தும் கோயிற்றொத்தும். The former reading pērttu kōirkuttum makes no sense directly. On the other hand the reading pōttu kōirkuttum means the group of servants meant for service as guards etc., at the palace. Hence the reading may be taken as pōttu kōirkottum. In that case it would be clear that Pallavarāyar was called upon to intervene as the responsible head of the personal establishment of the King. But Mr. Govindaswamy doubts this point and writes that the predicates ‘viṭṭu’, parigrahittu etc., all these qualify the subject Pallavarāyar, not Rājarāja. He further says that ‘it may be pointed out, however, that the phrase ‘Periya Dēvar eḷundaruḷina-nāḷilē’ of line 10 may mean “in the presence of Periyadēvar”, but it also may mean “the day that Periyadēvar left”. In fact in order

to give the former meaning, the phrase must be "Periya Dēvar eḷund-aruḷi-irunda-nāḷilē". In the absence of 'irunda' it will not give that meaning. I, therefore, believe that there is not sufficient authority in the text itself to admit of the editor's interpretation of it to mean that Rājarāja himself chose Ediriliperumāl as his successor.' Mr. Govindaswami has badly missed the point. There is a lacunae in the sentence itself; four letters are wanting after the word 'eḷundaruḷi'. This may be filled up either with the word *irunda* or *śeṇṇa*. Both the words will give the same meaning.

This statement is confirmed by the following sentence in line 12. It reads

எதிரிலிபெருமானே பெரியதேவர் தஞ்சி அருளின நாளிலே மண்டை
கவிப்பித்து போந்தாரானவாறே இவரைத் திரு அபிஷேகம் பண்ணுவீக்கக்
கடவாராக;

'As Ediriliperumāl was crowned on the day when Periyadēvar (Rājarāja) died and is continuing (as king) let him be anointed by them.' We may infer from the above that Ediriliperumāl could not have been brought immediately from outside on Rājarāja's demise and crowned king.

From all these facts it may be clear that the selection was made with the knowledge of Rājarāja II and Ediriliperumāl was crowned and proclaimed king first on the day when Rājarāja died and the coronation ceremony took place in the fourth year from that date. Thus there were no two coronations.

WHO IS RĀJĀDHIRĀJA ?

Ediriliperumāl (not Edirilāperumāl) the honoured son of Neriyaḍaiperumāl and grandson of Uḍaiyār Vikramaśōḷa Dēvar was crowned king and anointed as Rājādhirāja after Rājarāja II. There is no question about that fact, and there is no difference of opinion about it among scholars. But what is the relationship between Rājarāja and his successor. Mr. Govindaswami thinks that Rājādhirāja's father is the brother of Rājarāja II. But there is no evidence to support this view. Living in Gangaikondāśōlapuram alone will not make the relationship real as Mr. Govindaswami concludes. It is not the custom to name the son after the father but it is the custom immemorial to name the grandson after the grandfather. The arguments and the evidence advanced by him are not sufficient to warrant such a conclusion. On the other hand we may take Rājādhirāja to be a grandson of Vikramachōḷadēva by his daughter. This is only a surmise.

In a poem called *Sankarāśōlan-ulā* it is stated that after Rājarāja II, Nallaman son of Śangaman ascended the throne. Kumāra Mahidhara followed Nallaman, and they were ably assisted by his brother Śankaran the hero of the poem. It is a well known fact that Kumāra Mahidhara is Kulottunga III and *Kulottungan Kōvai* confirms it. There he is stated to be the son of Śangaman. If he had been the son of Kulōttunga II, and the brother of Rājarāja it would have been given so. The names Neriyaḍaiperumāl and Śangaman would not have at all occurred in the poems. This fact lends support to the view that Rājādhirāja and Kulottunga are the grandsons of Vikramaśōḷa Dēva by his daughter. From the above facts it is certain that Ediriliperumāl alias Rājādhirāja is not the son of Kulottunga II.

KULOTTUNGA III.

Mr. Govindaswami has not said anything about Kulōttunga III. But Mr. Venkatasubba Iyer is of opinion that "It is, therefore, likely that Kulōttunga Chōla III was one of the two sons of Rājarāja II, and that during the former's minority Rājādhirāja was brought in to rule the chōla country. The fact that the inscriptions of Rājarāja II and those of Kulōttunga Chōla III commence with the identical eulogistical expressions 'Pūmaruviya and Puyal vaittu' etc., also lends support." The Epigraphist's report for the year ending March 1924 says that 'the minister Pallavarāyar evidently had to place a member of a different family on the throne because the children of Rājarāja II were infants. This is, perhaps, the reason why Kulōttunga Chōla III the son of Rājarāja II did not succeed his father immediately. At the time of Rājarāja's death (A.D. 1162) Kulōttunga III was 1 or 2 years old and when he actually came to the throne in A.D. 1178 he was 16 or 17 years old, when he could assume the reins of Government.' So, they—the Epigraphical department—are definite in saying that Kulōttunga III is the son of Rājarāja II. It is only a surmise and there is no epigraphical or other evidence to support it. We have to turn to literature whether it can help us. Happily it comes to our aid. *Śankara-śōlan-ulā*³ and *Kulōttungan Kōvai*⁴ are the two outstanding works which treat fully about these monarchs. The particular portions are extracted below.

3. *Śankara Śōlan Ulā* was issued as a Supplement to the *Sen Tamil*—the organ of the Madura Tamil Sangam in Volume vii.

4. *Kulōttungan Kōvai*, an amatory poem on Kulottunga III, containing 510 stanzas was printed in 1910 and published by Mr. M. R. Aurnācala Kavī-rayar of Tirupparankunram, Madura Dt. Price annas 12.

செம்பதத்துக் கூடிய 'சீர்தந்த' வென்றெடுத்த கூத்தனு லாச்
 சூடிய விக்கிரம சோழனும்—பாடிய
 வெள்ளைக் கலையுலா மாலையொடு மீண்டுமவன்
 பிள்ளைத் தமிழ்மலை பெற்றோனும்—தென்னித்தம்
 முன்னு யகரிலவன் மூதலாக் கண்ணிதொறும்
 பொன்னு யிரஞ்சொரிந்த பூபதியும்—என்னுமிவர்
 மாசக்ர மேரு வலஞ்சென் மகரசல
 பூசக்ர மேமும் புரந்ததற்பின்—தேசம்
 பணியு மனுகுலப் பாற்கட லீன்ற
 மணியு மமுதமு மானக்—குணபா
 லுவந்த வனவர் குலவசலத் துச்சி
 நிவந்த பருதி நிகர்ப்ப—அவந்திமன்
 வங்கமன் கங்கம னுதித்தன் வந்தித்த
 சங்கமன் றெல்லைத் தவம்போலப்—பங்கா
 யெழுந்திகரி வெற்பை யெனத்திகரி யுந்தன்
 செழுந்திகரி யின் நிமிரந் தீர்ப்ப—மொழிந்தனைத்தும்
 வல்லம னுதி மனுவினு மேதக்க
 நல்லம னென்கின்ற நாயகற்கும்—தொல்லை
 மலைக்குங் கடற்குநடு மண்முழுதுங் காத்துச்
 சிலைக்கும் பாதாளத்தைச் சீறித்—தொலைத்துப்
 பருந்து நிழற்பந்தர்ப் பல்லா யிரம்பேய்
 விருந்து களிப்ப விடுத்துக்—சுருந்தலையின்
 கொன்று குவித்தாக் குவித்த பிணக்குவடு
 சென்று குருதித் திரைமிதிப்ப—வென்றதற்பின்
 பூசற் குடகடற்கே போர்வாட் கறைகழுவித்
 தேசத் தொழியாத் திறைகொண்டு—காசினிக்கே
 பைத்த பொருபுலையைப் பல்கோடி வேந்தணிய
 வைத்த குமார மகீதாற்கும்—மெய்த்துணையாத்
 தோற்றிய சங்கர ராசன் சுரராசன்
 போற்றிய கங்கா புரராசன்

சங்கரசோழனுலா, கண்ணி 24-38

மன்னன் குமார குலோத்துங்கன் தஞ்சைவரையில்

குலோத்துங்க சோழன் கோவை.—3
 (similar wordings in 64 other stanzas)

சங்கமராச குலோத்துங்கன்

ibid, stanzas 2, 25, 40, 41 and six other stanzas,

சங்கரன் முன்னோன் குலோத்துங்கன் ibid, 64.

From the above extracts it may be gathered that Nallaman, Kumāra Mahidhara and Śankaran are brothers and sons of the same father named Śangaman. After Nallaman, reigned Kumāra

Mahidhara. He is also called Kumāra Kulōttunga and Kulōttunga. Both of them were ably assisted by their brother Śankaran. But we have no epigraphic evidence to show that those two monarchs had a brother and the latter assisted them in their war-campaigns. But in line 11 of the Pallavarāyanpēṭṭai Inscription we read as *Elundaruli irukkiṛa piḷlaigalai pirayānam paṇṇuvittu*. The word *piḷlaigalai* in this line shows that more than one was brought from Gangaikondāśōlapuram. It strengthens the above fact mentioned in the literature that Rājādhira and Kulōttunga were brothers. Though we cannot positively say that Rājādhira and Kulōttunga III are the grandsons of Vikramachōla Dēva by his daughter yet we can be positive in saying that Kulōttunga III is not the son of Rājārāja II.

RAJARAJA'S CHILDREN

The Pallavarāyanpēṭṭai Inscription says that Rājārāja II had two children aged one and two years when he died. It is the general opinion that these children were males. The word used in the inscription is *piḷlaigal*. *Piḷlaigal* is a very common term used to denote children of both sexes. As it has been shown above that Kulōttunga III is not the son of Rājārāja, we may safely conclude that Rājārāja had no male children. It is supported by the statement that Rājārāja died without any issue fit for coronation. Further we read in the same inscription that eight *vēlis* of land were distributed to Rājārāja's wife and children in Rājārājan-Kuḷattūr (vide line 26 in No. 433 of 1924). If he had any male child there is no necessity for the distribution of land to the Queen mother and children.

PALLAVARĀYAR

It is quite true that Tirucchirāmbalamuḍaiyān Perumān Nambi alias Pallavarāyar is not the son of Edirili Chola Śambuvarāyan. The latter was a chief of the Śambuvarāyan family looking after Tonḍaimaṇḍalam with headquarters at Kāñchi. Pallavarāyar is also called Nambipillai according to *Takkayāga Paraṇi*. He is a *Vellālā* by caste of the Kuḷatuḷān family. Śēkkiḷān, Kuḷatuḷān, Kūḍal Kiḷān, Puriṣai kiḷān⁵ are some of the families that were transferred from Cholamaṇḍalam when Tonḍamaṇḍalam was conquered. He is in no way connected with the Śambuvarayans. Kaṇḍan Mādhavan who figures in the Niḍūr inscription is not a relation of this Pallavarāyan as he hails from Miḷalai, and belonged to Kaṇḍan

5. சேக்கிழார் புராணம் செய். 12.

family. We find a kuḷatūḷan family distributed all over Tonḍa-maṇḍalam. Mention is made of one Tiruvīthi Munivan of Kārikai-kuḷatūḷan in No. 182 of 94 who attests a document at Tirukkaḷuk-kuṇṇam in the 37th year of Kulōttunga III.⁶ Vēdavanamuḍaiyān alias Anṇan Pallavarāyan who distributed the lands to the relations of Pallavarāyan and Rājarāja II seems to be the successor of Tiruchirāmbalamuḍaiyān in office, and interested in the Chola family in general. Anṇan Pallavarāyan fights another battle against the Pāndyas in the 12th year of Rājādhirāja II. But he hails from Mēmalai-Pāḷayanūr, or Tiruvāḷangādu containing the famous shrine where Karaikkal Ammaiār obtained bliss.

Among the places mentioned in the Pallavarāyanpēṭṭai Inscription, Rājādhirājan-kūḷattūr has to be identified with a small village named Kūḷattūr near Aivanallūr and Korukkai, 7 miles north-west of Māyavaram. Pallavarāyanpēṭṭai is in Indalūr nāḍu and Kūḷattūr is in Korukkai nāḍu. There is also a village named Singanallūr very near to these places.

Ballappa Daṇṇāyaka¹

By

A. VENKATASUBBIAH

IN HIS book, *Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions*, the late B. L. Rice has observed on p. 110 that the founders of the Vijayanagar empire were 'probably subordinates of or connected with the Hoysalas,' and, in support of this observation, made the following statement in the footnote :

"A Ballappa-daṇṇāyaka, described as a son of the Hoysala king Ballāla III, appears in several inscriptions at the close of the Hoysala period, down to Mr. 16 of 1343. And in Sg. 1 of 1346 we find Ballappa-daṇṇāyaka as a son-in-law of the first Vijayanagar king, Harihara I. Moreover in Yd. 29 appears a son of Ballāla, called Hampe-Vodeyar. Now, Hampe (the ancient Pampa) is still the name for the site of Vijayanagar."

These statements are the basis of similar ones that have been made, with additions and modifications, by Father H. Heras in his book, *Beginnings of Vijayanagara History* (p. 92) and Dr. B. A. Saletore in an article published in Vol. 62 (p. 1 ff) of the *Indian Antiquary*. According to Fr. Heras, Ballappa-daṇṇāyaka² was not the son, but the nephew of Ballāla III, and the second son of Dāḍi Sōmaya-daṇṇāyaka who was married to a sister of Ballāla III. According to Dr. Saletore (see p. 3, l.c.), the word *kumāra* employed in the inscriptions referred to by Rice and Heras (namely, EC. X, Mr. 10, 12, 16, 18) refers to Ballappa-daṇṇāyaka's elder brother Śiṅgeya-daṇṇāyaka and not to Ballappa-daṇṇāyaka himself: it was their father Sōmaya-daṇṇāyaka who was the son of Ballāla III, and hence Ballappa-daṇṇāyaka was the grandson of that Hoysala king.

1. The following abbreviations are used in the course of this paper :—
EC for Epigraphia Carnatica ;
MAR for Mysore Archaeological Report ; and
MER for Madras Epigraphist's Annual Report.

2. The name Ballappa is written as Vallappa and Vaḷḷappa in Tamil inscriptions, and as Ballappa also, the name Śiṅge-daṇṇāyaka as Śiṅgaya-, Śiṅgeya-, Śiṅga-, Śiṅgana-, Śiṅgappa-daṇṇāyaka, etc., and the name Sōmaya-daṇṇāyaka as Sōmeya-, Sōmaṇa-, Sōma-daṇṇāyaka, etc., also. In this paper, I have mostly made use of the forms Ballappa-daṇṇāyaka, Śiṅgeya-daṇṇāyaka and Sōmaya-daṇṇāyaka respectively.

Both scholars agree however with Rice in thinking that this Ballappa-danṇāyaka is identical with the Ballappa-danṇāyaka mentioned in Sg. 1 as the 'son-in-law' of Harihara I; and further, both agree in saying that Dāḍi Sōmaya-danṇāyaka belonged to the Hoysala family. According to Dr. Saletore, the epithet *rājānvaya-pradhānam* that is applied to Sōmaya-danṇāyaka in Ht. 43 shows 'that he was a *pradhāna* belonging to the royal house', that is, a *pradhāna* who was the son of Ballāla III himself (see the genealogical table given on p. 11, l. c.). According to Fr. Heras (p. 91, *op. cit.*), the name Sōmaya itself shows that the *danḍanāyaka* belonged to the Sōma-vaṃśa or lunar line [of Kṣatriyas], the office of *danḍanāyaka* and his other titles (*mahāmaṇḍaleśvara*, great minister, king's house minister, chief minister and king) that he was a kṣatriya, and the alliances of his family with those of Ballāla III and Harihara [of Vijayanagar], that he was a member of the Yādava-kula; and he also conjectures that this Sōmaya-danṇāyaka was a descendant of the Keśirāja mentioned on p. 75 *op. cit.*

These Statements are all Incorrect.

1. The Ballappa-danṇāyaka in question was neither son, nephew, nor grandson of the Hoysala king Ballāla III, but only an officer in his service. He is mentioned in about twenty-four inscriptions published in Vols. VI, IX and X of the *Epigraphia Carnatica*, and ranging in date from A.D. 1314 (IX, Bp. 28; p. 170) to 30th July 1344 (VI, Cm. 105; p. 122). One of these inscriptions (IX, Ht. 96; p. 121) refers to him as *dēvar kumārargaḷil Śiṅgadaṇṇāyakka-tambiyār Vallappa-danṇāyakkar* and thus says that he was a *kumāra* of Ballāla III and younger brother of Śiṅgeya-danṇāyaka; and four others (X, Mr. 10, 12, 13, 18) describe him as *Vīra-Vallāla-dēvar kumārār Dāḍi Śiṅge-danṇāyakkar tambiyār Vallappa-danṇāyakkar* which has been interpreted differently as 'Vallappa-danṇāyaka, younger brother of Śiṅge-danṇāyaka, who was the son of Vīra-Ballāla-dēva' and as 'Vallappa-danṇāyaka, younger brother of Śiṅge-danṇāyaka, and son of Vīra-Ballāla-dēva'. Four other inscriptions (X, Bp. 10, 28; Mr. 16, 82; pp. 164, 170, 192, 211) say merely that he was the younger brother of Śiṅge-danṇāyaka, while three others (IX, Ht. 134, p. 129; X, Mr. 28, p. 196; VI, Cm. 105, p. 122) speak of him as the son of Dāḍi Sōmaya-danṇāyaka. One inscription (IX, Ht. 90, p. 120) speaks of him as the son of Dāḍi Sōmaya-danṇāyaka and younger brother of Śiṅge-danṇāyaka.

It is mentioned in X, Bp. 28 (p. 170) of 1314, Bp. 10 (p. 164) of 1337, VI, Cm. 105 (p. 122) of 1344 and other inscriptions that he was a *mahā-pradhāna* of Ballāla III, while IX, Ht. 134 (p. 129) of 1336

gives him the title of *mahā-pasāyita*. X, Kl. 32 (p. 7) of 1342 mentions Cauḍiakka as his chief wife³ (? *pradhāna-kalāvati*) while X, Mb. 160 (p. 137) of 1338 mentions a . . . na Sāhani as a *kumāra* of this Ballappa-danṇāyaka. Fr. Heras (*op. cit.* p. 92) and Dr. Saletore (l. c., p. 3, n) believe that Ballappa-danṇāyaka had a son named Tanan, and that his name is mentioned in EC. X, Mr. 18. According to Mr. R. Narasimhachar, however, *tanan* is not a proper name at all, but seems to denote 'place' (*sthānam*); and he translates the relevant passage in the above-mentioned inscription as 'at Tēkkal which was the ? residence of Vallappa-danṇāyakkar's son' in MAR for 1913-14, p. 45.

Besides this Ballappa-danṇāyaka, there are mentioned in inscriptions the following officers also who bore that name who too were serving Ballāla III :

(i) XI, Cd. 4 (p. 5) of 1328, mentions a *mahā-pradhāna* Ballappa-danṇāyaka and his younger brother Śiṅgeya-danṇāyaka, who were the sons of the *mahā-pradhāna* Bēba-danṇāyaka.

(ii) XI, Cd. 6 (p. 6) of 1338 mentions a 'senior' (*hiriya*) Ballappa-danṇāyaka, son of Rāmeya-danṇāyaka, who held the office of *mahā-pradhāna* and whose sign manual was *Śrī-mahālakṣmī-nātha*. This Ballappa is perhaps identical with the *hiriya*-Ballappa-danṇāyaka who, with his elder brother Sōme-danṇāyaka, is mentioned in XI, Hk. 2 (p. 191) which applies to Ballāla the title *Pāṇḍyarāya-pratiṣṭhāpanācārya* and therefore belongs to the reign of Ballāla III.

The date *Śaka-varṣa* 1136 *neya Śrīmukha-saṃvatsarada* . . given in the inscription is therefore obviously incorrect.

(iii) X, Kl. 54 (p. 6) of 1339 also mentions a 'senior' (*periya*) Vallappa-danṇāyaka whom it describes as a *kumāra* of Ballāla III. There is no means of determining whether this officer is identical with the one mentioned immediately above.

(iv) IX, Ht. 49 (p. 115), dated in the year Vikrama, that is, in 1345 A.D. mentions a Teṅgal Vallappa-danṇāyaka, i.e., a Vallappa-danṇāyaka of Teṅgal (Tēkal?). We do not know if he is identical with Dāḍi Vallappa-danṇāyaka who is mentioned in several inscriptions found at Tēkal.

3. Rice's translation here is very wide of the mark.

(v) I, X, Ct. 185 (p. 211 ; Kannaḍa text p. 351) of 1341 mentions a Ballappa-daṇṇāyaka about whose identity nothing can be said.

(vi) X, Kl. 102 (p. 31) of 1293 refers to a Vallappa-daṇṇāyaka as *vīra-Vallāḷa-dēvar kumārara Narasiṅgappa-daṇṇāyakar kummarar Vallappa-daṇṇāyakkar*. This expression can signify either 'Vallappa-daṇṇāyaka, son of Narasiṅgappa-daṇṇāyaka who was the son of Vīra-Ballāḷa-dēva or 'Vīra-Ballāḷa-dēva's son Narasiṅgappa-daṇṇāyaka, (and, Vīra-Ballāḷa-dēva's) son Vallappa-daṇṇāyaka'. Now the name *Narasiṅgappa* is the same as *Narasimha* whose abbreviated forms are *Simha*, *Siṅgaṇa*, *Siṅgeya*, etc. ; and it is possible therefore that the inscription (according to the second of the interpretations given above) refers to a Siṅge-daṇṇāyaka and a Vallappa-daṇṇāyaka who were both kumāras of Ballāḷa III. Whether these two officers were identical with Dāḍi Siṅgeya-daṇṇāyaka and his brother Vallappa, there is no means of determining ; but the early date, 1293 A.D. of the inscription seems to speak against the identity.

2. Like his brother Ballappa-daṇṇāyaka, Dāḍi Siṅgeya-daṇṇāyaka too is mentioned in about 24 inscriptions published in EC. The earliest of them is IX, Ht. 84 (p. 146) dated in 1296 A.D., and the latest, X, Mr. 8 (p. 189) of the year 1339. It is stated in many of these inscriptions that he was the son of Dāḍi Sōmaya-daṇṇāyaka, elder brother of Ballappa-daṇṇāyaka, and *mahā-pradhāna* of Ballāḷa III. IX, Kn. 47 (see MAR for 1922, p. 11) of 1318 A.D., mentions as his son a certain Jayadeva, who, without doubt, is the same as the one mentioned in Kn. 69 (the reading *Jāvideva* seems to be an error for *Jayadeva*) of the same year as the son of Dāḍi Sōmeya-daṇṇāyaka (see MAR for 1922, p. 11) ; and it is hence plain that the word 'son' in both the inscriptions is used as a title, and that Jaya-dēva was in reality the subordinate of Dāḍi Sōmeya-daṇṇāyaka, and of his son Siṅgeya-daṇṇāyaka.

Besides this Siṅgeya-daṇṇāyaka, there are mentioned in the inscriptions the following eight or nine officers who bore that name and were in the service of Ballāḷa III :—

(i) XI, Cd. 4 (p. 5) of 1328 mentions, as we have seen above, a *mahā-pradhāna* Siṅgeya-daṇṇāyaka who was the son of Bēbe-daṇṇāyaka.

(ii) XI, Cd. 1 (p. 1) of 1310 mentions a Siṅgeya-daṇṇāyaka who was the *aliya* (son-in-law or nephew) of *mahā-pradhāna* . . . ya-daṇṇāyaka. Perhaps he is identical with the Siṅgeya-daṇṇāyaka

who is mentioned as the son of mayduna-Sōmaya-daṇṇāyaka and the father of hiriya-Rāmaya-daṇṇāyaka in two inscriptions in Bāgavālu (see MAR for 1912-13, p., 41).

(iii) IX, Ht. 139 (p. 130) of 1315 mentions a *mahā-pradhāna* Tamma-Siṅgeya-daṇṇāyaka.

(iv) IX, Cp. 12 (p. 171) of 1319 mentions a Siṅgeya-daṇṇāyaka who was the son of Chikkeya-sāhaṇi and whose sign manual was *śrī-Nandinātha*.

(v) IX, Cp. 10 (p. 171) of 1318 mentions a *mahā-pradhāna* Siṅgeya-daṇṇāyaka who was the son of vīra-Sōmaya-daṇṇāyaka.

(vi) IX, Cp. 98 (p. 193) of 1326 mentions a *mahā-pradhāna* Siṅgeya-daṇṇāyaka (so read instead of *Siṅgōva-daṇṇāyaka* printed in the text) who was the son of Sūrai (i.e., Sūraya)-daṇṇāyaka.

(vii) X, Kl. 70 (p. 19) of 1330 mentions a Siṅgeya-daṇṇāyaka who was a *pradhāna* of Ballāḷa III ; we do not know if he is identical with any of the Siṅgeya-daṇṇāyakas mentioned above.

(viii) As already mentioned above, X, Kl. 102 (p. 31) of 1293 mentions a *pratāpa-cakravatti śrī-Pōśala-vīra-Vallāḷa-dēvar kumārara Narasiṅgappa-daṇṇāyakkar kummarar Vallappa-daṇṇāyakkar*. This Narasiṅgappa-daṇṇāyaka is probably different from the Siṅgeya-daṇṇāyakas mentioned above and from Dāḍi Siṅgeya-daṇṇāyaka also.

(ix) IV, Hs. 82 (p. 147) of 1338 mentions a *mahā-pradhāna* Siṅgeya-daṇṇāyaka who had the titles *immaḍi-rāvutta-rāya*, *Nilagiri-sādhāra* and *śitagara-gaṇḍa*.

(x) XII, Tp. 83 (p. 94) of 1333 mentions a Toya Siṅgeya-daṇṇāyaka ; he is mentioned in VIII, Sa. 135 (p. 225) also of the year 1320 with his son Devappa-daṇṇāyaka.

(xi) XII, Tp. 84 (p. 74) of 1304 mentions a Siṅgeya-daṇṇāyaka who with his elder brother Baicheya-daṇṇāyaka⁴ was the *mahā-pradhāna* of Ballāḷa III.

3. Dāḍi Sōmeya-daṇṇāyaka too is mentioned in many inscriptions published in EC. In the great majority of them, however, his

4. This Baicheya-daṇṇāyaka is perhaps identical with the Vayichappa-daṇḍanāyaka who is mentioned in an inscription of Ballāḷa III at Mūḍakēri in the S. Kanara District (No. 122 of 1901 ; see MER for 1901, p. 17) of the year 1336 A.D.

mention is preliminary to that of his son Śiṅgeya-danṇāyaka or Ballappa-danṇāyaka, and it cannot be said that he was living at the time when these inscriptions were written. But, III, Ml. 122 of 1313 A.D. seems to belong to his time; it registers a partition deed (see MAR for 1920, p. 34) given in 1313 to Mallappanāga-panḍita in the presence of Dāḍi Sōmeya-danṇāyaka's son Kālāñji Gummaṇa. Similarly, IX, Kn. 69 too, referred to above, of 1318 A.D. which mentions his son Jāvidēva (or Jayadēva) seems to belong to his time; but as IX, Kn. 47 of the same year describes Jayadēva as the son of Dāḍi Śiṅgeya-danṇāyaka, it follows that Sōmeya-danṇāyaka must have died in that year.⁵

(a) Dāḍi Sōmeya-danṇāyaka is different from mayduna-Sōmeya-danṇāyaka who is mentioned in an inscription at Bāgavāla (MAR for 1912-13; p. 40); see Dr. Saletore's article referred to above, pp. 1, 2. He is likewise different from Khaṇḍeyarāya Sōmeya-danṇāyaka mentioned in V, Bl. 24 (p. 119) of 1299 as a *mahā-pradhāna*, from Sōmeya-danṇāyaka mentioned in XI, Hk. 2 (p. 191) of the time of Ballāla III, and from the vīra-Sōmapa-danṇāyaka who is mentioned in IX, Kn. 104 (p. 167) of 1316 as a *kumāra* of Ballāla III. This vīra-Sōmapa-danṇāyaka is perhaps identical with the *mahā-pradhāna* vīra-Sōmapa-danṇāyaka who, with his son Śiṅgeya-danṇāyaka, is mentioned in IX, Cp. 10 (p. 171) of 1318.⁶

(b) An inscription at Māgēnahalli (IX, Cp. 73; p. 182) of 1318 mentions a *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Sōmarasa as the 'house-minister' (*maneya pradhāna*) of Ballāla III. This Sōmarasa is identified by Fr. Heras (*op. cit.*, p. 91) with Dāḍi Sōmeya-danṇāyaka; but this

5. An inscription of Jōḍi-Bāchahalli (noticed in MAR for 1922, p. 11) of 1328 mentions a Vaśamappa-danṇāyaka as the son of Dāḍi Sōmeya-danṇāyaka. The title *danḍanāyaka* seems to show that this Vaśamappa was really the son of Sōmeya-danṇāyaka; and it cannot therefore be asserted on the strength of this inscription that Sōmeya-danṇāyaka was living in 1328.

Dr. Saletore has referred (*l.c.*, p. 2, n. 11) to IX, Ht. 43 (p. 114) of 1339 as showing that Sōmeya-danṇāyaka was living in that year. The inscription however reads *Dāḍiya Sōmaya . . . saravara putranu . . .* and thus refers to a son of Sōmeya-danṇāyaka. It thus belongs to the time of Sōmeya-danṇāyaka's son, and not necessarily to the time of Sōmeya-danṇāyaka himself.

6. A *mahā-pradhāna* Sōmeya-danṇāyaka, about whom nothing more is known, is mentioned in a Bēlūr inscription (noticed in MAR for 1911, p. 50) belonging to 1293-1298 A.D.; and a *mahā-pradhāna* Sōmaiya-danḍanāyaka in IX, Kn. 75 (p. 154) of 1313. It is probable that the latter is identical with Dāḍi Sōmeya-danṇāyaka.

identification is without doubt wrong. The title *mahā-maṇḍalēśvara* shows that the Sōmarasa who bore it was a feudatory and the hereditary ruler of a province, while the title *danḍanāyaka* of Dāḍi Sōmeya shows that he was only an officer of the king. Further, it is shown by the inscription that the sign manual of Sōmarasa was *śrī-Sūryanātha*, and so far as we know, this sign manual was not at any time used by Dāḍi Sōmeya-danṇāyaka.

It is the opinion of Dr. Saletore too (*l.c.*, p. 2, n. 11) that the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Sōmarasa was different from Dāḍi Sōmeya-danṇāyaka. But the ground on which he bases this opinion, namely, 'Sōmarasa is called *aramaneya pradhāna* (house-minister)' in EC. IX, Cp. 73; and an *aramaneya pradhāna* and a *mahā-pradhāna* have never been the same in Karnāṭaka history' cannot bear examination. For, an inscription at Atṭūr (EC. IX, Ht. 90) begins with the words *svasti śrī Poysala-śrī-vīra-Vallāla-dēvar aramanaiyil śrīmanu-mahā-pradhānan Dāti Sōmaya-deṇṇāyakkar varaputtiran Śiṅgeya-deṇṇāyakkar tambi Vallappa-deṇṇāyakkar manaiyil śrīmanu-mahā-prasāyittan*, and says explicitly that Vallappa-danṇāyaka, son of Dāḍi Sōmeya-danṇāyaka, was *aramaneya mahāpradhāna* of Ballāla III. Compare also the words *kumāra-Kampanṇa-Voḍeyara aramaneya śrīman-mahā-pradhāna Sōmappa-Voḍeyara nirūpadim* used in EC. X, Mb. 58 (p. 107) and the words *avar araimanai mahā-pradhāni Sōmappa-uḍaiyavar niruvadinda* used in *ibid.* Kl. 203 (p. 70) of the year 1361 A.D. in connection with Kampana's *mahā-pradhāna* Sōmappa-Voḍeyar. This Sōmappa is referred to in Kl. 222 (p. 73) as *mantrī tasya mahānubhāva-matibhāmatyo guṇānām kulaiḥ satyācāra-samasta . . . turas sampūrṇa-bhāgyōnnataḥ śrēyān Sōmapa ity udāra-mahimā*.

(c) Fr. Heras is likewise mistaken in his opinion (*op. cit.*, p. 91) that the epithet *rājānvaya-pradhānam* applied to Dāḍi Sōmeya-danṇāyaka in EC. IX, Ht. 43 indicates that he was a king. This epithet is preceded in the inscription by the word *tasya* which refers to Ballāla III, and it signifies that Sōmeya-danṇāyaka was the hereditary *pradhāna* of that king, that is, that Sōmeya-danṇāyaka's ancestors too had served Ballāla III's ancestors as *pradhānas*. Compare in this connection the epithets *ā-pratāpa-cakravartig anvayā-gata-pradhānam pradhāna-cūḍā-ratnam niyōga—Yōgamdharan*

7. Fr. Heras, on p. 91, n. 3 *op. cit.*, says that another inscription also, namely, 'Ep. Carn., IV, Cn. 73', states that Dāḍi Sōmeya-danṇāyaka was the king's 'house-minister.' I am unable to find out what inscription he has in mind.

that are applied to Harihara-daṇḍanāyaka, *pradhāna* of Narasiṃha II in EC. III, Md. 121 (p. 112), the words *anvayāgata-pradhāna-santatiyūṃ tanage dharma-santatiyūṃ emba bahu-mānadim* used in connection with *immaḍi-daṇḍanāyaka* Bittiyaṇṇa or Viṣṇuvardhana, *mahā-pradhāna* of king Viṣṇuvardhana in EC. V, Bl. 17 (p. 116), the epithet *kula-kramāgata* and the epithet *Kaṇci-goṇḍa Vikrama-Gaṅga-Viṣṇuvardhana-dēvānvayāgata-mahāpracaṇḍadaṇḍanātha-padavi-paṭṭa-raṇjita-niṭilārdhēndu-maṇḍalaruṃ* that are applied to the *daṇḍanāyaka*s Mariyāne and Bharata, *mahā-pradhāna*s of King Viṣṇuvardhana in EC. VI, Cm. 160 (p. 138), and the epithet *mahāmantri-pradhānānvaye jātah* that is applied to Brahma-daṇḍanāyaka, *mahā-pradhāna* of King Sōmēśvara in EC. V, Cn. 238 (p. 500; p. 503).

The expression *tasya rājānvaya-pradhānam* in the above inscription is thus equivalent to *tasya rājāṇaḥ anvayāgata-pradhānam*; and Rice's translation of it as 'the minister descended from that king (*tasya rājānvaya*) Dāḍiya Sōmaya' is manifestly wrong. Dr. Sale-tore's belief (l.c., p. 11), based on this translation, that Sōmaya-daṇḍāyaka was the son of Ballāla III, is likewise wrong.

(d) Further, the belief of Fr. Heras (*op. cit.*, p. 91), that the very name Sōmaya borne by this *daṇḍanāyaka* 'discloses that he belonged to the Lunar Race [of Kṣatriyas]' is likewise erroneous. EC. III, TN. 97 and 101 of 1276 A.D., for instance, mention a Sōmaya-daṇḍāyaka⁸ who was the *mahā-pradhāna* and 'son' of

8. Mr. R. Narasimhachar's opinion (MAR for 1916, p.55, §90) that this Sōmaya-daṇḍāyaka is identical with the Sovanna-daṇḍāyaka mentioned in EC. XII, Tp.2,4,8 (of the years 1263, 1267 and 1258) is incorrect. The name of the latter officer is given as Sōmanātha in Tp. 8, and it is said in all the three inscriptions that he was the *mahā-pradhāna* and *sandhi-vigrahi* of King Narasiṃha III. He established the Turuvekere agrahāra in 1258 naming it Vijayanarasimha-pura after his master Narasiṃha III (Tp.8); and his sign manual was *Śrī-Harihara* written in Nāgarī characters. (Tp. 2). There is no doubt therefore that he is identical with the Harihara-Sōvanna-daṇḍāyaka who is mentioned in a Mūgūr inscription of 1279 (MAR for 1912, p.45) as the *sandhi-vigrahi* of Narasiṃha III. According to this inscription, he had two younger brothers named Rēcaya-daṇḍāyaka and Bommanṇa-daṇḍāyaka, and had the birudas 'adamantine cage to the refugees' (*Śaraṇāgata-vajra-paṇjara*) and 'unshaken warrior.'

The name of the former *daṇḍanāyaka* too is given as Sōmanātha in Dg. 36 (see p.76, line 14: *sat-prāsādam kanaka-kalāsais Sōmanātho'bhyadhatta*); and it is said in EC. III, TN.97 and 101 that he too established an agrahāra, the Sōmanāthapura-agrahāra, in his own name in 1276. But he was a *mahā-*

Narasiṃha III and had the birudas *gāyi-gōvāla*, *gaṇḍa-peṇḍāra*, *maṇḍalika-jūbu*, etc.; and these inscriptions, as also others, show that this *daṇḍanāyaka* possessed a power and influence in the reign of Narasiṃha III that was not less than what Dāḍi Sōmeya-daṇḍāyaka had in the reign of Ballāla III. And yet, he did not belong to the Lunar Race; nor was he a kṣatriya even. He belonged in fact to the fourth or Śūdra caste as is explicitly stated in EC. XII, Dg. 36; compare the words *dhātā nūtana-viśva-sambhava-kalā-prāga-bhīyam abhy-asyati || vaṃśas tat-pāda-janmā jagati vijayate* and *śrī-Lakṣmī-nātha-nābhī-naḷinaja-nīja-pādābjadimpāda vaṃśam* that are used in lines 10, 61 of that inscription in connection with his ancestors.

(e) On p. 75 ff. in *op. cit.*, Fr. Heras has referred to a family of *daṇḍanāyaka*s each generation of which is said, in EC, V, Cn. 244 (p. 510 ff.) to have held office under the Hoysala kings; and he believes not only that this was a kṣatriya family, but that Dāḍi Sōmeya-daṇḍāyaka and also the Vijayanagara rulers Bukka, Harihara, etc., were descended from it. It is, however, explicitly said in that inscription itself (p. 510, last two lines) that these *daṇḍanāyaka*s were descended from Agastya (*agastya-pravara-prakhyātar*), that is, were Brāhmanas by caste. This statement is repeated in an inscription at Ambale (EC. VI, Cm. 20, p. 99) which applies to them the epithet *agastya-gōtra-tilakar*, while eight lines later on in the same inscription, the more general statement is made that these *daṇḍanāyaka*s were born in the Karmāṭaka-kula, that is, that they belong-

pradhāna only of Narasiṃha III and not a *sandhi-vigrahi*. The following birudas are applied to him in Dg. 36: *Śrīman-mahāpradhānam mantri-mānikyam nīti-Cānakyaṃ niyōga-Yōgandharam pati-kārya-dhuraṇḍharam ativiśama-hayārūḍha-prauḍha-rēkhā-Rēvantam para-bala-krtāntam svikāra-sārōdayam annadānasvarṇadāna-kanyādāna-bhūdāna-gōdānādi-sakala-dāna-vinōdanuṃ gōtra-pavitram maṇḍalika-jūbu gāyi-gōvāla gaṇḍa-peṇḍāra svāmi-vañcakara-gaṇḍa*. Almost the same birudas are applied to him in TN.97 and 101 while an inscription at Halēbid (noticed in MAR for 1911, p.49) of 1265 applies to him the birudas *gāyi-gōvāla*, *gaṇḍa-peṇḍāra* and *vairimanneya-jūbu* only. Dg. 36 states that he had an elder brother named Mēleya-daṇḍāyaka and a nephew (sister's son) Mallidēva (or Mallaya-daṇḍāyaka), and that he was the son of Heggade-nāyaka and Rēkale, and the grandson of Maileya-nāyaka and Rēvale.

The difference in the birudas applied to these two officers in inscriptions of almost the same year, and particularly, the absence of the titles *gāyi-gōvāla*, *gaṇḍa-peṇḍāra* and *maṇḍalikarajūbu* in the inscriptions mentioning the *sandhi-vigrahi* Sōvanna-daṇḍāyaka show conclusively that they were different persons.

ed to the subdivision of Brāhmaṇas known as Karnāṭakas.⁹ Compare in this connection the epithet *Karnāṭaka-vaṃśārṇavōdīrṇa-sudhāsūti* 'the moon born from the ocean of the Karnāṭa race,' and the sentence *karnāṭānvayakk eyde Bhāskaran ādam* 'he became a sun to the Karnāṭa race' that are used in EC. V, Ak. 127 (p. 390; lines 24 and 34) in connection with pergaḍe-Saṅkaṇṇa, a Sāmavēdi Brāhmaṇa of the Harita-gōtra. Since the Vijayanagara kings Bukka, Harihara, etc. are said in the inscriptions to be descendants of Yadu (the kṣatriya king of the Lunar Race), it is plain that they were kṣatriyas and could not have been descended from the above-mentioned Brāhmaṇa family belonging to the Agastya-gōtra.¹⁰ And as for Dāḍi Sōmeya-dannāyaka, we know nothing about his origin, and there is not the slightest ground for believing that he was a Brāhmaṇa of the Agastya-gōtra and descended from the above family.

