

JOURNAL OF INDIAN HISTORY

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Rājasēvāsakta

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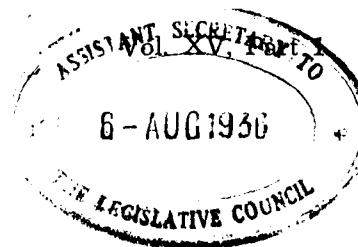
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Editor, *Journal of Indian History*.

Journal of Indian History

Ourselves

With the issue for April 1936, the journal enters on the fifteenth year of its work. We may congratulate ourselves that, during this period of storm and stress, the journal has by persistent effort succeeded in gaining for itself an established place in the field of Indian Historical Research as an exponent of Indian culture in the widest sense of the term. We hope it will have a far longer career of useful work yet before it.

The Editor, to whom the credit of this achievement is entirely due, was felicitated on the occasion of his 66th birthday on the 15th of April 1936, and presented with a Commemoration Volume by his friends, colleagues and pupils in the field of work in which he had been engaged for over forty years. We set below, for the information of our readers, the proceedings of the meeting held for the purpose *in extenso*. We have nothing more to add but to join in the wish, expressed by so many on the occasion, that he may live on for yet a long period of years with as useful a record of work as hitherto.

THE ASSOCIATE EDITORS.

FELICITATIONS TO DR. S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR

MADRAS, April 16.

On the occasion of the 66th birthday of Rao Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, a Commemoration Volume was presented to him by his friends and admirers at the Senate House, last evening. Sir S. Radhakrishnan presided. A portrait of Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar was also unveiled. A large gathering was present.

Professor Joseph Franco, proposing Sir S. Radhakrishnan to the chair, said that they were met there to honour Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar and to present him with a Commemoration Volume as a token of their love, esteem and affection. He had been a guiding light to students of history. They hoped that Sir S. Radhakrishnan, in presenting the Volume to Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar,

would assure him of their continued affection and regard and wish him many happy returns of his birthday. It was most appropriate that Sir S. Radhakrishnan, the most brilliant product of the new renaissance of India, should preside on the occasion. Both the gentlemen were brilliant products of the Madras University, and had helped to elucidate their ancient learning and make it presentable in a western garb. Just as the one had won laurels in Philosophy, so the other has done in the realm of History.

Dr. P. J. Thomas, seconding the motion, said that both Sir S. Radhakrishnan and Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar were the pioneers in two important fields of study in this country. Both of them had shown that South India could produce some lasting work. South India had contributed a good deal to the culture of the country, and also done research of a high order. It was only after Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar had published his works that scholars all over the world had come to realise the importance of South Indian History and the great part South India played in the history of India. A great blame had been attached to South Indians that they did not honour their great men. In the last few days, they had shown that they in South India were prepared to honour their great men when others recognised them as such. Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar's name was well-known not only in India, but in Europe.

Pandit V. Vijiaraghavacharyar recited a Sanskrit verse in honour of Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar.

ONE OF THE FOUNDERS OF THE MYTHIC SOCIETY

Mr. S. Srikanthayya, Secretary of the Mythic Society, Mysore, offered felicitations to Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar on his attaining his 66th birthday. It was, he said, undoubtedly an occasion of very great rejoicing to the people of India, particularly to South Indians, and most particularly to those who came from Mysore which had trained Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar properly and efficiently in the years of his adolescence and passed him on to Madras to shed lustre on the glories of Indian literature and history. They had no doubt that Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar had given a very good account of himself and in doing so had rendered Mysore excellent service. Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar was, as one of the British Residents in Mysore said 20 years ago, one of the three Indian scholars who acquired an all-India reputation, the other two being Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri and Rao Bahadur Narasimhachar. Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar was one of the founders of the Mythic Society, an institution which he had kindly permitted the speaker to be in charge of. Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar had not left it entirely, but

was still continuing to supervise its work as one of the honorary Vice-Presidents. The speaker had great pleasure in joining in the day's celebration.

"A PIONEER IN THE FIELD"

Prof. C. S. Srinivasacharyar on behalf of the Dr. S. K. Aiyangar Commemoration Committee read a brief report of the working of the Committee. He stated that at the instance of some of the colleagues and friends of Prof. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, a Committee, representative of the various Indian Universities and learned bodies engaged in Historical and Indological Research, was constituted in December 1934. It issued an appeal for the presentation of a Commemoration Volume of papers contributed by leading Indian and Western scholars engaged in the field of Indian historical, archaeological and cultural research, which was to be presented to the Professor on the occasion of his 66th birthday. The Volume was intended to serve as an appropriate and fitting recognition of the long and excellent record of original work and direction of research which the Professor had to his credit and of the pioneer character of his labours in the field of South Indian historical research. The appeal received a very generous response from scholars both in India and abroad. As many as 70 of them representing the different branches of Indian historical and cultural studies had contributed papers. They ranged from Dr. A. K. Coomaraswami of Boston, Prof. J. Charpentier of Upsala and Prof. M. Winternitz of Prague to Dr. V. Swaminatha Aiyar of Madras, Dr. Ganganath Jha of Allahabad and Mr. R. A. Narasimhachar of Bangalore.

The moral and financial support that the Committee had received had been equally encouraging. Subscriptions and donations amounting to over Rs. 1,000 had been already collected and receipts for these had been sent to the donors. The Committee had also received promises of further donations which would enable them to meet the cost of the printing and the distribution of the sumptuous Commemoration Volume running to over 500 pages, and copies of which would be given to all contributors of papers (along with 20 reprints of their respective articles) and to all donors who had subscribed Rs. 5 and more.

The Committee also decided to present to the University of Madras a portrait of Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, who was the first occupant of its chair of Indian History and Archaeology and who filled it with distinction for a period of fifteen years. He also thanked the G. S. Press for the great trouble and care bestowed on the printing and publication of the Commemoration Volume and

to the Carnatic Studio for the portrait. Prof. V. Rangacharya, Mr. V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar and himself, Mr. Srinivasacharyar concluded, had been in charge of the editing of the volume.

Professor C. S. Srinivasacharyar then read messages wishing the function all success, among others, from Dr. Ganganath Jha, Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan, Sir Mirza M. Ismail, Mr. Tait and Sir Frank Noyce.