4. The belief of Messrs. Rice, Heras and Saletore that the aḷiya-Ballappa-dannāyaka mentioned in EC. VI, Sg. 1 is identical with

9. This subdivision of Karnāṭaka Brāhmaṇas exists to this day also.

10. It is true that Rice has translated the expression *Yadu-vaṃśōdbhava-mantri* that is used as an epithet of Keśava-chamūnātha in the above inscription (p. 511, last line but one) as 'the minister Keśava-chamūnātha born in the Yadu-vaṃśa.' This is however manifestly incorrect since it has been said above in the inscription itself that Keśava-daṇḍanāyaka was born in the line of Agastya. The correct translation is, 'Keśava-daṇḍanāyaka who was the minister of those (kings) who were born in the line of Yadu.' Compare the epithet *Yadupati-sachivah* 'minister of the chief of Yadus (i.e., of Ballāla II born in the race of Yadu)' that is applied to the daṇḍanāyaka Paṇḍita in EC. V, Cn. 173 (p. 460, line 24).

The chief reason why Fr. Heras wants to affiliate the Vijayanagara kings Bukka, Harihara, etc., with the above-mentioned family of Keśirāja-daṇḍanāyaka seems to lie in the fact that the men born in this family were hereditary ministers of the Hoysala kings for five generations, or, if we include Beṭṭarasa, son of Keśirāja and minister of Sōmēśvara (See EC. VI, Cm. 20 and also V, Cn. 242), for seven generations. But, as we have seen above, four other daṇḍanāyakas have been described in the inscriptions as *anvayāgata-pradhāna* of Hoysala kings. Of these, not much is known about the daṇḍanāyakas Harihara, Viṣṇuvardhana and Brahma; but of the brothers Mariyāne and Bharata, a genealogy is given in EC. IV, Ng. 32 and VI, Cm. 160, 161. These inscriptions mention five generations of daṇḍanāyakas—(1) Dākarasa I, (2) Nākaṇa; Mariyāne I; (3) Māchaṇa; Dākarasa II, (4) Mariyāne II; Bharata I, (5) Mariyāne III; Bharata II; Bānubali; and Viṣṇuvardhana—who served six generations of Hoysala kings beginning with the predecessor of Vinayāditya. Their family moreover was really connected with that of the royal house of the Hoysalas by marriage, Ballāla I having married three daughters of Mariyāne I (See Ng. 32).

Dāḍi Ballappa-dannāyaka is unfounded. As we have seen above, there were at least four persons who bore the name Ballappa-dannāyaka and held office under Ballāla III, and there is nothing in the Śṛṅgeri inscription referred to above to show that the Ballappa-dannāyaka mentioned therein was identical with one of these four. On the contrary, the bald mention of 'aḷiya-Ballappa-dannāyaka' unaccompanied by any details about him seems to show that he had not held office under the Hoysalas at all. Compare, for instance, in this connection EC. VI, Cm. 160 (p. 139) which says of Dākarasa-daṇḍanāyaka, an officer (under the unknown Hoysala king who was the predecessor of Vinayāditya and perhaps under Vinayāditya too) in the newly-established Hoysala kingdom, that he was 'the sole head of the Gaṅga kingdom and of the Hoysala kingdom' (*Gaṅga-rājya-Poysala-rājyayakk ēka-prabhu*), that is, that he had held an office of high rank under the last Gaṅga king also. Compare also EC. V, Ak. 77 (p. 324) which records that *vasudhaika-bandhu* Rēcharasa set up the image of Jina in Arasikere, and for meeting the expenses of its worship, applied to and got from King Ballāla II the village of Handarahāla which he made over to the priest, Sāgarānandi, on behalf of the god. This inscription has mentioned that this Rēcharasa had been the minister of the Kaḷachurya kings (*Kaḷa-churya-kula-sachivōttamaṃ*).¹¹

These inscriptions show that it was the practice of writers of inscriptions when referring to persons who had held office in past kingdoms or under an extinct dynasty of kings to mention that fact in connection with them. This is a matter of courtesy; but the obligation to make such mention may be said to be imperative if, as believed by Dr. Saletore (l.c., p. 1) the pilgrimage recorded in Sg. 1 was really intended by the five sons of Saṅgama to be a 'public demonstration of their relationship with the royal family that preceded them.' The fact that, even when describing such an occasion, the epigraph has said nothing about Ballappa-dannāyaka's connection with the past Hoysala administration shows conclusively that this Ballappa had not been an officer of the Hoysalas at all.

Nor was Dāḍi Ballappa-dannāyaka a son, a nephew or grandson of Ballāla III. The offices of *mahā-pradhāna* and *daṇḍanāyaka* that

11. This statement is shown to be true by EC. VII, Sk. 96, 169, 197 which all belong to the Kaḷachurya kings. The first two mention that Rēcharasa was a *mahā-pradhāna* of Saṅkama and Ahavamalla, while the third states that he held the office of *bāhattara-niyōgādhipati* and *mahāprachanda-daṇḍanāyaka* also under the latter king.

he held, as also the fact that the inscriptions have explicitly said that he was the son of Sōmeya-dañṇāyaka and younger brother of Śiṅgeya-dañṇāyaka, show conclusively that the word *kumāra* used in connection with him has only a figurative sense, and that he was merely an officer of Ballāla III.¹²

12. This observation holds good of Dāḍi Sōmeya-dañṇāyaka and Dāḍi Śiṅgeya-dañṇāyaka also. The word *kumāra* used in connection with these too has only a figurative sense and shows that they were merely officers of Ballāla III.

References to Muhammadans in Sanskrit Inscriptions in Northern India—A.D. 730 to 1320

By

MR. RAMA SHANKAR AVASTHY & MR. AMALANANDA GHOSH.

HISTORIANS of Muslim India have been mostly contented to draw their account of the Muslim invasions and the spread of Muslim power in India from the Arabic and Persian sources of information. Contemporary coins and Persian inscriptions have also received attention, but Sanskrit inscriptions have been overlooked, or, at any rate, not used extensively for historical purposes.

Here we have tried to collect all the relevant passages from the Sanskrit inscriptions of northern India. We had to drop our original scheme of bringing them down to A.D. 1526, as that would have greatly added to the bulk of our article. The same considerations of space have led us to confine ourselves for the present to the inscriptions of northern India, the only exception to this being No. 38 below, which, though a southern inscription, refers to events of northern India.

It may appear from a perusal of the following pages that some of the inscriptions are not important for our purpose and could well have been left out. We have, however, included them for the sake of completeness without considering their importance. Still we cannot claim to have attained thoroughness, because the material lies interspersed in various journals, and it is just likely that some inscriptions have escaped our notice.

The following pages will show that the inscriptions are not only of corroborative value but at times add fresh facts to the stock of our knowledge. The respective importance of every inscription is dealt with below, and it will be noticed that some of the inscriptions are important even from the point of view of social and economic history.

The Hindus have been charged with utter carelessness about the ethnology of foreigners, and there is no doubt that the charge is very largely true. The word *Yavana*, originally denoting the Greeks, has been commonly used for the Muhammadans. 'Alā-al-Dīn has been called a Śaka (Scythian) in No. 49 below; nowhere

in c. 735. The verse refers to some Arab inroad which Nāgabhaṭa checked.

3. The Khalimpur grant¹³ of Dharma-Pāla (c. 770—815) of Bengal says :

भोजैर्मत्स्यैः समद्वैः कुरुयदुयवनावन्तिगन्धारकीरै-
भूपैर्व्यालोलमौलिप्रणतिपरिणतैः साधु संगीर्यमाणः ॥

‘Who (Dharma-Pāla) was rapidly accepted by the kings of Bhoja, Matsya, Madra, Kuru, Yadu, Yavana, Avanti, Gandhāra and Kīra, bowing repeatedly with their diadems trembling.’

As the Gandhāra and Yavana principalities are mentioned separately, the latter must refer to the Muḥammadan principality of Multan, which had been conquered by Muḥammad bin Qāsim and had been since then under Muslim rule. It has also been suggested that the Yavana referred to here was not a Muḥammadan power at all, but some foreign ruler in Central India.¹⁴

4. The Gwalior inscription mentioned above says about the the Pratihāra Nāgabhaṭa II :

आनर्त्त-मालव-किरात-तुरुष्क-वत्स-मत्स्यादि-राज-गिरिदुर्ग-हठापहारैः

‘By forcibly snatching away the hill-forts of Ānarta, Mālava, Kirāta, Turuṣka, Vatsa, Matsya and other kings.’

Al-Māsūdi, who visited India in c. 851 says about the kingdom of Kanauj that its king ‘has four armies, according to the four quarters of the wind. The army of the north wars against the prince of Multan and the Musalmans, his subjects on the frontier.’¹⁵ Nāgabhaṭa’s date is c. 800—835. The inscription refers to the traditional military policy of the Pratihāras, mentioned by Al-Masūdi.

5. The Dholpur inscription of Chaṇḍamahāsena the Chāhamāna, dated 852,¹⁶ says about that chief :

13. *El.*, 4, 247.

14. *IHQ.*, 4, 750.

15. Elliot, *History of India*, 1, 23.

16. *ZDMG.*, 40, 41.

चर्मव (र्मव)तीतद्वयसंस्थित(स्थ)म्लेच्छाधिपाः प्रवरसु(शू)राः।
इ(ई)प्सितणा (?) प्रनता (गताः) सेवां कुर्वन्ति यस्यानु ॥

‘Whom the brave *Mlēccha* lords living on both banks of the river Carmanvatī (Chambal ?) serve, bowing down.

As we have no record of the Muḥammadans having settled down in Rajputana or Central India at this early date, the *Mlēccha* lords referred to may be some other foreigners.

6. The Āmoda plates of Pṛthvideva I of the Kalachuri dynasty of Ratnapura¹⁷ says of Kokalla, the founder of the Kalachuri line of Tripurī :

काण्ण(कण्ण)टलाटपति-गूर्जरकोङ्कणेश-
साकंभरीपति-तु[रुष्क-र]घुद्गवानाम् ।
आदाय को[श]हरिदन्त(न्ति)चयं हटेन
स्तंभो जयस्य विहितो भुवि येन राज्ञा ॥

‘He forcibly snatched away the treasuries, horses and elephants of the Kaṇṇāṭa, Vaṅga, Gurjara, Koṇkaṇa, Śākambharī and Turuṣka and of those born in Raghu’s family, and made a pillar of victory in the world.’

Kokalla I has to be placed in the last part of the ninth or the beginning of the tenth century, when there does not seem to have been any Muḥammadan power with which Kokalla could have fought. The mention of the Turuṣkas (Turks) is therefore of no historical value. This is further supported by the fact that in no inscription of the main Kalachuri dynasty is Kokalla’s engagement with the Muḥammadans referred to.

7. The Chamba inscription of Somadeva and Āsaṭadeva¹⁸ says about Sāhilla, an ancestor of the family which ruled Chamba in the tenth century :

समरभरभमारुणारुष्क-तुरुष्क-विपुलबल-विशाल-शाखिनः ।

‘Of him (Sāhilla), who, like a widespreading tree, broke by

17. *El.*, 19, 78.

18. Vogel, *Antiquities of the Chamba State*, 1, 98, 193.

the weight of battle, the large healthy and fresh forces of the Turuṣkas.'

The editor of the inscription says that as the word Turuṣka was used to denote any foreign invader, it is impossible to decide who were the opponents of Sāhilla; they might have been mercenaries employed by one of the neighbouring chiefs.

8. An undated Mahoba inscription¹⁹ says about Dhaṅga of the Chandella dynasty :

सारेण यः स्वभुजयोर्भुवनातिभारं हवीरमप्यतिबलं तुलयांचकार ॥

'Who equalled even the valorous Hamvira,²⁰ the burden of the earth, by the prowess of his arms.'

The passage indicates that Dhaṅga was most probably involved in some fight with the Muḥammadans. Dhaṅga died some time between 998 and 1002; the verse may therefore be taken to refer to Subuktigin's second attack on Jayapāla of the Panjab, when, according to Firishṭa, the latter organized a confederacy of the leading princes of Hindustan to meet the foreign invader.²¹

9. The Udaipur inscription of the Paramāras of Malwa²² thus speaks of Bhoja, the famous king of the line :

चेदीश्वरेंद्ररथ-[तोग]ल-भीममुख्यान्कण्ठाटलाटपति-गूर्जरराट-तुरुष्कान् ।
यद्भृत्यमात्रविजितानवलोक्य मौला दोष्ण व(व)लानि कलयति न

[योद्धृ]लो[कान्] ॥

'Seeing the lords of Karnāta, Lāṭa, the king of Gūrjara, the Turuṣkas (and others) the chief among whom were the lords of Chedi, Indraratha, Toggala (?) and Bhīma, conquered by his mercenaries alone, his hereditary warriors thought only of the strength of their arms, not of the number of fighters.'

19. *EI.*, 1, 221.

20. *Hamvira* or *Hammira* is probably the Indian adaptation of the Arabic title *al-amir*. See Thomas, *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*, 50 n; Lane-Poole, *Coins of Sultāns of Delhi*, xxv.

21. Firishṭa Text, Lucknow, 20. The kings of Delhi, Ajmer, Kalinjar and Kanauj are said to have formed the confederacy. The mention of Delhi and Ajmer seems to be anachronistic.

22. *EI.*, 1, 235.

As Bhoja ruled from c. 997—1052, an engagement with Maḥmūd of Ghazna is probably referred to here. We must remember that according to Firishṭa the king of Ujjain was a member of the league of Ānandapāla.

The *Zainu'l Akhbar* of Al Gardizī mentions Paramdeo (=Paramāra-deva) as having blocked the way of Maḥmūd in his Somnāth expedition.²³ He is supported by Farrukhī in his *Qasidah* on Maḥmūd,²⁴ Firishṭa²⁵ and Niẓām-al-Dīn.²⁶ The last calls Paramdeo the most famous and renowned king of Hindustān, while the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* definitely styles him as Bhojdeo.²⁷

10. Āṇahilla, a member of the Chāhamāna family of Naddūla (Nadol), is said to have defeated a Turuṣka in the Sundha Hill inscription.²⁸ Though we have no direct date for Āṇahilla, it may be guessed from other inscriptions²⁹ that he was living in c. 1030. Maḥmūd at the end of 1025 or probably at the beginning of 1026 passed through the slopes of the Aravalli Hills. Todd says that Nadol was taken by Maḥmūd on his way from Multān to Somnāth,³⁰ though he mis-quotes Firishṭa in his support. Farrukhī does not mention Nadol, but speaks of *CHikudar* and *Ludrava Hills*.³¹ Āṇahilla probably confronted the Sultān somewhere near the Aravalli Hills.

11. The Bargaon (Darrang, Assam) grant of Ratnapāla³² says about him :

...वा(बा)हिकताइकान्त(त)इकारिणा....

'By him who created terror in the Bāhikas and Tāikas (=Tājikas, i.e., Arabs).'

23. *Zainu'l Akhbar*, ed. Nazim, Cambridge, 1, 84.

24. Nazim, *Sultān Maḥmūd*, 119.

25. Text, Lucknow, 34. V. N. Reu, *Rājā Bhoja* (in Hindi), 73, reads the name as Baram-deo and wrongly identifies him with Bhīma of Gujrat. According to Firishṭa, he was the king of Ajmer.

26. *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*, Text, Calcutta, 17.

27. Tr. Raverty, 155.

28. *EI.*, 9, 74.

29. De Cunha, *Origin of Bombay*, JBBRAS., Extra No. 49; Pr. Rep. Arch. Survey, W.C., 1908-9, 50.

30. Todd's *Rajasthan*, ed. Crooke, 1, 292.

31. Nazim, loc. cit., 216.

32. JASB., 67, 69. The description reminds one of Bāṇa's account of the exploits of Prabhākaravardhana.

The probable date of Ratnapāla is c. 1010—50, when Muslim arms had not penetrated as far as Assam. The description is valueless, unless Ratnapāla was powerful enough to have led his army to the west, and thus to have met Maḥmūd in one of his invasions.

12. The Badaun inscription of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Lakhanapāla of Vodāmayūtā (Badaun)³³ says about Madanapāla, the brother of the great-grandfather of Lakhanapāla :

यत्पौरुषात्प्रवरतः सुरसिन्धुतीरहम्बी(म्ब)रसंगमकथा न कदाचिदासीत् ॥

‘On account of whose (Madanapāla’s) distinguished prowess, there was never any talk of Hambīra’s coming to the banks of the river of the gods (i.e. the Ganges).’

This implies that Madanapāla successfully defended his kingdom against the Muḥammadans. The Hammīra referred to seems to be one of the successors of Maḥmūd who ruled Ghazna and Kabul, as Madanapāla seems to have lived in the eleventh or the twelfth century.

13. The Nagpur inscription³⁴ says about Lakṣmadeva of the Paramāra dynasty of Malwa (c. 1082—92) :

खेलोत्खाततुरुकदत्तविलसद्वाहवलीवेल्लन-
क्लाम्यत्कुङ्कुमकेसराधिकमृदौ वंक्षूपकण्ठस्थले ।
येनावास्य सरस्वतीसविधतासाधिव्यवाक्पाटव-
श्चादूनुत्कट[प]त्रिपञ्जरगतः कीराधिपोऽध्याप्यत ॥

‘Encamped on the banks of the river Vaṅkṣū which were rendered very soft because the saffron filaments on them were withering under the rolling of the teams of frisky horses presented by the Turuṣka whom he had eradicated with ease, he taught the Kīra chief to utter most flattering speeches, who, on account of the proximity of the Sarasvatī, was eloquent beyond measure, shut up in a big cage.’

D. R. Bhandarkar draws our attention³⁵ to the fact that this lapidary account of the military exploits of Lakṣmadeva closely fol-

lows that of Raghu in Kālidāsa’s *Raghuvamśa*, Canto iv. It may therefore be held that the description is purely conventional and is of no historical value. In particular we may note that saffron is associated with the river Vaṅkṣū (Oxus) as in *Raghuvamśa*, iv. 67, and the horses of Lakṣmadeva are said to have rolled on the bank of the river in the same way as those of the hero of Kālidāsa. The Turuṣkas of the inscription have their prototype in the Hūnas of Kālidāsa. Moreover, it is impossible to comprehend why Lakṣmadeva had to go to the Oxus to fight the Turuṣkas, who were now settled much nearer home. These facts make us doubt the truth of the statement in the inscription.

We may, however, note that Maḥmūd, the son of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm of Ghazna invaded Central India in the last quarter of the eleventh century.³⁶

14. The Rahan inscription of Madanapāla³⁷ says that Govindachandra, the Gāhaḍavāla, defeated the Muḥammadans while still a prince :

हम्मीरन्यस्तवैरं मुहुरसमरणक्रीडया यो विधत्ते ॥

‘Who (Govindachandra) again and again by the play of his matchless fighting makes the Hammīra lay aside his enmity.’

This obviously refers to some of the minor inroads of the Muḥammadans and illustrates their frequency and wide range.

15. The Sarnath inscription of Kumaradevi³⁸ contains the following verse about Govindachandra of the Gāhaḍavāla dynasty (1114—55) of Kanauj and Benares :

वाराणसीं भुवनरक्षणदक्ष एको दुष्टातुरुष्कसुभटादवितुं हरेण ।
उक्तो हरिस्स पुनरत्र बभूव तस्माद्गोविन्दचन्द्र इति³⁹प्रथिताभिधानः ॥

‘Hari (Viṣṇu) had been commissioned by Hara (Śiva) to protect Vārāṇasī (Benares) from the wicked Turuṣka fighter; Hari was born again from him (Madanapāla). The son was famous by the name of Govindachandra.’

36. Elliot, 4, 524.

37. IA., 18, 16.

38. EI., 9, 319.

39. Read इति [यः] to suit the metre.

33. EI., 1, 64.

34. EI., 2, 188.

35. List of Northern Inscriptions, 27, n.8.

We are told by Minhāj that during the Sulṭānate of Mas'ūd (c. 1079—1115). Hājib Tughatgīn crossed the Ganges and reached a place where no other army except that of Maḥmūd had penetrated till now.⁴⁰ According to the *Dīwān* of Salman, the Muslim army conquered Kanauj.⁴¹ We are not sure whether Govindachandra encountered the Muḥammadan army as a prince or as a king, for the periods of Mas'ūd (c. 1079—1115) and Govindachandra (c. 1114—1155) hardly coincided.

16. The Kamauli copper-plate⁴² has the following verse about Vijayachandra of the Gāhaḍavāla dynasty (c. 1155—70):

भुवनदलनहेलाहर्ष्य हम्मीरनारीनयनजलदधारा[रा]शान्तभूलोक्तावः (पः) ॥

'Who (Vijayachandra) removed the affliction (or heat) of the earth by the stream pouring forth from the clouds that were the eyes of the wives of the Hammira, who was the home of easily crushing the earth.'

No war between the Gāhaḍavālas and the Yāminīs in this period has been mentioned by Muḥammadan historians. Does it refer to some invasion of Bahrām Shāh who had to fly to Hindūstān out of fear of the Ghūrīs? ⁴³

17. Many copper-plate grants of the Gāhaḍavālas of Kanauj, while specifying the taxes which were to be appropriated by the donee, mention a tax called *Turuṣka-daṇḍa*. Many interpretations of the term have been proposed. According to C. V. Vaidya it is a tax levied on the people to be given as tribute to the Muḥammadan rulers of the north-west.⁴⁴ In this he is followed by D. C. Ganguly, who supports this interpretation on the ground that, according to Salman, Chanda Rai (probably Chandradeva, the first Gāhaḍavāla king) began his career as the officer in charge of the elephant-stable built at Kanauj by Maḥmūd, son of Ibrāhīm of Ghazna.⁴⁵

Though this is a likely view there are some difficulties involved in it. A tax to be paid away as tribute should have accrued to the

royal treasury and not been allotted to the Brāhmaṇas to whom lands were granted. Moreover, why should Govindachandra and Vijayachandra, both of whom claim to have defeated the Muḥammadans, have continued to pay the tax?

V. A. Smith proposed that it was tax levied to ward off the Muḥammadan invasions of the north-west,⁴⁶ but this view is open to the first of the above objections.

The most probable view seems to be that of Sten Konow⁴⁷ and D. R. Bhandarkar⁴⁸ both of whom take it to be a tax levied on the Muḥammadan settlers in the Gāhaḍavāla dominion.

18. The Delhi-Siwalik pillar inscription of Visaladeva of the Chāhamāna dynasty of Śākambharī,⁴⁹ dated 1164, thus describes the king:

आर्यावर्तं यथार्थं पुनरपि कृतवान्मलेच्छविच्छेदनाभि-
र्देवः शाकम्भरीन्द्रो जगति विजयते वीसलक्षोणिपालः ॥

'The glorious king Visala, the lord of Śākambharī, again made Āryāvarta really the home of the Āryas by extirpating the Mlecchas.'

This may refer to some defeat that KHusru SHāh might have suffered when he fled to Hindūstān.

19. A stone inscription, dated 1167, found at Hansi (Hissar district, Panjab), says that Prthvirāja I of the Chāhamāna dynasty entrusted to his maternal uncle Kilhaṇa the fort of Āsikā (Hansi), to be protected against the Hammira :⁵⁰

मत्वा हम्मीरवीरं निखिलवसुमतीशल्यभूतं प्रभूतं
योग्योसौ वीरगोष्ठीनिपुणतरमतिः शत्रुलक्ष्मीभुजंगः ।
प्रादाद्राजन्यचूडामणिकिरणगणासंजनिर्दूतपादो
भूपस्तस्मै प्रहृष्टो विशदगुणनिषेरासिकादुर्माभुगं ॥

40. *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, Text, 22; cf. *Firishta*, Text, 49.

41. *Elliot*, 4, 526.

42. *EL.*, 4, 119.

43. *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, Text, 24; *Firishta*, Text, 51.

44. *History of Mediaeval Hindu India*, 3, 211.

45. *Elliot*, 4, 524; *IHQ.*, 9, 956.

46. *Early History of India*, 1924, 400; cf. Hirananda Sastri, *EL.*, 13, 296.

47. *EL.*, 9, 321.

48. *ABORI.*, 11, 138.

49. *IA.*, 19, 218.

50. *IA.*, 41, 19.

51. Correctly निषये

The inscription lends support to the conjecture that the Yāminīs of the north-west frequently repeated their expeditions into the interior of India.

20. The Verawal (Kathiawad) inscription⁵² says about a saint whose name is lost :

चौलुक्यराजान्वयपूजितस्य यस्यानुभावादबलापि संख्ये ।
हम्मीरराजं तरसा जिगाय तस्मान्नकेपासनतः.....॥

‘Of him who was worshipped by the Chaulukya royal family, and through whose grace even a woman conquered the Hammīra.’

21. An inscription at Kiradu (Jodhpur), dated 1178,⁵³ records that a lady installed an image in place of another which had been broken by the Turuṣkas.

It cannot be determined which Muḥammadan invasion was responsible for this act of vandalism. It could be the act of some individual iconoclast as well.

22. The Dabhoi inscription⁵⁴ thus describes Lavaṇaprasāda of the Chaulukya Vāghela dynasty of Gujrat (c. 1200) :—

राजानः कति नाम नामरसमाः संति क्षमायां परं
ते सर्वेपि तुरुष्कराजक[थ]याप्यस्वस्थतां वि(वि)भ्रति ।
तस्मिन्योद्धुमुपागतेतिकुपिते धत्ते स्म यः केवलं
--- ० ० - ० - ० ० ० --- ० --- ० ---
द्विरदो मदोत्कट ० --- ह ० ० जः
कृतानेकनरेन्द्रमौलिविगलद्रक्ताभिषिक्तावनि ।
सोपि प्राप्य पुरस्तुरुष्कनृपतिः शुष्काधरः शंकया
साकं येन कृपाणभीषणभुंजस्तंभेन[स्तं]मे जितः ॥
...मर्त्यश्चेन्मनुजैरजेयमज[य]न्स्लेच्छाधिनाथः कथं ॥

‘So many god-like kings are there on this earth ; but they all become uneasy of heart even at the mention of the Turuṣka king.

52. Bhavnagar Inscriptions, 210.

53. Pr. Rep. Arch. Surv. W.C., 1906-7, 42.

54. EI., 1, 26.

He, who alone maintained . . . when he (the Turuṣka) came to fight in an angry mood . . . The Turuṣka king sprinkled the earth with the blood oozing out of the severed heads of innumerable kings. By whom (Lavaṇaprasāda) even that Turuṣka king, with his lips dry out of fear, was defeated at Stambha (?)⁵⁵ by means of his pillar-like arms, fierce on account of (its holding) the sword . . . If he (Lavaṇaprasāda) be a mortal, how could he have conquered the invincible Mlēccha king ?’

This seems to refer to the attack of Muḥammad bin Sām in 1178, when he was defeated by Bhīmadeva, whose employee Lavaṇaprasāda was.⁵⁶ If the inscription be seriously believed, it shows that the Muḥammadans were held in severe dread, and it was believed that they could not be defeated by mortals.

23. The Verawal fragmentary inscription of the Chaulukya king Bhīma (1178—1239)⁵⁷ says about Śrīdhara, the governor of Devapattana :

प्रलयजलधिवेलोल्लोलकल्लोललीलं ० ० ० ० ० ० ० --- ० संपिष्टशैलं ।
दलितधरणिचक्रं वीरहंमीरचक्रं बहु तृणमकरोयः श्रीधरो दुर्गदम्पः ॥

‘Śrīdhara, proud of his strongholds, utterly neglected like a straw the army of the brave Hammīra, which had crushed the whole world.’

Bhīma’s rule witnessed the invasion of Gujrat by the Muḥammadans more than once, in 1178, 1195 and 1197.⁵⁸ Śrīdhara might have successfully defended his fort in one of these invasions.

24. The Ahada copperplate of Bhīmadeva refers to Mūlarāja, the Chaulukya king of Gujrat, as ‘one who defeated in war the invincible lord of Garjana (Ghazna).’⁵⁹

The probable dates of Mūlarāja are c. 1176—8, when Muḥammad Ghūrī invaded Gujrat and was defeated by the king of that country.

55. Kielhorn thus fills up the lacuna in the text. But we have doubts about the correctness of the restoration as it goes against the metre.

56. Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri, Text, 115 ; Firishta, Text, 52 ; Tārīkh-i-Mubārak-shāhi, Text, 68.

57. EI., 2, 445.

58. Cambridge History of India, 3, 39, 43, 44.

59. Proceedings of the Seventh Oriental Conference Baroda, 643.

25. The Kumbhi inscription of Vijayasimha⁶⁰ says about Jayasimha of the Kalachuri dynasty of Tripurī (c. 1165—77):

तष्टं गुर्जरभूमुजा तु कुबलं मुक्तं तुरुष्केण च
त्यक्तः कुन्तलनायकेन सहसा कन्दर्पकोलिक्रमः ॥

'On his accession the Gūrjara king waned; the Turuṣka forsook his evil might; the lord of Kuntala suddenly left his amorous sports.'

No Muslim invader could reach as far south as Tripurī (Tewar near Jubbulpore, C.P.) till this time; the passage contains no historical fact but only a poetical description of the prowess of Jayasimha.

26. The Sundha Hill inscription of the Naddūla (Nadol) Chāhamānas⁶¹ speaks of Kilhaṇa, a member of the line, as having defeated a Turuṣka, and having erected a golden gateway:

निर्भिद्योच्चैः प्रबलकलितं यस्तुरुष्कं व्यधत्त
श्रीसौमेशापदमुकुटवत्तोरणं काम्बनस्य ॥

The known dates of Kilhaṇa range from 1164 to 1194. Firishta says that from Uchh and Multan Muḥammad bin Sām marched to Gujrat through the desert. Kilhaṇa, being an ally of Bhīma, the Chaulukya king of Gujrat, might have fought for his overlord against the common danger in 1178.

27. In the same Sundha inscription Kilhaṇa's brother Kīrtipāla is said to have routed a Turuṣka army at Kāsahrada:

तस्मिन् कासह्रदे तुरुष्कनिकरं जित्वा रणप्रांगणे ।

The inscription seems to allude to one of the invasions of Qutb. D. R. Bhandarkar identifies Kāsahrada with Kāsandrām in the Sirohi State at the foot of Mt. Abu, and draws our attention to a passage in the *Tāj-al Ma'āṣir*,⁶² which states that there was a severe engagement at the foot of Mt. Abu in 1197, when Nehrwalā (the king of Anahila-pāṭaka) besieged Qutb and his army in the fort of

60. JASB., 31, 116.

61. EI., 9, 69.

62. Elliot, 2, 230.

Ajmer and it was only with the help from Ghaznī that he could be rescued.⁶³

28. The Jhansi fragmentary inscription of Sallakṣaṇasimha,⁶⁴ ascribed to about the twelfth century on paleographical grounds, has a reference to the Muḥammadan cavalry, most probably encountered by Sallakṣaṇasimha. If this person be identical with Sallakṣaṇavarman known to us from two other inscriptions, dated 1195 and 1240,⁶⁵ and thus be the brother of Kirtivarman, known to us from a third inscription, dated A.D. 1175,⁶⁶ he becomes the contemporary of the Kalachuri king Vijayasimha (c. 1165—77), and the Chandella kings Paramardin (c. 1165—1202) and Trailokyavarman (c. 1202—50). He could therefore have fought with Qutb in 1202 when the latter invaded Kālāñjara.

29. The Garra plates of the Chandella Trailokyavarman, dated 1205,⁶⁷ refer to one Rāuta Pāpe, killed in a war with the Turuṣkas at Kakaḍādaha (modern Kakaḍwā, near Lalitpur, Jhansi). It is likely that the war referred to was in some way or other connected with Qutb's investment of Kālāñjara in 1202 and the fall of Mahoba in 1203.

30. An inscription found at Kanaibarshi (Gauhati, Assam) says that the Turuṣkas invaded Assam on the thirteenth day of Chaitra of the Śaka year 1127, and met with their destruction:⁶⁸

शाके तुरगयुग्मेशे मधुमासत्रयोदशे ।

कामरूपं समागत्य तुरुष्काः क्षयमाययुः ॥

This refers almost certainly to Bakhtiyār KHiljī's invasion of Assam.⁶⁹ The KHiljī adventurer met with severe reverses and it was after tremendous sufferings that he could trace his way back.

63. EI., 13, 208.

64. EI., 1, 217.

65. IA., 17, 228, 231.

66. Ibid., 226.

67. EI., 16, 275.

68. IHQ., 3, 843. The date corresponds to 27th March, 1206, according to Padmanath Bhattacharya (*Kāmarūpaśāśanāvalī*, 44) and to 7th March, 1206, according to N. K. Bhaṭṭasali, *IHQ.*, 9, 48-63.

69. N. K. Bhaṭṭasali (*loc. cit.*) shows that this invasion was really directed against Assam and not Tibet.

It is only from the side remarks of the Muslim historians that the date of this invasion could be conjectured. The present inscription, though short, is of great importance, as it gives the exact date of the event.

31. The Madanpara and Edilpur inscriptions⁷⁰ have the following line about Viśvarūpa-Sena (c. 1205—1225) and Keśava-Sena (c. 1225—1230) respectively, both of the Sena dynasty of Bengal :

स गर्मयवनान्वयप्रलयकालरुद्रो नृपः ॥

'He was as it were the Rudra on the day of destruction to the race of the Garga-Yavanas (or Gargas and Yavanas).'

K. P. Jayaswal identifies *garga* with Garjha, i.e., Gharjistan and thinks that this verse refers to the victory of the Sena princes over a horde led by Muḥammad Ghūrī.⁷¹ Without entering into the thicket of Sena chronology, we may only state that the successors of Lakṣmaṇa-Sena in all probability ruled long after Muḥammad Ghūrī.

32. The Mt. Abu inscription⁷² says about Jaitrasimha of Mewar (c. 1213—52) :

[नङ्ग]लमूलकस(ष)बाहुलक्ष्मीस्तुरुष्कसैन्यार्णवकुंभयोनिः ।

[अ]स्मिन्पुराधीशसहासनस्थे ररक्ष भूमोरथ जैत्रसिंहः ॥

'When he (Padmasimha) was occupying the same seat as the lord of the gods (i.e. when he died), Jaitrasimha protected the lands, the fortune of whose arms completely eradicated Naḍūla and (who proved to be) an Agastya in drying up the sea-like Turuṣka army.'

33. From the Chirwa inscription⁷³ we know that Jaitrasimha (same as above) could not be humbled by any ruler, not even the lord of the Mlēcchas :

न मालवीयेन न गौजरेण न मारवेशेन न जांगलेन ।

म्लेच्छाधिपेनाथ कथापि मानो म्लानि न निन्येवनिपस्यस्य ॥

70. *Inscriptions of Bengal*, 3, 123, 135.

71. *JBORS.*, 4, 171.

72. *IA.*, 16, 349.

73. *Ojha, Rājputāne kā Itihāsa* (in Hindi), 1, 156.

Sultān Iltutmish led some expeditions to Rajputana, but no Muslim chronicler gives any hint about his encounter with Mewar.

34. About Pamarāja, the son of Jaitrasimha's employee Yojarāju, the same inscription has the following lines : ⁷⁴

नागहृदपुरभगे समं सुरत्राणसैनिकैर्युद्धा ।

भूतालहटकूटे पमराजः पञ्चतां प्राप ॥

'At the break-up of the city of Nāghrada (Nagda), Pamarāja breathed his last, fighting with the army of Suratrāṇa (Sultān) at Bhūtālahaṭakūṭa.'

As has been said above, no where is Mewar mentioned as the target of Iltutmish in Muḥammadan histories. The reason, according to Ojha, is that he suffered a defeat at the hands of the rulers of Mewar.⁷⁵

35. The Sundha Hill inscription mentioned above speaks of Udayasimha as one who curbed the pride of the Turuṣka lord (तुरुष्काधिपमदलदन). As Udayasimha ruled from c. 1205 to 1249, an invasion of Iltutmish is evidently referred to here. Firishṭa says that Udai Shāh rebelled at Jalwar,⁷⁶ which seems to be identical with modern Jalor, conquered by Kirtipāla Chāhamāna of Nadol. Ḥasan Nizāmī says that Iltutmish invaded Jalewar, granted Udai Shāh his life and restored his fortress, in return for which the Rai presented respectfully one hundred camels and twenty horses as tribute and after the custom of service.⁷⁷ From the terms of the settlement as well as from the present inscription it appears that Iltutmish could make little headway against Udayasimha and the results of the battle were far from decisive.

36. In the Kuretha (Gwalior) copper-plate inscription,⁷⁸ we are told that Vighraha, the son-in-law of the Chāhamāna Kelhaṇa fought with a Mlēccha king. The latter must have been Qutb-al-Dīn who invested Gwalior in 1196.

74. *Ibid.*

75. *Ibid.*, 164.

76. *Firishṭa Text*, 65.

77. *Tāj-al Ma'āṣir*, ASB. MS., 492f-494f.

78. *Prog. Rep. Arch. Surv. W.C.*, 1915-6, 59.

37. In the same inscription, Vighraha's son, Malayavarman, is said to have occupied Gopagiri (Gwalior). Firishṭa says⁷⁹ that the fort of Gwalior fell into the hands of the Hindus in the reign of Arām SHāh. Minhāj says that in 1232 Iltutmish marched against the fort and invested it for eleven months; Malik Deo put up a stout opposition till he lost all hopes and fled at night.⁸⁰ This Malik Deo may be safely identified with Malayavarman of this inscription.

38. The Rohtasgarh (Shahabad, Bihar) inscription, dated 1223,⁸¹ says about a chieftain named Pratāpa :

ज(य)वनदलनलीलामांसलैः स्वैर्यशोभि-
द्वलयति धरित्रीं श्रीप्रतापे क्षितिन्द्रे ।

'When the illustrious lord Pratāpa was illuminating the earth with his glories enhanced by his feats of crushing the Yavanas.'

This may refer to some incident in the invasion of Bihar led by Bakhtiyar KHiljī (c. 1200).

39. The Patna (Khandesh) inscription⁸² says about the Yādava king Siṃghaṇa :

पृथ्वीशो मथुराधिपो रणमुखे काशीपतिः पाति[तो]
येनासावपि यस्य भृत्यवदुना हं[मी]रवीरो जितः ॥

'The lord of the earth who caused the ruler of Mathurā and the lord of Kāśī to fall in a war, and even a young servant of whom defeated the Hammira hero.'

Siṃghaṇa ascended the throne in 1209—10; so his fight with the Muḥammadans must be placed after that date. It is not possible to determine in what way his servant came into connexion with the Muḥammadans. No Muslim inroad into the south is known to have taken place in this period; but as the details given here are too circumstantial to be pure fabrications, it is possible that the fight took place in the north when Siṃghaṇa came to the north to strike

79. *Firishṭa*, Text, 66. The Hindu Prince is called Deo-Bal, probably to be corrected to Deo-Mal.

80. *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, Text, 175.

81. *El.*, 4, 312.

82. *El.*, 1, 341.

down the lords of Mathurā and Kāśī. It is impossible to identify these latter too, though it is very likely that they were Muslim chiefs or governors. Beyond this nothing can be guessed.

40. The Bhuvaneswar (Orissa) plates say of Anāṅga-Bhīma of the eastern Gaṅga dynasty⁸³ who reigned from c. 1211—38 :

स्वन्ते स्वन्तोपसर्पज्जवमपि ज(य)वनं संगरे संजहार ॥

'He destroyed in battle the Yavana, who possessed an impetuosity that effectively advanced to the attack.'

41. The same fact is referred to in the Krishnapur (Cuttack) inscription.⁸⁴

कण्ठोत्तंसितसायकस्य सुभटानेकाकिनो निघ्नतः ।
किं ब्रू(ब्रू)मो यवनावनीन्दु⁸⁵समरे तत्तस्य वीरव्रतं ॥

'What shall we speak of him who alone, with his throat adorned with arrows, killed warriors in the war with the Yavana king ?'