HISTORY AS A PHILOSOPHER VIEWS IT

After unveiling the portrait, Sir S. Radhakrishnan said that they were assembled there to extend to Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar their cordial congratulations on the attainment of his 66th birthday, to express to him their very warm appreciation of his services to the cause of South Indian History and culture, to present the Commemoration Volume to him as a token of the affection and esteem which the world of Indologists had for him and to wish that he might be spared many more years to come. Sir S. Radhakrishnan felt that a more competent person might have been chosen to occupy the chair to speak on the special field of Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar's study, namely, the field of Indian History, than a philosopher. He did not know for what reasons he (Sir S. Radhakrishnan) was selected. A philosopher had to deal with historical problems; but he considered them in a different way altogether. He asked whether the whole historical movement was a dialect of ideas as Hegel had said, or of matter as Karl Marx had said; whether it was spiritual life in entirety as Croce would argue, or whether it was merely a play of spiritual life or one particular manifestation thereof, or whether it revealed any kind of predetermined pattern, rhythm or effort or mere caprice as Mr. H. A. L. Fisher had recently argued and whether History was a ladder or a see-saw. Those were problems which engaged their attention. When they came to history proper, they asked whether all the events which occurred in space and time had any meaning or were mere futilities, or whether they had any kind of importance at all, and whether the more important problem was to deal with things which transcended space and time. The complaint against Indians had been that they were metaphysically minded, that they were other-worldly, that they did not take sufficient interest in things of this world, in the progress of society. It had also been stated that Indians lacked in historical sense. For after all, in the whole field of Sanskrit literature, except for one Raja Tarangini, they did not have any great work of historical importance. Whatever it might be, due to the contact with the West they had developed a race of scholars who were now applying themselves to the problems of history.

While their metaphysics might be regarded in one sense as inimical to the development of a historical sense, their great interest in current politics was also militating against due importance being given to history. There were people who came forward and said: "What is the use of your studying your ancient past while history is being written in letters of fire and blood faster and more terribly than ever before?" It had altered their whole outlook. Yet, at any rate, in a University they should not be guided by such considerations. It would be necessary for them to get away from the narrow scrum of daily life, into certain regions where it would be possible for them to view events in a detached way. That had a philosophical value and might be one of the reasons that led the organisers to ask him to take the chair.

It was not possible, the Chairman continued, for them to solve the problems which faced them without knowing their own history. Just as an individual could not lead a full life, unless he preserved his memory, so also a country could not go forward unless its past was known. History might be regarded as humanity's memory of its own past and unless they preserved that memory, it was not possible for them to go forward. Taking all these things into account, at least in universities, History would have to be studied. What History was more important to them than Indian History and to them South Indians, South Indian History? Indian History would have to be studied as part of World History and South Indian History in relation to the whole Indian History. Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar had rightly concentrated on the development of South Indian History.

"ENTIRELY SELF-MADE MAN"

Sir S. Radhakrishnan, proceeding, referred to the contributions which Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar had made on the subject. His list of contributions occupied six closely printed pages in the Journal of Indian History. His contributions were many. The Chairman said that though he had not read all of them, the few he had read reminded him of Gibbon's statement that the distinguishing marks of a true work of history were diligence and accuracy. These two qualities were exhibited clearly in Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar's writings in an unusual degree. Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar was a very learned and well-informed man. Wherever Indian History was studied his name was familiar, and his opinions were greatly welcomed and carefully considered. Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar occupied the Chair of Indian History and Archaeology in this University for fifteen years. He organised the department. He was a pioneer in this particular field of work. He was the founder of the

Mysore Mythic Society. He was the editor of "The Journal of Indian History" and co-editor of "The Indian Antiquary". Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar was entirely a self-made man. He graduated with physics as his subject, took interest in mathematics, and later devoted himself to South Indian History. He dedicated his life to the study of Indian History. The Commemoration Volume was an index of the great regard his friends had for him.

SERVICE TO MADRAS UNIVERSITY

Mr. R. Littlehailes, Vice-Chancellor of the University, in accepting the portrait, said that he scarcely thought he was competent to speak on Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar's labours. But he stood there on behalf of the University, to express their great appreciation of the intellectual capacity which Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar had shown in his work for the Madras University and in his researches, the value of which had been recognised not only in this country and in Europe, but throughout the world. Those who had followed Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar's career—he might say he was one of them—had known him not only as a historian but also as one connected with the University in other capacities. He had been a member of the Syndicate and all of them wished his services had been appreciated a little more than had been the case. Dr. Thomas had stated that Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar was an outstanding product of the University. Mysore claimed credit for early training. But it was to the Madras University that the Doctor devoted the greater part of his life, certainly the greater part of his intellectual life. He was one of the very first professors that they had in the University. He organised and set in being a Department which did not previously exist. They had various departments which had all been newly started, which had to be organised and developed. These had Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar's example before them. If only the departments would follow his example and strenuously devote themselves to their work and as the work developed, demonstrate the need for the creation of additional professorships and lecture-ships, they should have the University of Madras developing not only in size, which was natural, but also in the quality of its work. The quality of work was much more important than quantity, although to Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar they owed both. In accepting the portrait, he wished to say that while the University had a large number of paintings, it had very few of their staff. On behalf of the University and the Syndicate he congratulated Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar on his attaining his 66th year and thanked the Committee for presenting to the University the portrait of Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar.

Replying, Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, said :

On this occasion of fulfilment of one's mission in life, it is not for me to make any speech, and the best that I ought to do should be to think audibly *kṛtārthosmi* ("I am content") in the true *samprathayak* (traditional) style. I should, however, deem myself wanting in gratitude if I should miss this occasion without remembering those who, in various ways, set the direction to my work at a time when I could hardly see my way myself.

I must mention first and foremost the late Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya, whose acquaintance and near neighbourhood for a number of years started me actually on what has become my lifework. That received support, and very eloquent support at that, in the warning that Dr. Hultzsch, his chief, gave me by advising me not to waste my time by entering epigraphy and merely duplicating work that was being done by the Department of Epigraphy, as the work of the Epigraphist as a whole was work beyond private means. When actually I had begun work by writing out merely an examination thesis, similar encouragement came from another unexpected quarter, the late Rev. F. W. Kellett of the Madras Christian College. That was reinforced by the late Mr. R. C. Dutt who laid it as a solemn duty, as did Mr. Kellett before him, that, whatever should be my occupation to earn my existence, I should keep doing the good work that I began so well.

If it wanted additional enforcement, it certainly came from the late Dr. Sir S. Subramania Ayyar, who, having had occasion to use the results of my research in a judgement, drew my attention to that particular judgement and warned me of my responsibility in doing the work and the important applications that it was receiving. It is a matter for great gratification to me that, as a result of that judgement, the Govindaraja shrine in Chidambaram had been recently thoroughly renovated at great cost by Raja Sir Annamalai Chettiar of Chettinad, and I had the honour of being present at the consecration of the new shrine.

40 YEARS' WORK

In another direction of my work, similar encouragement came from another High Court Judge and Vice-Chancellor of our University, the late Mr. L. C. Innes. These are names that I should now regard as being primarily and directly responsible for such work as I have been able to do these 40 years. As I was proceeding solemnly in carrying out the work marked out for me, I received encouragement, at every step from people in the field, much my seniors who had already won their laurels by successful work. It

is hardly necessary to recite all the names, but I must mention such names as those of H. K. Beauchamp, Editor of *The Madras Mail*, Professor T. W. Rhys Davis, Sir Richard Temple, J. F. Fleet, V. A. Smith and Robert Sewell. The advance made in this line of work during the period can be measured by comparing Sewell's "Lists of Antiquities in the Madras Presidency" published in 1884 with his "Historical Inscriptions of South India" edited by me for the University recently. A number of others are still living and working, whose names I can quote in this connection. To all those I take this opportunity to tender my tribute of gratitude.

It is a matter of the greatest pleasure to me, Sir Radhakrishnan, that you should have been chosen to present this Commemoration Volume to me. Without prejudice to the claims put forward by Mr. C. Ramalinga Reddy, I can take the credit of the authorship of your translation from Madras to Mysore, which offered you such scope for distinction and brought so much credit to the country. On the eve of your departure to a more spacious field of work as Spalding Professor at Oxford, to expound to the West the outlook of the East on life and religion, "the philosophical conception or synthetic outlook" as you put it, you have the opportunity for still greater distinction. I have no doubt that your achievement will add to the credit of the country to the gratification of those friends of yours who are interested in expounding the cultural outlook of India generally to the outside world. I wish you all success and prosperity in your new sphere of work.

It is a matter for peculiar gratification to me that this movement should have been inaugurated with the active sympathy of three Vice-Chancellors, Dr. Ganganath Jha, Sir S. Radhakrishnan, and Mr. Shayama Prasad Mukerjee, and several of my distinguished colleagues, professors occupying various Chairs at the Universities of India, and some others outside the Universities interested in this line of work.

BRAHMARATHA

The volume presented embodies some 70 papers, I am told, contributed by fellow-workers not only in India, but even in Europe and America. The best appreciation that one can expect for his work, is the appreciation of those in harness with him in his own chosen field of work, and the fact that the volume could include contributions from distinguished scholars like Dr. Ganganath Jha, Professor Winternitz of Prague, Professor Jarl Charpentier of Upsala, Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy of Boston in far-off America, gives assurance that I have perhaps succeeded in doing some little work of value. This presentation is about as near an analogue as

circumstances admit, to what our ancestors understood by *Brahmaratha*.* Others have also laboured in the production of this volume, including the printer and the binder, and others again of the Executive Committee who had to labour hard to find the wherewithal to make the publication possible. To all of them alike, the greatest as well as the least, I tender my heartfelt thanks.

Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar proposed a vote of thanks to the chair.

THE UNIVERSITY AND ITS ALUMNI

Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar proposed a vote of thanks to Sir S. Radhakrishnan. There was a peculiar appropriateness, he said, in Sir S. Radhakrishnan presiding on that occasion because history was linked to philosophy and Indian History was unintelligible except with regard to the advance made in philosophy by their ancients. Reference had been made to the fact that it was not customary in their University to honour their own alumni. There was also an element of history behind it. Their ancients believed that the mother or the parents ought not to recognise the greatness of their own children, lest the children should get conceited. That, he believed, was the reason why sometimes their University did not extend recognition to its own students, true to the genius and spirit of their ancient sayings, lest its alumni should get proud of their achievements. Now that Sir S. Radhakrishnan and Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar had already achieved some distinction, they were quite willing to extend their recognition to both of them. So far as Prof. Krishnaswami Aiyangar's work was concerned, it was in the records of the University. For a long time the University enjoyed the benefit of his learning and his initiative. They had not had that benefit from Sir S. Radhakrishnan. They had no doubt that their University would, after Sir S. Radhakrishnan's return from Oxford, extend to him felicitations and offer him the chair of Philosophy, though Philosophy was tabooed, at present in certain colleges as being unsuited to the genius of the Indian race. He was glad also that the Commemoration Committee had recognised that on an occasion like this it was the man who had toiled and won distinction in the educational field that could take the chair and not persons engaged in other fields of activity.

The function then terminated.

*Brahmaratha means a chariot drawn by learned men and refers to an ancient custom by which Pandits honoured great scholars and sages by carrying them on their shoulders or placing them in chariots and drawing these along public roads.

Vājasaneya Yājñavalkya and his Times

By

DR. S. N. PRADHAN, M.Sc., Ph.D., *Brihaspati*.

[This note by Dr. Sitanath Pradhan brings to a conclusion his study of an important topic in Vedic knowledge. The chronological material in Vaidic works do not admit of clear and positive statements, as they come in here and there in various forms and in various contexts. The possibility of fixing the date of any individual or set of individuals, or even of particular occurrences of importance is beset with difficulties due to this variety of statement as well as the possibility of different interpretations in differing contexts. The first essential to the utilisation of this valuable material—there is not much else of a more definite character available for this period—is the collation and comparison of all the various statements occurring in different places and the bringing of them into some co-ordination with a view to examine how far the different sources of Vedic literature are consistent in respect of the particular matter chosen. Where there is a consistent statement possible from this source, the chances are the statements are correct, and could be checked from external sources to verify their correctness. Janaka and Yājñavalkya are two characters whose names occur in Vedic literature frequently and are capable of this kind of study. Dr. Sitanath, who has been many years studying the question of Vedic chronology, has been at this particular topic at our request, and the following note brings his examination to a conclusion. We believe that this investigation proves successfully that the particular Janaka and Yājñavalkya belong to the period of Janamejaya Pārikṣita and may now be accepted as providing a starting point in Vedic chronology.—EDITOR.]