The invasion seems to be one of Ghiyās-al-Dīn Iwāz Ḥusain, the fourth ruler of Bengal (1211—27). Minhāj says that the Sultān of Bengal extended his territories over Jājnagar, Bang (Vaṅga), Kamrūd (Kāmarūpa) and Tirhut (Tirabhukti).⁸⁶

The same inscription says that Anāṅga-Bhīma also defeated a Tūmghāna king. Although the editor of the inscription sees in the word a reference to Tughrail KHān, it is most probably a variant of Tummāna, which was ruled over by a branch of the Kalachuris.

42. The Ajaygadh rock inscription⁸⁷ says about Trailokyavarman of the Chandella dynasty (c. 1203—41):

त्रैलोक्यवर्मक्षितिपोथ राज्यं [शशास दु]र्गप्रविधानवेधाः ।
तुरुष्ककुल्यां(बु)धिमग्रघात्रीसमुद्धतिं विष्णुरिव प्रतन्वन् ॥

'Then Trailokyavarman ruled the kingdom, a very Creator in

83. *El.*, 13, 151.

84. *JASB.*, 67, i, 322.

85. *Sic.*

86. *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, Text, p. 163.

87. *El.*, 1, 327.

providing strongholds; he like Viṣṇu effected the lifting up of the earth immersed in the ocean of streams of the Turuṣkas.'

Qutb invaded Kālañjara, the stronghold of the Chandellas, in 1202, shortly after which Paramardin, the father of Trailokyavarman died⁸⁸ and entrusted it to the charge of Hizabr-al-Dīn. The inscription clearly shows that Trailokyavarman succeeded in regaining his ancestral territories, a fact implied even in Muḥammadan chronicles. Minhāj says that in A.H. 631 Nasrat-al-Dīn was entrusted with an expedition to Kālañjara.⁸⁹ An examination of his accounts clearly shows that the Muslim army suffered a bad defeat, for it is stated that the Hindu attack was like that of a wolf on a flock of sheep, and he concludes with great relief by saying that Nasrat-al-Dīn returned in safety with his booty to the fortress of Gwalior.

43. The Kendupatna (Cuttack) inscription⁹⁰ has the following verse about Narasimha I (c. 1238—64), the son of Anaṅga-Bhīma :

राधावनीन्द्रयवनीनयनांजनाश्रुपूरेण दूरविनिवेशित कालिमश्रीः ।
तद्विप्रलम्भकरणाद्भुतनिस्तरङ्गा गङ्गापि नूनममुना यमुनाधुनाभूत् ॥

'The Ganges, blackened by the flood of tears which washed away the collyrium from the eyes of the Yavana women of the lord of Rāḍha land, and rendered waveless at his extraordinary deeds, was for a time transformed by that prince into the Jamna.'

This implies that Narasimha, described as the king of Jājna-gar by Muslim historians,⁹¹ defeated the Muslim governor of Bengal.

44. The Batihagadh (Damoh, C.P.) inscription⁹² says that the Suratrāṇa Mahamūda, the lord of the Śakas (i.e. Sulṭān Nāṣir-al-Dīn Maḥmūd of the so-called Slave Dynasty) appointed Mallika (Malik) Julachī commander of the Kharpara army and governor of Chedi (Bundelkhand and the northern portion of the C. P.). His son Hisāmadīna, also called Chipaka (Hisām-al-Dīn Safiq ?)

88. *Tāj-āl Ma'āṣir*, Elliot, 2, 231 f.

89. *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, Text, 239. At another place, 296, the date is given as A.H. 632.

90. *JASB.*, 65, 250.

91. *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, Text, 200, 343-4.

92. *EL.*, 12, 46.

appointed Jallāla Šōjā⁹³ his representative at Batihādīm (Batiha-gadh) where Jallāla caused a Gomāṭha to be made.

45. A Verawal (Kathiawad) inscription⁹⁴ dated 1264, is of very great social interest. It records in good Sanskrit the erection of Majigiti (Masjid) at Somnath by Noradina Piroja (Nūr-al-Dīn Firūz), son of Abubrāhima (Ibrāhīm), an inhabitant of Hurmuja-deśa (Ormuz in the Persian Gulf), who came there on business. For the erection and maintenance of the mosque, he received co-operation and material help from some local citizens, merchants and artisans. It may be noted that the inscription, in spite of its subject-matter, says that the reigning Chaulukya king Arjunadeva attained prowess through the grace of Śiva. The inscription is throughout Hindu in tone and ends with the imprecatory terms characteristic of Hindu inscriptions: 'whosoever obstructs, or causes to be obstructed this sacred place and its income shall be seized with the five great sins and shall go to hell.'

46. The Boher (Rohtak, Panjab) inscription of A.D. 1281⁹⁵ has a list of kings of Hariyāna (the Delhi area) beginning from the Tomaras to Gayāsadīna (Ghiyās-al-Dīn Balban) :

Sāhabadīna (SHibāb-al-Dīn Ghūrī)
Šuduvadīna (Qutb-al-Dīn).
Asamasadīna (SHāms-al-Dīn Iltutmish)
Jalālādīna (Razziya ?)
Maujadīna (Muiz-al-Dīn Bahrām)
'Alāvadīna (Alā-al-Dīn Masūd).
Nasaradīna (Nāṣir-al-Dīn)
Gayāsadīna (Ghiyās-al-Dīn Balban).

The inscription then gives a highly classical account of Balban in a tone which could describe any Hindu king. It is useless to give the text and translation of the long inscription. Suffice it to say that according to it all the kings of India from Gauḍa (Bengal) to Gajjana (Ghazni), and the Dravidian settlements of Setubandha (Far South) paid respect to Balban; his soldiers daily bathed in the Bay of Bengal and Arabian Sea; he conquered the Gauḍas, Andhras, Keralas, Karṇāṭas, Mahārāṣṭras, Gūrjaras and Lāṭas.

93. Pronounce Khojā.

94. *Bhavnagar Inscriptions*, 224.

95. *JASB.*, 43, i. 108; date corrected in *IA.*, 19, 186.

The inscription, besides throwing light on the origin of Delhi, gives in almost correct sequence the names of the kings of the Slave Dynasty. We also glean from it that the economic condition of the Hindus was still quite sound and they had freedom to build wells and Dharmasālās.

47. In a Jaisalmer inscription,⁹⁶ it is said of Ghaṭasimha of the Yādava family of Jaisalmer :

श्रीरत्नसिंहस्य महीधवस्य बभूव पुत्रो घटसिंहनामा ।
यः सिंहवन् म्लेच्छगजान्विदार्य बलादलाद्वप्रदरीमरिभ्यः ॥

'The illustrious king Ratnasimha had a son named Ghaṭasimha, who, like a lion, tore asunder the elephant-like Mlēcchas (or the elephants of the Mlēcchas) and snatched away Vapradarī from the enemies.'

Ghaṭasimha may be safely identified with Gharsī Rāwal. (c. 1306-35) of the Rājput annals.⁹⁷ But we have otherwise no knowledge of his relations with Vapradarī⁹⁸ or the Muḥammadans.

48. The Mt. Abu inscription of A.D. 1285⁹⁹ says about Samarasimha of Mewar :

आद्यक्रोडवपुः कृपाणविलसदंष्ट्रांकुरो यः क्षणा-
न्मभामुद्धरति स्म गूर्जरमहीमुखैस्तुल्यकार्णवात् ॥

'He (the incarnation) of the primeval Boar, whose sword, like the shining tusk, raised high in a moment the Gurjara land (western Rajputana or Gujrat) from the sea of the Turuṣkas.'

49. The Ladnu (Jodhpur) inscription of A.D. 1316¹⁰⁰ narrates that the Tomaras built the city of Ḍhilli (Delhi) in the Haritāna (also Hariyāna) country, that later on it was held by the Chāhumaṇas and that now it was the possession of the Śakas (i.e., Muḥammadans). The following rulers are mentioned in succession.

96. *Catalogue of MSS. in the Jaisalmer Bhandar*, G.O.S., 63.

97. Todd, *Rajasthan*, ed. Crooke, 2, 1216.

98. Is it to be identified with Bap, lat. 27°22' N., long., 71°26' E.?

99. *IA.*, 16, 350.

100. *EL.*, 12, 23.

Sāhavadina (SHihāb-al-Dīn Ghūrī)
Kutvudina (Qutb-al-Dīn).
Samasaddina (SHams-al-Dīn Iltutmish)
Perojasāhi (Rukn-al-Dīn Firūz).
Alavadina ('Alā-al-Dīn Mas'ūd).
Maujadina (Muiz-al-Dīn Bahrām).
Nasaraddina (Nāṣir-al-Dīn).
Gayāsadina (Ghiyas-al-Dīn Balban).
Kuddi (Muiz-al-Dīn Qaikubād).
Alāvadina ('Alā-al-Dīn KHilji).¹⁰¹

About 'Alā-al-Dīn the inscription has the following verse :

रत्नवासोगुणैः कांता कांतेव गजगामिना ।
कामिनी व(ब)लिना येन दक्षिणाशा जिता पुरा ॥
जित्वा वंगतिलंगग(गू)र्जरलसत्कर्णाटगौडाधिपा[नृ]
[ग]र्ज्जर्जनपार्वतीयनृपीतन् पाञ्चान् पयोधिश्रितान् ।
स्थाने स्थापितवान् न [कारितरणात्रागा] दिरत्नप्रदा[नृ]
[की]र्तिस्तंभचयानिव प्रभुर[सौ] अलावदीनो नृपः ।
उच्चैः सो (शौ) य्यैगुणै[स]दारचरित्तिस्ति (स्ती)वप्रातापेन वा
रत्नैव्वीजिगजादिमिर्व्वसुवयः [चयैः] पूण [र्णः]स्वराडा (डा)ज्ञाते ॥
श्रीह [स्यश्च]नरे[श्चरो]भुवि [महान]छावदीनोपमः
संजातो नपुरा न चास्तिभविता नाप्रे शक्रेतः (शः) क्वचित् ॥
अलावदीनस्य [नृ] पस्य राज्ये पुरापतिर्भूषधनाधिकारी ।
गुणैश्च सर्वोत्तमतमवाप्य साधारणो भूमिवल्लभोभूत् ॥

The inscription correctly says that 'Alā-al-Dīn was the first Sultān to conquer the south. The extent of his empire described here is also fairly accurate. But its special importance lies in revealing the fact that 'Alā-al-Dīn appointed a Hindu named Sādhāraṇa his KHazānchī (bhūpa-dhanādhikārī). Sādhāraṇa's name appears again in Muslim histories in the reign of Maḥmūd-bin-Tughlaq, when his sons conspired to take the life of Mubārak SHāh Sayyid.¹⁰²

101. Arām SHāh, Razziya and Jalāl-al-Dīn have been omitted in the list.

102. Read प्रभुरसावलावदीनो for the metre.

103. *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak SHāhī*. Bibl. Ind. 177.

50. About Sālha of the Sanchor branch of the Marwar Chāha-mānas the Sanchor inscription¹⁰⁴ records :

तुरुष्कवंदीकृतविश्वलोकान् श्रीमालतो मोचयति स्म धीरः ॥

'Who, the sober one, liberated from Śrīmāla (Bhilmal) the host of men who had been imprisoned by the Turuṣkas.'

For Pratāpasimha, the great grandson of Sālha we have the date 1387; Sālha therefore must have lived in the beginning of the fourteenth century, and might have come into conflict with the then ruling king 'Alā-al-Dīn KHiljī.

51. The Ranpur (Jodhpur) inscription¹⁰⁵ says that Bhuvana-simha defeated 'Alā-al-Dīn (*Allāvadīna-suratrāṇa-jaitra*). Bhuvan-simha and his successors never ruled in Mewar¹⁰⁶; but he must have been a contemporary of Ratnasimha (who is known to have been defeated by 'Alā-al-Dīn), as his name appears immediately after Bhuvan-simha, the father of Ratnasimha.

104. *EL*, 11, 65.

105. *ASI-AR*, 1907-8, 214.

106. Ojha, *loc. cit.*, 218.

Gunpowder Artillery in the reign of Sultan Eltutmish of Dehli¹

By

MR. M. AKRAM MAKHDOOME, M.A.,

Lecturer in History, Muslim University, Aligarh.

THOUGH the claim of Roger Bacon² is upheld by some Englishmen, Europeans in general hail Berthold Schwartz, a German monk, who lived in the 14th century, as the discoverer of gunpowder, and place the first employment of fire-arms between 1270 and 1320.³ While it has been admitted that the various ingredients of gunpowder were used in making different forms of fire-weapons much earlier in the East, it has been asserted that Europe taught the world its modern use, namely, of employing it in propelling balls and bullets.⁴ The present paper is a humble endeavour to show that the Asiatics were familiar with this use of the deadly substance before the Europeans.

A very early knowledge of gunpowder artillery has been attributed to the Chinese, and some writers have even gone the length of saying that they employed cannon as early as 83 A.D. Gibbon, relying on the authority of Pere Gaubil, writes that the use of gunpowder in cannon was a familiar practice in ancient China.⁵ But the fact that Marco Polo, when referring to the manufacture of mangonels during a siege by Kublāi Khan (acc: 1256),⁶ does not mention the employment of cannon, throws some doubt on Pere Gaubil's statement.⁷

The Arabs, undoubtedly, were familiar with some kind of substance resembling gunpowder and made of some or all of its ingredients, though some western writers have pointed out that the powder employed by the Arabs may be called fire-powder and not gunpowder; for they used it for incendiary purposes and not for

(1) See the appendix for bibliography.

(2) 13th century.

(3) *E. B.* p. 3; *T.* p. 198; *Q.R.* pp. 106-8.

(4) *Q.R.* pp. 106-8; *J.A.S.B.* p. 55.

(5) *G.* p. 86.

(6) *M.P.*, p. 103.

(7) *J.A.S.B.* pp. 62-3.

discharging missiles.⁸ But the Arabs seem to have a fair claim to the discovery of the modern use of gunpowder, if not to its invention. Ibn-i-Khaldoon states that Sultan Abi Yousuf of Morocco employed, in the siege of Sajlmāsā in A.D. 1273, among other siege engines, a machine which propelled pieces of iron by means of the expansive force of gunpowder. Moreover, an old Arabic manuscript contains a picture of two Arabs engaged in making fire-arms. One of them is holding a weapon resembling a gun over a flame, so that the powder stuffed in the barrel might explode and propel the bullet to a distance.⁹ Colonel Fave in his *Historie de l' Artillerie*, 1845, definitely attributes the invention of gunpowder to the Arabs. Although Europeans generally disagree with this view, they are constrained to admit that the Arabs made gunpowder, but did not find out, before European nations, its most important use.¹⁰

Attempts have been made to prove that gunpowder was employed to propel missiles by the ancient Hindus. Chand's poems mention a *nal-golā*—a ball discharged from a tube—among other fire-works used by the Hindus in warfare; but it is not clear whether the ball was discharged by percussion or by the expansive force of gunpowder.¹¹

The unprecedented success of the Mongols in the 13th. century is sometimes partly ascribed to their probable employment of guns and gunpowder for siege work, which they must have learnt from the Chinese.¹²

Ferishta tells us that in Anandpāl's battle with Mahmud in 1008 the former's elephant fled from the field, frightened by the sudden noise of *naft* (naphtha) and *khadang* (arrows).¹³ That noise might have been produced by the bursting of a shell or the flight of arrows, but the fact that some manuscripts of Ferishta contain the words *tōp* (cannon) and *tufang* (musket) for *naft* and *khadang* respectively leaves little doubt as to the employment of some sort of cannon by Mahmud.¹⁴ Ferishta further writes that *tōp* (cannon), *tufang* (musket) and *gulūlā-i tufang* (bullets) were commonly used by the Deccan Sultans and mentions their employment by them as early as the time of Mahmud Shah Bahmanī (759-76 A.H.),¹⁵ a contemporary of Sultān Firoz Shāh Tughlak of Delhi.

(8) Q.R., pp. 106-8; JASB., p. 55.

(9) T., pp. 198-200.

(10) JASAB, p. 70.

(11) JASB, p. 46; R. p. 310.

(12) W. p. 705.

(13) F. p. 26.

(14) JASB, pp. 40-42.

(15) F. pp. 286, 87, 90, 91.

It is generally believed that Bābar was the first to use cannon in India. But the presence of the words *tufang* and *golā* (ball or bullet) in *Mufarrih-ul-Qulūb*, a book compiled in India in the 9th. century A.H. suggests their use long before Bābar came.¹⁶ 'Tufang' has been defined in *Farhang-i-Adāt-ul-Fuzalā*, compiled in the beginning of the 9th. century A.H. as 'a tube (*nai*) from which the bullet (*ghulūlā*) is discharged.'¹⁷

Thus there is sufficient reason to believe that gunpowder and cannon were known and used in India as well as in some other eastern countries earlier than in Europe. And this belief is further strengthened by the explanation of the word '*kushk-anjir*'¹⁸ given in medieval Persian dictionaries. '*Kushk-anjir*' is a compound of '*kushk*' (castle) and *anjir* (that which makes holes) and means an instrument used in breaching walls. It is mentioned among the machines required by a garrison to discharge missiles on the besiegers in a rare work on medieval art of war compiled in the beginning of the 13th. century and dedicated to Sultan Eltutmish of Delhi.¹⁹ *Farhang-i Sharfnāmā-i Ahmed Munyari*, compiled in 864-79 A.H., says that '*kushk-anjir*' means 'perforator', or an instrument 'for throwing stones', or a 'stone or ball projected by the expensive force of combustible substances (*dārūhā-i-atishin*)'. The poet Anvarī, who lived in the 12th. century A.D., also mentions '*kushk-anjir*' as a weapon of war. The author of *Farhang-i Adat ul-Fuzalā*, though confusing '*kabk-anjir*' with '*kushk-anjir*',²⁰ explains it as 'that with which stones are discharged.'²¹ According to *Bahār-i Ajam* it is an 'instrument of war worked with gunpowder'.²² It is clear, therefore, that a machine, which discharged balls by the expansive force of gunpowder, was used in India as early as the reign of Eltutmish.

But this machine does not appear to have been used very effectively; for it is rarely mentioned in accounts of sieges. The reason, obviously, must have been the difficulty in controlling the disruptive force of gunpowder. Nothing can be simpler than to manufacture a rough kind of gunpowder, but the powder-maker's art has been described as 'all dirt and danger' and the manufacture of a strong and clean powder, uniform in its physical properties and in its action, is a matter neither of ease nor of certainty. The first field-

(16) O.C.M., p. 25

(17) F. A.

(18) O. C. M. p. 25.

(19) A. fol. 179.

(20) F.S. ff 175-6.

(21) F.A. p. 97.

(22) B.A. p. 301.

pieces were so clumsy and so difficult to manage that Machiavelli recommended dispensing with artillery. It is believed that the French had cannon at the time Crecy was fought, but left them behind as an encumbrance. Bābar tells us in his *Memoirs* how his master-gunner could discharge a gun only eight to sixteen times in a day,²³ how on many occasions a big gun burst at the first discharge, killing several men,²⁴ and how very often gun shots failed to make much impression on a stone wall.²⁵

Improvement of gunpowder artillery has been slow. It has been slower in some countries. Its less frequent employment in warfare does not imply the Asiatics' ignorance of it. They knew and used it, though not with greater effect than the mechanical man-janīq until more recent times.

APPENDIX.

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4. F.—*Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī—Firishtā*, Vol. I, Nivalkishore Press.
5. F.A.—*Farhang-i Adāt-ul-Fuzalā*, Muslim University Ms.
6. F.S.—*Farhang-i Sharfnāmā-i Ahmed Munyari*, Punjab University Ms.
7. G.—*Gibbon—Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* in 8 Vols., London, Vol. 8. Bevey's Edition.
8. JASB.—*Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Bengal, 1876.
9. M.P.—*Travels of Marco Polo—Benedetto*.
10. O.C.M.—*Oriental College Magazine*, Lahore, Nov. 1929.
11. Q.R.—*Quarterly Review*, London, July, 1868.
12. R.—*Rājasthān—Tod*, Vol. I.
13. T.—*Tamadan-al-Islām—Jurjī Zaidān*, Urdu translation, Vol. I.
14. W.—*Outline of History* (in one Volume),—H. G. Wells.
15. W.B.—*Waqiāt-i-Babari*, Punjab University Ms.

(23) W. fol 230; JASB, pp. 54, 55, 57.

(24) W., ff 225, 230.

(25) W. fol. 227.

Mechanical Artillery in Medieval India

By

MR. M. AKRAM MAKHDOOME, M.A.,
Lecturer in History, Muslim University, Aligarh.

ARTILLERY has always played a most important part in warfare. In the middle ages, especially, when the capture of a fortified town often meant the conquest of a kingdom, the possession of good siege-engines was a great advantage. These, however, were not known to the early Arabs, who lived mostly in tents and defended their homes by their personal valour rather than by walls and ditches. But when, after they had been Islamised, they issued forth from their desert land for the conquest of the world they had to adopt the methods of the other nations to operate successfully against them. Among other things borrowed by the Mussalmans was artillery which, before the introduction of gunpowder, consisted of various types of engines used for hurling stones and other missiles at the enemy.¹

There is, on the whole, a greater continuity in the history of siegecraft than in the history of any other province of military art. We are struck with the astonishing similarity of the proceedings of men far apart in age and nationality.² The siege-engines used in medieval India were almost identically the same as those in other countries. But contemporary Indo-Persian writers, including Abū Abdullāh of Lahore, a poet of the later Ghaznavide period, give a rather vague and incomplete description of the various machines (*Lubāb-ul-albāb*, 58), and to clearly understand their mechanism one has to refer to later authorities.

The '*kharak*' or the bore was employed in making holes in a wall.³ It was a simple but heavy structure: A large heavy beam furnished with a sharp iron point was slung by ropes or chains from two huge perpendicular posts. The workers drew it back as far as the chains allowed and then released it to dash its sharp point

(1) T. 193.

(2) O. 131.

(3) Ad. 178.

against the wall. The bore and the ram were identical in their construction, with the difference that in case of the latter the horizontal beam was fitted with an enormous head instead of a sharp point. The bore pecked the wall, while the ram battered it. The whole structure, which was usually carried about on wheels, was covered with fire-proof roof and sides to protect the machine and the workers under its roof from the fire and liquid combustibles thrown by the besieged from the battlements. Its roof was made of strong beams covered with tiles and raw hides soaked in vinegar, and sides of lighter stuff—raw hides or hurdles—also covered with hides soaked in vinegar in order to render them fire-proof.⁴ A team of men was required to push it to the foot of the wall, and one to sixty persons, according to the size of the machine, worked its central beam. The defenders of the fort very often rendered the *kharak* ineffective by thick mattress-like sheets of sacking filled with straw or broad and thick beams which they hung from the wall over the point on which the machine played. They disabled the ram by letting fall on its head heavy forked beams, which held it firm and prevented it from being drawn back. An additional disadvantage of this engine was that it could not be used from a distance, and had to be pushed right up to the foot of the wall, which the fire and the missiles thrown by the besieged rendered very difficult. And if the fort was protected by a ditch it had to be filled up with sacks full of earth or crossed by means of a bridge.⁵

The '*manjanīq*' was by far the most effective and commonly employed siege-engine. It hurled at the enemy with irresistible force huge pieces of rock, stones, earthen or iron balls, bottles full of naphtha, casks full of Greek fire or of foul matter, scorpions and other poisonous reptiles. This powerful machine, which was used both by the assailants and the defenders, had a very simple mechanism, and was of three distinct types worked by the three principles of torsion, counterpoise and tension. The origin of the *manjanīq* is lost in antiquity. Tradition would have it that the first man to use it was the Babylonian king Namrood, who did not know how to throw the Prophet Ibrahim on the top of a burning pile of wood. The Devil came to Namrood and taught him to make a *manjanīq* for the purpose (A.D. 180). The ancient Phoenicians, however, are supposed to have invented this weapon. The Greeks, learning its use from them, taught it to the rest of the world. The Islamised

(4) O. 132; Ad. 179; T. 196.

(5) T. 196-7; O. 132.

Arabs borrowed it from the Persians (T. 193). On account of its usefulness the Persians called it '*manchēh nēk*' or 'how good am I' and '*manjanīq*' is the Arabicised form of the Persian expression (Farhang-i-Anand Raj).

The *mangon*, or the machine worked by torsion, consisted of two stout posts joined by a double or quadruple set of ropes. A beam was placed between the two sets of ropes and drawn back so as to twist them in opposite directions. A very considerable force was thus generated and when, suddenly, the beam was released it hurled up with very great force the missiles placed in a spoon-shaped hole in the end of the beam, or in a sling attached to it.⁶ The *mangon*, it has been stated, had fallen into disuse after the 11th. century A.D.⁷ but the fact that Fakhr-i-Mudabbir, writing in the 13th. century, enjoins the besiegers to provide themselves with large quantities of ropes and beams for making *manjanīqs* shows that, possibly, it was still in vogue in India in his time.⁸

The *mangonel* or the trebuchet, not known in earlier centuries, was introduced in the 12th. century A.D. and was worked by counterpoise. It was obviously more powerful than the *mangon*. It consisted of a long pole, balanced on a pivot supported by two up-rights at about one quarter of the distance between its butt end and its point. The longer part was pulled down to the ground, and the missile was placed either in a spoon-shaped cavity in its end, or in a sling attached to it: it was held down till the moment of discharge by ropes or wooden catches worked by a winch. Meanwhile, the shorter part of the pole at its butt end was loaded with heavy weights of iron or stone, attached to it in a sort of box or basket, or permanently bound to it with cords. The heavy weights would have dragged down the butt of the pole to the ground if the small end had not been already fixed back by its catches. When these were suddenly released the counterpoise at the other end of the pole was able to act; it dropped suddenly, and tossed the thin end and the missile attached to it into the air. The stone flew off in a great parabolic curve, like that of a bomb from a modern mortar. Some of these machines had a movable counterpoise, which was shifted closer to or farther from the butt of the pole, according as the engineer wished to lengthen or shorten the distance to which he intended to discharge the missile.⁹

(6) O. 136.

(7) Y. 123; O. 136.

(8) Ad. 178-80.

(9) O. 543-44.

In another type of *manjanīq* a large beam stood supported by a very strong spring-lever in the middle of a huge wooden framework, on the other end of which a stout board was fixed in an angular, and probably adjustable, position. When the beam was drawn back by means of straps fastened in its middle the spring-lever was pressed down; the missiles to be discharged were then placed in a sling attached to the beam. The straps were suddenly loosened and the beam fell heavily on the board on the opposite side, hurling the contents of the sling into the air with a high elliptic trajectory.¹⁰ These two types of machines too were, most probably, used in India, as Amir Khusrau mentions how, when the *manjanīq* was worked, one set of persons were engaged in placing heavy stones in its sling (*pallā*) while the others pulled the beam at the commander's order.¹¹

Heavy machines could discharge weights to a range of about 200 yards and were each capable of throwing stones weighing 800 pounds or more.¹² Although a weak structure would soon crumble down before their bombardment, a strong fort with an alert and well equipped garrison could successfully stand it. Still their volleys were not without their effect. Stones were thrown in such large numbers that they fell like hails over the heads of the enemies, striking them dead.¹³ Buildings crashed before huge pieces of rock, their work being completed by naptha, which set fire to everything that came its way. Such din and commotion was produced that the besieged were often frightened into a surrender. The *manjanīq* could be so adjusted as to be able to discharge missiles in a vertical direction and it could bombard from below a fort situated on the top of a hill.¹⁴ Men were also, sometimes, discharged from this machine by way of punishment,¹⁵ and Ala-ud-Din Khalji even employed it in scattering gold in front of his camp to attract followers.¹⁶

Manjanīqs were of various sizes. The larger the machine, the greater the number of men required to manipulate it and heavier the bombardment done by it. The one, named *Arūs*, brought by Mohd. bin Qāsim, the conqueror of Sind (711 A.D.), was worked by 500 men. It was so heavy that it had to be brought on a boat by sea.¹⁷ While smaller machines must have been carried about on

(10) T. 194-5.

(11) Kh. 66.

(12) Y. 125.

(13) Kh. 56.

(14) Kh. 75.

(15) F. 286; A. 53-4.

(16) B. 243.

(17) T. 195.

wheels, ready for use, a big one sometimes formed a load for a hundred carts,¹⁸ and when it was needed for action it had to be set up by carpenters. Fakhr-i-Mudabbir mentions four types of *manjanīqs* and *arrādās*—*manjanīq-i-arūs*, which could hurl missiles on four sides; *manjanīq-i-dēv*, probably a giant machine; *manjanīq-i-ghorivār*; *manjanīq-i-ravān* (perhaps the one carried on wheels); *arrādā-i yakrui*; *arrādā-i gardān*; *arrādā-i khuftā*; *arrādā-i ravān*.²⁰ What distinguished each type from the other has not been stated by him, but it is obvious that different names were given to the various varieties on account of slight variations in their construction or differences in their size and power.²¹ *Manjanīqs*, *maghribīs* and *arrādās* were different varieties of the same machine. Amir Khusrau refers to *arrādās* as '*arūsgān*',²² which means 'small *manjanīqs*'.²³ According to Farhang-i Sharaf-nāmā-i-Ahmed Munyarī '*arrādā*' or *urrādā* means '*manjanīq*'²⁴ and it was employed in throwing stones.²⁵ Khusrau, in his accounts of Ala-ud-din's sieges, generally mentions *maghribīs*, and sometimes also refers to them as *manjanīqhā-i-maghribī*,²⁶ or western *manjanīqs*. It appears that the *maghribī* was an improved type of *manjanīq*, so called from its probable importation from *Maghrīb* or West. An attempt has, therefore, been made to prove the superiority of European machines,²⁷ but this claim is open to challenge, for *Maghrīb* means North-Western Africa,²⁸ and the *maghribī* might have come from there and not from Europe.

Another type of *Manjanīq*, called '*charkh*',²⁹ to which the Persian poet Anvarī (12th. century A.D.) also refers,³⁰ was used in India for discharging arrows.³¹ It was a magnified crossbow identical with the balista or catapult worked by tension. Loosely fixed to the bow, a hollow piece of horn lay over a straight iron stock. Men

(18) Y. 126.

(19) Ad. 178.

(20) Ad. 181.

(21) Y. 122; T. 194.

(22) Kh. 56.

(23) F. S. 156.

(24) F. S. 157.

(25) Ad. 198.

(26) Kh. 76.

(27) JASB 65.

(28) IB 320, 450, 466; Hava, Arabic-English, Dictionary.

(29) Ad. 178-80.

(30) F. S. 176.

(31) B.Q.; F.S. 176.

standing on each side of the balista pulled back the cord, which joined the arms of the bow, with little windlasses wound round and round to pull back the cord, which, when tightened, was caught in grooves or notches cut in the iron or wooden stock to which the two arms of the balista were fixed. A bolt was then placed in the horn and the machine was aimed by directing the point of the stock at the object. The cord, when loosed, struck the horn, which rushed forward, discharging the bolt with a great force. The bolt used to be four times as thick as an ordinary arrow and half its length. It was not feathered like an arrow, but was furnished with wooden projections resembling feathers, and was very often substituted by a long javelin or arrow. The longer the arms of the balista, the harder the stroke of the missiles projected by it. The shaft discharged by it was a formidable thing, and could break stone and pierce trees. A long balista-shaft often pinned two victims together and struck at objects out of the range of ordinary arrows and javelins with greater force. Like the modern gun, the *balista* was capable of much more accurate shooting than the *mangon*. Its bow was sometimes 30 ft. long and it could shoot an arrow of half a kilogram in weight to a distance of about 900 yards.³²

A somewhat differently constructed machine consisted of three stocks fixed, one behind the other, on a framework. Some arrows were placed in holes made in the two front stocks. The third stock was pulled back by a strap passing over windlasses fixed at the side of the frame and worked by two men. When let off, the stock struck at the heads of the arrows which, like bullets from a modern machine-gun sped off simultaneously with considerable force.³³

There was, however, a limit to the mechanical application of the three powers of torsion, counterpoise and tension on which the military engineer had to rely when constructing his siege-artillery. If he tried to gain increased force by enlarging the size of his machines, they not only grew too costly, but became hopelessly unwieldy and slow in their action. If, on the other hand, he tried to prevail by increasing their number, it was impossible, on account of their short range and great bulk, to concentrate the fire of a large quantity of them on a single piece of wall. Furthermore the development of siegecraft always lagged behind that of building strongholds, and it was not until the employment of gunpowder in the 14th.

(32) O. 137-9, 545; Y. 123.

(33) T. 193-4.

century that the advantage, which the defensive had hitherto enjoyed, began to turn in favour of the offensive.³⁴

APPENDIX³⁵

1. A.—Afif's *Tārīkh-i Fīroz Shāhī*.
2. Ad.—*Ādāb-ul-harab was-shajāat*—Bengal Asiatic Society Ms.
3. B.—Baranī's *Tārīkh-i Fīroz Shāhī*.
4. B.Q.—*Burhān-i Qāti*.
5. F.—Ferishta's *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, Vol. I, Nival Kishore Press.
6. F.S.—*Farhang-i Sharafnāmā-i Ahmed Munyarī*—Punjab University Ms.
7. I.B.—*Ibn-i Batūtā's Travels*, Muhammad Hussain's Urdu translation, Vol. I.
8. JASB.—*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1876.
9. Kh.—*Khazāin-ul-Futūh*—Amir Khusrau.
10. O.—*Oman's History of the Art of War*, Vol. II.
11. T.—*Tamadan-al-Islām*, Jurjī Zaidān, Urdu translation, Vol. I.
12. Y.—*Yule's Travels of Marco Polo*, Vol. II.
13. Hava.—*Arabic-English Dictionary*.
14. *Farhang-i Anand Rāj*.
15. *Lubāb-ul-albāb*, Awfi, Leyden 1903, Vol. 2.

(34) O. 542-5.

(35) Bibliography.

Procedure of Succession to the Sultanate of Delhi*

By

MR. ANILCHANDRA BANERJEE, M.A.,

MR. M. AKRAM MAKHDOOME contributed an extremely interesting paper on 'Organization of Central Government under the Turkish Sultans of Dihli' to the *Journal of Indian History* for April, 1935. He rightly invited the attention of all students of Indian history to the neglected subject with which he deals; and we hope that he himself will find it possible to publish at an early date an exhaustive study of medieval administrative history.

Perhaps Mr. Makhdoome will allow me to say something about a statement contained in his valuable paper. On page 97 he says: "The King was elected by the nobles—the Khāns, Maliks, amirs, ālims, Shaikhs and Sayids. But the election was a mere ceremony, as the King's nominee was almost always elected." According to him, therefore, succession to the Turkish Sultanate of Delhi was regulated by royal nomination strengthened by baronial election. I think this view requires modification.

When Kutb-ud-dīn assumed the title of Sultān on his master's death, he could not claim on his behalf either the nomination of Mu'izz-ud-dīn Muhammad or the votes of the nobles. It may be argued that his appointment as viceroy in India by Mu'izz-ud-dīn¹ was an act of nomination for succession, and that only the sudden and accidental death of the conqueror prevented him from signifying his wishes in a more satisfactory and unambiguous manner. But an unexpressed wish can never have any legal effect; and it could scarcely have any practical effect in an age when loyalty to a dead master could not induce the nobles to set aside personal considerations. There is no evidence to show that the nobles elected Qutb-ud-dīn as their suzerain, although it is true that all of them, except Tāj-ud-dīn, accepted an accomplished fact as the logical conclusion of the previous course of events.

*This article was written and sent for publication within a few weeks of the publication of Mr. Makhdoome's article.

1. B. De, *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, Vol. 1, p.43.

Arām Shāh probably owed his temporary elevation to the throne to the votes of the nobles.² But in this case baronial election, instead of following and strengthening royal nomination, actually set aside Qutb-ud-dīn's desire that Iltutmish should succeed him.³ It is extremely doubtful whether Arām Shāh had any dynastic claim.⁴

Iltutmish was, as we have seen, the nominee of Qutb-ud-dīn. He was also elected by the nobles.⁵ What is more interesting is the fact that he sanctified his *de facto* right by marrying his master's daughter.⁶ Here baronial election followed royal nomination, but only after an intervening episode.

That election was not a mere ceremony, that the King's nominee was not always elected, is clearly shown during the reigns of the immediate successors of Iltutmish. He had nominated his daughter Raziyyat as his heir-apparent, and had clearly expressed the opinion that none of his sons would be found to be more worthy of the crown than his daughter.⁷ But the nobles set aside his decree when he could no longer control them, and placed his son Rukn-ud-dīn Firūz Shāh upon the throne.⁸ Afterwards the inefficiency, tyranny and cruelty of Rukn-ud-dīn and of his mother alienated the sympathy of the nobles and they "joined Sultān Raziyyat, pledged their allegiance to her, and placed her on the throne."⁹

The successors of Raziyyat,—Mu'izz-ud-dīn Bahrām Shāh, 'Alā-ud-dīn Mas'ūd Shāh and Nāsir-ud-dīn Mahmūd Shāh,—were raised to the throne by the nobles.¹⁰ None of them could claim to be the nominee of any king.

2. Raverty, pp. 528-29.

3. *op. cit.*, p. 530.

4. *op. cit.*, pp. 529-30. Ranking, p. 87.
B. De, Vol. I, p. 60. Briggs, Vol. I, p. 203.

5. Raverty, p. 530.

6. Minhāj-ud-dīn (Raverty, p.530) appears to state that Iltutmish married his master's daughter after his own succession to the throne. Later writers (Ranking, p.87 and Briggs, Vol. 1, p.203) imply that he was already Qutb-ud-dīn's son-in-law when he assumed the throne.

7. Raverty, pp.638-9.

8. *op. cit.*, pp.631-2.

9. *op. cit.*, pp.634-6.

10. Raverty, pp. 649-51, 669.

Some writers say that Nāsir-ud-dīn, having no heir, nominated his father-in-law and Deputy, Ulugh Khān, as his successor.¹¹ But Balban's accession to the throne was merely a step forward in a process of consistent evolution. His claim was really based upon that success which justified everything, at least in the world of politics, and not upon heredity, election or nomination, although Badāonī tells us that the nobles consented to his elevation.¹²

Balban nominated Kai-Khusrav as his successor, but the nobles placed Kaiqubād on the throne.¹³ Here the nobles acted altogether arbitrarily, for they set aside the nomination of the old king—a nomination which strengthened Kai-Khusrav's hereditary claim—and enthroned a prince whose father was alive, free from any legal incapacity such as blindness.

When Kaiqubād was struck with paralysis, the nobles placed his infant son on the throne. But the Turkish nobles were defeated by Jalāl-ud-dīn Khaljī, who murdered Kaiqubād and came to the throne by the greatest of all rights—the right of conquest.

'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī was clearly an usurper. He had no hereditary right, for Jalāl-ud-dīn's sons were alive when the old king was murdered. He was not elected by the nobles, for the nobility of the kingdom did not by words or by deeds signify their desire to place him on the throne. Neither the citizens of the capital nor the people of any province supported his cause. He seized the throne by force, and by force he was determined to maintain it.

Towards the close of his reign 'Alā-ud-dīn "caused a document to be drawn up, appointing (his eldest son) Khizr Khān, his heir-apparent, and he obtained the signatures of the nobles thereto." But on his death Kāfūr Khān "assembled the principal nobles and officers in the palace and produced a will of the late Sultān which he had caused to be executed in favour of Malik Shahāb-ud-dīn, removing Khizr Khān from being heir-apparent. With the assent of the nobles he placed Shahāb-ud-dīn upon the throne . . ." It is clear that the will which Kāfūr had produced was either spurious or wrung from the old Sultān when he was not in his senses. Sir Wolseley Haig regards this will as "possibly authentic, but certainly

11. *op. cit.*, pp. 716-17. Also, *Memoir of the Author*, p. XXIX.

12. *Ranking*, p. 183.

13. *Baranī, Elliot and Dowson*, Vol. III, p. 124.

procured by misrepresentation and undue influence."¹⁴ In any case, Kāfūr Khān, who was doubtless aware of the hostile attitude of the nobles, thought it necessary to strengthen his own position by a show of legality.