In the issues of August and December, 1933, of the *Journal of Indian History*, I adduced no less than twenty-three evidences Vedic, Epic, Puranic and grammatic and proved that Vājasaneya Yājñavalkya, the friend of Janaka Vaideha of the Brāhmaṇas, was contemporary with Janamejaya Pārikṣita, the grandson of Abhinanyu, son of Arjuna Pāṇḍava, and that Dr. H. C. Roy Choudhury was unfortunately wrong in imagining Yājñavalkya and his friend Janaka six generations or about 180 years later than the Pārikṣitas, i.e., Janamejaya and his brothers Bhīmasena, Ugrasena and Śrutana. In this paper I propose to add yet another evidence, exclusively Vedic, in support of the same contemporaneity, namely, that of Yājñavalkya with Janamejaya Pārikṣita. We have already earned from the Chāndogya Upaniṣad that Prācīnaśāla Aupamanyava, Satyayajña Pauluṣi, Indradyumna Bhāllaveya, Jana

Śārkarākṣya and Buḍila Āsvatarāśvi,¹ approached the teacher Uddālaka Āruṇi and consulted with him regarding the nature of Vaiśvānara Ātman. This tends to show that Indradyumna Bhāllaveya, Prācīnaśāla Aupamanyava, etc., were younger contemporaries of Uddālaka Āruṇi whom they approached as eager students. This is confirmed by the Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa² from which we learn that Indradyumna Bhāllaveya's teacher was (Uddālaka) Āruṇi. From the Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa³ we learn further that Āruṇi (= Uddālaka) officiated as a priest in a sacrifice instituted by Jabāla who, we shall see, was the father of Prācīnaśāla Aupamanyava, the fellow-student of Indradyumna Bhāllaveya. This will also establish that Uddālaka Āruṇi was an older contemporary of Prācīnaśāla whose father was Jabāla. From the Mādhyandiniya Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa⁴ we learn that Satyayajña Pauluṣi, Mahāśāla Jābāla Aupamanyava, Buḍila Āsvatarāśvi, Indradyumna Bhāllaveya and Jana Śārkarākṣya approached Āruṇa Aupaveśi (= the father of Uddālaka Āruṇi) for a knowledge of Vaiśvānara Agni. It appears that the same five eager students approached, on the first occasion, the old reverend teacher Āruṇa Aupaveśi, and on the second occasion Uddālaka Āruṇi, the renowned son of the old Āruṇa Aupaveśi. It appears also that they used to live in places which were not far from the home of Uddālaka Āruṇi and which were somewhat contiguous to the country of the Kekayas whose king Āsvapati had become known as an authority in philosophical speculations, and to whom they at last went to receive sermons. On the first occasion when they approached the King Āsvapati (family designation), he lectured to them on Vaiśvānara Agni, and on the second occasion, on the all-pervading

1. (1) Prācīnaśāla Aupamanyavaḥ Satyayajñaḥ Pauluṣir-Indradyumno Bhāllaveyo Janaḥ Śārkarākṣyo Buḍila Āsvatarāśviste haite mahāśālā mahāśrotriyaḥ sametya mīmāṃsācakraḥ ko nu ātmā kim brahmeti. (2) Te ha sampādayāmcakrur-Uddālako vai bhagavanto'yam-Āruṇiḥ sampratīmam-ātmānam vaiśvānaram-adhyeti taṁ hantābhyāgacchām-eti taṁ hābhyājagmuḥ. Chand. Up. 5, 11, 1-2.

2. Jivalāśca ha Kārīrādir-Indradyumnaśca ha bhāllaveyastau hĀruṇer-ācāryasya sabhāga ājagmatuḥ. Jaim. Br., I, 271-3.

3. tena haitena Jābālam-Āruṇir-yājñayāmcakāra, sa ha trayāṇām grthnānām purodhām jagāma, Kāśyasya Kausalyasya Aikṣvākasyeti. tasya ha strīr-āsa kalyāṇi, tasya ha tacchriyam dṛṣtvā Śvetakatuḥ putro vadate, etc. Jaim. Br. II, 329.

4. atha haite'ruṇe Aupaveśau samājagmuḥ Satyayajñaḥ Pauluṣir-Mahāśālo Jābālo Buḍila Āsvatarāśvir-Indradyumno Bhāllaveyo Janaḥ Śārkarākṣyaste ha vaiśvānare samāsata, teṣāṁ ha vaiśvānare na samiyāya. M. Śat. Br. X, 6, 1, 1.

Universe-soul or Vaiśvanāra Ātman. It was chiefly, though not exclusively, from the metaphorical speculations about the Agni-hōtra that speculations on Ātman were developed in ancient India, and there is therefore nothing to be surprised at the suggestion that Aśvapati Kekaya was approached for a lecture on Vaiśvanāra Agni on the first occasion, and on Vaiśvānara Ātman on the second occasion. Although apparently conflicting, both the Vedic statements will hold true.

Now by the name 'Mahāśāla Jābāla Aupamanyava', the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa evidently means the same person as 'Prācīnaśāla Aupamanyava' of the Chāndogya Upaniṣad, because the words 'Mahāśāla' and 'Prācīnaśāla' have practically the same meaning and are similar-sounding. The word 'Prācīnaśāla' means 'one belonging to an eastern or old House' while 'Mahāśāla' means 'one belonging to a great House' (cf. The House of Medici). Besides he was an 'Aupamanyava' according to both the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa and the Chāndogya Upaniṣad, i.e., he belonged to the gotra or family established by Upamanyu who was, according to the Vāyu and the Brahmanḍa Purāṇa, the great-grandson of the Ṛgvedic seer Vasiṣṭha,⁵ and was, according to the Sarvānukramaṇi to the Ṛgveda, the author of Ṛgveda IX, 97, 13-15. There was another famous near descendant of Vasiṣṭha, by the name Vyāghrapād who was, according to the Sarvānukramaṇi, the author of Ṛgveda IX, 97, 16-18. Vyāghrapād established a separate gotra or family, and his descendants and followers were generally known as the Vaiyāghrapadyas. The Vaiyāghrapadyas were thus, like the Aupamanyavas, a branch of the Vasiṣṭhas. Bhiṣma Śāntanava entered this gotra or clan and was known as a Vaiyāghrapadya.

5. Vasiṣṭhasya Kapiṇjalyām Ghṛtācyām-udapadyata
Kuṇṭi yaḥ samākhyāta Indrapramatir-ucyate.
Prthoḥ sūtāyām sambhūtaḥ putras-tasy-Ābharadvasuḥ
Upamanyuḥ sutas-tasya yasyeme hyaupamanyavaḥ.

Bd. II, 8, 97-98; Vā. 70, 88-89.

The pravaras of the Aupamanyavas are Vasiṣṭha, Indrapramada and Bharadvasu—Āśval. Śr. S. XII, 10; Baudh. Śr. S. Pr. 47. The name 'Bharadvasu' of the Āśvalāyana and Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtras is variantly read as 'Ābharadvasu' in the Purāṇas which are supported by the Arṣeya Brāhmaṇa (I, 15) which informs us that Ābharadvasu was the seer of a Sāman. The Vāyu (59, 105) and the Brahmanḍa (I, 32, 115) spell his name also as "Bharadvasu". The Purāṇic name 'Indrapramati' is supported by the Sarvānukramaṇi to the Ṛgveda.

Notice here that Bhiṣma Śāntanava who was a Kauravya, i.e., a descendant of Kuru, a Kṣattriya, could enter a Brāhminic gotra. There are many other similar instances. Indradyumna Bhāllaveya who was a pupil of Uddālaka Āruṇi and a fellow-student of Mahāśāla Jābāla Aupamanyava (= Prācīnaśāla Aupamanyava), belonged to the Vaiyāghrapadya family or clan and was known as Indradyumna Bhāllaveya Vaiyāghrapadya—and the name means Indradyumna, the son of Bhallu (?) and descendant of Vyāghrapād. Mahāśāla (= Prācīnaśāla), because he was the son of Jābāla and descendant of Upamanyu, was known by the full name Mahāśāla Jābāla Aupamanyava. We have just now learned from the Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa (II, 329) that Uddālaka Āruṇi officiated as a priest in a sacrifice instituted by Jābāla whose son according to the Mādhyandiniya Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (X, 6, 1, 1) was Mahāśāla (= Prācīnaśāla of the Chāndogya Upaniṣad). It follows then that Uddālaka Āruṇi was a contemporary of Jābāla, and therefore an older contemporary of Mahāśāla, the son of Jābāla. This is confirmed by the evidence of the Chāndogya Upaniṣad (V, 11, 1-2) which says that Prācīnaśāla, the descendant of Upamanyu, Indradyumna Bhāllaveya, etc., approached, as eager students, the teacher Uddālaka Āruṇi for a knowledge of Vaiśvānara Ātman. This is further strengthened by the Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa (I, 271-3) which says that Indradyumna Bhāllaveya, one of the five students mentioned above, was the pupil of Uddālaka Āruṇi. It is quite clear then that Mahāśāla Jābāla Aupamanyava and Indradyumna Bhāllaveya Vaiyāghrapadya were the pupils and therefore younger contemporaries of Uddālaka Āruṇi who himself was a Gautama, i.e., a descendant of the Ṛgvedic seer Gotama Āngirasa.

I have already shown in my 'Chronology of Ancient India' (1st ed., p. 132.) that Vājasaneya Yājñavalkya was the pupil of Uddālaka Āruṇi.⁶ I have also shown in the first instalment of my essay 'Vājasaneya Yājñavalkya and His Times', published in the *Journal of Indian History*, August, 1933, that the full name of Yājñavalkya was Brahmarāti Vājasaneya Yājñavalkya. It follows then that Indradyumna Bhāllaveya Vaiyāghrapadya and Brahmarāti Vājasaneya Yājñavalkya were contemporaries, as both of them were the disciples of Uddālaka Āruṇi Gautama.

6. cf. also Tam haitam-Uddālaka Āruṇir-Vājasaneyāya Yājñavalkyā-yāntevāsina uktvocāca . . . Kāṇva. Śat. Br. XVII, 6, 3, 7.

cf. also Yājñavalkya Uddālakād-Uddālako'runāt, etc.

Ibid. XVIII, 6, 5, 3.

One interesting peculiarity of Vedic literature as regards the naming of teachers needs to be noticed in this connection. Instead of calling these Vedic teachers every time by their full names which are long on account of their including the personal name, the patronymic (sometimes the matronymic), and the gotra-title, the Vedic literature generally omit the gotra-title mentioning only the personal name and the patronymic ; sometimes the patronymic only is mentioned omitting the personal name ; sometimes the patronymic and the gotra-title are jointly mentioned, leaving aside the personal name. Besides each particular class of Vedic literature has its own peculiarity. Even the different recensions of the same class of literature differ in the matter of naming of teachers. Even a particular recension is not always uniform in naming a particular teacher. The following will illustrate the above remarks :—

Uddālaka Āruṇi of Vedic literature in general, is called simply Āruṇi in the Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa (I, 271-3 ; II, 329 ; II, 393-7, etc.), Śāṅkhāyana Brāhmaṇa (XXVI, 4), Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka (III, 1), etc. Kahoḍa Kauṣitaki of Vedic literature in general, is called simply Kauṣitaki throughout the Śāṅkhāyana Brāhmaṇa ; it is only at the end of the Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka which is but a part of the Brāhmaṇa that he is called Kahoḍa Kauṣitaki. Somaśuṣma Sātyayajñi Prācinayogya is generally called Somaśuṣma Sātyayajñi in Vedic literature, i.e., with the gotra-title omitted, but the Mādhyandiniya Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa calls him simply Sātyayajñi in some places (XIII, 4, 2, 4, etc.), omitting the personal name 'Somaśuṣma'. Similarly in the name 'Hāridrumata Gautama' (which means the son of Haridrumant and descendant of Gotama), the personal name is omitted (Chānd. Up. IV, 4, 3) while the patronymic and the gotra-title are given. The compiler-author of the White Yajurveda is sometimes called Vājasaneyā Yājñavalkya (i.e., the son of Vājasani and descendant of Yājñavalka), but generally simply Yājñavalkya throughout the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa which never mentions his personal name 'Brahmarāti' except for a hint in one place. Indradyumna Bhāllaveya is generally mentioned as such in the Kāṇviya recension of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa⁷ but the Mādhyandiniya recension of the same work⁸ calls him simply Bhāllaveya (i.e., excluding the personal name and mentioning only the patronymic). He is repeatedly called 'Bhāllaveya' in the Mādhyandiniya recension of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (I, 7, 3, 19) instead of