The next king was Mubārak Shāh, a son of 'Alā-ud-dīn, who occupied the throne at a time when both Khizr Khān, his elder brother, and Shahāb-ud-dīn, his younger brother and predecessor, were alive. There was no question of nomination and hardly any of election, although we are told that Mubārak had "made friends of many of the maliks and amīrs."

Khusrav Khān, the murderer and successor of Mubārak, had no shadow of a claim to the throne which he occupied. His position rested on the support, not of the nobles, but of his Parwārī followers.¹⁵

When Khusrav Khān was defeated and killed by the Muhammadan under the leadership of Ghāzi Malik, the throne of Delhi was left vacant, and there was no claimant whose title was based on hereditary right. Ghāzi Malik declared that it was for the "nobles of the State" to decide the question of succession. The nobles came to the conclusion that there was no one besides Ghāzi Malik who was "worthy of royalty and fit to rule."¹⁶ Ghāzi Malik, therefore, owed his throne to election by the nobles; but in his case election was a mere ceremony, as it was only natural for the victorious general to step into the place of his victim.

Muhammad bin Tughluq succeeded his father according to strict hereditary right. He had already been favoured with a royal canopy and declared heir-apparent by his father.¹⁷ There was no question of election by the nobles.

The succession of Fīrūz Shāh is a disputed problem. I have discussed it in some detail in the *Indian Culture* for July, 1935. My conclusion is that Fīrūz Shāh owed his throne to the nomination of his predecessor as well as to the election by the nobles. Mr. *Makhdoomee's* theory may be applied to this case.

14. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 119.

15. *Baranī, Elliot and Dowson*, Vol. III, pp. 221-3.

16. *op. cit.*, p. 228.

17. *op. cit.*, p. 230.

The history of the successors of Firūz Shāh is so complicated that it is hardly possible to arrive at any precise conclusion about their respective claims. Towards the close of his reign Firūz Shāh resigned, his son Nāsir-ud-dīn Muhammad ascended the throne, and the *khutba* was read in the name of both of them.¹⁸ This instance is really unique, for no other Muhammadan prince of Delhi (except Kaiqubād) assumed royal dignity during the life-time of his father. Very soon, however, Nāsir-ud-dīn was defeated and expelled by the nobles, Firūz Shāh resumed his full authority for a brief period, and then placed his grandson, Ghiyās-ud-dīn, upon the throne.¹⁹ Ghiyās-ud-dīn was soon put to death by the nobles.²⁰ His successor was Abu Bakr, who was dethroned by Nāsir-ud-dīn Muhammad whom we have met before. He was succeeded by Humāyun, after whom came Mahmūd Tughluq. "With him," says Firishta, "fell the kingdom of Dehly from the race of Toorks."²¹ From the first resignation of Firūz Shāh to the death of Mahmūd Tughluq the nobles played the decisive part in all affairs, and the nominee of the most influential section of the nobility got the throne. Baronial election, if we may use that term, was not a mere ceremony during this period.

I have tried to show that during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries there was no recognised law of succession, no recognised procedure to which recourse might be had in cases of dispute. Broadly speaking, the choice was limited, as a matter of convenience, to the surviving members of the deceased Sultān's family. The priority of birth, the question of efficiency, the nomination of the dead king—these considerations sometimes received some attention, but the decisive voice seems to have been that of the nobles, who usually preferred personal convenience to the interests of the State.

18. Briggs, Vol. 1, p. 459.

K. K. Basu, *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak-Shāhī*, pp. 144-5.

19. Briggs, Vol. 1, p. 461.

20. K. K. Basu, pp. 150-151.

21. Briggs, Vol. I, p. 504.

The Contemporary view of the Court of Farrukh Syer

By

MR. A. M. DAULA, M.A., PH.D., (LONDON),
Lecturer, Government College, Ludhiana, Punjab.

INTRODUCTION

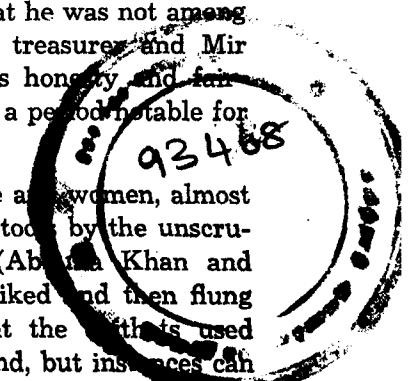
IN this article the question I propose to discuss is about the document called "Shahnama Munnawar Kalam" by Shiv Das Lucknawi. The original Manuscript found in the British Museum is a little over two hundred years old. But the Ms. which I have used is hardly one hundred years old and appears to be the copy of the original Ms. It belongs to the well-known collection of my friend, Prof. S. D. Azar of Pasrur (Punjab), who generously placed it at my disposal for an indefinite period of time. It is transcribed in three different hands which do not appear to be of the same date. It has from 13 to 20 lines to a page. The number of folios is 95. It is rather difficult to ascertain the exact dates of the copyings. The colour of the paper and the style of handwriting suggest that the manuscript goes back seventy or eighty years.

SEVA DAS—HIS PLACE IN THE COURT. REFERENCES BY OTHER HISTORIANS AND WRITERS

The author was a Brahman by caste, working as a Court Munshi at first during the court of Bahadur Shah, later on under Farrukhsyer, and then in the first four years of emperor Muhammad Shah's reign. The contemporary historians do not mention his name in their works, which clearly indicates that he was not among the great dignitaries of the court. But as a treasurer and Mir Munshi (Head Clerk), he was known for his honesty and fair-mindedness, in spite of the fact that he lived in a period notable for quick demoralization and decay.

The princes themselves were given to wine and women, almost all of them were nullities and were treated as tools by the unscrupulous, selfish and fiendish Syed brothers (Abdullah Khan and Hussain Ali Khan) who used them as they liked and then flung them away. Some scholars might think that the methods used above for the Syed brothers seem a little unkind, but instances can be quoted of their terrible kind of treachery and intrigues against their brother courtiers who suffered at their hands. The work of

52
122
136-152



Shiv Das is mentioned only by Prof. Dawson in Elliot's History Vol. VIII. p. 331 (Charles Rieu).¹

Shiv Das in the introductory portion of the Ms. speaks of his own training and authorship as follows:—

اگرچه در طاعت و قدرت این بے بضاعت ذره حقیر شود اس کهنوی نیست و نبود. اما چون مدت در
مجلس والانشیان تربیت یافته و عمری در خدمت بزرگان عالی نشین در کسب انشاء و اختیار کار
گزار تبار از تاثیر صحبت ایشان شمه ازان نقید تحریر کرده بر شاهنامه متورکام موسوم ساخت. آری
از منشیان عظام والا فرجام امید آن دارد که هر جا و کجا سہوی و خطا و کہ خاصہ بشریت است راہ یافتہ
باشد قلم اصلاح بران جاری فرمائید و منت بر احقر گزارند.
فرد:— "من نوشتم صرف کردم روزگار من نمانم این بماند پایدار"

Although to write down fresh evidences to illustrate the beneficial effects of God's justice—was beyond the power of this humble and beggarly equipped Shiv Das of Lucknow, yet as he had received his training in the company of scholarly persons and had spent a substantial portion of his life in the service of intellectual people to learn the art of writing, he could not help writing down a portion of what he had gained by associating with them. He called this book *Shah Nama*, *Munnawar Kalam*. He, however, hopes that writers of repute and learning would not find fault with any mistake they come across, because to err is human. They would on the contrary, he hopes, rectify the mistakes and put this humble servant of theirs under a heavy debt of gratitude.

Couplet. "This composition has cost many a year to write,
He shall pass away, but this shall remain for ever."

MERITS AND DEMERITS OF SHIV DAS AS A WRITER

The chief defects which I have discovered in Shiv Das's writing are that he has not shown great skill in collecting and sorting out his information, though his accounts show keenness of observation and mental retentiveness of impressions. Another defect in his writing is that he goes into endless details of daily routine of life at the court, but pays very little heed to some of the things of supreme nature such as inter-state connections and foreign alliances. Shiv

Das is not very particular, nor is he very consistent, while describing the battle fought between Cuhraman Jat and Raja Ajit Singh. He records the number of the two armies to be 30,000; but the number of soldiers killed and captured exceeds the number of men on the two sides. Again, the writer of *Seir-ul-Mutakharin* (Ghulam Hussain) and Shiv Das, writing of the same events differ in detail being perhaps partisans. But Shiv Das' account of the Darbar of Farrukh Syer seems to be more credible in comparison to other historians, partly because as a contemporary he wrote what he saw, and, mostly because of his training. Apart from that he had other sources of information from the fellow-courtiers whom he mentions in his account. From his writing the reader gets the impression that Shiv Das had capacity for accurate observation, and that he has written his accounts with honesty of intention. He does not misrepresent, neither exaggerating nor minimising facts, as other chroniclers of that period have done. As such he may be considered to be impartial and unbiased. His account is full of life and gives a true picture of the court. On the whole, he states facts truly and correctly but he does not draw any inference from them at all. He does not seem to have been influenced by any party at the court.

THE HISTORICAL VALUE OF THE DOCUMENT

This work of Shiv Das is not a connected history, but a mere compilation of court news and detached narratives, written in very simple Persian and in plain style. The writer inserts many official letters and imperial "Firmans" in full which throw light on the court life. This MS. may be considered a very important document which supplies valuable material to the students of Indian History of that particular period, and to those who wish to understand and make a correct estimate of the personality and policy of Farrukh Syer. It is a record that provides valuable information concerning travellers and ambassadors of different courts who came to visit the Royal Darbar. From the writing he appears to be fairly accurate though we cannot say with guarantee that he has not made any mistake or omission here and there. All these points add to the evidential value of the MS. As such, he may be considered along with others an authority on the life and period of Farrukh Syer.

So we form our conclusion with more or less hesitation and reserve our judgment altogether about Shiv Das' work and leave to experienced teachers and scholars to judge his ability as a historian.

1. British Museum Cat. Vol. I, Page 274 (Folio 87—C. J. Renouard). Written in Nastalik apparently in the 18th century (C. J. Renouard). Copyist Mohd. Rashid.

Very few writers on this period have consulted this valuable document. With the exception of Irwin in his "Later Moghals" other writers have not had the opportunity to consult this MS. It is free from all classical allusions. It throws a flood of light on the social, religious and military customs of the Darbar. A great portion of the book contains an account of the royal mandates given to courtiers, or orders sent to Governors and Viceroys of different provinces under the King.

COURT LIFE AND COURT ETIQUETTE

The study of the court life as depicted by Shiv Das is interesting from two points of view. First, the splendour and glory of the court. Secondly, court etiquette.

Almost on every occasion when the Darbar was held, great preparations were made and a good deal of expenditure was incurred. Instances may be given from the MS. of the manner in which money was lavishly spent. For example, on the occasion of the marriage of the heir-apparent, simply to amuse and entertain the guests, over a lakh of rupees were spent on fire-works and² illumination. Thousands of rupees were spent on tiger hunting and bull fighting—a pastime in which the king took great delight. Money was given as a reward to the man who supplied male-buffalo to fight against the tiger and for lion hunting. Those who distinguished themselves as good marksmen received "khilat" a robe of honour and landed estate.

Evening entertainments were followed by whole night dancing and drinking on which the writer says, "Thousands of rupees were wasted." The author gives various items of expenditure. For instance men who were in charge of the enclosure were given money and a royal "Sanad" (Certificate). Those who had charge of the illuminations received ample reward. Those who brought the dancing girls were paid liberally. In short, drummers and musicians, and every one who helped in contributing towards the success of the evening entertainment were richly rewarded by the royal court. The writer says, "At times, the revenue of a province for

2. See Chapter V of the MS. The writer speaks of money spent for pleasure and frivolity.

بعض اوقات کل آمدنی صوبہ بطور پیشگی فراہم کر دے شد و در عرصہ یک ماہ مشاغل و جشنہائے شاہی
خرج کردہ می شد۔

the year was collected in advance and wasted in one month's entertainment and court amusements."³

Men of rank and position used to come to pay their respect to the emperor and were honoured and richly rewarded for their services.

MUGHAL TITLES AND HONOURS

The king used to bestow honours and confer titles on different occasions, such as Proclamation day, birth of a son or heir, victory over an enemy, etc. All courtiers who rendered signal service were handsomely rewarded. In the king's court the representatives of different countries and provinces were invited to attend the royal Darbar. Such occasion was a time of presentation of certificates of merit, gifts and titles. Acquaintances were honoured and entertained, and the king's trusted servants and officers, irrespective of their religion, were offered responsible position. To those who distinguished themselves in field-sports and exhibited valour, a jewelled sword of honour was given together with a Jagir which brought a substantial income. Others who were highly favoured were granted a robe of honour and an embroidered turban. The royal mandate issued by the court had high sounding titles. For instance, addressing Nizam-ul-Mulk (generally known as Chin Kalich Khan, who was the Commander-in-Chief at Moradabad, and to whom the order was sent to be present in the Darbar), the royal mandate with high sounding titles runs as follows:⁴

امارت پناہ شہامت و بہالت دستگاہ و اعتضاد الکبریٰ اعظم السلطنت العظمیٰ زبدہ مخلصان
و فاکیش خلاصہ دوستان دورانیش بیفایت و انتفات پادشاہی امیدوار بودہ بلاند۔

The shelter of nobility, the supporter of bravery and courage the pillar of great Khilafat and the upholder of great empire, the choicest of friends, prudent and far-sighted, be ever hopeful of the royal favours. Similarly, when Nizam-ul-Mulk refused to accept the rank of Vazeership, the order was sent to Sarbuland Khan, Governor of Patna. The royal Firman with big titles runs as follows:⁵

شہامت و بہالت نشان زبدہ خواتین بلند مکان مخلص خاص محب و اختصاص خان والا نشان
سر بلند خان بہادر بیفایت پادشاہی امیدوار بودہ بلاند۔

3. Page 7: Ms: Shahnama Munnawar Kalam.

4. Shahnama Munnawar Kalam. Page 20 -A.

5. Shahnama Munnawar Kalam. Page 20-B.

You who are the emblem of bravery and courage, the chosen among the chiefs and of great dignity, the best of special friends, the chief of great position, Sarbuland Khan, be ever hopeful of the royal presents.

All services were rewarded and amply repaid by titles and honours.

CRITICISM

There are some critics who have passed an unfair verdict by calling Mughal Titles as hollow and sham. Such criticism is not fair, as it is proved from the award of Jagirs (i.e., landed estates) given almost to all the courtiers and petty officials. In addition to this they were granted, titles of honour and coveted position which meant considerable influence and prestige. For instance, Hussain Ali Khan, the highest courtier of the State was given the rank of the First Lord Treasurer (Khazanādār) as well as the title of Amir-ul-Umra (i.e., the Prime Minister) together with an estate worth Rs. 7,000 and "Mansabdari," mastery over 5,000 horsemen in the government of Lahore. Similarly Khawaja Abdulla Khan was appointed Chief Justice (i.e., Amir-i-Dād) of the Court of Bengal and was given the title of royal "Bakshi" (treasurer or paymaster) and master over 3,000 horsemen.⁶

Among the Hindus Raja Jai Singh and Raja Ajit Singh, Dewar Chehal Ram Nazir Sawai, all who had served loyally in different capacities were honoured and granted governorships, titles and jagirs together with mastery over three, four and five thousand horsemen.⁷ But the Mansabdari of 5,000 or 3,000 rank had practically become an empty rank by the time of Farrukh Syer. Mere civilians sometimes held Mansabs even in earlier generations. Of course, the grant of a jagir was always of some value. Mughal titles were valued in the 18th (and even in early 19th century), not so much for the intrinsic worth and gain, as for the advantageous use which adventurous holders of such titles made of them (Maharata Chiefs utilising Mughal titles, etc.). One of the last important recipients of Mughal title was the famous Raja Ram Mohun Roy (for presenting the Emperor's case to English Court), and in his time the title was certainly still valued and recognised abroad as well.

6. Shahnama Munnawar-ul-Kalam. Page 3.

7. Shahnama Munnawar-ul-Kalam. Page 14, 17 and 18.

COURT ATMOSPHERE

In the court, problems of commercial, military and political nature were discussed. The writer speaks of it as a court mostly full of intrigues and mutual jealousies among the courtiers, a court where no one was sure of his position. Men like Raja Ajit Singh, Mir Jumla, Raja Jai Singh and several others who held eminent position were ousted or degraded by the wicked Syed brothers, Hussain Ali and Abdulla Khan. Even the king himself became helpless and ultimately fell a victim to the plot planned by the two Syed brothers and paid with his life. The warning given by the loyal courtiers who were in sympathy with the king runs as follows :⁸

ہر چند کہ ہوا خوانان التماس می کردند کہ آمدن حسین علی خان درین وقت بہ چنین انبوه فوج عالی
از علت و فساد نیست۔ حضور والا امرائے ہوا خوانان را از نزدیک دور اجتماع فرمایند۔

The king's friends secretly sent word that the coming of Hussain Ali Khan at this time with a large army is not free from danger. Let your Majesty not send away the well-wishers from the court but keep them near.

Under the circumstances it was but natural that things went on from bad to worse and the whole country fell into a chaotic condition. Almost everyone at the court was terrorised by the two brothers who came to be known as the king-makers.

LIFE OF THE SOLDIERS IN THE COURT

The life of the soldiers was not so strenuous as it had been under Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb. They had, very simple drill and that also once or twice a week. Nominal guards were appointed who could be easily overpowered. The soldiers lived a life of ease and since they were not regularly paid they often engaged themselves in plundering the citizens. Drinking and debauchery were common practice among them.⁹

A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE NATURE AND CONTENTS OF THE DOCUMENTS GIVING IMPORTANT EVIDENCE OF THE COURT

The best way to give an insight into this valuable document to the reader is to write down a summary of the chapters that

8. Shahnama Munnawar Kalam, Page 22.

9. See Shahnama Munnawar Kalam, Chapter XXX and XXI Page

cover the story. The MS. contains a collection of historical letters and notices and mandates relating to the short reign of Farrukh Syer. A few of the letters also deal with the first four years of the reign of Muhammad Shah. The author has tried to arrange the contents of the MS. in the following manner, leading subjects being :—

1. Honours conferred by Farrukh Syer on the two Syed brothers. Chapter I.
2. Letters of Abdulla Khan to Hussain Ali Khan, telling him of the displeasure of the king and asking him to send help . . . Chapter I—IV.
3. Rebellion and finally submission of Raja Ajit Singh. Chapter VI.
4. Mir Jumla sent as a Governor of Patna. Chapters IV and VIII.
5. Court revels and festivities. Chapters V and X.
6. Plots and Intrigues of the Court. Chapters IX, XII, XIV and XXV.
7. Court titles and honours. Chapters XV and XVI.
8. Plots against Farrukh Syer—his confinement on the 8th of Rabi-ul-Akhaire. Chapters XX, XXI and XVI.
9. Proclamation of Rafi-ud Darjat. Chapter XXXI.
10. Death of Rafi-ud Darjat. Chapter XXXIX.
11. Proclamation of Niko-Syer and capture of Agra. Chapter XXXV.
12. Accession of Muhammad Shah. Chapter LIV.
13. Capture of the Deccan by Nizam-ul Mulk, Chapter XXXIV.
14. Death of Hussain Ali Khan. Chapter LIX.
15. Proclamation of Sultan Ibrahim by Abdulla Khan in opposition to Muhammad Shah. Chapter LX, Section B.
16. The Rebellion of Abdulla Khan against King Muhammad Shah—the submission of the rebel.
17. Muhammad Shah congratulated by his officers and courtiers. Chapter LXX.

18. Royal mandates issued to various Governors and nobles. Chapter LXXIII.
19. The abolition of Jazia at the request of Raja Jai Singh. Chapter LXXIV.
20. The brutal murder of Abdulla Khan. Chapter LXXV.
21. The last event of any importance is the appointment of Nizam-ul Mulk to the Vizierate on the 15th of Jumadi A.H. 1134. Chapter LXXVII.

CONCLUSION

It seems the royal princes were mere puppets in the hands of the Syed brothers. As soon as they found that anyone of them was trying to assert his authority, he was set aside. The drama comes to a close with the final overthrow resulting in the murder of the two Syed brothers who had played the roll of king-makers for a period of ten years. The court lacked politicians and scholars. Most of the courtiers were self-seekers. The royal princes were carried away with the glamorous idea that they were of royal descent. The court was torn by intrigue and internal dissensions so much so that life was not safe nor was there much security of tenure.

The lack of real power of Farrukh Syer in his royal capacity emboldened the Syeds who felt quite secure of their own position in the court and made themselves assertive, vain and conceited, so much so that they could not be checked by any one, and finally became responsible for the downfall of many royal princes.

Appointments in the East India Company's Service

By

DR. PRAKASH CHANDRA, M.A., LL.B., PH.D., (LONDON),
Professor of Political Science, Victoria College, Gwalior.

BEFORE the passing of Pitt's India Act in 1784, all appointments in the Company's service were made by the Court of Directors. Considering the vast dimensions of the Company's commerce and the new political powers which it had assumed, these appointments were necessarily numerous and important. Although this was the formal procedure, what really happened was that each member of the Court nominated his own candidates separately. The distribution of patronage seems to have varied from year to year; but the Chairman and the Deputy Chairman of the Company always enjoyed a larger share than an ordinary Director. No minimum educational qualifications for the selection of Writers and Cadets, who composed the civil and military services of the Company, were prescribed; nor were there any age restrictions.¹ It is needless to mention that the Directors almost invariably nominated only those candidates who were either their own relations or of those whom they wanted to oblige.

The Act of 1784 did not openly impose any limitations on the exercise of patronage by the Court of Directors. All appointments were expressly left in its hands. But the new principle on which the Act was founded, namely, the subordination of the Directors to the Board of Control in their political affairs inevitably led to some extent in that direction. By the Act, the India Board was entrusted with the power to superintend, direct, and control the civil and military government of India. But how could it discharge its functions if it did not exercise some measure of control over the Company's appointments? Supposing that the Directors proceeded to appoint as Governor-General of India an unsuitable person, was not the Board empowered to protest and to call for a cancellation of such an order? Or assuming that the Company paid to its servants in India very low salaries which drove them towards corruption and inefficiency, could not the Board compel it to increase their salaries and to improve the conditions of service in other ways?

1. *Memoirs of Old Haileybury College*, p. 10.

These powers of the Board though not specifically mentioned in the Act seemed to be implicit. The Board was, however, given certain positive powers. Thus although the power of appointment was to be the sole prerogative of the Directors, they, as well as the Board, were to enjoy the power of dismissal. Further the Act seemed to envisage a situation where the future promotion of officers once admitted to the Company's service by the Directors was to depend on the discretion of the Governments in India and not the Government across the seas.

The law did not place any appointments at the disposal of the Board of Control. But possessing extensive powers as it did over the Company, it was natural that its President should have claimed early a share in the spoils. The Directors too were not unwilling to accommodate him, hoping in this way to save the Company from further Parliamentary incursions. Henry Dundas, the first² President of the Board, was able to secure a large number of appointments in India for his countrymen. The condition of the Scotch at this period was by no means prosperous. The Union of 1707 had proved disadvantageous, while quite a number had suffered terribly in the Jacobite risings of 1715 and 1745. Agriculture was only in a nascent state while commerce held no attractions for the hardy people of the highlands. These causes explain the readiness of the Scotch to leave their home to try their fortune in other lands. Indeed the unconcealed eagerness with which they did so became a standing joke with Englishmen of that generation. "The noblest prospect which a Scotchman ever sees," said Dr. Johnson to his biographer, "is the high road that leads him to England."³ Lord Eldon defined 'taste' to Boswell in the following words: "My opinion is that taste is that faculty of the mind which enables a Scotchman to prefer England to Scotland."⁴ Some of these gentlemen were not content to stop in England and they found a man willing to further their plans in their distinguished compatriot, Henry Dundas. The statement of Lord Rosebery that Dundas 'Scotticised India and Orientalised Scotland' is undoubtedly an exaggeration but it exaggerated an element of truth.⁵ Sir Walter Scott described the Board of Control in 1821 as, 'the corn-chest for Scotland where we poor gentry must send our younger sons, as we

2. Really though not formally.

3. Boswell, *Life of Johnson*, (J. M. Dent & Sons), 1, p.264.

4. Farington, Joseph, *The Farington Diary*, VII, p.239.

5. Cf. the view of Dr. H. Furber in his *Henry Dundas*.

send our black cattle to the South.' ⁶ The cartoon of Gillray published in March, 1787, and entitled, 'The Board of Control or the Blessings of a Scotch Dictator' points in the same direction.

Of course, the President of the Board had no authority to appoint a person himself. What he did was to recommend a candidate to the Chairman of the Company. In one of his letters to the Chairman, Dundas wrote referring to a Mr. Halliday, "He is nearly connected with Sir T. Farquahar whom I am very desirous to oblige in the person of Mr. Halliday." ⁷ These recommendations coming from such a quarter were usually accepted, the more so as they were always politely worded. At an early date the Board seems to have been allotted a definite share of appointments. A letter of Lord Castlereagh, Dundas's successor, to the Chairman of the Company, dated November 12, 1802, reads: "I have received a letter from the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland expressing a strong desire that he might be enabled to place his nephew, Mr. Lindsay, as a writer in the service of the Company. I feel much regret that I am precluded by engagements from which I have not been able to extricate myself from promoting his Excellency's wishes *through the means which the Court have so obligingly placed at my disposal in the present year . . .*" ⁸ In 1806 the share of the President of the Board was made equal to that of the Chairman and the Deputy Chairman of the Company, which was double the share of an ordinary Director. ⁹

It has already been mentioned that no qualifications for the candidates were laid down. In July, 1784, however, the age limits were fixed between 15 and 18 both for Writers and Cadets. In 1793 the outer limit was extended to 22 years. Arrangements were also made for training once the candidates had been nominated. The famous Haileybury College was established in 1805 for the use of the Writers and was followed four years later by the opening of the Military Seminary of Addiscombe. These institutions did not yield any immediate results. The Directors who drew up the rules shrank from subjecting their nominees to too much toil. In an extremely interesting letter, Le Blas, the Principal of the Haileybury College, observed: "For the first seven or eight years after the College was established there was no test of any sort, and the College had

6. Quoted in Lovat-Fraser, *Henry Dundas*, at p.20.

7. India Office MSS. The Home Miscellaneous Series, Vol. 731-a, p.445.

8. Home Miscellaneous, Vol. 504, p.275.

9. *Memoirs of Old Haileybury College*, p.10.

no power to impose them. If a man got through, without doing anything bad enough to merit expulsion, the College was obliged to give him his Certificate. The result was an awful amount of idleness though the really good men did nobly well, as they will do almost under any system." ¹⁰

The intention behind the foundation of the College was that nobody would be sent out as a Writer who had not resided there. Nevertheless the Directors waived this rule in favour of particular persons. On these occasions it was usual for the Board of Control to register its protest and to remind them that these appointments had been vested in them "not as a mere matter of patronage, but with the duty imposed upon them of exercising this right in the manner most conducive to the public interest." ¹¹ The vicious practice was finally ended by the Act of 1813 which forbade the appointment of any person who had not kept four terms at the College. At the same time power was given to the Board of Control to revise and alter any regulations made by the Directors for the management of the College. In 1853 the nomination system was abolished and the Company's civil service was thrown open to all British subjects who appeared at a competitive examination. ¹²

The exercise of patronage by the Directors was, as is evident, open to serious objection. Happily it was free from corruption, though in the earlier days it does not seem to have been so. The gossip Hickey mentions an amusing anecdote about a colonel in the Company's army who told Lord Cornwallis that he had purchased nomination for his three sons from the Directors for a sum of five thousand guineas. ¹³ Whatever the earlier practice, it appears that things had improved by the beginning of the nineteenth century, although a perusal of contemporary newspapers is likely to create a different impression. At that time a number of advertisements appeared offering monetary consideration for appointments in the East. The Company's Directors too were solicited in the same way. ¹⁴ This scandal led to an enquiry by a Committee of the

10. *Memoirs*, op. cit. p.58

11. India Office MSS. Madras Draft Despatches, Vol. XX. Board's Letter to the Court, Feb. 8, 1813.

12. Strachey, Sir John, *India: Its Administration and Progress* (1911) p.83.

13. Hickey, William, *Memoirs*, IV, pp.109-110.

14. Morris, H., *Life of Charles Grant*, p.238.

House of Commons in 1809 whose findings exonerated the Directors as well as the Board. None of them had made an appointment for money, but during the course of investigation the Committee came across certain cases in which the original nomination had changed hands and this had been accompanied by a pecuniary transaction. To take an illustration, it was found that one Mr. George Barker had been nominated a Cadet for the Bengal Infantry in 1808 by Robert Thornton, a Director, at the recommendation of a Mr. Mee, who had then sold this appointment to some one else for two hundred guineas through an agent who was paid sixty pounds as his commission.¹⁵

Indeed, it would have been surprising had the Directors made any corrupt bargains, for the penalties for so doing were severe. By the Act of 1793 every Director within ten days of his election had to take an oath that he would accept no money for such appointments. If he was discovered, he ran the risk of being expelled from the Court. Besides, he would have had to forfeit a sum double the amount of consideration which he had received. Further, persons appointed under such circumstances were liable to be removed from service whenever the secret was found.

Once the officers had been appointed by the Court of Directors their promotion lay in the hands of the several Governments in India. That appears to have been the clear purport of the Act of 1784 which laid down that all officers with the exception of the Governor-General, Governors, Commanders-in-Chief, and Members of Councils were to be appointed on the basis of seniority by the Local Governments. But this was not achieved without some difficulty. The correspondence of Cornwallis and Wellesley reveals cases in which on occasions the Directors did not hesitate to make such appointments themselves and where in their individual capacity they made inconvenient recommendations to the heads of Governments. Cornwallis once wrote to a Director with considerable bitterness: "Before I accepted the arduous task of governing this country, I did understand that the practice of naming persons from England to succeed to offices of great trust and importance to the public welfare in this country without either knowing or regarding whether such persons were in any degree qualified for such offices was entirely done away."¹⁶ Lord Wellesley while protesting against

a continuous interference by the Directors in this sphere gave a clear exposition of the constitution in the following terms: "I object, however, to this measure, principally because it affords a proof of the intention of the Court of Directors to exercise a power of direct nomination to efficient subordinate offices in the local executive government of Bengal. . . . The proper office of the Court of Directors is to superintend and control the local governments of India in the exercise of the power of appointment to the various executive offices of this country, as well as in every other branch of the executive government. It was not in the contemplation of the legislature by the Act of 1793 to vest in the Court of Directors the direct power of nomination to every office in the local government of India; the power of nomination to such offices, and indeed, the whole civil and military government are in distinct terms vested by the Act of 1793 in the Governors in Council of the three Presidencies subject to the local control of the Governor-General in Council, and in Europe, to that of the Court of Directors and of the Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India. The Court of Directors may certainly issue orders directing the government of India to appoint any particular person to any executive office in India, but the government on the spot ought to possess and to exercise the same free discretion as with regard to any other orders from home. It is, however, highly inexpedient to issue any orders from England for the direct nomination of any person to office below the Councils in India."¹⁷

In this policy, it is gratifying to note the Governments received the fullest co-operation from the Board of Control. Thus to Sir Archibald Campbell, Governor of Madras, who wanted to procure some one's appointment and wished that Dundas would exert himself in his behalf, Dundas wrote that it would be better if the Governor approached the Governor-General, for it was his aim as much as possible to enforce the propriety of all appointments flowing from authorities on the spot rather than proceeding from influence at home.¹⁸ The line thus taken by Dundas was followed by his successors. To an applicant, Castlereagh wrote: "I must continue to think that the selection of proper persons to fill offices of trust and responsibility abroad will always be best left for the good of the service in the hands of the

15. Committee's Report.

16. Forrest, Sir George, *Cornwallis*, 11, p.181.

17. Martin, M., *The Despatches, Minutes, and Correspondence of the Marquess Wellesley*, III, pp.xiv-xv.

18. Furber, op. cit., p. 60.

persons placed by the Company at the head of their respective Governments, to whom alone the relative pretensions of their servants can be fully known, and by whom they can be most fairly appreciated."¹⁹ It was not only in private correspondence that the Board gave expression to its feelings; it defined its attitude clearly in an official letter to the Court: "We think it right to remind you that leaving the selection to employments in India with your Governors on the spot has been considered by you of so much importance to the good of your service, that you have refrained in a great measure from controlling these appointments, except in very strong cases, or when persons were appointed to offices of a value superior to what their age or rank in the service admits. How far the appointments to which we have referred fall under any of these predicaments, we do not know. We merely mention the general principle, and it is your province to consider the application of it to the particular instances in question."²⁰ But it may be remarked that while the Board wanted to leave the matter of appointment to the discretion of the Governments in India, it was not in favour of allowing them to exercise the power of dismissing the Company's servants. It was possible, the Board held, that in doing so their motives might not be always wholly disinterested, and so it was necessary that the Court of Directors itself should exercise this power rather than delegate it.²¹

Another service rendered by the Board to the cause of public administration took the shape of the fullest support which it invariably extended to the Governments in India in their policy of enforcing purity in public services. Everybody knows that it was the great achievement of Lord Cornwallis to end a system in which the public servants received low salaries and large perquisites and to replace it by a system where they were paid handsome salaries but were disallowed from making money in unlawful ways. But it needs to be emphasized that but for the co-operation cheerfully given by the Board, Cornwallis might never have accomplished this task. If he succeeded, where bolder men like Clive and Warren Hastings had failed, the fact may to a large extent be attributed to the powerful influence of the Board of Control.²² Time and again when a despatch arrived from the Court for the approval of the Board disallowing higher salaries sanctioned by the Local Govern-

19. Home Miscellaneous, Vol. 504, p.83.

20. Madras Draft Despatches, Vol. IV, p. 542.

21. Major Brown's Case, Home Miscellaneous, Vol. 342.

22. Forrest, op. cit., p. 25.

ments, the Board did not hesitate to uphold the decision of those Governments. "The equal policy," it once expostulated with the Directors, "has been to give your several Presidencies a liberal degree of discretion in fixing the salary they might think suitable to the importance or labour of the offices. . . . We are decisively of opinion that if fair and moderate representation from your Governments abroad in favour of your servants employed under them are not to be sanctioned at home, you cannot expect your services to be carried on with zeal and energy."²³ Indeed, the Directors were so ruthless in applying the pruning hook that they did not scruple to disallow such paltry allowances as forty pagodas per month.²⁴ With such a mentality, it is not to be wondered at, that they engaged in interminable conflicts with the extravagant Lord Wellesley and that the irate Governor-General should pour out vials of scorn on their devoted heads.

The Board also co-operated with the Governments in putting an end to jobbing which was one of the most serious evils from which the administration in India suffered.²⁵ Many adventurers made their way to this country in the confident belief that they would find employment. But the number of jobs being necessarily limited many of them soon grew disillusioned and then became a source of considerable embarrassment to the Government. It was to stop this practice that when in 1785 the Board noticed that the Company had granted permission to numerous persons to proceed to India as Free Mariners, it urged on the Directors the advisability of ordering the presidencies to report on the situation and employment of those already in India.²⁶ How strongly Dundas felt about the matter is clear from a letter of his to Sir Archibald Campbell in which he complained of the latter's leniency to office-seekers.²⁷

Besides, the Board attempted to minimise the severity with which the Directors were prone to visit their servants who had incurred their displeasure. Thus when they decided in 1786 to dismiss the Hon'ble Mr. Basil Cochran, a member of the Madras Board of Revenue, on suspicion of peculation, the Board observed that

23. India Office MSS. Letters from the Board to the Court, Vol. I, p.190.

24. Home Miscellaneous, Vol. 342, p.537.

25. cf. various letters of Cornwallis in his *Correspondence*.

26. Madras Draft Despatches, Vol. I, pp.176-7.

27. Furber, op. cit., p.59.

while it had no power to interfere, "If we had been to exercise any judgment of our own in the business, we should have been of opinion that a suspension till the issue of the trial would have been a measure more consonant to the ideas of British justice than a dismissal immediately antecedent to a trial."²⁸ And again when in 1807 the Directors proceeded to dismiss the Chief Secretary and the Accountant-General of Madras, the Board, while admitting that there was a *prima facie* case for their dismissal, ordered that a full enquiry into their conduct should be held first.²⁹

So also it attempted to introduce into the despatches of the Court a tone of dignified restraint. Sir William Foster tells us that there lingered a tradition at the East India House of "taking a high tone" in writing to the Government abroad.³⁰ That had now to disappear. Thus when in 1787 the Directors wrote to the Government of Fort St. George calling upon them to account for altering the destination of a ship, accusing them of having done so far private ends, and threatening to hold them personally responsible for the act, the Board made the following pungent observations: "We have very frequently observed that menace in your former correspondence with your servants, but have not met with any instance of its being carried into effect. It is not to be supposed that your principal servants in India can be less informed than yourselves of the provisions and ordinary operations of the existing statutes; and we are clearly of opinion that the powers of law should not be held out to terrify where there can either be a doubt of their application, or a serious intention to apply them."³¹

If it occasionally interfered with the Court's despatches, the Board explained in another place, it was not to prevent it from passing censure where it was deserved, but "because we would have even censure conveyed in terms suited to your own dignity, as representing the executive authority of Great Britain in its Indian possessions and the elevated situation of those you address."³²

The Directors resented such interventions. They claimed that the power of dismissal being reserved to them, they had an unrestricted right to pronounce censure in the terms they chose, and

on several occasions when the Board altered the tone of their despatches they even threatened to recall the offending servants altogether.³³ It may be noted that as time passed on the differences between the Board and the Court became less frequent. Gradually the Directors adapted themselves to the new conditions and became more tractable.

To revert to the question of appointments. The Members of Councils were nominated by the Court of Directors from among their senior civil servants. But Dundas took care to ask the Governors to furnish him with confidential information respecting the likely aspirants, so that if occasion arose, he might exert his influence on the Court of Directors. He wrote to Cornwallis in 1787: "It will readily occur to you how important it is for me to be privately informed by you of the characters of the servants in the different situations at Calcutta, who may have to aspire to the situations of seats in the Supreme Council, and other important situations; for in so far as any appointments are to be made at home, you may believe I wish to be guided in any interference I may take in them by your opinions."³⁴ Though Cornwallis accepted this piece of advice, and indeed adopted the practice of recommending certain names to the Board of Control with a view to procuring their nomination,³⁵ this collaboration does not seem to have borne much fruit. In subsequent years, Cornwallis had reason to protest vigorously against certain appointments which the Directors had succeeded in making,³⁶ and when the terms of the Charter of 1793 were discussed, it is remarkable that he urged that the power of appointing the Members of Councils should be assumed by the Crown.³⁷ Furthermore, the absence of any disputes between the India Board and the Directors in this field also suggests that the latter were allowed a free hand. But perhaps the position of the President of the Board armed with confidential information was not without some restraining influence.

In the appointment of the Governor-General, Governors, and Commanders-in-Chief, the Directors, however, possessed very little

28. Madras Draft Despatches, Vol. V, p.176.

29. *ibid.*, p.173.

30. Foster, Sir William, *East India House*, p.87.

31. Madras Draft Despatches, Vol. II, pp.170-171.

32. *ibid.*, p.173.

33. Cf. Col. Ross's Case, Madras Draft Despatches, Vol. I, pp.210-20.

34. Ross Charles, *Correspondence of Charles, First Marquis Cornwallis*, I, p.293.

35. Forrest, *op. cit.*, II, pp.184-85.

36. Cf. Cornwallis to Dundas, March 4, 1792, *Cornwallis Correspondence*.

37. *Correspondence*, *op. cit.*, II, pp.13-20.

voice. They were nominated by the Board of Control and the Court of Directors was then invited to ratify the same.³⁸ Although ultimately the Court accepted the nominees of the Board it did not do so without some effort at resistance. Whenever a vacancy occurred, it was the policy of the Directors to press the claims of a person belonging to their service. On the other hand, the President of the Board naturally preferred that the highest civil appointments should go to his politician friends; while in the matter of military appointments he followed the advice of the British Commander-in-Chief. It will be thus evident that the higher appointments almost always created delicate situations and produced a degree of unpleasantness between the parties. The whole atmosphere became surcharged with suspicion; each instead of appreciating the point of view of the other charged it with wilful opposition. Thus to quote an example, the Duke of Wellington, a member of Lord Liverpool's Ministry, whose aid was invoked by Col. Malcolm for the Governorship of Madras, wrote in 1824: "I am much concerned that his choice has not fallen upon you. But to tell you the truth, I suspect if it had, he would not have been more successful in his negotiations with the Directors than he has been in favour of Mr. Lushington. You are become popular in Leadenhall Street, not because you deserve to be so, but because you happen to be the fittest instrument at the moment to be thrown in the face of the Government, and to oppose them. But if you had been proposed by the Government, then all the reasons against your appointment would have been urged as strongly as those in favour of it are at present."³⁹

38. See my article entitled, *The Appointment of Lord Lauderdale as Governor-General of India*, in the *Journal of Indian History*, Dec. 1933.