7. Tadu hovāc-Endradyumno Bhāllaveyaḥ. Kāṇva. Śat. Br. I, 1, 4, 5.

8. Tadu hovāc Bhāllaveyaḥ, etc. Mādhy. Śat. Br. II, 1, 4, 6.

'Indradyumna Bhāllaveya' in the corresponding section of the Kāṇviya recension." The Mādhyandiniya Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa sometimes has the name Indrota Daivāpa Śaunaka (as in XIII, 5, 4, 1) and sometimes Indrota Śaunaka (as in XIII, 5, 3, 5) i.e. excluding the patronymic 'Daivāpa' evidently for the sake of brevity. The Vaṃśa Brāhmaṇa (2) of the Sāma-Veda calls him Indrota Śaunaka and says that his disciple was his son Dṛti Aindrota Śaunaka, while the Talabakāra Brāhmaṇa (III, 40, 2) calls him Indrota Daivāpa Śaunaka and states that his pupil was his son Dṛti Aindrota Śaunaka. It is quite clear that the same teacher is named, sometimes Indrota Daivāpa Śaunaka, and sometimes, shortly Indrota Śaunaka. His personal name was Indrota, his father's name was Devāpi, and his gotra-title was Śaunaka. The Śaunaka gotra or clan was formerly established by Śunaka who belonged to the Bhṛgu, an ancient priestly clan who were, in later times, divided into seven main branches⁹ as stated in the Vāyu and the Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa.

I showed in 1921 in my chronology of Ancient India (1st ed., p. 157-8) that Indrota Daivāpa Śaunaka performed horse-sacrifices for Janamejaya Pārikṣita,¹⁰ the great-grandson of Arjuna Pāṇḍava. Now the Mādhyandiniya Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (XIII, 5, 3, 4-6) relates that Bhāllaveya's (= Indradyumna Bhāllaveya's) opinion

9. So informs Egelling.

10. Vatsā Vidā Arṣṭiṣeṇā Yaskā Vainyāśca Śaunakāḥ,
Mitrayuvāḥ sapta hyete pakṣā jñeyāstu Bhārgavāḥ.

Bḍ. II, 1, 100 ; Vā. 65, 96.

Compare also Āśvalāyana and Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtras.

11. Etena h-Endrota Daivāpaḥ Śaunakāḥ, Janamejayaṃ Pārikṣitaṃ
yājayāmcakāra, teneṣṭvā sarvāṃ pāpakṛtyāṃ sarvāṃ brahmahatyāṃ-
apajaghāna, sarvāṃ ha vai pāpakṛtyāṃ sarvāṃ brahmahatyāṃ-
apahanti yo'svamedhena yajate. Tad-etad-gāthayābhigitaṃ :—

Asandivati dhānyādāṃ rukmiṇaṃ haritasrajaṃ,
avadhnād-aśvaṃ sāraṅgaṃ devebhyo Janamejaya iti.
Ete'eva pūrve'ahanī Jyotir-atirātras-tena Bhīmasenaṃ
ete'eva pūrve'ahanī Gaur-atirātras-tenograsenaṃ
ete'eva pūrve'ahanī Ayur-atirātras-tena Śrutaseṇaṃ
ityete Pārikṣitīyās-tad-etad-gāthayābhigitaṃ :—

Pārikṣitā yajamānā aśvamedhaiḥ paro'varam,
ajahruḥ karma pāpakaṃ punyāḥ punyena karmṇeti.

Mādhy. Śat. Br., XII, 5, 4, 1-3

As the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (Madh. XI, 6, 2, 1-10) informs us that Somaśuśma Sātyayajñi (= the son of Satyayajña Pauluṣi) together with Yājñavalkya and Śvetaketu Āruṇeya (= the son of Uddālaka Āruṇi) once met Janaka and stated to him his manner of performing the Agnihotra, it must be taken to mean that Somaśuśma Sātyayajñi was a younger contemporary of Yājñavalkya and Śvetaketu, because his father Satyayajña Pauluṣi (= the son of Puluṣa Prācinayogya) was, as we have just now seen, a fellow-student of Indradyumna Bhāllaveya and approached the reverend teacher Uddālaka Āruṇi whose pupil Yājñavalkya was. Thus the position of Yājñavalkya on the genealogical table is unalterably fixed, and it exactly fits in with the Puranic information that Yājñavalkya learnt the Yoga from the Kosala King Hiranyanābha, the pupil of Sukarman—the great grandson of Jaimini, the pupil of Vyāsa. The same position of Yājñavalkya is in perfect accordance with the puranic information that he taught the Vēdas to Śātānika, the son of Janamejaya and that he was the Vedic pupil of Vaiśampāyana who narrated the story of events described in the Mahābhārata to Janamejaya, the son of Parikṣit. It is also in exact agreement with the Epic information that Uddālaka Āruṇi with his son Śvetaketu attended the Sarpa-satra of Janamejaya, and that Uddālaka Āruṇi's fellow-student Vaidā was approached by Janamejaya Pārikṣita to become his priest and that Vaidā's pupil Uttānka instigated Janamejaya to exterminate the Non-Aryan Sarpas by burning them in a sacrifice.

Now I find that Albrecht Weber perceived that the time of the Pārikṣitas, i.e., of Janamejaya and his brothers Bhīmasena, Ugrasena and Śrutasena was not very distant from Kāṇḍa XIII of the Mādhyandiniya Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa. Weber says (History of Indian Literature, translated from the 2nd German edition by J. Mann and T. Zachariae, 2nd edition, p. 126) :—

'The time when these last four lived cannot be considered as very distant from that of the Kāṇḍa itself, since their sacrificial priest Indrota Śaunaka (whom the Mahābhārata XII, 5595, also specifies as such) is once mentioned in it apparently as coming forward in opposition to Bhāllaveya; while his own opinion differing from that of the latter, is in turn, rejected by Yājñavalkya.'

Weber was reasonable in inferring that Kāṇḍa XIII (of the M. Śat. Br.) which was the work of the Vājasaneyins who were the pupils or grand pupils or great grand pupils or even the still later followers of Vājasaneya School and which was thus not very far-removed in time from Yājñavalkya Vājasaneya, the founder of

the school, could not be very distant from the time of Indrota Śaunaka whose opinion about the omentum-offerings was rejected by Yājñavalkya, and who was the sacrificial priest of the four Pārikṣitas (i.e., Janamejaya and his three brothers) according to both the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa and the Mahābhārata. Thus according to Weber the time-distance between Indrota Śaunaka and Yājñavalkya was small, as he says that Kāṇḍa XIII of M. Śat. Br. was not very distant in time from the Pārikṣitas whose priest Indrota Śaunaka was. My enquiry relates not to Kāṇḍa XIII of the M. Śat. Br., but to the Vēdic teachers themselves. I have proved conclusively that these teachers, namely, Indradyumna Bhāllaveya, Indrota Daivāpa Śaunaka and Yājñavalkya were contemporaries. Consequently Yājñavalkya was contemporary with the Pārikṣitas whose priest was Indrota. I must state here that I had noticed Weber's attitude long before I proceeded on my present enquiry.

Weber says again (History of Indian Literature, as translated by J. Mann and T. Zachariae, 2nd edition, p. 135) :—

"In the latest portions of the Brāhmaṇa, we find the prosperity, the sin, the expiation, and the fall of Janamejaya Pārikṣita and his brothers Bhīmasena, Ugrasena and Śrutasena, and of the whole family of the Pārikṣitas, apparently still fresh in the memory of the people and discussed as a subject of controversy."

Weber says again (Ibid. p. 126) :—

"We find there" (i.e., in the 14th book of the Mādhyandiniya Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa i.e., in the Madh. Brhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad) "a rival of Yājñavalkya testing him with a question the solution of which the former had previously obtained from a Gandharva who held in his possession the daughter of Kāpya Patañcala, of the country of the Madras;—the question, namely, 'Whither have the Pārikṣitas gone?' the solution of which therefore appears to have been looked upon as extremely difficult. Yājñavalkya answers: 'Thither where (all) āsvamedha sacrificers go.' Consequently the Pārikṣitas must at that time have been altogether extinct. Yet their life and end must have been still fresh in the memory of the people, and a subject of general curiosity."

Dr. H. C. Roy Choudhury says (Political History of Ancient India, 1st ed. p. 16) :—

"In Janaka's time we find the prosperity, the sin, the expiation and the fall of the Pārikṣitas apparently still fresh in the memory of the people and discussed as a subject of controversy in the Royal

Court of Mithilā. In the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad we find a rival of Yājñavalkya, the ornament of the court of Janaka, testing him with a question, the solution of which the former had previously obtained from a Gandharva who held in his possession the daughter of Kāpya Patañcala of the country of the Madras :—

“Kva Pārikṣita bhavan” (Bṛhad Āraṇyaka Upaniṣad III, 3, 1). Whither have the Pārikṣitas gone? The solution of which therefore appears to have been looked upon as extremely difficult. Yājñavalkya answers: Thither where all Āśvamedha sacrificers go.” Consequently the Pārikṣitas (sons of Parikṣit) must at that time have been extinct. Yet their life and end must have been still fresh in the memory of the people, and a subject of general curiosity.”

Impartial and unprejudiced scholars will determine whether or not, Mr. Roy Choudhury has, in his Doctorate thesis, used the argument of, and copied *verbatim et litteratim* from Weber (as rendered by Mann and Zachariae), and attempted to give Weber's thought and language (as rendered) out as his own, without any reference to Weber. At any rate these long extracts show a perfect identity of views, garbed in the same language, in regard to the particular question. But from the facts adduced, it is clear we have advanced a great deal from the position that Professor Weber took, in our knowledge of the period. A reconstruction therefore seems not merely called for, but is actually demanded by the advance in our knowledge.

The Raṭṭa Queen Śrīdēvī

By

A. VENKATASUBBIAH.

IN Vol. X of the J.B.B.R.A.S., the late Dr. Fleet has published on pp. 167 ff. seven inscriptions pertaining to the Raṭṭa chieftains of Saundatti; and he has, on the basis of the statements made in them, constructed a genealogical table of these chiefs and given it on p. 186 l.c., and with some modifications, on p. 551 (see also p. 557) of his *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts* (Bombay Gazetteer, 1896, Vol. I, part 2). In both these tables, he has assigned to the Raṭṭa ruler Kārtavīrya IV (1199—1218 A.D.) a queen named Mādēvī who was the mother of his successor Lakṣmidēva II; and this name and relationship both appear in the genealogical tables of these chiefs that are published by Kielhorn in *Ep. Indica*, Vol. VIII, App. and by R. Sewell in his *Historical Inscriptions of Southern India* (p. 384).

The basis of Dr. Fleet's opinion above are following two stanzas contained in lines 3-5 of the Saundatti inscription published on pp. 260 ff.

ā dēśādhiśvaram Lakṣmaṇa-nṛpaṇ esedaṃ tat-sutaṃ Kārttavīryaṃ
gādaḥ mādēvī taṃ śrī-satiy avarge jagaj-jāta-vidvaj-janakā |

hlādaṃ pēḷalke vidviṭ-kṣitipati-nivahakk ubbegaṃ putṭe tad-Rā-
mādi-kṣōṇīśa-śauryyaṃ sakaḷa-guṇa-yutaṃ putṭidaṃ Lakṣmi-
dēvaṃ ||

Sukumārākāraṇē śrī-satig udayisidaṃ dhāriṇī-cakra-sampra-
kṣaṇē Śrī-Kārttavīryāvanipati-sutaṇē Raṭṭa-vaṃśōdbhavaṃ rā |

jakadoḥ samsēbyanē bhāvisuvaḍe nijadiṃ Lakṣmidēvaṃ pra bhāvā-
dhikaṇē tigamāśu-vaṃśa-prakaṭita-vibhavaṃ nōrppaḍ ī-Lakṣmi-
dēvaṃ ||