39. Kaye, Sir J. W., *Lives of Indian Officers*, I, p.216.

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

By

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

AFTER the overthrow of the Peshwa's rule in 1818, the whole of the country governed by him was annexed to the British Empire in India leaving the territory "between the Warna and the Neera extending from the base of the Sahyadri on the west to Punderpoor on the east to Raja Pratapsimha of Satara." Captain Grant Duff in the First or Grenadier Regiment of Bombay Native Infantry¹ was appointed British Resident at Satara to direct the conduct of the Maharaja. He worked for about four years during which he introduced considerable improvements in the administration of the Satara State and by his high capacities for work and sympathetic ways made himself very popular with the Raja and his subjects alike. By the end of 1822 he returned home on furlough and after a careful study of the historical material which he had collected while he was at Satara he published in 1826 his monumental History of the Marathas which has immortalised his name specially in Maharashtra. He is consequently known more as the historian of the Marathas than as the first Resident of Satara.

In the preface to this book he has given a list of persons who had supplied him materials and information, and of the records he had utilized for writing the history. About the records of the Satara Raja he writes thus—The Records of the Satara Government were under my own immediate charge and many original papers of historical importance the existence of which was unknown to the Peshwas were confided to me by the Raja.

For this reason and others Grant Duff and Maharaja Pratapsimha were on very friendly terms and the letters published below, which are preserved in the Historical Museum at Satara show that

1. A short account of the early career of Grant Duff is given in the preface of the latest edition of his *History of the Marathas* published by Messrs. R. Cambray, Calcutta.

both of them continued to keep up their friendly relations even after the retirement of Grant Duff. These letters are dated from 11th July, 1823 to 29th Dec. 1833, and in the Peshwa Daftar at Poona a copy of the Marathi translation of Grant Duff's English letter to Pratapsimha dated Eden 25 August 1835 is preserved.² We have no means of knowing how long their correspondence was continued or what Grant Duff did when his friend Pratapsimha was charged with political crimes, deposed and sent to Benares as a political prisoner in 1839 where he died in 1847, eleven years before the death of Grant Duff.

The letters supply very interesting details about the private life of Grant Duff and the Maharaja, which are not otherwise known. Grant Duff's affectionate regard for the Maharaja and his sincere desire for the well being of the people of the Satara State with whom he had come in close contact, as seen in these letters, increase our respect for the man. They also reveal the many good qualities of Pratapsimha which were universally praised even by the greatest British authorities in those days.

Grant Duff's remarks in his letter³ dated 11th January, 1833 about the economic depression throughout the world due to low prices of agricultural produce exactly one hundred years back will be read with special interest in these days of the same kind of economic depression.⁴

(1)

EDEN 11TH JULY, 1823.

To

HIS HIGHNESS THE RAJA OF SATARA,
Maharaj,

I arrived in England on the 12th May, and¹ in London on the ensuing day. I remained in the metropolis of this Great Empire until the 25th June when I quitted it and arrived in my mother's house on the 3rd instant after an absence of 18 years. None of my relations recognized me, but I knew every body and those who were at school with me recollected me more easily than the members of my own family.

2. Selections from the Peshwa Daftar No. 42.45.

3. No. 12 below.

4. Grant Duff's letter of 25 August 1835 above referred to also speaks of the continued economic trouble. He writes in it that although he owns 3,500 *bighas* of land he is not free from the universal economic difficulties.

1. Grant Duff left Satara on 27 November 1822 and India on 12 January 1823.

I am a great deal better, but by no means quite free of illness. My mother's health is in a very declining state and she is so unwell that it detracts much from the pleasure I should otherwise experience. I am much pleased however with my native country and my watan is a very fine little estate lying on the banks of a fine river full of fish, and the whole country is full of hares and partridges, but there are no dookars. I have not yet bought horses. I can get a very good house for about 600 Rupees and I only intend to keep two. I have only one man servant myself, and in my mother's house there is only one boy, one gardener, and four women servants who are amply sufficient in this country for anything. A man servant gets about 20 Rupees a month and a woman servant about 7. I do not yet understand how the ryots are managed. There is a Karbaree in charge of my mother's watan who like other Karbarees has a number of long papers, but I will soon shorten them when I get a little experience. At present people say I am a Mahratta and it is very true, I know much more of Mahratta customs than of my own Country affairs. The people are very kind and very hospitable. A number have unmarried daughters, but I do not mean to make *shadee*. I am going to France, Italy and Switzerland as soon as it begins to get very cold. It is not very warm and although this is what they call their hot weather, there was snow (burf) a few days ago.

I have the carriage and took very great pains when in London to go to different good coachmakers and examine every thing most particularly. The first persons I consulted wanted nearly two thousand pounds, but I expect to get it built for one. My agreement is for £ 900 in a sort of *mukta*, but as every piece of wood and every part is to be carefully inspected and approved by a friend of mine who superintends, I am sure the materials will be good and probably a little more than the agreement. It is to be an open carriage for four persons. The sides are to be green striped and crossed with Gold. The inside is to be velvet exactly of the color you ordered trimmed with gold lace and gold tassels. The harness is to be for four horses and mounted with truss. The sooner you get two clever good postillions ready the better, as I shall send off the carriage before I go to France and it will be in Bombay by March I hope. I shall have it well packed and the amount insured, but I do not think I shall send any cloths or anything out until I see what the carriage finally costs.

I need not say how anxiously I hope to hear good accounts of anything at Satara. Major Briggs² will no doubt (write) to me and I hope Maharaj will not forget me as I shall take a greater interest in Satara than any other part of the world. I have not yet fully determined on coming back but I think it is not improbable although I do not wish to leave my home again. I offer my best respect to Appa Saheb,³ to Withal Pant⁴ and all my old friends in the *Nyadeesh* and *Daftar*, the Sirastedar Yesoba⁵ and Dajeeba⁵ and all who may continue to behave honestly and respectably. I remain respectfully.

Your most sincere friend,
J. GRANT.

I will write a longer letter very soon and inclose a plan of the carriage. Get good postillions and four good strong horses.

2. Grant's successor as British Resident at Satara.
3. i.e., Shahaji, the younger brother of Pratapsimha.
4. Dewan Vittal Ballal Mahajni.
5. Sarsubedars.

(2)

To

LONDON 15TH MAY, 1824.

HIS HIGHNESS THE RAJA OF SATARA,
Maharaj,

I have had the honour since I was last in the English metropolis to receive your letter of the 14th Shaban, or 26th April, 1823,¹ from which I was glad to learn that you enjoy health and that your territory is prosperous.

Believe me that good accounts of you, your relations, ministers, people and Government will always gratify me exceedingly. Major Briggs has informed me of the very proper remissions you have granted to your subjects and I make no doubt that in making deductions from the pay of your servants you have fully considered the subject and been careful to preserve the system of regular monthly payments before introduced, leaving no possibility of future claims on the part of your civil and military servants against your Government.

I have just returned from travelling through France, Switzerland and Italy, of which countries Major Briggs will give you an account. I stayed about four months in Rome; the late Governor-General Lord Hastings was there, and was very happy to learn of your good Government and management of your territory. He was particularly pleased by your having granted such remissions to your poor subjects and having yourself shown so excellent an example as to give up so larger a proportion of the money allotted for your personal expenses. This indeed does you great honour and I really feel proud in repeating it wherever I go.

I stayed two days with De-Boigne a French officer long in the service of Mahadjee Sindhia, who now lives in his own country very happily and at the age of 73 is still a stout looking man.² I dare say there are persons in Satara who know him. He is a good man and his whole life and property are engaged in the performance of good and charitable actions.

I trust you were pleased with the carriage, it was publicly exhibited in the streets of London before it was packed up, and few more magnificent have ever been built for any prince in the world. I ordered specimens of various muslins etc., but though I ordered the money before I left England to pay the weavers daily they are so lazy that they have not yet finished them, and I shall not order anything else until you see them and tell me what you approve. In the meantime as I have got a balance of cash in my hands, should I see any thing you would like I will purchase and send it out to you; but if I do not I will keep your money in the hands of a Banker where it will be secure.

I hope my friend Withal Pant is well and that he continues, as I do believe he will, to prove himself an honest and faithful servant of your Highness' government.

Believe me with sincere regards and respect.

Your Highness' affectionate friend,

J. GRANT.

1. Unfortunately this letter cannot be traced, but an abstract of it relating to Pratapsimha's visit to Pratapgadh on 24 April 1823 and his worship of the famous goddess Bhavani, is given by the late R. B. D. B. Parasnisi on p. 41 of his "Mahabaleshwar."

2. He left Sindhia's service in the Christmas of 1795 and went to France. He died at Chamberi on 1 June 1830.

(3)

To

SATARA, 1ST NOVEMBER, 1824.

MAJOR JAMES GRANT,

A. W. C., etc., etc.

I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 15th May last, from London. We are all in perfect health and I am highly gratified to learn of your welfare, your safe return from travelling through France, Switzerland and Italy, the interview you had in Rome with the late Governor-General, Lord Hastings, and of the carriage for me having been publicly exhibited in the streets of London, as well as your proud feelings and flattering sentiments on the subject of the remissions I had granted to my subjects, and the deductions made from the pay of my servants merely with a view to proportion the disbursements, with the receipts in consequence of the defalcation in the revenues for the last year.

It is more gratifying, indeed, and gives me infinite satisfaction when I reflect on the sincere and zealous interest which you have always taken during your administration here, in a manner in which you were personally concerned and which . . . notwithstanding . . . to your native . . . so remote as it is, still . . . take with the most ardent wishes in whatever regards my person. I derived great advantage from your invariable attachment to me beyond my expectations. My remembrance of you is deeply imprinted on my mind and I will never forget you a single day. None of my nearest relations, servants or those who are in any way attached to me have done so much good as you had done to me; in promoting which you spared no pains. I do not flatter you vainly with these expressions whose source is infallible truth and gratitude.

The carriage sent by you, I got here at the celebration of the Dussera festival, many people crowded and several gentlemen came to see and were equally much pleased with it. No one had so magnificent a carriage as this in this part of the world. I am exceedingly pleased with it. Major Briggs has been so kind as to procure for it best and handsome horses which he bought purposely in Bombay and fitted to it.

I conduct the affairs of my government according to the arrangements made by you. This part of the country has been visited by a severe draught in this year which continued for several weeks and alarmed all; a great number of cattle perished, and the lands remained uncultivated and some of the villages deserted . . . having fallen . . . Dussera last, the country is now recovering its spirit and prosperity. The consequences of the draught, if not extinguished so by Providence might have been calamity and very bad days.

I am determined to consult with Major Briggs and will act according to what shall have been resolved upon by both of us on the subject of adjusting the expenditure in proportion to the amount of the receipts and of making any deductions, if necessary, for the current year.

It would prove a lucky day when I see you. Major Briggs is also very kind and affords every assistance to me as I had been previously assured by you; and nothing is wanting on his part in my favour. I am fully persuaded and confident and it was also your assurance that none but the Honourable Company will always indulge whatever may contribute to the utmost good of this government.

Appa Saheb Maharaj, all the members of the Royal family, Vittul Bullal the Dewan, and every one here enjoy good health. Captain Adams¹ is now gone to Khuttao² for assessing the land-tax and will proceed from there to Beejapoor *via* Punderpoor for the prosecution of the land survey. I will also go out in . . . on my another circuit through the . . . for the Jamabandy.

1. The Survey Officer.
2. A village in the Satara District.

(4)

To

SATARA, 22ND JUNE, 1825.

MAJOR JAMES GRANT,
A. C. etc. etc.

You should have received by this time, my letter of the 1st November, in reply to yours of the 15th May, 1824. I am sorry to acquaint you of the death of Vittul Punt Dewan; which happened on the 11th April last or the 21st Shahban. He died of the same disease under which he had often laboured during your stay here. Since you left this place, I have been always supported by Major Briggs, who shows great concern towards this government.

As you already possess every information of this place, I have little to say with respect to the consideration under which the subject of appointing immediately a fit person to fill the post of the minister, without any interruption to the regular course of public business, presents itself. On this subject I consulted with Major Briggs and receive those services through Bulwunt Row Raja Bhoslay Surlushkur and Gowind Row, the late Dewan's son: The former has been long engaged in public business and is now well qualified than before when you left this place; I not only continued him in the situation to which you had promoted him but also employed him on various occasions. Gowind Row having been long instructed seems to be competent to serve.

I will make the further arrangement regarding the office of the minister on consulting with Major Briggs.

Ever since this one year Appa Saheb Maharaj pays much attention and assists me in the administration, more better than before; I am sure of this fact of which you will hear from Major Briggs too. Major Briggs has aided me so far that I would desire you not to trouble yourself with much concern and feelings about me. I have nothing to add respecting the conduct and behaviour of the servants of this government as you are well acquainted with them.

God has blessed me with a daughter.¹ As to the state of this territory as well as the collection of the revenues and disbursements, which are going on with great difficulty, I often trouble Major B. for his advice and act according to the result thereof. I conclude this wishing your welfare and a day when I would have the pleasure of seeing you here soon.

1. This daughter must have been born soon after 9 Dec. 1824 as the following letters in the Historical Museum, Satara, of General Briggs, the Resident at Satara to Lt. Col. Commandant Clelland, Commandant at Satara shows:—

Camp at Kurar, 9 Dec. 1824.

As business is likely to separate me from His Highness' person for some time I have been requested to communicate to you His Highness' wish that in the event of the Rane being delivered of a son and heir on her approaching confinement that you will be pleased to order a Royal salute to be fired on the occasion.

She was named Gojra Raja.

(5)

EDEN, JUNE 8TH, 1828.

To

HIS HIGHNESS THE RAJA OF SATARA,

My dear friend Maharaj,

I wrote to you two letters during the last twelve months but as the first was endorsed to Colonel Briggs perhaps it was not, owing to his unexpected return to this country, received. It was of less consequence as the statement of our account which it contained was also mentioned as a *momento* in a letter to my friend, Captain Adams. I hope the few articles of glass which I sent last year arrived safe and that you, approved of them. I intended to have remitted the small balance in my hands back to India, but in consequence of what Captain Adams mentions I intend keeping it and from time to time sending you anything I happen to fall in with that I think you would like. Of late, however, I have not been in any of the large cities where such things are chiefly procurable. I employ myself principally in bringing my waste land into cultivation and for the last year have resided entirely in the country. I will return to London or Edinburgh a part of the year by and by.

I was very happy to see your name at the head of so excellent and proper an address as that presented to Mr. Elphinstone. The institution of a college,¹ for the purposes specified, confers an honour on the native gentlemen of India which, if rightly followed up, will last for ever. I hope you will persevere in seeing that the professorships are well filled and that the persons who may come out appointed from England shall be kept strictly to their duty in teaching the native youth the science of Europe. Your Highness, in consequence of this liberal act in behalf of learning, has been appointed a member of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland which no doubt has been intimated to you. Colonel Briggs, I am happy to learn, commends your administration exceedingly and it is universally believed that no native prince ever governed his territory so well as your Highness. I hope it is so. Nothing could give me so much pleasure as to continue to hear your praises—but at the same time I have heard that you are beginning to be a *little lazy* and that you do more business in your palace than in your public office. This, my dear friend, is not like your wisdom, for be assured that it is far best for your government to do every thing publicly and openly, for as you set the example, so will your Mamlatdars act. Be *active, vigilant, economical and liberal*. Administer justice impartially. Assess your lands lightly and make the Resident your friend by your good conduct.

I was much delighted when I heard that Col. Robertson had been appointed Resident. He is a very old friend of mine and in every respect the best person I know for you. I wish he may on your accounts remain several years, and that Mr. Morris² may be his successor. Sir John Malcolm's succession³ to the Government, although nothing can supply the loss of Mr. Elphinstone is a most fortunate circumstance. I trust his health may be long preserved although I confess I fear the climate will not agree with him.

1. See "Mountstuart Elphinstone" by J. S. Cotton in the *Rulers of India Series*, p. 196.

2. Assistant Resident since the time of Grant Duff.

3. Malcolm took office from Elphinstone on 1-11-1827.

The assessment of the country will I suppose soon be completed by Captain Adams and I am sure you will be satisfied with the attention, labour, accuracy and impartiality bestowed upon it. It will be an excellent ground worth work(?) for all your revenue arrangements. It will prevent much malversation and be of much advantage both to Sirkar and Ryot; but in order to render your country prosperous and to enable you to draw the full revenues from it hereafter you should for many years make your assessments full 30 per cent. limit than that fixed by Captain Adams. You may remember my motive for assessing so highly as I did, especially during the last . . . 4 years. It was to prevent the unpopularity which may have attached to your government had you begun by raising the rents. Colonel Robertson's only fault in my opinion as a Collector was that he assessed too highly. I mention this that you may not be misled by his advocating high rents. In my present occupations I give a good deal of attention to agricultural affairs and I have learnt a . . . would have been of great use to me . . . when I was in India. In order to . . . you should give greater encouragement . . . the Istava Regulations hold out and to enable your . . . (?) to decrease your expenditure as much as you can. I do not mean that you should decrease pay and salaries to those who work for them, but make your own personal disbursements small, so that you may increase the wealth of your country . . . territory is the surest and best treasure . . . wise prince.

Mr. Morris . . . will tell you all particulars of me . . . as I wrote to you . . . am almost quite free of my severe headaches. I enclose this to Mr. Morris and will write to you again soon. I hope to have the pleasure of seeing Mr. Elphinstone here ere very long. He has not yet arrived in Europe.⁵ I hope the war in Turkey may not obstruct his progress. Pray offer my best regards to Appa Saheb,⁶ Bala Saheb,⁷ Yeswant Rao,⁸ Dajeeba Joshee⁹ (?), Tatty, Kooshaba¹⁰ Raja and all my old friends. Tell Kooshaba we have no *Shikar* in country equal to the *Dookars*. I hunt, shoot, and fish as much as ever. The booksellers wish me to publish a second edition of the *Mahratta History*, but I have not yet begun the revision. Make my kind regards to Colonel and Mrs. Robertson and Captain and Mrs. Adams, and believe me my dear Maharaj,

Your very sincere and affectionate friend,

J. GRANT DUFF.

Address:—J. Grant Duff, Esq., of Eden-Banff, N.B.

4. A considerable portion of this page of the letter is worm-eaten causing some unfortunate gaps in the portion.

5. Although Elphinstone left Bombay in November 1827 he did not arrive in England until May 1829. For he spent the eighteen months in travelling leisurely through Egypt, Syria, Asia Minor, Greece and Italy. See Elphinstone p.202 in the *Rulers of India Series*.

6. Pratapsimha's younger brother.

7. Balajipant Natu.

8. Sarsubedar.

9. Abhyankar.

10. Mahadik.

(6)

SATARA, 18TH JULY, 1829.

To

JAMES GRANT DUFF, Esq., OF EDEN, BANFF, N.B.

Our friend,

We have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your kind letter dated the 8th June, 1828, which reached us on the 1st instant. The continuation of an epistolary correspondence tends to the advantage of friendship and exciting vigilance. For other particulars, as you will hear from Col. Robertson, a true account of them, herein we have little to write on the subject.

As to the health of Sir John Malcolm, the present Governor, with respect to the climate¹ of the part of the region, Mahabaleshwar with its vicinity, in a direct line, as far as Paur Ghat² including the village with its range, has been chosen on account of its good climate and in exchange thereto, it was settled that Khundaleh, situated on the Poona road should be given to this government. The climate of this quarter was well approved of by all the European gentlemen, as best calculated for the preservation of their health. Here are Government's bengaloes. This spot is situated on the way to Pratapgwhr from Satara. From the latter place a road of 20 cosses in length, leading up to the Paur Ghat, has been made by this Government and Sir John is opening the road on the other side of that Ghaut as far as Mahr. He has honoured us here, at Satara, with a visit and his reception took place with great ceremony³ and festivity; and at this happy junction when a quite new water-mansion⁴ (like a summer-house, surrounded by fountains, on the very brink of a tank) was just erected by us, the articles of glass you had sent from England have arrived here and served very well for its use and decoration. The present Governor is distinguished for the information he possesses of this Court, his taking pains personally in pleasing others and for his cordiality and magnanimity. It is difficult, we think, to see again, a Governor of this stamp.

2. You express that you were happy to see our name at the head of the address presented to Mr. Elphinstone, for the institution of a College,—an institution of great importance indeed! We wish for its long duration and the professorships might have been well filled. You wrote that you hoped we should persevere in paying attention to the constitution and management of that institution. Here at this capital we also founded a college to the expense of which we appropriated a certain sum out of the amount of the Survey establishment that was under the superintendence of the late Captain H. Adams, who has lately deceased. We shall be acquainted with whatever may have been found of less or more consequence in the direction of the affairs of Mr. Elphinstone's College in Bombay and those good things that are surpassingly enjoyed by that College alone will be introduced in the College at this metropolis. In reply to your applauding our liberal act in behalf of learning,

1. See in this connection Parasnis, "Mahabaleshwar," p. 66.

2. A famous Ghat for getting into the Konkan from the Satara side.

3. For an account of this ceremony published by an eye-witness in the "Bombay Courier," see Parasnis' "Mahabaleshwar," p.73.

4. This is called the "Jalamandir" in Satara where the descendants of Pratapsimha still live as Political pensioners of the British Government.

we have to say, that men of high rank and dignity do such acts of liberality, for the sake of their own name and fame; and it would hardly be called a liberal act and is of little worth when we consider the high and excellent character of Mr. Elphinstone, who is our best friend and whose renowned name that College bears. Your having been pleased with that act, is owing to your kind and friendly attachment towards us. It is quite true what you say indeed! There is no personage like Mr. Elphinstone and nothing could supply the loss of him. You wrote that you hoped the war in Turkey might not have obstructed his progress and that you would have the pleasure to see him ere very long: a desire, we reply, of this kind proceeds from esteem and true regard.

3. You state that it was universally believed that no native prince ever governed his country so well as we do. This Col. Briggs might have intimated to you. He had derived a good deal of information of this Durbar and is well acquainted with the revenue arrangements. This eulogy arises from his greatness of mind and friendship towards us. What reply have we on that praise except that we are gratified to hear of it. We govern strictly conforming to the knowledge we possess of the rules and regulations you had framed in consultation with all the persons here. But as the practice exceeds theory according to the course of circumstances, on some points, there are a few measures, occasionally pursued here and now in practice (not in violation of those Rules and Regulations) on such points only as (are) not defined nor provided for by those Regulations for the better management of public affairs. You wrote that we are beginning to be a little lazy. Our reply thereto is that we have always been acting in such a manner as to prevent confusion and disorder in the dispatch of business and to avoid as much as possible any portion of business remaining daily or falling backward from want of timely disposal and execution. Thus far methodically and regularly the public business is transacted here every day with facility and dispatch. You say that we do more business in our palace than in our public office. To this we answer—during your stay here the poor and weak had been allowed to resort to you in the road also (while you were coming to the public office from your bengaloe) as well as in your bengaloe too in order to state more freely their grievances and the misconduct and oppressions of the public servants: We have been following the same example both in the road and in our palace. Except thus hearing and gaining information, no more business had been done in the latter place. By this the various branches of public business go on very regularly and the public servants behave more better and the business is dispatched too quick. If this mode of obtaining information is neglected, ignorance, it seems, would prevail and communication on various matters would be wanting. Independent of this kind of proceeding, every branch of the public business is transacted by us openly in our public office and answers or orders given too openly to the public servants. During your agency here each public servant used to come one after another individually and separately to you in the public office and report his proceedings in the discharge of his duties and receive answers or orders from you thereon. Now in our time the public servants come together in general and wait upon us at once, in our public office giving an account of their work and thereupon we issue orders to them. Thus the business is now done and orders issued more publicly and openly than they had been formerly in your time. The person that wrote or communicated with you on this point, had, we think, perhaps not considered it fully.

4. Never was a Resident ever seen like Col. Robertson, the present Resident, for his capacity and experience in the provincial and financial affairs and attention to the customs and usage of this Court, for the interest he takes in our cause, for his patience and personally suffering trouble disinterestedly in contenting others, and for his quickly comprehending any business whatever in a very few words and giving answer. Ever since the time of Col. Briggs we had it in our contemplation to lower the rents soon after the survey of the lands, under Captain Adams, had been over. Col. Robertson also gave us the same advice; he never at all advocated high rents. You say that your motive for assessing high rents when you were here was to prevent the unpopularity, which must have attached to our Government had we begun by raising the rents. It was, we reply, well done by you out of your friendly disposition and kind regard towards us. But in consequence of your having assessed high rents and of the survey, classification of lands and assessments made by the late Captain Adams, those ryots who had been taxed to pay 1 rupee ere that time were, since, obliged to pay 2 rupees; so the rents were highly assessed and consequently a balance of revenue due to Government has frequently happened to remain in arrears, with the Ryots. Last [the Arabic Era Tissa] an estimated decrease of 1,20,000 rupees has been effected in the amount of the annual revenues and now in this year 90,000 rupees were lessened. The total estimate of reductions or decrease is Rs. 2,10,000. As a reduction of 30 per cent. the lowest rate of assessments you recommended in your letter, when applied to the amount of the *Jamabandy*, decrease it to a very low degree, we shall not be enabled to make them fall more lower than at 21 per cent. If we make our assessments fall more than 21 per cent., as far as 30 per cent. the decrease in the *Jamabandy* would of course, be estimated about four or five lakhs of rupees. In that case how can the expenditure be maintained safe? However, we have already lowered the disbursements in general, by decreasing about Rs. 1,50,000 from the estimated amount of the expenses you had fixed without occasioning any irregularity in the management of public affairs. Some articles of expense having been omitted in your estimate of the Expenditure, we added them thereto, and then effected this decrease of expenses. You advised in your letter that we should make our personal disbursements small. The reply thereto is—from want of a sufficient allowance of cash to answer our personal expenses, you had twice increased and fixed them to a larger amount than that of their former estimate. The expense unavoidably incurred by us for the reception of individuals, who visit and go from this government is not to be meant as unnecessary and destitute of Economy, as well as the charges of the public buildings, etc., including the solemnization of a variety of public feasts and rites, so as to suit the manners, customs and usage of this country and our name and reputation; and individuals even those who proceed to other countries, repair from abroad, frequent, and pass and repass through this station, more in numbers and very often than they had used to do so in your time. These expenses under their several heads, although many of them are of a public nature have been defrayed from the amount allotted to our personal disbursements. How could our personal expenses be reduced? Avoiding always the necessity of contracting debts against the amount fixed for those expenses, we conduct them agreeably to your plan with much frugality and economy; and during the time of the droughts that occurred a few years ago, when there was a defalcation in the revenues of the government to an enormous sum upwards of half of their amount, we decreased our personal disbursements, along with the reductions made in the pay and salaries of

all the servants of this government. But how could the continuance of such a decrease in our personal disbursements be suffered to pass from year to year? When Mr. Chaplin had conferred with you on the subject of decreasing the charges, you had given him the same answer as we do now make herein. This you may recollect. We have been giving greater encouragement to the Ryots than the Istava and money-advancing regulations. No interest is received and consequently the remissions granted in favour of the Ryots up to this day amounted to an estimate of twenty lakhs of rupees. In reference to your agricultural occupations we have only to remark in this place that the customs and usages and operations of different countries in point of agriculture and taxation are not one, nor the same with each other. Even the very nature and quality of the soil and the usages prevailing in its cultivation are not the same throughout the villages but they vary; and consequently we should act on this subject with a cold deliberation and sound judgment taking every point in view and then resolve on. You wrote that you have now learnt a great deal in agricultural affairs, which knowledge would have been of great use to you had you known it when you were in India. You observe very right and it is too true, for had you possessed that portion of learning you might not have assessed so highly as you did and of course Captain Adams might have during his survey followed your example in assessing lightly; and had you thereby been enabled at that time to adopt some means so as to answer the deficiency in the amount of the expenditure it would not now have appeared to us a hard task to manage it. While you were here you had pointed out in the financial statements, a surplus or balance of cash remaining in the treasury and it was enjoined by you that there must always be cash saved and kept ready in the treasury during the current year, at least so much as sufficient to supply the expenditure for one ensuing year, which you may remember. Now that surplus had already been applied to answer somewhat the deficiency in the Receipts as above alluded to and we have since been placed under the necessity of always giving ourselves to deep reflection and considering on the subject of the resources of the expenditure, by which unremitted attention the expenditure will more easily be regulated. This fact Col. Robertson is aware of and on every affair and to carry any business into effect he is consulted; and he is not without always concurring in our opinion. You wrote in your letter that Col. Robertson is a very old friend of yours and in every respect the best person you know for us. This you did write out of your kind regard and it is thus far worth while. But already previous to your signifying of this we have experienced his good nature and disposition. Certainly his excellent qualities are the same as you mentioned and here what we write is not a vain applause merely to please him. He is truly praiseworthy. A letter⁵ from him to your address containing some explanation on the subject of the high rents will accompany this.

5. The first of your two letters only which you had dispatched under cover direct to Col. Briggs had never reached us in consequence of his unexpected return to England and Captain Adams has given us, from the mention you made in your letter to his address an account of the statement it contained.

5. Unfortunately this letter is not found

6. Mr. Morris has arrived here and paid us a visit; when he communicated to us all particulars of you and delivered to us a fire-lock. We never found him in his former state of health and he was here too weak. Sir John had appointed him upon some public service but the climate never agreeing with him, he retired to the Neilghiry Hills for health. It does not seem that this climate would agree with his health, as he very often falls sick.

7. Yes. We thank you, you may keep the small balance in your hands sending us oftener any thing that falls to your sight, which you think we like. We also learn that you had not been in any of the large cities that you were busily engaged in agricultural pursuits. We regret the loss of Captain Adams, it is the will of God. To preclude it is not within the reach of human power. He was a best person to have surveyed the two pettas Punderpoor and Beeja-poor, which only had then remained unsurveyed. In order to carry fully into execution the resolution you and we both had taken, while you were here, on the subject of survey, we have now caused those two pettas to be surveyed and assessed; which would complete a general survey together with the classification of lands and assessments throughout this territory.

8. Mr. William Simson⁶ had resided here for four years, and though young in years, is remarkable for his urbanity of manners and politeness in executing business and for his discernment and ingenuity. He has also cultivated much friendship with us. Sir John sent him to Nasik on public service and he is now there. Likewise we find Col. Smith, the Commanding Officer of the Brigade, at Satara.

9. Appa Saheb Maharaj administers justice and conducts the affairs that relate to the Jagheerdars. Ballyabah (Balah Saheb Raja) attends the Resident to treat with on business and has the chief command of the Cavalry, Sibundies, etc. They both (Appa Saheb Maharaj and Balah Saheb) spare no pains to grow well informed on public affairs and are now more better qualified in business than they had been before when you were here. This we do not say partially from motives of their belonging to our royal family, but declare what is really so for your information.

10. When the measures now under our consideration, regarding the revenue arrangements in general shall have been carried into practice and actual management we shall write you a letter under that date, informing you of the same and the results thereof will at the same time be communicated to Mr. Elphinstone by a letter to his address from a regard to our intimacy and friendship with him.

We now conclude only adding that as you have been fully informed on every subject while you were here, we need not at present convince you. We are exceedingly gratified in your writing letters to the purpose of increasing friendship and stirring up circumspection and actually continue to write us letters from time to time. What can we write more to a man of good sense as you. Believe as for ever.

6. A young civilian in the Satara Residency who had officiated for six months as Resident after Briggs left.

(7)

EDEN, NEAR BANFF, N.B.
NOVEMBER, 17, 1829.

To

HIS HIGHNESS THE RAJA OF SATARA,

My dear Maharaj,

You may easily imagine the feelings of deep sorrow with which the melancholy news of Capt. Adam's death was received by me. You well know the strict friendship in which we lived, and in recommending him to you as a faithful counsellor, I was confident you would always find him so. He was in fact a true friend to your Highness and to me, and it would be doing me a great kindness if you would erect such another tomb over his remains, as that which is over the grave of my friend, Dr. Gordon. Amongst many other causes of regret, the prospect of having my chief source of information from Satara, cut off, is one—but the steady and respectable manner in which you are conducting your government leaves me assured, that whilst your Highness lives, the country will be free from oppression and your subjects as tranquil and happy as those of the Honourable Company. Mr. Morris mentioned to me the very high honour which you were pleased to pay me when addressing Sir John Malcolm on the subject of your government and Mr. Elphinstone wrote to me lately from London to the same effect. I am very happy and it was very gratifying that your Highness should speak of me in such terms, especially as the whole world will not only acknowledge your magnanimity, but will be thereby sensible that most of the merit in the conduct of the administration is really due to yourself. Your Highness however well knows that I was your sincere friend, that I did what I believed to be for your benefit and that of the country, and that my advice, if not always wise, was at least honest. I was exceedingly happy when I heard of my friend Col. Robertson's appointment to Satara. Before I quitted it I recommended him as my successor and he would have been appointed at that time if it could have been managed, but perhaps the time of his coming, was, upon the whole, as fortunate for you as the time of my going. The circumstances of the country, and your inexperience, rendered my system necessary. The plan pursued by Col. Robertson, and directed by the present Government, though it might be dangerous to a prince of a different character, will, I hope, never induce your Highness to relax in the most vigilant attention to all arrangement, and to do every thing in your power to protect your subjects from oppression—to see equal justice administered to the rich and to the poor—to prevent exaction—to render your assessments as light as possible—to pay the confidential servants of your government liberally, but to bestow neither favour nor encouragement on any persons whose character or habits, public or private, are not in every way respectable. This is the way to continue the good name you have already acquired—to be a great prince, and what is better, the way to be a good man—to obtain not merely respect on earth, but favour from heaven.

I hope Col. Robertson may remain long at Satara on your account. He is a sincere good man of sterling worth. I know of no person, I should like so much for his successor as Mr. Morris. He is a very fit person, and one in whom as a private friend, your Highness could always confide from knowing him so well as you do.

I have not yet seen Mr. Elphinstone. He arrived in England in May last, after travelling through many countries. I expected him in my house by this time, but bad health detained him in London, and I fear the season of *extreme cold* is now too near for him to venture to the 58° of north Latitude until a little more used to this climate I shall probably see him in Edinburgh a few months hence. I have not visited any great city for two years and a half which may account for my having sent nothing since the dispatch of the glass from Edinburgh of which I was glad to learn you approved. I gave Mr. Morris a commission to take out something with him for the small balance remaining in my hands, but he could pitch upon nothing that he thought you had not got, and therefore if you will have the goodness to mention in your reply to this letter any *wilaetee jinus* that you would like I will try and get it for you. I now live entirely in the country as I am not sufficiently rich to live a part of the year in London, and that is the reason why I have taken no part in public business, or in the affairs of India, both of which I found I could attain if my means would have enabled me to live in a style corresponding with such situations. My watan consists of scarcely 3,000 bighas of land, half of which I now farm myself. I take great pleasure in it especially in increasing the *laonce*,¹ which I have done considerably. The tenure is much the same as *Enam*, but about one-fifth part goes in payment of direct taxes. These taxes however are chiefly appropriated for the benefit of the district in which they are levied, namely, for Devasthan, for repairs of roads, jails, workhouses and bridges; for supporting reasonable expenses of police, and aiding the cause of justice. I have lately built in addition to my house which is now a very good one. I have two children, one girl and one boy—the latter is named Mount Stuart Elphinstone, and though not nine months old he begins both to walk and talk. My wife would like very much to see Satara and nothing would give greater pleasure than to see you again, the place—and all the improvements which have been so particularly described to me by Mr. Morris and my departed friend, Capt. Adams. As this however is impossible, I trust to your writing me very particularly upon all events connected with your own welfare, or that of your family and territory. Whilst I live I must ever take the liveliest interest in all that befalls you and the Satara State. Tell me the names of Sir Soobehdars—if Yeswant Rao and Dajeeba Joshee be still in the service of the Sirkar. I have a considerable esteem for Dajeeba and trust he may have so conducted himself as to gain and preserve yours. Who is your Dufturdar? Your Khuzanchee? Is Kooshabe Raja as good a hunter as he was at the Neera Bridge? I met with a severe accident about two years ago when hunting by my horse rolling over me and spraining my ankle which has never quite recovered. Is Appa Saheb continuing of any use as a Karbaree? Balah Saheb I am sure will (do) very well as an officer, if he only keep free of dissipated habits. Let me also hear what further improvements you design and all domestic events interesting to yourself. I hope Malcolmpete² is flourishing. Your proclamation was in the English newspapers. I was sorry to learn that Baba Tilluk³ was dead. Had he survived Capt. Adams he would have been extremely useful in managing the department and completing the

1. i.e., cultivation.

2. The cold weather station on the Mahabaleshwar hills was named after Malcolm.

3. A subordinate officer in the Survey Department.

survey. If a European officer be necessary get Mr. Dowell. Col. Robertson will be the best adviser in regard to revenue arrangements you could have, only he has been used to a particular system and possibly may be inclined to raise the rents more than may be consistent with permanent income or prosperity. Remember what I always told you, that after the permanent assessment has been fixed, a considerable percentage as remission must be granted in most cases even when the land is in complete cultivation. Great encouragement should be held out to improve *the soil*, so as to yield *greater* returns, and never raise the rents on those who do so. Deductions can be made with much more propriety now, than when you had no correct estimate of the quantity of land, and no tolerably correct idea of the value of particular field—It ought to simplify your revenue department and enable you to prevent and to detect great frauds. Of one thing be assured that any person who may endeavour to induce you to throw aside the survey and revert to the old guess system can have designs of no proper nature. The ryotwar is the most troublesome and at first the most expensive mode of revenue management, but the survey renders the individuals certain as to what Government can exact, and the sirkar by using its own agents and visiting every district, can more easily prevent abuses by this system than any other. Besides every year renders it more simple to all parties.

Poor Mrs. Adams is with her mother in London. Her little daughter's health has improved much, her own is but indifferent. Pray make my best remembrances to Col. Robertson and his lady, to Col. Henry Smith if at Satara, to all the officers of the sirkar who remember me and to all my other friends and

Believe me my dear Maharaj,

Yours sincere and affectionate friend
J. GRANT DUFF.

(Recd. at Malcolm Peht in May 1830)

(To be Continued.)

The Educational Reform of Lord William Bentinck

By

MR. ISHWAR SAHAI,

Research Scholar, University of Allahabad

(Continued from Vol. XV, part 1, page 83.)

The beginning of this controversy had been laid very early. A civilian wrote in the columns of the Asiatic Journal a number of articles in favour of the English language alone. The letter of Rājā Rām Mohan Rāy (1823) created a misunderstanding. Though it never referred to the utter uselessness of Sanskrit or Oriental literature, and though it merely pointed out the necessity of a knowledge of European literature and sciences, some members of the committee began to regard it as an indication of the feelings of the intellectuals of India that they wanted only European literature and sciences and through the English language alone. It was an absolutely wrong interpretation of that letter. The 1824 despatch already referred to, and the success of the English classes, and the various letters of the Court of Directors urging Greater diffusion of the knowledge of European literature and sciences, especially the letter of 1830, widened the gulf between the two parties. At that very hour, a petition was sent by some young men of the Calcutta Sanskrit College, requesting the Governor-General that the students of this college should be provided with some jobs and remarking that the tacking of English classes to the Oriental colleges was not of much use. This criticism, it must be remembered, was not true, for the 1831 report clearly shows the success of the English classes. Sir Charles Trevelyan gives one more reason in his book 'The Education of India' (1838) that there was a greater demand for the English books and a smaller sale of the Oriental works. This was a wholly irrelevant argument. The Asiatic Journal, in its review of this book, has rightly pointed out that the English books were mere primers, or books of grammar, whereas Oriental books were scholarly works.²¹

21. (a) *Ibid.*

(b) Sir Charles Trevelyan—The Education of the Indian People, Chap. II.

Whether the reasons assigned for the estrangement between the two parties were well or ill founded, there is no doubt that the gulf between the two parties widened never to be bridged up. Here it may be pointed out that the real difference was due to an entirely different cause. The one party thought that if English alone would be taught, there would be no danger of the collapse of the British Empire. The other party thought that if this were done, the Indians would create an upheaval, nothing short of a revolution.

The two parties were so evenly balanced that there came to be a deadlock in the functioning of the committee. Unluckily for the Orientalist party, it became weaker due to Mr. H. H. Wilson's departure to England. In his place, Lord W. C. Bentinck appointed the new Law Member, Lord Macaulay as the President of the General Committee of Public Instruction. His appointment made the Anglicist party stronger.

Realizing that the Government alone could set it in motion, they laid before the Government a statement of their existing position, and of the grounds of conflict between the two parties, in letters dated Jan. 21 and 22, 1835. On February 2, 1835 Lord Macaulay wrote his memorable minute on education, wherein he defended the Anglicist position very ably. Mr. H. T. Prinsep also wrote a minute on February 15, wherein he questioned the validity of some of the arguments of the champion of the Anglicist cause.

In his minute, Lord Macaulay pointed out that the Charter Act of 1813 did not provide merely for the 'revival and improvement of literature and the encouragement of the learned natives of India', but also for 'the introduction and promotion of the knowledge of sciences'. He gave an ingenious meaning to the words 'learned natives' by suggesting that they did not refer merely to those learned in Oriental lore. He refuted the opponents' contention that the Government had pledged to follow the Oriental system. In his opinion no pledge had been given; and even if there be something of this nature, the Government had every right to change their policy any time. As both parties agreed that the vernaculars were not the proper media, the choice lay between English and Oriental languages. The former was, said he, the right one to adopt. He would not admit the claims of the latter on the grounds of their being 'national', containing national and religious literature, and being better adapted to improve the vernaculars. On the other hand, he pointed out the superiority of the English language, "which has access to all the vast intellectual wealth all the wisest nations

of the earth have created"; whereas none could deny, in his opinion, that "a single shelf of a good European library was better than all the literature of India and Arabia. The claim of English was greater, for it "was likely to become the language of commerce" throughout the world. As for the study of law, he suggested that there should be no difficulty, because Parliament had commanded them "to ascertain and digest the laws of India" with the help of a Law Commission. That Oriental languages were necessary because they contained the religious literature was the most untenable argument to Lord Macaulay, because that literature "inculcates the most serious errors on the most important subjects" and "is full of false history, false astronomy, false medicine," which were found in company with a "false religion." And lastly, the English system was less expensive than the Oriental one. He proposed, therefore, the exclusive encouragement of the English literature and European sciences through the English medium alone.²²

The minute of Lord Macaulay, a brief analysis of which has been attempted above, breathes at once an air of scholarly treatment and of partisan spirit. His biographer points out that he possessed 'vehemence, over confidence, and the inability to recognize that there are two sides to a question or two people in a dialogue.'²³ Moreover, though not utterly ignorant of Indian affairs, he had little first hand knowledge. Some of his arguments, e.g. the sweeping remark about the worthlessness of the Oriental literature and religion, the claim of English on the ground of its having a chance of becoming the language of commerce, are "such as we cannot accept."

Lord W. C. Bentinck noted his "entire" concurrence with Lord Macaulay's minute, though only a few days before, while appointing Mr. Adam to enquire into the state of indigenous education, he had remarked that a true estimate of the Indian mind and capacity could not be formed without the information which Adam was to collect.

A hotly contested debate between the two parties' advocates in the council ended in a series of Resolutions on March 7, 1835 almost exactly on the lines suggested by Lord Macaulay.

22. Minute of Lord Macaulay—see Appendix to Zutshi's History of Education in India.

23. G. O. Trevelyan—The Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay, Vol. I, p. 120.

Was it merely the 'specious rhetoric' of Lord Macaulay that carried the day? Or was it the mere sentiment of the pride of their language that turned the scales in favour of the Anglicists? Or was the Resolution passed due to other considerations? It may be at once conceded that Lord Macaulay had to do much; that the sentiment of the spread of their language in a foreign land also played some part; but Lord W. C. Bentinck and his Government seem to have adopted these resolutions after mature consideration.

That the spirit of philanthropy guided the Government of Lord William Bentinck is nothing more than an official jargon. It has been suggested that one of the most important considerations was the administrative need. The Government of India had from the very beginning, 1781, felt the want of learned men for various offices. The Calcutta Madrasa and the Benares Sanskrit College owe their foundation to this very cause. The policy of Lord Cornwallis to run the Indian Government's administration through a purely European agency was no more workable. The total exclusion of Indians from the administration of their country, being based on distrust, was likely to alienate the sympathies of the Indians who had thereby been rendered out of all public employment. Every Imperialistic nation tries to make education a hand maid of the state in order to create a section of people in its favour. Moreover, the dimensions of the empire had grown much larger than those of Lord Cornwallis's time. A larger number of Europeans was required; and this meant that the administration would be very expensive—a matter never palatable to the Court of Directors, and not desirable in the best interests of Indian administration itself. The question of getting more men, competent and responsible, was forced upon the Governor-General. The remedy lay in education. But should the persons be taught in English? or Oriental languages? The Madras Government had as early as 1825 suggested that the Indians should be offered the temptation of service in case they learnt English. But their proposal was not accepted. The Court of Directors in a series of despatches to the Governments of Bengal, Madras and Bombay stated that the employment of the Indians, instructed in English, in higher offices should be announced as an inducement to the study of English, perhaps because of their conviction that the better spirit and higher tone of European literature and sciences would produce a better class of officers. The policy of substituting English for Persian was gaining strength. The Government of Bengal adopted such an opinion in 1829, as is apparent from a letter from the Section in the Persian Department to the Committee of Public Instruction, dated

June 26, 1829, in which it is stated that "his lordship in Council, has no hesitation in stating to your committee, and in authorizing you to announce to all concerned in the superintendence of your native seminaries that it is the wish and the admitted policy of the British Government to render its language gradually and eventually the language of public business throughout the country."²⁴ And the policy or better the practice of carrying correspondence with some of the Indian princes and noblemen who had interpreters, through English and not Persian, had also been inaugurated by Lord W. C. Bentinck. Finally, the 1833 Charter Act provided that "no native of the said territories (India), nor any natural born subject of His Majesty, resident therein, shall by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of them, be disabled from any place, office or employment under the said company."²⁵ Therefore, the above facts, especially the 1833 Charter Act, made the adoption of English as the medium of instruction an imperative necessity, if not an inevitable corollary from it.

The second important consideration seems to have been financial. It is a patent fact that the sum of one lac was a "miserable pittance". Yet the Court of Directors, in a letter dated Feb. 8, 1829, reminded the Governor-General that the one lac grant was to be placed at the disposal not of one presidency alone but of all the three, and that it was only to be allotted "in the event of there being a surplus revenue after defraying all the expenses of the Government." That scheme alone could have a chance of enlisting greater support which would be cheaper. And the English scheme was such a one. In the Oriental system, stipends were paid to the students; in the English schools, the boys were willingly paying fees. Moreover, the system of training English or European civilians was too expensive. In Bengal for 114 civilians a sum of about £ 754,865 was spent. Not dissimilar was the case with Madras. To Lord W. C. Bentinck (in particular) who had embarked on the task of effecting economies in the public administration, and to the council (in general) financial consideration must have made a strong appeal.²⁶

24. Parli. Papers (1833)—A. O. E. I. Co. (Public)—Appendix I.

25. Sir Charles Trevelyan—The Education of the Indian People.

26. (a) Major B. D. Basu—The Rise of Christian Power in India—Chapter on Bentinck—Vol. IV.

(b) Major B. D. Basu—History of Education under the E. I. Company.

But there was one factor which seems to have influenced the decision more than either the administrative need or the financial advantage. It was the desire of anglicising India. In a despatch of February 18, 1824, the Court of Directors wrote that the great end should have been to impart a knowledge of useful arts and sciences of Europe. A sort of belief, nothing short of conviction, seems to have prevailed, not without foundation, that the only means of improving the morals of the degraded Indians was the inculcation of the spirit of the West. They had been encouraged to believe in the efficacy of the European literature and sciences for three reasons. Firstly, because of Rājā Rām Mohan Rāy's letter, secondly, because Bishop Heber and Sir Charles Metcalfe too considered the study of English language necessary for the improvement of Indians, thirdly, because the study of English in the Vidyalaya had produced a band of reformers who vehemently criticized idolatry, sati, superstitions, and other beliefs of the degenerate popular Hinduism. This policy of anglicising India found its unequivocal expression in the words of Lord Macaulay, "we must at present do our best to form . . . a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in opinions, in morals, and in intellect."

This policy of anglicisation was only a means and not an end. What was that end? Some historians, e.g., B. D. Basu (Major), have expressed a suspicion that it was intended to christianize India.²⁷ In its support it may be said that the words of the 1813 Charter Act that "it is the duty of the country to promote the happiness and interest of the native inhabitants of British dominions in India, and such measures ought to be adopted as may tend to the introduction of useful knowledge, and of moral and religious improvement" can offer a pretext for it, especially when it is remembered that this resolution 13 of the 1813 Charter Act was passed mainly due to the missionary efforts and influence. Further, Macaulay, the champion of the Anglicist party, in a letter to his father dated July, 1836, wrote that he expected that not a single idolator would remain among the respectable men of Bengal. Sir Charles Trevelyan, another advocate of the same party, also expected conversions from the diffusion of a knowledge of western literature and sciences through English; and so did J. C. Marshman. The English system would deprive the Indians of a knowledge of their religious system. That might lead them to criticise it, discard

27. *Ibid.*—*op. cit.*

it, and adopt another. The Hindus and Muslims actually suspected such a design.²⁸

But in fairness to the British Parliament and the Court of Directors it may be urged that the evangelization of India does not seem to have been their primary end. The words of the 1813 Charter Act are exceedingly vague and general, and do not necessarily imply christianization. As for the opinions and expectations of the personalities noted above, it must be remembered that though individuals like these might have been, and were, expecting conversions from English education, and that though the missionaries might have been, and were, "shedding their tears" on the Indian soil to produce a race of Christians, the British Government and the Court of Directors do not appear to have allied themselves with this policy for conversion's sake. Indeed, it was probably only to avoid such a fear that religious instruction was eschewed from the courses of study. True that the missionaries were allowed to preach, and they suggested evangelization as a cure to India's degradation. But the Government always scrupulously kept neutral. Before 1813 they never gave them even 'legal toleration.' Even when it was given, it was stated that the religious freedom of Indians must be inviolably maintained. The Mutiny of Vellore in 1806-7 had so alarmed them that they could not injudiciously tamper with the Indian prejudices. In 1835, in reply to an address given by the Serampore Missionary to Lord W. C. Bentinck, he said, "I have the more reason to be flattered by your kindness on this occasion inasmuch as it proceeds from those with whom, in their public capacity, I have carefully abstained from holding any communication. The professed object of your lives and labours is conversion. The fundamental principle of British Rule is neutrality." In a minute of August 26, 1846, when the Marquess of Tweeddale proposed religious instruction, the Court of Directors expressed their disapprobation in these words: "We cannot consider it either expedient or prudent to introduce any branch of study which can in any way interfere with the religious feelings and opinions of the people."²⁹

From this, it may be inferred that anglicisation was not so much a means of conversion, but rather of political advantage, the pro-

28. *Parli. Papers* (1853)—On Indian Territories.

29. *Parli. Papers* (1833)—A. O. E. I. Co.—Appendix I—Despatches to Bombay and Madras Governments.

longation of the period (not the perpetuation) of British Rule in India, not an illegitimate desire of an Imperialistic power. The alien Government of India, like all of that character, wanted to have a class of men who could support it, for without the willing co-operation of some, if not all, it would have been impossible for them to rule by force and force alone. One can do everything with the bayonets except sit on them. Wars had been fought and won. Conquests had been made. Consolidation must follow them. As a matter of fact attempts had been made in the past also for creating a class of supporters in India. The despatch of February 1824 makes it quite clear that one of the objects of the Madrasa and Benares Sanskrit College was the "attachment of the natives to the British Government." From the study of the English language there was little likelihood of a political danger and the years 1816 to 1834 had shown that the Indians had shown no serious objections against the study of the English language; the results too had not been discouraging. On the other hand the study of Arabic and Sanskrit was bound to revive and strengthen their prejudices against Christians. Bishop Heber noted that Whig principles prevailed in 1827-28. So when it was pointed out that the study of Burke and Paine would goad the Indians to rebel and overthrow the English, it was replied that India was bound to become independent sooner or later. It was better to direct the thought of Indians to learning the art of self-government rather than to allow them to think of revolutions. A study of European arts and sciences through English was likely to prove of great use to the Indian Government by its producing a class of men who would appreciate the benevolent measures of the British Government, and support it against the autocrat princes.³⁰

But although administrative need, financial and political advantages and the policy of anglicising India pointed to the introduction and adoption of the English medium, such a consequential series of resolutions as that of March 7, 1835, could not have been adopted without mature consideration and forethought if this policy would be in harmony with the 1813 Charter Act and the views of the Court of Directors, and if any section of Indians would act in concert with the Indian Government.

30. (a) Cambridge History of India—Vol. VI—Article of Henry Lovett.
(b) Journal of Asiatic Society (1836).
(c) Lord Macaulay's Minute.

The Orientalists contended that the 1813 Charter Act did not justify the exclusive encouragement of the English language and Western literature and science, because the sum of one lac was provided for "revival and improvement of literature and the encouragement of the learned natives of India....." The words 'revival and improvement' could not but refer to Oriental literature. The champion of the Anglicist party argued that these words referred to literature in general, and that the Act provided the sum also for the "introduction and the promotion of the knowledge of sciences." The Court of Directors and the Indian Government took the word "sciences" to mean 'European sciences', when measures were first taken to carry the intentions of the British Parliament into effect, and those intentions were certainly likely to have been better understood at that time than now. The Indian Government appointed the Committee of Public Instruction in 1823 for the 'better instruction of the people, the introduction of useful knowledge, including arts and sciences of Europe, and the improvement of their moral character.' The course hitherto pursued was otherwise simple because most of the members belonged to the other party. The Court of Directors were explicit about its meaning in February 18, 1824, despatch, wherein they remarked that "the great end should have been to teach useful sciences," and that "it is worse than a waste of time to employ persons either to learn or to teach the sciences in the State in which they are found in Oriental books." The truth appears to be that the vague and general words of the Charter Act of 1813 referred to both, though the 1814 despatch of the Court of Directors referred only to the Oriental literature and languages, for 'Bobus' Smith who had added a clause about education in the 13th Resolution of 1813 meant 'western sciences' by 'sciences' as Henry Lovett has pointed out.³¹

As for the Court of Directors, they had shown their decided preference for the European literature and sciences in their letter of February 18, 1824. In a later despatch of 1830, it was stated that "the great and rapidly increasing efficiency and popularity of these institutions (English).....conveys the gratifying assurance that the higher classes of our Hindu and Muslim subjects are ripe for a still further extension among them of European education and European science and literature..... It is therefore of the great-

31. (a) Alexander Duff—India and Indian Missions—Appendix.
(b) D. C. Sen—Hist. of Bengali Literature—pp. 882-883.

est importance that.....the means should be afforded of cultivating the English language and literature, and acquiring a knowledge of European science,.....in a higher degree than has yet been within their power....." and that "the higher branches of science may be more advantageously studied in the language of Europe than in the translations into the Oriental languages." Similar sentiments are found in despatches to the Bombay and Madras Governments. The Select Committee of 1831-32 had recommended that "the subject (promotion of English) has not hitherto met with that consideration and encouragement from the Government which its importance seems to merit." Yet it must be remembered that the Court of Directors, in their 1830 despatch, had warned the Committee against 'underrating' the importance of the use of indigenous education. They could not, however, be expected to oppose the exclusive encouragement of English, if that were shown to be more advantageous to them.

But could this policy get any support among Indians? Not only that it could and did, but that some Indians, a small fraction, wanted English education, says Sir C. Trevelyan, for purposes of commerce and government service: It must be conceded all at once that there was, indeed, an increasing class of Indians, especially among the Hindus of Calcutta, who would have supported it wholeheartedly. The effect of the impact of the West against the East showed its first fruits in 1816 when some respectable Indians fell in with the proposal of David Hare for the foundation of a college for the study of Indian and English literature, sciences and languages. In 1823, Rājā Rām Mohan Rāy had requested the Government to employ Europeans of talent to teach the Western literature and sciences. Though he was not against the instruction of Oriental languages and literature, he was surely feeling the necessity of Western knowledge also. The English seminaries of the period 1816 to 1834 imparted Western education to a greater number of men, who being infused with the spirit of enquiry, began to see every existing institution with an eye of a critic, and naturally attacked the degenerate popular Hinduism with all the zeal of a callow convert. Bishop Heber had noticed a strong tendency among some Calcutta Hindus, of the imitation of English ways and manners. The Court of Directors had referred to it in their 1830 despatch. The Calcutta Committee of Public Instruction had concluded their first report of 1831 with the remark that "a taste for English has been widely disseminated, and independent schools, conducted by young men reared in the Vidyalaya are springing up in every direction. The moral effect has been equally remarkable

and an impatience of the restrictions of Hinduism" had been exhibited. Alexander Duff, in an appendix to his book 'India and Indian Missions', says that "on that account it was that we rejoiced, in June 1830, when in the metropolis of British India we fairly came 'in contact with a rising body of natives, who had learnt to think and discuss all subjects with unshackled freedom" due to the study of English. So great was the enthusiasm for English at Calcutta, noticed by him, and such was their success, that the Indians had started debating societies where they spoke in English, quoted Gibbon, Adam Smith, Bentham, Paine, Locke, Burke, etc. Some English newspapers, e.g., the *Reformer* and the *Inquirer* were started. 'The burst of desire for unlimited freedom of utterance through the press, seemed, if possible, to exceed the raging mania for oral discussions.' This new band of men, instructed through English, vehemently criticised the idolatries of the Hindus, and their Sati and Infanticide practices. 'Young Bengal', as the new generation of Bengal was then called, became thoroughly anglicised'. So saturated were they with the spirit of the West that the author of the History of Bengali literature pours his lament thus: "Poor Chandidas, poor Vidyapati and Kavikanṭha! the tears of your departed spirits fell on the big towns of Bengal which lay under the charm of European influence mixed with nocturnal dews and unheeded by young Bengal, who despised their own country from the bottom of their hearts and yet posed as the representatives of the people in public meetings." These men were one and all for English education.³²

Their number, however, must have been very small, an almost insignificant one. Such men were found only among the Hindus of Calcutta or of a very few other big towns. Adam wrote in his report that "in the districts I have visited the desire (of acquiring the knowledge of English) cannot be said to be general, only because it is vain to desire that which is plainly unattainable."³³ Indeed, when the news of the proposal of the abolition of the Oriental Colleges leaked out, the Hindus and Muslims of Calcutta itself, in a large number, lodged up their protest to the Governor-General. Therefore it appears that there was no public opinion in favour of English education. When the Englishmen speak of the public opinion in India at that time, we should remember its meaning in the words of Lord Macaulay: "Public opinion (in India) means

32. G. O. Trevelyan, pp. 390-397.

33. Sir Charles Trevelyan, Chapters I and II.

the opinion of 500 persons who have no interest, feeling or taste in common with the 50,000,000 among whom they live."

This leads us to infer that though there was no public opinion (as we interpret it to-day) for the English education, there was certainly a body of men, howsoever small their number, which was quite sure to welcome and work out, any proposal in favour of the exclusive encouragement of English language and European literature and sciences.

The choice before the Government was between the common people's support and the respectable and rich men's; and the Government chose the latter, probably because the time was exceedingly auspicious for the spread of Western education. For the weakness of the general population had been noticed in the case of the Sati abolition. In that case, the few respectable men had carried the palm of victory. India lay prostrate before the British Government and they could impose anything they liked.

To sum up, it was the administrative necessity, financial advantage, the policy of anglicising India to prolong the period of British Rule, and the inclination of the Court of Directors and a newly rising class of Indians—and not the public opinion or even the policy of conversion—that pointed out to the Government the necessity of a decision in favour of the Anglicist party.

The Governor-General, as shown above, had thrown the weight of his opinion on that side; and therefore the following resolutions were adopted on March 7, 1835, after a hotly contested debate between Lord Macaulay and Mr. H. T. Prinsep.³⁴

'The Governor-General of India in Council has attentively considered the two letters from the Secretary to the Committee, dated the 21st and 22nd of January, 1835, and the papers referred to in them.

'His Lordship in Council is of opinion that the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India, and that all the funds appropriated for the purposes of education would be best employed on English education alone.

34. Parli. Papers (1853) on Indian Territories—Evidence of A. Duff—Question 6098.

'But it is not the intention of His Lordship in Council to abolish any college or school of native learning, while the native population shall appear to be inclined to avail themselves of advantages which it affords; and His Lordship in Council directs that all the existing professors and students of all the institutions under the superintendence of the Committee shall continue to receive their stipends. But His Lordship in council decidedly objects to the practice, which had hitherto prevailed, of supporting the students during the period of their education. He conceives that the only effect of such a system can be to give artificial encouragement to branches of learning which, in the natural course of things, would be superseded by most useful studies; and he directs that no stipend shall be given to any student who may hereafter enter at any of these institutions, and that when any professor of Oriental learning shall vacate his situation, the Committee shall report to the Government the number and state of the class in order that the Government may be able to decide upon the expediency of appointing a successor.'

'It has come to the knowledge of the Governor-General in Council that a large sum has been expended by the Committee in the printing of Oriental works. His Lordship in council directs that no portion of funds shall hereafter be so employed.'

"His Lordship in council directs that all the funds which these reforms will leave at the disposal of the Committee be henceforth employed in imparting to the native population a knowledge of English literature and science, through the medium of the English language; and His Lordship in council requests the Committee to submit to Government with all expedition a plan for the accomplishment of this purpose."

The plan was submitted and acted upon. But even after its adoption, the rage of the old controversy did not subside; Mr. H. H. Wilson severely criticised these resolutions in the columns of the journal of the Asiatic Society (January to March, 1836); and Mr. H. T. Prinsep did the same in a minute, dated May 5, 1835. The old objections, i.e., the exclusion of oriental languages was in contravention of the 1813 Charter, and the pledge of the Government; and was against the 'national interests', etc., were reiterated. In brief the resolutions were called "a rash act", which "was exterminating, unjust, impolitic, and ungenerous." The Hindus and the Muslims of Calcutta objected to it.

Its result was a brilliant and spirited defence of the 1835 Resolutions by Sir Charles Trevelyan in his "The Education of the Indian People."

The net result of this agitation, however, was to a very small extent, favourable to the lost cause. The 1835 decision was wisely modified in 1838 by allotting 500 rupees per month to the Asiatic Society of Bengal for carrying on the "Bibliotheca Indica" series. The report of Adams had also been brought out, which favoured the growth of indigenous education. Impressed with all this, Lord Auckland wrote a minute, dated Simla 1839, 'which was seemingly designed to effect something like a compromise between the parties.' One object of his minute was to uphold to the utmost all that Lord W. C. Bentinck had done; but on the other hand his purpose was "to abrogate so much of Lord W. C. Bentinck's resolutions as went to the ultimate abolition of the Sanskrit and Muslim colleges"; in short, "he restored these again to the footing which they had before Lord W. C. Bentinck's time; and he granted certain sums of money, in addition to previous sums allotted to education in India, in order that these purposes might be carried out."³⁵

The original resolutions mark the second great landmark in the history of Indian education under the British Government, the first being the 1813 Charter Act. For by this, the Indian Government laid the policy of diffusion of knowledge of the literature and sciences of Europe through the English language alone.

The important changes in the educational system introduced by these resolutions of 1835 were not many. The stipendiary system was declared to be abolished. The instruction, no doubt, continued to be given free of charge, but in due course of time this was followed by a universal payment of fees.³⁶ Besides this, a purely secular type of education began to be imparted to the people.

These resolutions committed certain mistakes of commission and omission. It has been pointed out by some scholars that, if the Government had continued to follow the avowed policy of the exclusive encouragement of Western education through a foreign medium, it would have led to a decay of oriental learning. Such a possibility did exist there, for the Oriental study was already in a state of progressive decay for want of patronage. It was fortunate that Lord Auckland partially remedied this defect.

Again, it is said that the resolution was, as a policy, too limited, because it left out of account the Muslims, who believed every kind

of education of the least value unless based on Arabic or Persian; and the women, and the masses, because the efforts of the Government were directed only towards men and certain classes.³⁶ It is really regrettable that, despite the expression of disapprobation in a memorial, and despite Lord Macaulay's marginal note to Mr. H. T. Prinsep's dissenting minute of February 15, 1835, that 'there is no good scheme for the Mussalmans, and one of our first duties is to establish one,' practically nothing was done for about 40 years. It will not be, however, just to criticise the Indian Government for its overlooking the claims of women to receive education, for it is exceedingly doubtful if the time was ripe for such a change. The Hindus and Muslims both would not have given a very encouraging response to a change of this nature. As for the charge of overlooking the interests of the masses', it must be remembered that the resolution was adopted on the very principle that the Government should first educate a class of Indians, who had inclination and leisure. The diffusion of the new learning to the masses was to be left to the newly educated 'few'. Moreover, in the thirties of the 19th century even England had not adopted any resolution for mass education. How could the actors on Indian stage conceive of it? Again, for how many purposes could the small sum of one lac be employed?

None of these omissions is so striking as the neglect of the improvement of vernacular language. Both the parties had agreed to do their best to improve the vernaculars that they might become capable of being a vehicle for the diffusion of new learning. Though the Committee of Public Instruction in their report for the year 1835 boldly asserted that the resolution did not preclude the growth of the vernacular literature and stated that they were already doing something, yet it must be admitted that "no practical effort was made to carry out these views into effect and during the next cycle of 20 years, the patronage of the State was given almost exclusively to the study of English." The Committee themselves did not pay even scant courtesy to the recommendations of Mr. Adams for the extension and encouragement of vernacular instruction, for which purpose many schools flourished in the presidencies; and they continued their plans in the fond hope that the "few" educated by them would diffuse knowledge to the masses through the vernaculars. The Education Despatch of 1854 referred to the neglected

36. (a) *Ibid.*

(b) Mahmud—History of English Education.

(c) Cambridge Shorter History of India, pp. 718-719.

35. M. L. Zutshi, Chap 2.

state of vernaculars and vernacular instruction. It was only after its receipt that the Indian Government directed its energies towards them.³⁷

The eschewing of religious instruction and physical culture from the scheme of education resulted in the production of intellectual giants but spiritual pigmies and physical wrecks.

As these mistakes of omission and commission are so many and the changes introduced so few, it may be reasonably inferred that the 1835 resolutions were more in the nature of a declaration of a policy than of the introduction of reforms.

Despite all errors, the new scheme succeeded in so far as its immediate objects were concerned. The number of students studying English went on increasing undiminished. The removal of the ban on the press in 1835, the final abolition of Persian as the court language in 1837, the artificial stimulus given to its study by opening wider careers and higher posts by a series of acts from 1836 to 1843, and the preference given to English-knowing men in the public services by Lord Hardinge's famous resolution of 1844—these causes combined to give an impetus to its growth.

And it cheapened the cost of Indian administration by supplying English-known Indians for the Government offices.

The educational system also profited by the abolition of the stipendiary system, which entailed an unnecessary expenditure, if it did not serve as an artificial stimulus.

But the resolution had a distant and far more important object in view—the enlistment of the support of Indians to the British Government, by the process of anglicisation, for the sake of the prolongation of the British Rule in India and for avoiding revolutions. Whether it has served that purpose or not is a debatable point; and no dogmatic statement can be made in this connection. Sufficient to point out that the Indian nationalistic school would have us believe that it did serve this purpose. For it is a century when it was passed, and even then Indians have not been able to shake off the yoke of foreign domination. The main cause of their inability to do so is regarded by them to be their demoralisation, de-

37. (a) The Education Despatch of 1854—See Zutshi's Book—Appendix.
(b) History of the Serampore Mission, Vol. 2, p. 491.
(c) Long: Introduction to Adam's Report.

nationalisation, and a false admiration of every thing English—the direct harvest of English education. On the other hand, some scholars make us believe that the Government was mistaken in teaching 'English' to the Indians, for they are now crying for independence. Whether they struggle for the freedom of India has been speeded up or delayed due to 1835 resolution, it is difficult to say. One thing, however, seems clear that English education did produce a class of men in India who began to admire the British institutions; that it was an important factor in controlling the rebellious spirit of the ever refractory and turbulent.

Has India gained or lost by the adoption of a foreign medium for the importation of foreign literature and sciences? There are two opinions. One school of writers tries to emphasise that India has lost, for it has denationalised her, has made her people cling to the glamour of gross materialism and forget their own culture, and has also demoralised them. The other school emphasises that it has been nothing but an unqualified blessing for Indians. Both schools seem to exaggerate. It is, at any rate, certain and one cannot easily deny that this resolution gave a great impetus to the movement of Indian Renaissance. The period of 1780 to 1830 was the dark age of Modern India, "during which the old order was dead, but the new had not yet begun, and nobody could foresee what shape the life and thought of India would take." This period was also the "seed time" of Indian Renaissance, for the first faint beginnings of what India to-day is were made during this time. The Indian Renaissance, which was a result of the impact of two different cultures and civilisations, received a definite turn towards greater Westernisation, by this resolution.³⁸

The growth of modern prose literature in the vernaculars of India owes much to the diffusion of a knowledge of the English language and literature. Before this period, the Indian vernaculars could not lay claim to any respectable prose literature. Dramas, novels, short stories, essays, and criticism in prose were almost unknown before. The stages of translation, imitation, and adaptation have now given place to the stage of original compositions, which are Indian in spirit, though manifesting the unmistakable impress of the West.

The study of English language was also an important factor in the growth of the feelings of nationalism and individualism; and

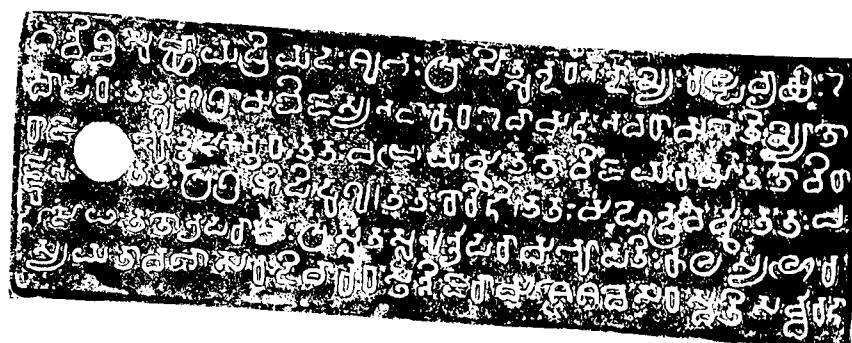
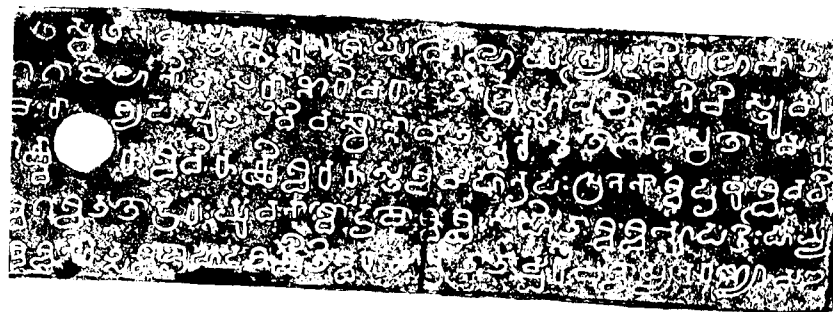
38. Sir J. N. Sarkar—India through the Ages—Chap. IV.

in that of the modernisation of the society, and of love for self-governing institutions. It has also acted as a powerful solvent on certain Indian religious and social customs and beliefs, e.g., the child marriage, the purdah, the caste system, idolatory, ritualism, and superstitions. Above all it had much to do with inspiring the whole society with a new and healthier spirit, the spirit of enquiry and criticism, a sure sign of the advancement of a society, country, or nation.³⁹

39. (a) *Ibid.*

(b) Annie Besant—Kamala Lectures, pp. 1 to 20.

N.B.—All the despatches referred to in the essay are to be found in the Parli. Papers (1833)—The Affairs of the East India Company (Public)—Appendix I.



The Chola Inscriptions of Renadu—Appendix

THE INSCRIPTIONS

By

DR. P. SRINIVASACHARI

[I am greatly indebted to Dr. F. H. Gravely for kindly supplying me with a set of impressions of these inscriptions.]

INSCRIPTION A¹

First Plate : Second side

Om[1] Svast²i[1] Namas = tasmai Surēśāya maulau
 yasy = aindavī kalā[] bhāti
 Gaṁgā-jalānītā saktā nāriva rājati³ [“ 1 ”]
 Brahma-putrō Marichis=tu Marī-
 chēh Kāśyapas=sutaḥ[1] Vivasvān=nāma tat-
 sūnus=tatō Vaivasvatō Manuḥ [“ 2 ”]
 Ikshvākus = cha Vikukshis=cha Kakus’tas’=cha mahā-
 nrpaḥ[1] Anēnās=cha Pṛthuś=chaiva Vi-
 ’svaga’s = cha tat = Ūdrēkaḥ[“ 3 ”] Yuvanāśvō
 Dṛsh’ō’sva’s=cha Sahi’tā’sva’s=cha bhūpatiḥ [1] Harya-
 ’sva’s=cha Niku’sstaś=cha Bṛhada’sva-kshītī’svaraḥ [“ 4 ”]
 Māndhātā t⁹=Āmbarīṣaś=chāpy=Anaranyō mahā¹⁰

Second Plate : First side

patiḥ[1] Ililī¹¹ō maprā¹²-tējā Sagaraś=ch=Āmśumānata¹³
 [“ 5 ”]Asamañjasō Dīlīpa
 s=cha rājā ch=āta¹⁴ Bhagīrataḥ[1]Dīlīpaś=cha=Raghuś=
 ch=aiva Ajō Da’sarata¹⁵ punaḥ[“ 6 ”] Vāma¹⁶

1. I am greatly indebted to Dr. V. Raghavan and Dewan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar for kindly going through the Text of this difficult Sanskrit inscription and advising me on many difficult points.
2. The final compound letter is not written clearly. It looks like t.
3. The fourth pāda of this śloka is not clear.
4. Read Kakutsthas=
5. Ibid Ardrakaḥ
6. Ibid Dṛghāsvas=
7. Ibid Samhatāsvas=
8. Ibid Nikumbhas=
9. Ibid ‘th.
10. The last letter is carelessly inscribed.
11. Read Ilvilō.
12. Ibid mahā-
13. Ibid ‘ataḥ. The scribe is very careless about anusvāras and visargas.
14. Ibid ātha
15. Ibid Daśarathaḥ
16. Ibid Vāmānkusaś=

kuśaś=cha sambrāsha¹⁷ ar (d) dha-sambrāsh¹⁷a-bhūbhṛtaḥ
 [1]pāda-sambrāsha-Chōḷaś=cha ma-
 hāntaḥ parikīrtitaḥ¹⁸[" 7 "] Asmin=vas¹⁹e viśuddhōjā
 sad-vṛttō guṇa-sa²⁰śrayaḥ[1]
 Karikāla iti khyātō mukta²¹-maṇir=iv=ābhavat[" 8 "]
 Pravarta[ta]²² tatas=suddhā rājñe²³ vaṁśa-
 kram-āgatā[1] pravāha=iva Gaṅgāyam=punaś=
 chandra-maṇḍalāḥ²⁴[" 9 "] Isṭādas=Susu

Second Plate : Second side

gāndhīś=cha Suchchhāy²⁵a priyadaḥ śubhaḥ[1] āsīt=
 Sundaranandākhyāḥ kalpa-vṛksha i-
 vāparaḥ[" 10 "] Tat-guṇa-grāma-bijasya
 navāṁkura ivāmaḥ²⁶aḥ[1] Navarāma iti khyātō
 rājābhūt=tadanantaraḥ[" 11 "] T²⁷ataḥ Eṇeyammaḥ
 [1] Tatō Vijayakāmaḥ[1] Tatō Virā-
 r (j) junaḥ[1] Tataḥ Agraṇipidugu[1] Tataḥ Kōkili[1] Tataḥ
 Mahēndravarm (m) aḥ²⁸[1] Tataḥ E-
 lamjōḷaḥ[1] Tatō Nṛpakāmaḥ²⁹[1] Asūta³⁰ sūnur (n) Nṛpakāma-
 bhūpat³¹iḥ kulasya lōka-
 sya yat³²=āvabhāsakaḥ[1] Divākaras=tan=
 nijakāma-śaiśavē Sarasvatī sar (v) va-kaḷā-

17. The meaning of this word is not clear. It is obviously meant for Samrāt
18. Read parikīrtitāḥ.
19. Ibid vaṁśe
20. Ibid saṁśrayaḥ
21. Ibid mukta-
22. The scribe has forgotten to inscribe this letter.
23. It ought to be rājānaḥ for correct grammar.
24. This śloka is full of mistakes, and it is not possible to give a suitable reconstruction without causing radical changes in the reading.
25. Read Suchchāyāḥ
26. Ibid=āmalāḥ
27. Prose begins from here.
28. Read Mahēndravarmā.
29. Prose ends here.
30. Read Asāvi
31. Ibid-bhūpatēḥ.
32. Ibid yath-

Third Plate : First side

śu³³ bhāsura[“ 12 ”] Tayā samētas=sakaḷ-ār (t) tha-
 bhāsikaṃ³⁴ kramēṇa dīpy³⁵ēva ‘si’su³⁶
 kālā³⁷-dharah[1] kaḷ-ābhipūr (ṇ) ṇas=sa dharā-
 dhara ‘sriyā samālilingē tata=bhūmi-
 gōlayā[“ 13 ”] Hētōs³⁸=tataś=Chōḷa-kulasya Rāmaḥ
 Śrikanṭha-nāmā jita-vairi
 var(g)gaḥ[1] saṃgrāmataḥ prāpa sa vīra-lakshmīm (a)
 pūshṇa³⁹ti lōka⁴⁰ vasu-bhāra-
 dānaiḥ[“ 14 ”] Nināyā⁴¹ Kīr(t)tim jagadantamunnatam⁴² (a)
 pratāpa dānādi-guṇun⁴³ushagini 1 ni-
 vṛttikāksh⁴⁴a virahāchcha ‘sasvati⁴⁵tri-var(g)ga-
 siddhi[m] nitarām=upēyivān[“ 15 ”] Sa⁴⁶rājā

Third Plate : Second side

ekadā tu sva-bhōgyayā Śrikanṭha-namna śiva-
 bhaktinā vai[1] Chōḷādhirājēna va-
 rēṇa tēna Prētiśvara⁴⁷khyāmala-chandra-mōḷ⁴⁸ē[“ 16 ”]
 Grāmañ=cha (t) tam=bhuvi Mandar-a⁴⁹khyam
 (ā) pratyagragrṇan=varakānapōtā⁵⁰[1]ārādhitunnitya-
 mahārchanābhi[h]
 sampūjitēbhyasta-prasiddha-yōgai[h “ 17 ”] Tē
 Bāla’sakti-(g)guravēbhya-

33. *Ibid* Kalāsu34. *Ibid* °bhāsikaḥ35. *Ibid* dīptyēva36. *Ibid* śiśuḥ. The word is not appropriate.37. *Ibid* kalādharaḥ38. *Ibid* Jātas

39. Read pūshṇāti. Pūṣhā is grammatically more appropriate.

40. *Ibid* lōkam43. *Ibid* guṇanushagini.41. *Ibid* Nināya.44. *Ibid* nivṛttikāmkshā42. *Ibid* °unnatām45. *Ibid* Śāsvatīm.

46. From here onwards the versification is irregular.

47. Read Prētiśvarākhyāmala.

48. *Ibid* °maulēḥ.49. *Ibid* °ākhyam

50. The meaning of this term is not clear.

dēyan 1 Samrakshitavyam=vijit-ēndr⁵¹ōyaiś=cha[1]'srī
 Bālaśakti[rm] (g)gurunāñ=cha śē.⁵²
 vyaiḥ siddhānta-yōgyai's=Śi[va]bhakti-dakshaiḥ[" 18 "]
 Nānyai⁵³ tadāptum=pi'sunās⁵⁴=sākāgāḥ⁵⁵[" 19 "]

Fourth Plate : First side

yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalam
 [" 20 "]Svadattām=para-dattām vā
 yō harēti vasundharām[1] shasṭi-varsha-sahasrāṇi
 viśṭhāyām jāyat krimi[h " 21 "]
 Pūr(v)va-brahma-dēya-dēva-bhōgam var(j)jayitvā
 sar(v)va pā⁵⁶dhā-parihāram[1] 'Srī

[Inscription A ends here. The following three lines are the continuation of Inscription B which begins on the First side of the last plate].

parihārambu pūr(v)va-dhāraya kā viḍichiri[1] Dīniki
 vakrambu vachchina
 vāru Vāraṇāsi Srīparvatāmbunu vḷachchina-vāru
 [1] Vēvuru
 brāhmaṇulanu vēyu gavilalanāḷisina-vāru[1]
 Maṅgaḷa[1]

INSCRIPTION B.

Fourth Plate : Second side

Svasti[1] charaṇa-sarōruha-vihata-vilōchana Trilōchana
 pra-
 mukh-ākhila-prthivīśvara-kārta-kāvērī-tira
 Karikāla-kula-
 ratna-pradipa-kumār-āṁkuśa śrīmat Balliya-
 Chōla-

51. Read vijitēndriya's=

52. Ibid sēvyaiḥ

55. It ought to be sakāsam obviously.

56. Read °bādha°

53. Ibid Nānyaiḥ

54. Ibid pi'sunaiḥ

Mahār⁵⁷ajulu uttarāyaṇa-nimittāmbuna Naṭitirēvula
 Sahaś⁵⁸u
 bhajanāmbu sēsi Svē⁵⁹tēśvara bhaṭāralaku
 Mandarambuna siddhāya-
 mbunu Inumbrōliyum-Bākayu siddhāyambunum
 Brōli pannasa-pasiṁ
 ḍi⁶⁰sarva-bhādha

57. Ibid °rājulu

58. We do not know who this deity is. It may be Guhēsa.

59. The letter te was evidently left out by mistake and so it is added at the bottom of the plate with a cross-like asterisk mark in the place to indicate the addition.

60. This is not a regular line, and starts not far from the bottom right-hand corner of the plate.

A note on the Genealogy and chronology of the Vakatakas

By

SIR RICHARD BURN, C.S.I.

IN his paper on this subject in J. I. H., 1935, Mr. M. Govind Pai has made some statements which require correction. At p. 174 he quotes Mr. K. P. Jayaswal as having clearly proved that a coin bears the date 76 and the name Pravarasena I. That coin was correctly read by Sir A. Cunningham and by Dr. Vincent Smith as one of the Virasena, and Mr. Jayaswal has taken a part of a *nandipada* on the left of the palm tree as the letters *Pra* and parts of a *nandipada* on the tree as 70 and 6. Good specimens show this clearly, and the two *nandipadas* can be recognised on Pl. XXII—15 of Dr. Smith's catalogue of the coins in the Calcutta Museum.

At p. 178, again quoting Mr. Jayaswal, Mr. Pai suggests that the Virasena coins are found chiefly at Mathurā. My experience over many years was that they were more plentiful east of Mathurā, at Sankisa and Kanauj in the Farrukhābād district. The late Mr. W. E. M. Campbell also obtained some close to Cawnpore. Jānkhaṭ where I found the inscription of Virasena in 1896 is more than 100 miles south-east of Mathurā, not close to it.

The so-called coin of the Bhāraśiva king Bhavanāga, referred to at p. 185 n. 103, really bears the name of Bhava Data and from its appearance is probably a coin of the Mathurā dynasty, and is older than the Bhāraśivas.

Lastly at p. 188 Mr. Pai expresses his agreement with Mr. Jayaswal's reading of the name Rudra and the date 100 on a coin generally regarded as belonging to Kodaru. Here again both readings must be contested. The marks read as Rudra are part of an elaborate *nandipada* and the symbol interpreted as 100 is a *swastika*. Both of these symbols are clear on the coin figured on Plate V No. 7, Cunningham's coins of Ancient India and the coin must be several centuries earlier than the Vākātakas.

So far there is no reliable evidence for any coin struck by a Bhāraśiva or Vākātaka ruler.

Editorial

I

THE latest report on South Indian Epigraphy brings to light a point of considerable importance to Indian culture, and it happens to come along with an important publication by the Annamalai University, the edition of the *Tattvabindu* with the commentary *Tattva-vibhāvaṇa* in which the learned Editor studies, in an introduction of 197 pages, the history of Mīmāṃsa Śāstra and matters connected therewith. One question of importance connected with the Mīmāṃsa is whether what is called Mīmāṃsa is one Śāstra, quite a unitary work, or whether it is, as now popularly taken to be, two separate works, the Purva and the Uttara Mīmāṃsa, and a third one between, having been practically lost sight of altogether. We have had occasion to refer to this point in the course of our lectures on chapter XXIX of the Maṇimēkhalai, which incidentally refers to the various systems of thought prevalent at the time, as a necessary preliminary to establish the superiority of Buddhism, which, of course, is the object of the author. Scholars dealing with that subject since have tried to turn the position by simply taking shelter under the fact that the Maṇimēkhalai is a romance, and whatever may occur in a romance is therefore not reliable as fact. It is rather a strange attitude to adopt. Maṇimēkhalai undoubtedly is a romance; but where, for the purposes of the romance and for the exaltation of Buddhism, which the author is apparently out to establish in the course of the romance, he could not be romancing in an examination of the relative merits of the various systems of religion prevailing at the time. It therefore does not admit of that summary disposal. What is really to the point is that, what is perhaps vaguely hinted in the Maṇimēkhalai is discussed with sufficient elaboration, and the same position arrived at in an obviously later work published by the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series under the name *Prapanchahṛdayam*. The matter that really concerns us at present is whether the Mīmāṃsa Śāstra is one Śāstra or whether it is to be regarded as two separate Śāstras, as popular usage nowadays might make one feel that they are separate sciences altogether. This matter concerning one of the fundamental sciences bearing on Hindu systems of philosophy, and the Hindu religion as such, certainly requires to be clarified.

The position that the *Prapanchahṛdayam* takes is that the Mīmāṃsa Śāstra is one Śāstra of 20 books or chapters, of which the first

part deals with Dharma Mīmāṃsa, and the other with Brahma Mīmāṃsa. But this again gets divided, on the basis of its subject-matter, sometimes into three, Karma Mīmāṃsa, Pūrva Mīmāṃsa as it is now called covering the first 12 books or chapters, and the next 4 chapters covering what is often described as Daivikāṇḍa or sometimes called Sankarshaṇa Kāṇḍa. The first 16 books thus constitute what is described as Dharma Mīmāṃsa. The last 4 have always remained Gñāna Kāṇḍa or Brahma Mīmāṃsa (now Uttara mīmāṃsa). Then comes a question of a series of commentators who have commented on the whole subject, and others who commented only on portions, and how in process of time, more or less on the demands of teaching convenience, the one subject got to be divided into sometimes two, sometimes three as indicated above. There is also acknowledged difference of authorship. The Brahma Mīmāṃsa is supposed to be the work of Bādarāyaṇa or Vyāsa, the Karma or Pūrva Mīmāṃsa, as it is called, is the work of Jaimini. The 4 chapters between the two, some people ascribe to the author of the first part, Jaimini himself, while there are others who would ascribe it to another author, at least another name, Kāśa-kritsna. Mr. Ramaswami Śāstri of the Annamalai University makes an attempt at a history of the science in his introduction, and we shall revert to this topic in connection with his work. But what is of importance for the moment is that there is a school of modern scholars, of accredited position in the field of Mīmāṃsa studies, who hold that books 13-16, called Daivikāṇḍa and Sankarshaṇa Kāṇḍa alternatively, are not part and parcel of the work. The translator of the Mīmāṃsa Śūtras and the Śābara Bhashya for the sacred books of the Hindus, issued by the Pāṇini office, takes it upon himself to say roundly that the Sankarshaṇa Kāṇḍa is a fabrication almost, and would put the responsibility of having added this portion on the author of the Bhāṭṭa-dīpika, notwithstanding the fact that he knows the references to it in the Śrī Bhāshya of Rāmānuja. We are glad to note that Mr. Ramaswami Śāstri holds the opposite view, and is inclined to regard the Sankarshaṇa Kāṇḍa as a part of the Pūrva Mīmāṃsa.

In this uncertainty on a subject of vital importance to the study of the Indian systems of religion, unlooked for light comes from a record, neglected and perhaps altogether lost sight of, in an out of the way temple in the village of Ānūr in the Chingleput District. The village of Ānūr is stated to have contained a temple dedicated to Viṣṇu, under the designation Vēdanārāyaṇa Perumāl. It is a record of the 14th year of Rājārāja. A certain piece of land in the village, the revenue from which had been allotted for certain sundry purposes of religious worship to God Subramanya of Tiruttani, had

been diverted by the Mahāsabha of the village for creating a *Bhaṭṭa vritti*. Of course for creating a new *Bhaṭṭa vritti* of a particular piece of land, that land will have to be released from its previous claimants. The Sabha proceeds therefore naturally first of all to release the land from the responsibility of having to pay certain items of revenue to God Subramanya of Tirutani. This is done by the Sabha taking the responsibility for that payment, and releasing the piece of land from that obligation. Then they proceed to make a *Bhaṭṭa vritti* which would mean the creation of a living for a learned man. Of course, the learned man will have to do duties in return therefor. Here this learned Brahman had to take four pupils, provide them the day meal and teach them certain subjects, and maintain himself and his family; all this from the revenues of the piece of land given to him as a *Bhaṭṭa vritti*. The qualifications specified for this particular *Bhaṭṭa* are interesting. He must be a man, not a native of the village of Ānūr. He must be *ab initio* a Sāma Vēdin. He ought to be proficient in one other Vēda, and be able to teach it with commentary. He ought to be able to teach the Pāṇiniya Vyākaraṇa, grammar according to Pāṇini. He is also expected to teach the Ashtādayayi, of course, which would mean elementary grammar of a general sort, as distinct from the grammatical science, which would have to be taught on the Pāṇiniyam system. That is the distinction between the two, and he was also expected to teach the Alankāra and the Mīmāṃsa. The way that this work Mīmāṃsa is referred to here throws considerable light upon the character of the science. It is referred to twice in the course of the document, the first time it comes into reference as a "Mīmāṃsey Vimśad Adyāyamum," that is, Mīmāṃsa in its 20 chapters. The second time it comes under reference, it is repeated in the same terms "Mīmāṃsey Vimśad Adyāyamum."* This kind of a reference to the subject would put it beyond doubt that what is called the Mīmāṃsa Śāstra was a Śāstra of *Vimśad Adyāya*, and was cultivated as a single science of 20 chapters in the fourteenth year of Rājārāja which would correspond to A.D. 999, almost a generation before the birth of Rāmānuja. The expression used seems almost to indicate that that was the usual character of the science. Scholars interested in the Mīmāṃsa studies ought now to investigate seriously how far the account given in the *Prāpanchahr̥daya* of the growth and development of this science embodies correct tradition.

* I acknowledge with pleasure the courtesy of the office of the Superintendent for Epigraphy for allowing me to consult the office transcript of this inscription and matters connected therewith.

This important matter, which is referred to in the report on page 65, is not found in the abstract of the inscription given on page 15 of the Appendix B of the report. This it may be noted is a serious omission, having regard to the importance of the subject.

II

THE "TAMIL LEXICON"

6. VOLUMES

Published under the authority of the University of Madras

We welcome, with the greatest pleasure, the last issue of the *Tamil Lexicon*, published by the University, bringing the vast work to completion in six volumes. The work just misses reaching the silver jubilee of its commencement, but it certainly is matter for satisfaction to everybody concerned that it has reached completion in some form. It will be remembered that the work started as a very humble project to revise and bring up to date Winslow's Tamil Dictionary belonging to a group of dictionaries, Tamil, Telugu, Kanares, Malayalam, issued in the second half of the last century chiefly through European individual effort, which received assistance from various sources. The late Rev. Dr. Pope put forward the suggestion, as he had made certain corrections in the Dictionary and had collected a considerable volume of notes which could be utilised to purpose. Beginning like that, it went through various phases of negotiation till at last the Secretary of State undertook to finance the publication by setting aside one lakh of rupees, provided the work was brought out as a satisfactory dictionary of the Tamil language supervised by, and issued under the authority of, the University of Madras.

The completed work of course is provided with a preface intended to give the history of the project ever since its inception in 1904 down to the date of its completion. But the historical account given shows very bad lapses which cannot altogether be regarded as due to inadvertence. There seems also to be a tendency in the report to appropriate all the credit of the achievement to the reformed committee, which hardly does justice to those who worked before them. This, of course, was excusable in perhaps Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar who said at the meeting, at which the completion of this important work was announced at the Senate House, that the achievement was due to his reformed committee. But in what pretends to be an official account, one would regard it as rather a serious blemish.

One reads a sentence like this on page XI of the Introduction. "The Chairman, in consultation with the Lexicon Committee, incorporated a detailed scheme of vigorous work for the speedy preparation and publication of the Lexicon. The sympathy and active help of a number of scholars were secured, and these were constituted honorary referees." Whereas years before that, the Committee had a similar arrangement, and as many as about 40 people acted as a body of consulting referees for some years before the time to which this seems to refer as it is in the report.

This apart, the cost of the Lexicon is given as Rs. 4,10,000, and we are informed that 20,000 more words, collected in the course of publication but too late for incorporation, have yet to be published. However, one is really glad to know that the work has reached its completion, and may hope that the promised supplement will follow in a comparatively short time. We need hardly go into the real merits of the work as it is. It is undoubtedly a vast improvement upon Winslow, and may perhaps be regarded as vastly more complete. We would very much like to say complete without the qualification; but a statement like that would hardly be justified.

The system of transliteration adopted makes it somewhat worse than useless, although we have been protesting against such a system all the time we have had anything to do with it. If transliteration is going to help anybody, it is primarily intended to help students of philology, who may be inclined to compare words in the Tamil language without being able to read Tamil by themselves. The case of those does require sympathy, and there is absolutely no justification for transliterating words if the transliteration fails to serve that purpose. Unfortunately the system adopted here proves to be perfectly useless for this particular purpose, and has only contributed to swell the cost of the Lexicon. While we have nothing but commendation for all those who have laboured to bring the work to completion, including the Government and the University which found the resources for bringing it out, we would count ourselves wanting in duty if we do not point out that, in several respects, the *Tamil Lexicon* still falls short of what a real lexicon should be—and could have been—in this case. Let us hope that the publication of this work will lead to real lexicographic work in one form or another by agencies which may be interested in various lines of study of the Tamil language.

Reviews

EVENTS AT THE COURT OF RANJIT SINGH, 1810—1817

Translated from the papers in the Alienation Office, Poona

EDITED BY

LT. COL. H.L.O. GARRET, M.A., I.E.S.,

(Keeper of the Records of the Government of the Punjab)

AND

MR. G. L. CHOPRA, M.A., PH.D., P.E.S.,

Deputy Keeper of the Records

(as Monograph No. 17 of the Punjab Government Record Office
Publication ; 1935 ; pp. 288)

That the Peshwa Daftar at Poona is a mine of first-class historical material has already been known to scholars by the publication of 45 volumes of Marathi papers by the Government of Bombay. But that the material is not only in Marathi but is also in Persian and English is very well attested by the recent publication of a volume of miscellaneous Persian papers edited by Dr. M. Nazim and of the first volume of the Poona Residency Correspondence entitled "Mah-adji Sindia and N. I. Affairs," edited by Sir Jadunath Sarkar. It is a great pleasure to see that more Persian material in the Daftar has just been brought to light by the publication of the above-mentioned volume.

This volume is the result of the co-operation of two Governments—the Government of Bombay who own the original material which is in the form of news letters in the Persian language and of which the present volume represents an English translation and of the Government of the Punjab who incurred much expenditure in getting the Persian letters carefully translated into English and in getting them published in this volume as a monograph of their Record Office.

The letters which are 127 in number are dated from 1st November 1810 to 2nd September 1817, with one exception which is dated 10th June 1822. From the abrupt beginning of this series of letters and the equally abrupt ending and the many gaps in the middle it is obvious that many more news letters of the kind must have been written by the author. A few of these were included by Dr. Nazim in his

volume noticed above, and some more may be found if a regular search is made in the Persian collection of the Peshwa Daftar. The letters in the volume under review are full of information on all kinds of matter—personal, administrative, financial, military and judicial concerning Ranjit Singh, the great Sikh ruler, which is not known from any other chronicles. Unfortunately the name of the writer of the letters and of the person to whom they were addressed—evidently at the court of the Peshwa at Poona since the papers were found in the Peshwa Daftar—are not known. But it is certain that the writer got his information from one who moves freely at the court of Ranjit Singh in the company of his most trusted and valued officers and had access even to the private chambers of the king. It is for this reason that the news given in the letters is 'most authentic both with regard to the facts and the dates.' Certain matters are narrated in such minute detail that cumulatively they provide numerous and illuminating sidelights on the life, policy and character of the Sikh potentate. They afford vivid glimpses into his daily routine, his engagements, his private and personal habits, his associates, the political and administrative problems that engaged his attention, the treatment he meted out to his vassals and other princes and the pastimes and sports which generally amused him. The extent to which he succeeded in reorganizing his forces after the "European style" and in which lay his great strength, can well be seen from these letters.

The question whether the Sikhs are a section of the Hindus or not, which has been sometimes discussed in these days, finds a good solution in the religious observances of the great Sikh ruler, who like orthodox Hindus, performed *Tulādāna* ceremony and distributed alms to the poor and to those who wore the sacred thread, gave away in charity thousands of rupees on the occasion of the Sankrānti, performed ablutions at the holy places of the Hindus and presented cows to Brahmanas. Ranjit Singh can thus be called the last Hindu Emperor of India.

Although he was a devout Hindu he showed great respect for the Muslim faith. In fact his personal and official staff is seen to have consisted of an equal number of Muhammedans who served him loyally. Some of the letters reveal Ranjit Singh's wonderful tact in winning over to his side capable men even from the enemy's camp—from the Afghans and other Muslim potentates. This was the cause of his success in seizing a large portion of the Afghan dominions which, ever since the time of Ahmed Shah Abdali, were lost to the Indian Empire. Ranjit Singh was so confident of his

power that when it was once told him that Ata Mohammed Khan, the Subedar of Kashmir, showed negligence in paying his revenue tax he replied that his chastisement was not a very difficult matter. Because of his strictness in exacting taxes his treasury was always full and we see him never in difficulty for the paying of his army which not only consisted of the local men from the Punjab—Hindus and Muhammedans—but also men from outside like the Gurkhas. We also find him extremely severe in punishing anybody who became disloyal to him.

• The most important political information obtained from these news letters is about Afghanistan. Ranjit Singh by his strong power not only put an end to the menace of the Afghan invasion which was felt in India practically every autumn before his time. Shah Shuja, the refugee ruler of Afghanistan, found him to be a sufficiently powerful man to seek shelter from him and to exchange turbans with him. An interesting account is given how by clever means the famous diamond Kohinoor was seized by Ranjit Singh from him. It can well be compared with another account of Ranjit Singh's plan to cajole Shah Shuja to part with a saddle set with precious stones worth 28 lakhs of rupees and a bedstead of coral studded with large size topazes given in one of the news-letters from Ranjit Singh's court published by Dr. Nazim.

Ranjit Singh's relations with the British Government, as the letters show, were very friendly. He showed due respect to their Resident, Col. Ochterlony, at the same time maintaining his dignity as an independent ruler. He would sit on a golden chair and offer a silver one to the British Resident. About his relations with the Indian States of his time much is not known from those letters though we see Vakils from Raghoji Bhosle of Nagpur, from the Gurkha king and the Jodhpur Raja attending his court.

At the end of the book are given notes—(their serial numbers in the Text and in the Appendix sometimes do not tally, cf. p. 70 of the Text) on some difficult words found in the Text which are no doubt useful; but if short descriptive notes on the important persons with whom Ranjit Singh had to deal and whose names are met with in the records, had also been given they would have helped the reader much. In fact a complete index is quite essential for a book of this kind. Similarly a map of the Punjab and the surrounding countries which witnessed the activities of the great Sikh ruler would have considerably enhanced the utility of the volume. It would have been better to give serial numbers to all the letters in the volume instead of giving them against the year.

This volume, as the Editors have stated in the Introduction, certainly forms a welcome addition to the existing sources of the history of Ranjit Singh, who shone like a bright star in the horizon of the rulers of India.

D. B. Diskalkar.

DYNASTIC HISTORY OF NORTHERN INDIA (EARLY MEDIÆVAL PERIOD)

By DR. H. C. RAY, M.A., PH.D.,

With a foreword by Dr. L. D. Barnett,
Calcutta University

Vol. I, 1931; pp. xl, 663; price Rs. 10; Vol. II, 1936; pp. xxiii,
665—1298; price Rs. 15

In the work under review, an attempt is made to give an account of the dynasties that ruled in Northern India during the period *circa* 916 and *circa* 1196 A.D., i.e. the period of transition intervening between the decline of the Gurjara-Pratihāra empire and the Muslim conquest. Besides a well-written introduction, Volume I of the work has ten chapters dealing with the dynastic history of Sind (I), of the Śāhis of Afghānistān and the Punjāb (II), of Kāśmīr (III), of Nepāl (IV), of Assam (V), of Bengal and Bihār (VI), of Orissa (VII), of the Gāhaḍavālas of Vārāṇasī and Kānyakubja (VIII), of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Northern India (IX) and of the later Gurjara-Pratihāras of Kanauj (X). Volume II deals with the Chandellas of Bundelkhand (XI), Haihayas of the United and Central Provinces (XII), Kachwāhas of Rajputana and Central India (XIII), Paramāras of Gujarat, Malwa and Rajputana (XIV), Chaulukyas (Solankis) of Aṇahilapāṭaka (XV), Chāhamānas (Chauhāns) of the Punjab, Rajputana and Gujarat (XVI), Tomaras of Delhi (XVII) and the Guhilots of the Punjab, Rajputana and Kathiāwar (XVIII). There are two appendices: (i) Coins of the Śāhis, and (ii) Dynasties and Territories controlled by them chronologically arranged. There are also exhaustive indices to both the volumes, and no less than twenty excellent maps which have greatly increased the value of the book. The synchronistic tables and the index to the maps are very carefully prepared.

Dr. Ray as well as the University of Calcutta must be congratulated on the publication of these excellent volumes which have no doubt removed the long-felt need of a work dealing with the North Indian dynasties of the early mediæval period, one of the most interesting chapters of Indian history. The story of continued

hammering at the north-western gates of India by her Muslim neighbours of the west, till the gates gave way, is a pathetically interesting prelude to the final act of a drama which pictured the establishment of Muslim supremacy in India. All the chapters of Dr. Ray's work are well written. He has carefully studied the available epigraphic and literary sources and has marshalled the facts with much skill. We are glad to note that the author has hardly given himself up to that eagerness for theorising which is now so common amongst certain recent writers on some early dynasties, such as the Vākāṭakas, Pallavas and the Kadambas.

There are however some points on which we differ from the views of Dr. Ray. We do not think, for instance, that the dynasty which ruled in Sind before the family of Dāhir can be called the 'Rāi Dynasty' (pp. 3, 47) simply because the kings are called 'Rāi' (= *rāya* = *rājan*) in the Muslim chronicles. The Bāṅgaḍ inscription* now generally ascribed to a Kamboja king named Kuñja-raghaṭāvarṣa. *Kamboja* has nothing to do with southern China (p. 309); it is evidently a Sanskritised form of *Koch* (also pronounced *Kōc*), originally a Himalayan tribe of Mongoloid origin. About the beginning of the sixteenth century, the kingdom of the powerful Koch kings comprised the western part of Kāmarūpa and the eastern part of Gauḍa or Varendra. The remnant of this kingdom is still found in the modern state of Cooch Behar, i.e., Kocavihāra. It is possible that, about the time of Mahipāla I, a prince of an earlier family of the Koch tribe occupied the district round Gauḍa which lay just to the west of the later Koch kingdom. A very interesting Kamboja=Koch record has been discovered after the publication of Dr. Ray's work.

The author has tentatively accepted the correction *rājy-aikaviṃśe* of the passage *ras-aikaviṃśe* in the celebrated colophon of the *Saduktikarṇāmrta* (p. 367, note). The correction however does not suit the metre. *Ras-aikaviṃśe* possibly signifies, by *lakṣaṇā*, *rasā-bhog-aikaviṃśe*, i.e. in the twenty-first year of the enjoyment of the earth (*rasā*) by king Lakṣmaṇasena.

The author has rightly observed the difficulty of dealing with the early history of Orissa in the present state of our knowledge (pp. 392—93). Many of the published Orissan records require careful re-edition. Following the late Pandit H. P. Sastri, the author

*It is the Irda grant edited by Mr. N. G. Majumdar in the *Epigraphia Indica*. This seems to be a record of the Pālas as the epithet 'Kamboja Vamśa Tilaka' applied as to Rājyapāla probably signifies his descent from the Kambojas on the mother's side.

thinks that there is a reference to a pious lady named Purāyidevī in a Guheśvarapāṭaka (or Śubheśvarapāṭaka) grant of Tribhuvana-mahādevī (p. 421). It is however better to read *pur=āpi devyā* with Bhandrakar in place of *Purāyidevyā* of Pandit Sastri.

Dr. Ray says that according to the Benares grant of Karna, Kalachuri Gāṅgeya "meditated on the feet of *Parama-bhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Parameśvara-śrī-Vāmadeva*" (p. 775). Expressions like *pād-ānudhyāta* are no doubt generally translated by scholars as "meditating on the feet of . . ." The passage *ṣaḍāṇano yam = abhiṣiktavān=anudhyāya senāpatiṃ mātābhiḥ saha* (whom Ṣaḍāṇana, with the Mothers, favoured and installed general) of the Tālgunda inscription and passages like *svāmi-mahāsena-mātṛgaṇ-ānudhyāta* (favoured by lord Mahāsena or Ṣaḍāṇana and the Mothers) found in almost all Kadamba records, however, show that the word *anudhyāta* in similar expressions should better be translated as "favoured" than as "meditating on." Dr. Ray moreover thinks that Vāmadeva, mentioned in the records of Kalachuri Karna and his successors (later on adopted from the Kalachuris by some of the later Chandellas of Jejakabhukti) is the name of some princes, and says, "these princes who are called Vāmadeva were perhaps noted for their devotion to that god (i.e. Śiva) that in the reign of their successors they were considered to have become a part of that god himself" (p. 776). It is very difficult to accept such a view. Vāmadeva was very probably a renowned Śaiva ascetic or teacher. The significance of his high sounding royal epithets seems to lie in the fact that in almost all parts of Northern India *Mahantas* (monks, abbots) are referred to as *Mahanta-mahārāja* and that according to Hindu lexicons the word *mahārāja* is a "form of address used to a Brāhmaṇ or superior."

These are, however, some instances of minor differences of opinion. They cannot in any way diminish the great value of Dr. Ray's work which will no doubt be an indispensable guide to all students of the mediæval history of India.

Dines Chandra Sircar.

INDIA ANALYSED

Volume I—International—London, Victor Gollancz, 1933—pp. 192.

The series of which this book is the first, aims at giving a picture of present-day India from the points of view of both English and Indian writers which will be useful both to the student and to the intelligent layman. In this book the contributors have dealt objectively with the main facets of India's international life. Thus Prof.

A. Zimmermann would regard India as the pivot of world politics in the coming generation and hold that any mal-adjustment between India and the rest of the British Commonwealth would set the stage for a huge inter-racial conflict. He would urge that Federal India should develop into "a realm of law" and not "a citadel of power." Prof. C. A. W. Manning would varnish the powerlessness and lack of initiative of the Indian Delegation to the League with a coat of interpretation that it has been free enough in all conscience, and its regard has been very good and important in building up an independent moral influence of its own.

Dr. Lanka Sundaram makes a study of India's place in the International Labour Organisation and says that India's independent action here has never been questioned. India's place in the Governing Body of the I.L.O. has been placed on a permanent footing; the reaction of India's position has been favourable to the internal political situation, particularly upon legislative activity towards the progressive realisation of social and industrial justice. Passing on from this soothing picture, the reader comes to Dr. A. B. Keith's exposition of India's constitutional status in the Empire. He examines in detail the rising tide of Dominion hostility to Indian immigration and the contract between the British and the Indian Governments *re* trade relations and preferences. He admits that the British Government has not been very successful in Kenya nor has satisfied Indian opinion to any extent. Mr. Jenks examines the international aspect of the Indian Constitution and supports, as very desirable, Mr. Jayakar's proposal to the Federal Structure Committee that the Federal Court should have original jurisdiction in both civil and criminal cases in which foreign nationals are concerned. He is of the opinion that India is well fitted for playing a pioneer part in the movement for fitting national constitutions into the framework of international government, and for creating a constitutional sub-structure for international co-operation; e.g., giving special powers in the Constitution for the application of Article XVI of the Covenant, and treating the question on an all-commonwealth basis. A post-script by Mr. Jenks examines the position of the Federal Court as outlined in the White Paper and the lists of subjects for which Provincial or State concurrence is not required for municipal legislation bearing on them. He says that there is no reason for requiring part-State concurrence for the acceptance of an international obligation.

The Volume fully justifies the claim made for it that it may be entitled "India in Perspective."

C. S. S.

THE PROBLEM OF THE INDIAN POLITY

By PRATAPGIRI RAMAMURTI, M.A.,
Prof. of History, Wilson College, Bombay.

Longmans Green & Co., Ltd., 1935—pp. XIII & 475

Dr. John McKenzie rightly stresses, in his foreword, on the ideals and spiritual foundations of political organisation on which the author lays stress. The author has attempted to co-ordinate the conceptions and aspects of Hindu polity as a whole in the light of Dharma, and to reveal the conflict between the insistence on old values and the demands of new ideas and aspirations. His method is based on an understanding of facts in relation to values and on idealism which should serve as the ultimate and invaluable solvent of our difficulties. His appeal to history is not merely an appeal to the past in the crude realistic sense, but as it goes into our present experience and reveals the content of life in its ideals and aspirations and as it helps us in our efforts to build up the polity of the future.

Mr. Pratapgiri next proceeds to an examination of the different systems of ancient Hindu philosophy in order to elucidate the attitude of life that the ancients had, from the Veda downwards through the main phases and ages of thought. He boldly holds that the fundamental defect of the Indian view is that evil is looked upon not as a moral evil, but as an intellectual one; and that emphasis is laid upon a self which has no individuality. Philosophy has been put in the place of religion, and the tendency to over-rationalise has submerged every thing in an impersonal and non-moral world-view. Hindu ethics, therefore, became unable "to regulate social morality" and "to formulate ideas of social progress." Taking this basis, it is argued that the Indian Polity which is the institutional response of the ideals and thoughts of the people should be necessarily influenced by, and hang on, religious ideals and philosophic systems which do not comprehend an adequate conception of human values and of personality.

The metaphysical foundations of the Indian State exist, but have not been carefully searched for; and stress is properly laid not on the relocation of sovereignty, but on the reinterpretation of the life which the State is to insure for the people. Mr. Pratapgiri examines, with this view, the meanings of Dharma in their various stages of its evolution and in its absolute and empirical aspects, and concludes that the end of the Hindu State was negative, aiming to

remove obstacles in the way of Dharma, by force (*danda*) ; and the whole scheme of Dharma emphasises self-autonomy and psychological aloofness. With a logic that can be charged as being fatuous, he proceeds that the duty of a vast majority of the population was to serve the higher orders and the end of the State would naturally be the perpetuation of their servility and degradation. The greatest good of society was to keep it intact by maintaining the various orders and castes in the maintenance of their respective *svadharma* ; and such a conception " never rises to the moral grandeur of Plato's idea of social justice." (p. 231).

Further, our author condemns in vigorous language the description of ancient Hindu polity by modern patriotic writers in terms of modern political phraseology, as well as the attempts made by some of them, to interpret the Indian State in terms of pluralism, and as the product of the federal principle. The function of the State was to remove obstacles and keep the various elements to their proper performance of duty. Thus there was no clear distinction between society and the State ; and the same organisation was at once religious and political, economic and military. Nor would our author overlook the institution of slavery and the basis of serfdom which supported the upper strata of society. He would postulate an autocratic competence for the king, absolute as against all within the State, while admitting limitations of a kind. The ideal monarch had always the conception of universal sovereignty before him admitting of no valid rules of international comity. Muhammadan rule split the land into two irreconcilable parts.

While social unity was unattainable as between States or in the country as a whole, in the actual State individuals and classes refused to be fused together and persisted as separate parts ; and there was no participation in a common life of citizenship. Even the status of woman is trotted forth as an additional argument for the thesis of the absence of the true conception of citizenship in the country. Finally the view is expounded that the theory of *danda* which underlies the Hindu conception of the State could not be a principle of political obligation based on reason ; and the educational system of ancient times perpetuated class divisions and caste distinctions and prevented the realisation of the organic unity of society (p. 391).

In the third book of his work, Professor Pratapgiri urges the necessity of reinterpreting the conception of Dharma on the true principles of harmony and justice, as being capable of modification and change towards perfection. The problem, he concludes, is

mainly non-political and essentially social and racial, and the substitution of progress for a fixed order that admits of no defect. The reader cannot but be struck by the vigour of expression, the wealth of example and quotations, and the range of reading and shrewdness of analysis that mark the treatment of a difficult and abstruse subject. His conclusions will perhaps carry greater conviction and be accepted with less resistance, if he did not overshoot in his criticism of the Hindu conceptions of *dharma* and kindred ideas, and create an impression that their proper worth has not been grasped. The book is very instructive and refreshingly stimulative.

C. S. S.

KACHARI BURANJI

OR

A Chronicle of the Kachari Rajas from the earliest times to the eighteenth century A.D., with special reference to Assam-Kachar political relations—with marginalia, introduction and synopsis—collected from old Assamese Manuscript Chronicles.

EDITED BY

Rai Bahadur S. K. Bhuyan, M.A., B.L.,

Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies, Assam, 1936.

Price Re. 1-8.

This new publication of the D.H.A.S., Assam, by the untiring scholar, Professor Bhuyan, is primarily a chronicle of the relations of the Ahom Government with the Rajas of Kachar whose extent and power changed from age to age. It also contains an account of the origin of the earliest rulers of Kachar. Kachar power was established in various places in the Brahmaputra valley and beyond the limits of the present district of that name. The Kachari kingdom with its capital at Dinapur, Maibong or Khaspur had always served the Kacharis as the lingering symbol of their racial unity ; and at the present time Kachari or Bodo Conferences are a common feature of the political and cultural life of Assam. Kachari kings encouraged sculpture, architecture and engineering as well as Assamese literature. Mr. Bhuyan discusses their original home and pre-Assam habitats in his introduction. The Ms. chronicle which forms the bulk of the present publication deals exclusively with Ahom-Kachari relations from the end of the 14th to the beginning of the 18th century ; and omitted or lost portions of it have

been obtained from other sources and fitted into the narrative which has been divided into chapters on the basis of the reigns of the Ahom monarchs which are well-defined. A detailed synopsis is given in English at the end, for the benefit of readers who do not know Assamese. The Kachari Buranji forms one of a definite series of historical compositions, known as Kataki Buranjis, derived from Kataki (= ambassador) which give an account of the political transactions of the two states and also the history of the foreign state from its origin to the beginning of its contact with the other, with a sketch, included in some cases, of the manners and customs of the people of that state. Mr. Bhuyan gives us assurances of the publication of such *Kataki Buranjis* dealing with Tripura, Jayantia and even Burdwan and Amber with which the Ahom rulers had political relations.

The contents of this Buranji, besides being summarised in English at the end, have been given in a connected form in the Introduction. A coloured illustration is given, reproduced from a gorgeously illustrated manuscript of the 18th century of the scene of the homage paid to King Rudra Singha (1696-1714 A.D.) by the Rajas of Kachar and Jayantia. An extract from Colonel White's Historical Miscellany (in manuscript, compiled in 1834) depicting the same scene is given at the end.

C. S. S.

THE FIRST CENTURY OF BRITISH JUSTICE IN INDIA

By SIR CHARLES FAWCETT,

Published under the patronage of His Majesty's Secretary of State for India in Council.

Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1934.
pp. xix and 269—Price 15s. net.

Sir Charles Fawcett of the Indian Civil Service was formerly a Judge of the High Court of Bombay, and has succeeded Sir William Foster as the editor of the series—*The English Factories in India*. He gives here a full and documented account of the Bombay High Court of Judicature established in 1672 in Gerald Aungier's time. The charter of 1683 granting Bombay to the Company contemplated the establishment of courts on English lines, to administer laws enacted by the Company and not contrary to the laws of England. The Deputy Governor and Council were then the best available body for the disposal of other than petty litigation and

were directed to hold trials with the help of a jury. There was no right of appeal from the Court to the President and Council at Surat; and, contrary to what was held by Edwards and others, it is seen that Europeans were as much subject to its jurisdiction as Indians. Trial by jury was resorted to in cases of crimes like theft, murder and mutiny; and minor causes were dealt with by two benches of justices who were more inclined to follow Portuguese law which was formally abolished only in August, 1672.

Fawcett claims that Aungier had a clear right to fame as having laid 'the true foundations of British justice in Bombay' and regrets that the court's establishment has been neglected by historians. He devotes two chapters to the working of the court in the first decade of its life and bases his information mainly on Wilcox's Reports. Civil procedure followed generally that of England; and the probate and administration work of the court was of importance in view of the heavy mortality of the Europeans in the settlement. Slavery was often the penalty for convictions of theft or robbery; witchcraft was treated as punishable with death; and offences against religion and morality were dealt with at the sessions. There were collisions between the judges of the court and the Council, and our author tries to clear Gary of the charges brought against him by writers like Malabari, that he was a drunkard and a bad judge.

During Keigwin's rebellion, the Company's courts ceased to operate. When they were re-established, other troubles arose between the judges and Sir John Child and concerning the Admiralty Court established by charter of 1683 whose civil and criminal jurisdiction was essentially limited. The Court of Judicature rested on an entirely separate foundation under the charter of 1668. Fawcett sees in this the first glimpse of the antagonism that later on developed between the King's courts in India and the Company's governors. St. John, Judge-Advocate of the Court of Admiralty, was not to be made Chief Justice of the Court of Judicature, without his first satisfying the Company's agents as to his 'good deportment'.

The Sidi's invasion dislocated the whole machinery; and according to Gayer writing in 1702, there was no Court of Judicature in Bombay for 11 years. It is difficult to attain accuracy of knowledge having regard to the paucity of records. The Court of Judicature was restored in 1718, composed of four Company's servants and of three merchants; and its jurisdiction had no definite limits except in regard to capital offences committed outside the Island.

In Madras the Company's Court of Judicature, first started in 1666, was superseded by a Court of Admiralty in 1686 which had a more extensive jurisdiction than its namesake in Bombay. The Mayor's Court was started in 1688; but it continued to be merely a Company's Court until it was superseded in 1727 by one established under a royal charter. Gradually the Governor and Council constituted themselves a Court of Appeal from both the Mayor's and Admiralty Courts.

The conditions in Calcutta were not favourable for the establishment of any admiralty tribunal; and the Company never authorised any regular court of judicature other than that of the Governor and Council up to 1728 when the Mayor's Court was set up; and their jurisdiction was not derived from the Company or from any royal charter or commission. The conclusion of the author upon his survey is that Madras compared favourably with Bombay in its judicial arrangements up to 1728 "while the reverse applies to those of Calcutta". He surveys also the working of the Mayor's Courts in the three Presidencies and maintains that they resulted in a distinct progress in the administration of justice according to the principles and practice of the English Courts of law. The insistence on English Law had of course its good and bad sides, and contributed to the practical exclusion of Indians from any share in the work of the Bench. Fawcett's justification of this feature is rather thin and unconvincing.

The book opens up a chapter in the history of the British Indian Administration which was hitherto practically unexplored; and it is very fully documented and has corrected the misconceptions of previous writers like Anderson, Malabari, Hunter and others.

C. S. S.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE SOUTH INDIAN EPIGRAPHY,

For the year ending 31st March, 1933

This report is as usual an interesting document, and not merely presents a record of work of the Department, but also brings to light matters of interest not hitherto known in certain particulars. During the year under report, the number of inscriptions collected amount to over 400 within the Madras Presidency. They are all of them brought into record for work; but this report incorporates the reading and the recording of abridged contents of 9 copper plates and 409 inscriptions on stone. A short appendix containing definitely fixable dates, which has become a feature of the report, is also given.

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Volume XIV (Parts I to III)

CONTENTS

ARTICLES

	PAGES.
GENEALOGY AND CHRONOLOGY OF THE VAKATAKAS: By Mr. M. Govind Pai ..	1- 26 165-204
ON THE IRAN INSCRIPTION OF ABOUT 350 A.D.: By Mr. Dasaratha Sharma ..	27- 29
THE LOCATION OF KARTRUPURA AND CONNECTED PROBLEMS: By Mr. Dasaratha Sharma ..	30- 33
YAVANA AND PARASIKA: By Mr. Dines Chandra Sircar ..	34- 38
SOME PROBLEMS OF THE REIGN OF RAJADHIRAJA II: By Mr. S. K. Govindaswami ..	39- 49
IMPERIAL TREASURY OF THE GREATER MUGHALS: By Mr. Abdul Aziz ..	50- 73 222-247
BENGAL UNDER JAHANGIR: By Prof. Sri Ram Sharma ..	74- 95
ORGANISATION OF CENTRAL GOVERNMENT UNDER THE TURKISH SULTANS OF DELHI: By Mr. M. Akram Makhdoomee ..	96-114
HIS EXCELLENCY LORD BRABOURNE'S OPENING SPEECH AT THE ALL-INDIA MODERN HISTORY CONGRESS ..	145-148
THE EARLY PALLAVAS: By Mr. Dines Chandra Sircar ..	149-164
A NOTE ON THE MUGHAL MILITARY TERMS: By Mr. C. S. K. Rao Saheb ..	205-221
THE HISTORICAL MATERIAL IN THE PRIVATE DIARY OF ANANDA RANGA PILLAI: By Mr. C. S. Srinivasachari.	248-265
TIPPU SULTAN'S CONFEDERACY AGAINST THE BRITISH— 1790: By Mr. N. Kasturi ..	266-271
CHRONOLOGY OF SAKAS, PAHLAVAS AND KUSHANAS: By Mr. M. Govind Pai ..	309-343
DATE OF KADAMBA MRGESAVARMAN: By Mr. Dines Chandra Sircar ..	344-346
DATE OF RAJADHIRAJA II: By Mr. V. Venkatasubba Aiyar ..	347-349
HUMAYUN, THE PRINCE, 1508-30: By Prof. S. K. Banerji ..	350-362

	PAGES.
PORTRAITS OF THE GREATER MUGHALS : By B. Bomanji Ichaporia ..	363-399
THE ARMY OF MAHARAJA RANJIT SINGH : By Mr. Sita Ram Kohli ..	400-425

REVIEWS

EVOLUTION OF HINDU MORAL IDEALS : By the Editor ..	116-117
ANCIENT SIAMESE GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION ..	117-120
INDIA : MINTO-MORLEY ..	121-124
A GUIDE TO ELEPHANTA ..	124-127
THE HINDU CONCEPTION OF THE DEITY ..	127-129
MADRAS UNIVERSITY SANSKRIT SERIES No. 2 (PART I), 7 (PARTS I & II) : By P. P. S. ..	129-130
HAYAGRIVA : By the Editor ..	272-274
THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE EARLY TAMILS : By the Editor ..	282-289
THE MAHABHARATA ANALYSIS AND INDEX ..	289-290
IN TOUCH WITH UJJAIN ..	290
FASCISM OR SOCIALISM ? THE CHOICE BEFORE US ..	291-292
BHATTA-CHINTAMANI : By M. H. ..	293-295
PLANNED ECONOMY FOR INDIA : By the Editor ..	295-299
ON ANCIENT CENTRAL-ASIAN TRACKS ..	426-428
THE SANKHYA-KARIKA OF ISVARA KRSNA : By R. R. ..	428-429
THE MATSYA PURANA—A STUDY : By P. S. S. ..	429-430
HISTORY OF POLITICAL THOUGHT FROM RAMMOHUN TO DAYANANDA : By C. S. S. ..	431-432
BOMBAY IN THE DAYS OF GEORGE IV—MEMORIES OF SIR EDWARD WEST : By C. S. S. ..	433-435

MISCELLANEOUS

THE ALL-INDIA MODERN HISTORY CONGRESS—EDITORIAL ..	115-116
VISHNUPADAGIRI ..	279-281
SATIYAPUTRA ..	274-276
SELECT CONTENTS FROM ORIENTAL JOURNALS ..	276-279
..	131-142
..	300-304
..	436-440

INDEX FOR VOL. XIV

A

Abul Fazl, 369-70.
 Abhiṣeka-nāma, 1 & 3.
 Ahmed yādgār, 357, 359.
 Ain-i-Waza'a't, 400.
 Aiyar, Sir Sivaswami, 116.
 Aiyangar, S. K., 155, 157.
 Akbar, encouraged painting, 369 ;
 Testimony of Abul Fazl.
 Akbar, a fearless hunter, 372.
 Akbar-Nāma, 356.
 Album of Dara Shikoh, 378.
 Ālvārs, 128.
 Ancient India, 37.
 Antiochus Sidetes invasion of, to
 Parthia, 322.
 Antonio Monserrate, 374.
 Assam, Mughal expedition to, 87 ;
 its end, 90-91.
 Aurangazēb, decline of Mughal art,
 393.

B

Babar, fond of gardening, 366.
 Babur's sacrifice of his life for his
 son, 362.
 Babar's Memoirs, 434.
 Bābur-Nāma, 352.
 Bahādur Shāh, picture of, 398.
 Banerji, R. D., 197.
 Bengal, Arrakanese invasion of,
 84-5.
 Beveridge, Mrs. 351.
 Bhairava aspect, 274.
 Bhandarkar, Dr. D. R., 31-2.
 Bhāraśivas, 5.
 Bhavanāga of the Bhāraśiva family,
 1.
 Bhūta Pāndyan, 284.
 Blochet, M., 363.
 Brahmadeya, 44.
 Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa, 430.
 Bṛhat Samhitā, 193.

C

Cambridge History of India, 330.
 Cakora, 150.
 Chedi era, 22-3, 24-5 ; is Vākātaka
 era ? 28.
 Chinaware in Mughal India, 66 f.
 Coomaraswami, Dr. 375.
 Cuṭu-Sātakarnis, 160.

D

Damijada, 335 & 339.
 Dattā Devi, Queen of Samudra-
 gupta, 28.
 Demetrius, son of Euthydemus, 317.
 Devi-Chandragupta, 28.
 Dhruvaswamini, 33.
 Dictionary of the Economic Pro-
 ducts of India, 51.
 Dikshit, K. N., 197.
 Dikshitar, V. R. R., 276.
 Dikshitar, V. R. R. 429.
 Diodotus, satrap of Bactria, 317.
 Diwan, title of, 415.
 Dodwell, Professor, 248.
 Doughlas, Sir James, 433.

F

Firishta on the rewards of Bābur,
 353.
 Firoz Shah, court of, 98.

G

Garrett, H. L. O. 424 n.
 Gāthā Saptasati, 193.
 Gondopharnes, immediate successor
 of Azes, 313-14, 316.
 Govindaswami, S. K., 347.
 Gul-badan Begum, sister of Huma-
 yun and authoress of Humayun-
 Nama, 351.

H

Hayagrīva, 273.
 Heliodorus, 35.
 Hirananda Śāstri, Dr. 124-6.
 Humāyūn, his studies, 352.
 Humāyūn and the Afghans, 354.
 Humāyūn, love of art, 367 ; a pic-
 ture of, in the British Museum,
 367.
 Humāyūn-Nāma, 351.

I

Ibadatkāna, House of Worship, 374.
 Ibrahim Beg, 74.
 Ivory carving, 72-3.

J

Jayaswal, K. P. 5-7, 13, 27 ff.
 Jouveau-Dubreuil, M. 197.

K

Kacci-ppedu, 150.
 Kachhar, Mughal occupation of, 79.
 Kälachuri era, 23.
 Kāñcipura, 149.
 Karūr, a small town between
 Chenab and Sutlej, 30, n.
 Kārtikeyanagara, 33.
 Karttupura, a frontier kingdom of
 Samudragupta, 30.
 Kauṭalya, Artha-Śāstra of, 430.
 Kavichakravartni, 44.
 Kāvya-mīmāṃsa, 193.
 Kelkar, N. C., 115, 280.
 Khan, Sir S. A., 280.
 Khālifa, 355 & 358.
 Khilā'ats, 411.
 Kohinūr, 353.
 Kujula Kadphises, the first Kuṣān
 ruler, 310.
 Kulavādhu, 28.
 Kulottuṅgaśoḷan-pillaittamīl, 44.

L

Legion de Honour, 419.
 Liaka Kusuluka, 309.
 Loadstones in India, 57.
 Lodi empire, twin capitals of, 353.

M

Mackintosh, Sir James, 433.
 Magical practices in Sylhet, 76-7.
 Mahābhāṣya, 149.
 Mahādānas, 430.
 Mahādānapati Patika, 309.
 Mahārāja Rājātīrāja, 183.
 Mahāvamsa, 35.
 Majerika, 156.
 Mayūrasarma, 174.
 Māthara Vṛtti, 429.
 Māyāvādis, 127.
 Milindapāṇho, 35.
 Moga, 309.
 Moghul art from Persia, 363.
 Mysoreans in Trichy, 250.

N

Nana Phadnavis, 269.
 Neṛiyuḍaipperumāl, 349.
 Nizam Ali Khan, Subedar of the
 Deccan, 266.
 Nur Jahan, Portraits of, 385.

P

Pallavas, their origin, 158-9.
 Pallavarāya, Minister and Soldier,
 41.
 Pandu, Rājas of, 92-3.

Parakaṣātra, 31.
 Pāñcarātras, 273.
 Percy Brown, Mr., 364, 388.
 Periplus of the Erythraean sea, 153.
 Piḷlai, 46.
 Prabhāvatī gupta, 2.
 Pravīra performed aśvamedha, 15.
 Prince Salim, 377.
 Ptolemy, Geography of, 154.

Q

Qasim Khan, 75-6.

R

Raghuvamśa, 37.
 Ranjit Singh, 414-15.
 Ravivarman, son of Mr̥gesavarman,
 345.
 Rājādhirāja, 39 ff.; his relations to
 Rājārāja II, 42 f.; son of Kulot-
 tūṅga Chola II, 349.
 Relations of Golconda, 241.
 R̥gvedānukramanī, 130.
 Ridolfo Acquaviva, 374.
 Rohiṇimitra, 310.
 Rudrasena I, 190.

S

Śakas, 326-27.
 Saletore, B.A., 276.
 Saleucus Nikator, 316.
 Śambuvārāya, 46.
 Sar-i-pul, battle of, 350.
 Sardesai, G. S., 146.
 Sarkar, Sir Jadunath, 146.
 Sastri, Suryanarayana, 429.
 Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, 430.
 Satiya-putra, 276.
 Sāṅkhyā-Kārika, 428.
 Śāntivarman, son of Kākustha-
 varman, 345.
 Śātavāhana coins, 152.
 Shāh Jahān, pictures of, 389 f.
 Shāh Jahān's reign, Bernier's evi-
 dence, 206.
 Shāh Tahmāsp of Persia, 363.
 Shaik Selim Chishtī, 371.
 Shajarat-ul Atrak, 247.
 Śikhara style, 430.
 Smith, Dr. V. A., 30, 328, 363.
 Some aspects of the Vāyu Purāṇa,
 Śṛṅgāraprakāśa, 31-2.
 Stein, Sir Aural, 426-7.
 Sten Konow, Prof., 310-11.
 Storia, 54.
 Sūḍasa, 312-13.
 Sukthankar, Dr., 197.
 Sulaiman Mirza, 358-9.
 Śungas, 161.
 Svabhoga, a note on, 29.

Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, 430.
 Tang Annals, 428.
 Tantriam, 372.
 Tārīkh-i-Rashīd, 358.
 Tarin basin, explorations in, 427.
 Tavernier's present to Aurangzeb,
 83.
 Taxila, the stratification at, 313.
 Thomas, Dr. E. J.
 Tiruttonda Purāṇam, 44.
 Tōramāṇa, 200.
 Traikūṭaka era, 23-4.
 Triakūṭa, conquest of, 202.

U

Ucchakalpa, princes of, 19 f.
 Upādisūtras, 130.
 Ushavadāta, 311.

V

Van Gulik, R. H., 272.
 Varāhamihira, 33.
 Vākātaka genealogy from the
 Chammak plates, 1; from the

Poona Plates, 3; from the Ajanta
 Cave stone inscription, 9.
 Vāsiṣṭha-putra Pulumāvi, 151.
 Venkatasubba Iyer, V., 47.
 Verner, M., collection of, 364.
 Vīramōrvashyam, 6.
 Vindhya-vardhana, 16 n.
 Vindhyaśakti, a Brahman, 9.
 Vindhyaśakti, accession of 168;
 Mr. Jayaswal on, 177.
 Vignupadagiri, 274-5.
 Virakūca, 164.
 Vyāghradeva, 25, 196.
 Vazurk Kūshānashāh, 180-81.

W

Wade, C. M., 412, 424-25.
 West, Sir Edward, 433.

Y

Yāvanas, 34 ff.
 Yāvanas and Pārasīkas, 37-38.
 Yauna, 36.
 Yavanarāja Dimita, 35.
 Yonarāja, 35.

There are a number of impressions of inscriptions published of which one is a label of Vishnu temple by Mahēndravarman on a stray stone and another found in the Kailāsanātha temple at Conjeevaram. There are also a number of interesting documents, the Tirukalikuṇ-ram inscription of the Pallava Narasimhavarman I, an inscription of Devendravarman of Kalinga, and one by Vishnuvardhana of Rājahmundry. A few inscriptions of interest, from the point of view of administrative procedure of the Cholas, are also among the number unearthed in the year. Two inscriptions of interest in this direction are reproduced *in extenso* with translations in the report. The record sustains the interest of these Annual Reports, and what is a new feature of this is an analytical record of inscriptions collected in the Southern Mahratta country, of which the appendix brings 193 such to our notice. Speaking of these appendices, we would like to point out a disparity what is perhaps due to mere lack of attention. The analytical index of these inscriptions do not always contain the important points in some of these records to which attention is drawn in the body of the report. While the omission to refer to what is contained in the analytical index in the report has to be expected and could be easily excused, omissions in the index of details of importance, to which the report feels called upon to draw attention, cannot be dismissed as of the same slight importance. We would request the attention of the Superintendent for Epigraphy to this particular point which seems to us to call for rectification.

THE COLAS

By

PROF. K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI,

Volume I to the Accession of Kulottunga I

Madras University.

This is a publication by the University of Madras of the work of its Professor, and constitutes the first major work of the Madras University Historical Series. Professor Nilakanta Sastri published a History of the Pandyas as his first work before he became Professor. Since assuming office, he has issued as the first fruit of his study of Chola history a book entitled "Chola Studies" bearing upon just a few topics of interest, among them the famous Uttaramērūr grants of Parāntaka bearing upon the Chola administrative system. This new work forms the first part of what is intended to be a more complete and elaborate work upon the history

of the Cholas who constituted by far the most important dynasty of South Indian rulers, whose history covers more than 1,500 years coming down to the Muhammadan conquest from the very small beginnings reaching back to the days of the Emperor Asoka. Inscriptions have been collected systematically, and even much other material has accumulated since we wrote our papers on Chola History in the final form in 1908, and the period covers the length of a whole generation as it were. It certainly is time that somebody sat down to it seriously and took up a more elaborate history of the Cholas, a work which required the doing. It is in the fitness of things that the occupant of the Chair of Indian History and Archaeology should have taken up the subject for his serious work. Professor Sastri's plan consists of a historical account of the Cholas followed by the necessary appendices of material for their history and a very elaborate index. As the title indicates, this part,—part I—begins the history of the Cholas and brings it down to Vijayālaya, the founder of the new dynasty and takes it from Vijayālaya down to the days of Kulottunga I, and that is the period from the beginning of Chola History down to past the middle of the 11th, and includes two centuries of its recent history. The work is based mainly on the inscriptions for the later period, information being drawn from other sources to check the material provided by the inscriptions, etc. The work follows the divisions, The Early Age of the Cholas taking it down to the end of the age of the Śāṅgam, then the interlude from the end of the Śāṅgam period down to Vijayālaya, and then the period from Vijayālaya down to Kulottunga. For the earlier part, the references are mainly in literature and the classical writers which have been drawn upon largely for a more or less complete account of the period. While we have no hesitation in saying that the work is on the whole carefully done, it provides here and there points of importance in which the views offered cannot perhaps be accepted by everybody. This is perfectly natural in a work of this character. But one finds often times the views taken not adequately supported, nor the views of others criticised with adequate reasons to support them. Views are offered as more or less *obiter dicta* which perhaps will not be considered satisfactory in a research work of this character. For instance let us take a general point like this. Śēkkilār, the author of the *Periarpurāṇam*, is roundly charged with having drawn largely from his imagination and the only support given to this view is a reference given to the contrary to Nambi Āṇḍār Nambi's *Tirutondattotai*. As everybody knows Nambi Āṇḍār Nambi's *Tirutondattotai* is a comparatively small poem referring to all the Śaiva Nāyanmārs in about 90 verses, and could hardly be expected to give their history in any

detail. To say that a later writer writing far more elaborately on the topic says things that are not found in the smaller work alone, will not justify the charge that the later writer drew more on his own imagination. It may have been so, but the author who takes it upon himself to make the remark is under obligation to justify it. Another instance, perhaps of a more telling character, where he is content with the remark "It is wasted effort," is in regard to Kari-kāla's extension of territory so far northwards as to include Tondamandalam and the country dependent thereon in his dominions. Of course, we have taken it that Professor Sastri has studied carefully the poems *Porunarāruppaḍi* and *Pāṭṭinappālai*. Certain points of these poems will have to be satisfactorily explained if Professor Sastri's dictum is to be accepted. It is for him to do that. The chapter on government and social life of this early period is certainly interesting, and is based on a comparatively large mass of material available. Interesting quotations are given in translation from the original.

For the period following, the period of Chola interregnum, the treatment given is very slender, and it is just possible to have given it more elaborate treatment if an effort had been made to work up the available details in regard to *Kaḷabhra* interregnum, which subverted the South Indian dynasties. When we come to the later period, the period of the inscriptions, Professor Sastri handles his material with greater care, and we might even say with minute attention. The early Cholas, the Cholas before Rājārāja, receive adequate treatment. The account given however while generally satisfactory offers points for criticism. Of course, it would be too minute for a review, but they are mentioned as they are points of importance. The treatment of Rājārāja's reign may be regarded as adequate, although perhaps a little more elaboration would be possible. Under Rājēndrachola, Professor Sastri has drawn upon the works of the French School at Hanoi, and has tried to complete the account of Rājēndrachola's conquests. But here again there is the same inclination to sidetrack the more important issues by a mere expression of views. However we congratulate Professor Sastri on the effort which he has made to give us an elaborate account of the Cholas, which they deserve on account of their achievements as well as by the amount of historical material that has recently been brought to notice bearing upon this important period in the history of South India. The work could easily have been brought out in a handier form and at a much easier price for the general reader in consequence.

THE SAIVA SCHOOL OF HINDUISM

By

S. SHIVAPADASUNDARAM,

George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London.

This work is intended to serve as a handbook, to the ordinary student, of the religion generally described as Saivism. The work is based on the two classics of this form of Hinduism, *Siva Gñāna Bodham* of Meygandadeva, and commentary on it, *Śiva Gñāna Siddhiyār*. Of course, there are vast works by other authors based upon these, and thus therefore the work goes to the fundamental text books of Śaivism. The author here proceeds to give an account of the religion in its doctrines and practices, and is a fairly satisfactory handbook to those who could not read the originals. Those who can read the originals, however, may find it not satisfactory in parts. Nonetheless, it is a clear exposition of what certainly must be unfamiliar to European readers. Let us hope it will serve the purpose.

THE CAMBRIDGE SHORTER HISTORY OF INDIA

Cambridge University Press.

The Cambridge University have done well to have brought out this one volume edition of the Cambridge History, close on the trail of the four volumes of the Cambridge History of India published by them. It is a great pity that the remaining two volumes should have got hung up, but we believe there is a prospect of their being published early, as they are now in the hands of a new editor. The work under review is the production of the labours of three scholars, namely, J. Allan of the Department of Coins in the British Museum, taking the first part or the Hindu Period, Sir Wolseley Haig the second and Prof. Dodwell the third. Of course, the last two have had to do the bulk of the Cambridge History for the periods that they have taken up for writing here. The first author may be regarded as perhaps a new addition. The work is a handbook of 908 pages, of which 201 pages relate to the Hindu Period or Part I. Part II occupies pages 205 to 478, that is, 273 pages, and part III from page 481 to 908, with an appendix of 52 pages following, giving 528 pages for the British period. This allotment of pages gives an indication to some extent of the plan of work as well. Each of the authors has his own special qualifications

to deal with the particular period entrusted to him, and the work should prove an authoritative handbook for the more advanced students who have long suffered from a lack of a satisfactory handbook of about the size indicated. One could perhaps have expected a more equitable distribution of space surely. 200 pages for the Hindu period in a work of almost a thousand pages should be regarded as absolutely inadequate, particularly at a time when there is a new political stir and there is a considerable amount of attention that is likely to be paid to historical studies. There has developed a tendency recently to relegate Hindu history to the background. Let us only hope that this has not been intentional in this case, as Hindu history does not stop short with the Hindu period, while certainly a hundred pages or even more in addition would have been amply justified. We see in the result that even such an important topic as the History of Vijayanagar is dismissed as a mere episode in the history of Bahmani kingdom. That was perhaps to be expected from Sir Wolseley Haig, whose studies have lain principally among the Muhammad authorities for the period. Here is a sentence from his part which would give an indication of it:— "Some of the line (Bahmani kings) were bigots, but their neglect of the welfare of their Hindu subjects is to be attributed neither to their bigotry nor to the apathy bred of habitual drunkenness, for the peasantry of the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar was equally neglected and equally miserable. The tiller of the soil existed for the maintenance of the State, and it was seldom that he was allowed to retain of the fruits of his labour much more than would suffice to keep body and soul together." We would leave the readers of Indian History to judge for themselves how far these remarks are justified, but would only like to draw attention to the fact that for the question of an organisation of the British administration particularly on its revenue side soon after the British took over a considerable part of what is now the Madras Presidency, Munro wrote to the Government to tell them that any settlement of the districts brought under British rule ought to be based, not upon what prevailed at the time immediately preceding the British occupation, but that he would like to go back two or three generations when the administration was under Hindu rule. The large number of pages given to the British period need not be objected to, and the degree of elaboration that this would indicate is necessary for its proper understanding. The treatment of the period is on the whole good and adequate, but it is not altogether free from what could perhaps be regarded as small slips, such as one finds on page 545, where, relating to the year 1752, the Peshwa is spoken of "Balaji Rao the Peshwa." It was the first Peshwa whose name was Balaji

Rao, and the third Peshwa who is obviously under reference here was generally known as Balaji Baji Rao. It any rate, it would have been better to retain the name for the sake of that distinction, if for nothing else. The Cambridge University deserves to be congratulated on having brought out a work of this compass, which let us hope, would serve the long-felt need for a satisfactory work on Indian History for the more advanced students.

TANDAVA LAKSHANAM

By

MESSRS. B. V. NARAYANASWAMI NAIDU, P. SRINIVASALU NAIDU
AND O. V. RANGIAH PANTULU,

Published by the G. S. Press, Mount Road, Madras.

This is a work bearing on the art of ancient Hindu dancing based on the classical work on that subject, the Natya Sastra of Bharata. The great temple at Chidambaram, as is well known, is a composite structure, the various parts of which belong to different periods of history. The principal feature, so far as this particular topic is concerned, are the great *gopurams* which are found in the four directions, of which probably the earliest is the western *gopura* ascribed to the Cholas. The next in chronological order is perhaps the south similarly ascribed to the Pandyas following rather quickly on the Cholas. The eastern is again ascribed to the local chieftain Koperunjinga, ruler of Cuddalore and the district dependent upon it. The fourth and the last one is the Northern ascribed to king Krishnadevaraya of Vijayanagar. One of the features of ornamentation of these gopuras happens to be, as if by a freak, the 108 *karanas* or poses described in the Natya Sastra of Bharata. These are found on all the four gopuras, but those on the east and west carry along with them labels of Bharatas' text in Sanskrit from the Natya Sastra itself. Professor Narayanaswami Naidu and his companions here have collected these 108 *karanas* with the inscriptional labels on top, compiled chiefly from the eastern and the western gopuras which contain them in full, and of these two, it is the western one that preserves the order and gives the texts accurately. These had already been published in the report of the Department of Epigraphy at Madras in 1914 giving the representations in woodcuts which are also reproduced in this work with permission. The individual poses or *Karanas* are photographed separately, and the texts are affixed to each and translated. The work is of fundamental importance to

the study of art history, and throws a considerable amount of light upon the Natya Sastra of Bharata and of its full knowledge and practices in South India, as even to date the text book, followed by the practitioners of the Bharata Natya in South India, is the Sanskrit work *Natyadarpana*.

The work is prefaced with the necessary historical and other material to expound the position, and the work on the whole constitutes an important contribution to the elucidation of the Bharata Natya as a whole. In respect of the transliteration of Sanskrit names, the transliteration often proves to be a rendering of the name as it is pronounced by the Tamils and not strictly in accordance with Sanskrit spelling and pronunciation. Professor Narayanaswami Naidu and his companions have to be congratulated in the first instance on the production of this important work. The publisher's part is done well by the *G. S. Press*, Mount Road, Madras, and is exceedingly well done. We welcome the publication as a very useful addition to the study of an important item of Indian culture.

TATTVABINDU WITH TATTVA-VI-BHAVANA

Annamalai University Sanskrit Series, III

By

MR. V. A. RAMASWAMI SASTRIAR, M.A.,
Lecturer in Sanskrit.

This is a very important publication throwing welcome light upon the history of the *Mīmāṃsā Śāstra*, which indeed was very much needed. The work *Tattvabindu*, though only a commentary of Kumarila Bhaṭṭa's commentary on the *Mīmāṃsā Sūtra* and *Śābhara Bhashya* is generally regarded as a classic on the *Mīmāṃsā*. This is accompanied by a commentary on the work by one Rishi-putra Paramēśwara of Malabar, and the two together make a work of great value to the student of *Mīmāṃsā*. But the publication is here prefaced by an introduction, the first part of which deals with a history of the *Mīmāṃsā* covering 150 pages. The second part of the introduction is an analysis of the *Tattvabindu* going on from pages 150 to 197. Then follow the texts of the *Tattvabindu* and its commentary. The getup of the work is excellent, and the Annamalai University deserves our congratulations for having brought out a work of value in this excellent form.

The work is introduced by a foreword, and an introductory note by MM. Kuppuswami Sastriar, and Professor Rama Pisharoti. The

history of the Mīmāṃsa, of which the author deals only with the Pūrva Mīmāṃsa, is divided into three sections, the Pre-Kumarila history, the history of the Kumarila Bhaṭṭa period, and the post-Kumarila period. The science has been cultivated more or less continuously ever since the days of Kumarila, and his classical commentaries on the Pūrva Mīmāṃsa with the Bhāṣya of Śabara. But the early period of its history down to the time of Kumarila was not very much known. Mr. Ramaswami Sastriar has therefore done valuable service by bringing together much recondite information bearing upon this history. Many important questions are raised, in the course of this work, which require further study for arriving at definite conclusions in regard to them. One such question would be what is the extent of the science of Mīmāṃsa, whether it constituted a single science, which covered the whole subject of Mīmāṃsa, or whether it began as a separate science altogether and whether the two Mīmāṃsas of the present time, Pūrva and Uttara, cover the whole of the subject as it was studied before. Of these there is a very considerable difference of opinion which seems to have been in existence in the early period of its history, and has been so emphasised and cultivated since the days of Kumarila Bhaṭṭa as to make it appear that Mīmāṃsa is Pūrva-Mīmāṃsa alone. We have drawn attention to a recent inscription elsewhere in this issue of the journal, which states categorically that the Mīmāṃsa was a single science of 20 chapters and was so cultivated and taught in the tenth century A.D. The reference by Ramanuja to Sankarshaṇakāṇḍa seems to support this view. The later Vaishṇava writers on subjects connected with this seem to follow more or less the same view. It would be well therefore to carry the investigation on this subject farther and examine how far the statement recorded in the Prapanchahridaya, which Mr. Ramaswami Sastriar would ascribe to the eleventh century, conveys correct tradition. It would be just in the fitness of things if the Annamalai University takes up this investigation and complete what has been so well begun by Mr. Ramaswami Sastriar.

BURHAN'S TUZAK-I-WALAJAHI, PART I

Madras University Islamic Series I

This forms No. 1 of the Madras University Islamic Series and is the first work of the sources of the History of the Nawabs of the Carnatic. The work is one of four Persians' works bearing upon the history of the Carnatic, and gives an account of the origin and early history of the Carnatic family down to the battle of Ambur

and the death of Nawab Anwar-ud-din. The work is a contemporary account and is of great importance to the correct understanding of the early History of the Nawabship of Arcot. It is couched in the high-flown style of Persian histories generally, but at the same time it gives a more or less graphic account of the transactions which came within its purview. Of course, it indulges in the usual exaggeration in favour of the hero, but otherwise seems to record correctly the events as they took place. The part published here in translation gives the early history of the family for a number of generations outside Hindustan and in Hindustan, despatch of Anwar-ud-din to the court of Asaf Jha when he had established himself in Hyderabad and Anwar-ud-din's achievements to assist the first Nizam by conquering for him the Northern Circars and fighting against the Mahrattas in his behalf, his ultimate appointment to the Nawabship of Arcot, which at the time was considered very difficult to fill, and his administration of the Subah to the battle of Ambur. Mr. Nainar has done his part very well indeed. The translation seems quite good. The notes added are full and illuminating, and the performance on the whole reflects great credit upon the translator. An introduction of 32 pages gives the historical value of the work, and a brief critical note upon the other three contemporary Persian works to which reference has been made. It has a foreword in commendation of the work from the Prince of Arcot. It is to be hoped that Mr. Nainar would bring his work to completion without undue delay, as this is perhaps the first South Indian work in Persian bearing upon the history of the Carnatic for which we were entirely dependent hitherto upon English sources alone. All students of modern South Indian History should be thankful to the University for having brought out this publication.

THE SUNDARANANDA AND THE BUDDHACARITA OF ASVAGHOSA

Critically edited

By

DR. E. H. JOHNSTON, D. LITT.,

Punjab University Oriental Publications, Oxford University Press.

These two classics of Sanskrit literature have been long waiting for a good and critical edition, though these have been known for a considerable length of time. It is therefore matter for great satisfaction that these works should be made available to us in the

beautiful form in which they are now issued by the Punjab University. The Sundarananda is the earlier *kavya* of the two, and was available in an edition issued by the late MM. Dr. Haraprasad Shastri, and it is now re-edited with notes from two manuscripts, one of which was made available to the Editor by His Highness the Maharajah of Nepal. It is a very carefully considered edition with the proper editorial apparatus and is provided with a number of notes of great value appended to the work.

The larger work, the Buddhacarita, which hitherto was only available in an edition issued by E. B. Cowell with a translation has also now been presented to us in a new edition. Valuable additions have been made to the manuscript material and, what is of far greater importance, the use of the Tibetan and Chinese translations for checking the texts is now possible. The new edition is presented to the public in two volumes. The first volume of the new edition contains the whole of the text up to the end of the 14th canto. The work is edited by a very careful use of the Tibetan text and translation and not in the easy manner hitherto followed in respect of these. The text presented is on the whole a vast improvement upon the *Editio Princeps* of Cowell. Part II of this publication has also an elaborate introduction of almost a hundred pages covering all matters of importance bearing upon the work, to which perhaps we shall revert on a future occasion. The Editor, Dr. Johnston, deserves to be congratulated upon this work, and what is more, he has added to the debt that the Sanskrit public owe to him by bringing out a translation of the remaining 14 cantos of the great classic from the available Chinese and Tibetan texts in the journal, *Acta Orientalia*, the first part of which appears in volume XV of that learned journal.

Select Contents from Oriental Journals

Journal of Hellenic Studies, 1936, Vol. LVI, Part I.

The Interpretation of Greek Music—An Addendum by E. Clements—noting the stress laid by Greek theory on intonation.

Antiquity, A Quarterly Review of Archaeology, June, 1936, Vol. X, No. 38.

The Story of Uruk by Walter Andrae—Uruk in the heart of the land of Sumer, the largest of the ancient Sumerian cities, is claimed to have given the parent forms of seals, writing and architecture and to exhibit a clear sequence of four millennia of culture. It is the first home of the great Sumerian-Babylonian-Assyrian epic of Gilgamesh.

Art History as a key to racial migration—A new field for research by D. Talbot Rice. This is an illustrative attempt to correlate movements of art designs with those of definite groups of people, perhaps also with those of definite races—based on the find made recently in the Pasirik in the Altai.

Sheep by Max Hilzheimer—showing three lines of ancestry for the domestic sheep—all to be looked for in Asia.

Djawa, Tijdschrift van het Java-Instituut, 16 de Jaargang, July 1936.

The Balinese Wajang Koelit and its Music by Colin Mcphee. The music accompanying the shadow-play is claimed to combine primitive vigour with cultural sophistication and to be the highest and most sensitive form of musical expression existing in Bali.

Some Remarks about the records in the old Balinese language by R. Goris.

Old Balinese Customs and Religious Practices by Ida Bagoes Madé Hadipta, a Brahmin of the village of Boengan.

Ancient Balinese Harvest Customs by F. U. T. Hunger Jr.

Enkele Oudheden van Bali by U. F. Stutterheim—The author deals with three antiquities of Bali, an engraved pillar inscription of 917 A.D., a large relief, and a grotto in the shape of a temple chamber.

The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, July 1936.

On certain alterations between dentals and finals in Tibetan and Chinese by S. N. Wolfenden—This discusses certain well-known interchanges of dental finals in Tibetan with the corresponding phenomena in Chinese.

On the age of the Baudhāyana Śrauta Sutra by Gorakh Prasad postulating 1330 B.C. as being the point of date, correct to within a hundred years one way or the other.

The Ratnavali of Nagarjuna by Giuseppe Tucci (concluded).
Maurya Symbols by K. P. Jayaswal—confirming the symbols found on the signed coins as being essentially Mauryan from the symbols on the Rāmpuruwā copper bolt of Asoka.

Two royal titles of the early Sinhalese and the origin of kingship in ancient Ceylon by S. Paranavitana—The title *gāmaṇi* borne by the kings is held to be a legacy of the times when the ancestors of the rulers ruled not as kings, but as elected popular leaders of the community. *Mapurumuka* (Mahapramukha) points to a time when a republican form of government prevailed. It is suggested that the institution of kingship was introduced into Ceylon by the Emperor Asoka whose envoys performed the abhiṣeka of Tissa and thus marked the beginning of regular monarchy in the island.

Notes on Professor Karlgren's System for dating Chinese Bronzes by Herrlee Glessner Creel.

The Poems of Surāqah b. mirdās al-Bāriqī—An Umayyad Poet by S. M. Husain.

Judge H. T. Colebrooke's supposed Translation of the Gospels into Hindi, 1806 by T. Grahame Bailey—Colonel Colebrooke, probably a first cousin of Judge Colebrooke, translated one Gospel into Persian and Judge Colebrooke never did Bible translation.

Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XXII, Part V, January 1934.

No. 29—Mala Plates of Virasimhadeva—Vikrama Samvat 1343—by R. R. Halder.

No. 30—Ropi Plates of Paramāra Devarāja—Vikrama Samvat 1509—by B. N. Reu—This assumes that the ruler was a Paramāra ruler of Abu.

No. 31—Hathi-Bada Brahmi Inscription at Nagari by D. R. Bhandarkar—It is surmised that one common text ran

through three different inscriptions—of which this is one—all originally incised on the block-slabs of the Hāthi-bāda, north of Chitor. The ruler mentioned, Gājāyana Parāsari-putra Sarvatāta, is held to be a Kāṇva; and both Samkarshaṇa and Vāsudeva were worshipped, before the former lost hold of the popular imagination.

No. 32—A Chola Inscription from Uttiramerur by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri—indicating responsibility for payment of fines imposed on the members of the village *sabha* of different groups by different agencies. The epigraph is dated 993-94 A.D.

No. 33—An unfinished Vākāṭaka Plate from Drug by V. V. Mirashi—suggesting that this plate was intended to be issued either by Narēndrasēna or his son Prithvisēna II from the then capital Padmapura, which was probably the last known capital of the Vākāṭakas and is certainly the Padmapur in the Amgaon Zamindari of the Bhandāra District, C.P.

A list of the Inscriptions of Northern India written in Brahmi and its derivative scripts from about A.C. 300 by D. R. Bhandarkar (continued).

Journal of the University of Bombay, Vol. IV, Part 4.

The Origin of the Pallavas by H. Heras, S.J.—This postulates that the Pallavas of South India are but the descendants of the Parthians who had settled in Northern India during the 1st century B.C., were expelled by the Kushanas and came down to the south and the neighbourhood of Āndhradēśa. The links traced include Suviśāka, the Pallava governor of Saurāshṭra, Konkanika, one of his descendants and Virakūrcha, as well as agreements in royal title and art, dynastic device and throne. The author's study of facts relating to Parthian rule in Northern India made him put forward this theory.

Rise of Municipal Government in the City of Ahmedabad by B. K. Bohmanbehram.

The Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. XII, No. 2.

Religious Policy of Aurangzeb by Prof. Sri Ram Sharma, M.A.
Humayun's early Relations with Kamran (1514-33) by Dr. S. K. Banerji, M.A., Ph.D.

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The Ghoraghat Inscription of Raja Prananatha by Sarasi Kumar Saraswati, M.A.

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Origin of the Pallavas by the Rev. Father H. Heras, S.J., M.A.

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Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. XXII, Part ii.

On Some Hindu Coins of pre-Christian Centuries (with plates II—IV) by K. P. Jayaswal.

New Coins of Naga-Vakataka Period (with plate I) by K. P. Jayaswal.

Nava Naga in Early Indian Coins by Durga Prasad.

Rajgir (Maniar Math) Stone Image Inscription (with plate V) by K. P. Jayaswal.

An Unrecorded Muhammadan Invasion of Nepal (with plate) by K. P. Jayaswal.

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The Place of Agastyasamhita in Dharmasastra Literature by Bhabatosh Bhattacharya, M.A., B.L.

Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Vol. XXVI, Nos. 3 and 4.

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Anthropological Research in India by Rajacharitavisarada Rao Sahib C. Hayavadana Rao, B.A., B.L.

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Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. 12, 1936.

The Sect of Imam Shah in Gujarat by W. Ivanow.

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The word "Satram" in the Gadha (Jasdan) inscription of Mahaksatrapa Rudrasena, year 126 or 127 by H. D. Sankalia.

A note on the Ksatrapa inscriptions from Andhau, Cutch by H. D. Sankalia.

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Acta Orientalia, Vol. XV, Part 1.

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

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A Sumerian Custom and its Historic Indian Parallels. By Dr. B. A. Saletore, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.).

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The Muslim University Journal, Vol. III, No. 1.

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A Sidelight on Akbar's Genius.

Some Graphical Factors in the History of Sind, from 712 A.D., to 1605 A.D.

Man in India, Vol. XV, No. 4.

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The Hindustan Review, Vol. LXVIII, No. 375.

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Prabudda Bharata, July 1936.

Hinduism and Buddhism by Prof. Dr. Helmuth Von Glasenapp

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The Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society, Vol. IX, part I.

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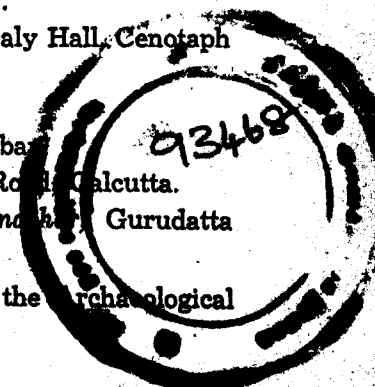
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2. *Bharat Itihasa Samshodaka Mandala*, Poona City.
3. *Bulletin de l' Ecole Francaise D'Extreme-Orient*, Hanoi.
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