In stanza 1, Fleet has translated (p. 273, l.c.) the expression *tat-sutaṃ Kārttavīryaṃgādaḥ mādēvī taṃ śrī-sati* as ‘to Kārtavīrya who was his son, Mādēvī herself became wife.’ That is, he has taken *mādēvī* here for a proper name, though with some hesitation (see footnote 5 on that page), and interpreted *śrī-sati* as ‘wife’ here, as he has likewise done in the expression *śrī-satig udayisidaṃ* in the following stanza which has been translated by

him as '[Lakṣmidēva] was born to that virtuous woman.' This is plainly wrong; for though it is true that the word *mādēvi* is sometimes used as a proper name,¹ Fleet's translation of *śrī-sati* as 'wife' is incorrect. *Sati* signifies 'chaste wife' and *śrī-sati* signifies 'the chaste wife Śrī'; compare in this connection the passage *siri-sati Gōvindana: pēuradoḷ nelasirppa teṛade* ('in the manner in which the chaste wife Śrī has established herself in the broad chest of, Viṣṇu') that occurs in an inscription at Kōravāṅgala (EC. V. Hn. 71; p. 45). The real meaning of the above-cited expressions is therefore, 'the chaste Śrī[-dēvi] became the queen of his son Kārtavīrya'² and 'to that chaste Śrī[-dēvi] was born [Lakṣmidēva].'

The name of Kārtavīrya's queen was thus Śrī[-dēvi] and not Mādēvi according to these stanzas; and in this connection it may

1. Thus a Mādēvi is mentioned in EC, V. Bl. 193 (p. 241) as the wife of Kūsa-Caṭṭa, servant of the Hoysala king Narasiṃha I; another Mādēvi is mentioned in *ibid.* AK. 102 (p. 351) as the wife of the Hoysala prince Ereyāṅga.

2. The Koṇṇūru inscription referred to by Fleet on pp. 181-82 of the above-mentioned paper in the JBBRAS seems to belong to the reign of this Kārtavīrya and not of his grandfather Kārtavīrya III (A.D. 1143-1165 . . .). Fleet has not published the text of this inscription as it was mostly illegible; but he has said that lines 33-34 contain the words *śrīmat-Kārtavīrya-cakravartiya . . . lladēvara vijaya-rājyada . . . saṃvatsarada puṣya-suddha || Sōmavāradal*, and that line 43 refers to the above chief as *Kattama-dēva*, a name applied to Kārtavīrya III in line 6 of the Kalhole inscription published by Fleet in that paper. Fleet has hence concluded that the Koṇṇūru inscription too belongs to the reign of this chief, and that the title *cakravarti* is applied to him in it because the power of the W. Cālukyan emperors, whose feudatories the Raṭṭas were, having waned to a great extent during the reigns of Sōmēśvara III and Jagadēkamalla II, Kārtavīrya III's father Sēna II or Kārtavīrya III himself (*Dyn. of the Kan. Districts*, p. 555) had taken advantage of it to declare his independence.

This opinion seems untenable to me. *Kattama* is an abbreviation of the name Kārtavīrya and can be used to denote Kārtavīrya IV as well as Kārtavīrya III. It is not legitimate to infer from its use in the Kalhole inscription in connection with the latter that it is he, and not Kārtavīrya IV, that is denoted by that word in the Koṇṇūru inscription. Again, the majority of the inscriptions of Kārtavīrya IV represent him as ruling conjointly with his younger brother and Yuvarāja Mallikārjuna, and as enjoying *sāmrajya* or complete sovereignty (see *Dyn. of the Kan. Dist.*, p. 557); and it is very probable therefore that the above Koṇṇūru inscription too belongs to the reign of Kārtavīrya IV, and that, in lines 33-34, the syllable *ma* stood before the letters *-lladēvara vijaya-rājyada*. *Malla* is a well-known abbreviation of the name Mallikārjuna and seems to have been used in this inscription to denote Kārtavīrya IV's brother Mallikārjuna who was the Yuvarāja.

be pointed out that the name *Śrī* (*Siriyā-dēvi*, *Siriyale*, etc.) is not infrequent in the Kannaḍa country. Thus, for instance, Dr. Fleet has mentioned in his *Dyn. of the Kan. Districts* two princesses who bore the name *Siriyā-dēvi*, one the daughter of the Kalacurya emperor Bijjaṇa (pp. 573, 576), and the other, wife of the Kādamba *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Śāntivarman II of Hāṅgal (pp. 559, 561). A Śrī-dēvi is mentioned in an inscription at Hulikere (E.C. V, Bl. 199; p. 239)³ who was the mother of Kūsa-Caṭṭa, and another, who was the wife of Sāmanta-Gōvidēva, and mother of Sāmanta-Ballarasa, in EC. XII, Ck. 14ff. A Śrī-yamma is mentioned in an inscription at Kūdālūru (MAR for 1909, p. 14), and a Siriyabe-seṭṭiti and her grand-daughter Siriyale-seṭṭiti in an inscription at Sṛṅgēri (MAR for 1916, p. 83).

The Saundatti inscription in question records grants of lands, etc., made by the headmen (*gāmuṇḍas*) of Sugandhavarti Twelve and others to the temple of Mallinātha-dēva built by Kēśirāja, lord of Kōlāra, in memory of his father Mallikārjuna. Fleet's opinion (p. 179, l.c.) that this latter was in the service of the *Rājaguru* Muncandra, chief minister of the Raṭṭa *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Lakṣmidēva II is erroneous and is due to his confounding Kēśirāja's son Mallikārjuna with his namesake who was Kēśirāja's father. Lines 52ff. of the inscription say clearly that Kēśirāja had, by his wife Mālale,⁴ two sons Mallikārjuna and Mādirāja, and that these two were governing the Sugandhavarti Twelve under the *Rājaguru* Muncandra. Similarly, in lines 10, 11 it is said, first, that Muncandra had three ministers, namely, Śāntinātha son of Kāmarāja, Nāga of Kūṇḍi, and Mallikārjuna, and lines 12-54 then proceed to give the genealogy of this Mallikārjuna and conclude with the statement that he and his younger brother Mādirāja were in the service of Muncandra. It is thus clear that the Mallikārjuna who is mentioned in this inscription as the subordinate of Muncandra was the son of Kēśirāja and not Kēśirāja's father.

3. The abbreviation EC stands for *Epigraphia Carnatica*, and MAR for *Mysore Archaeological Report*.

4. The reading *ā puṇyāṅganeyara si(śi)ṣṭa-kāma-bhōgaṅgaḷ-anubhavisuttam* in line 52 is plainly corrupt, and should be emended into *ā puṇyāṅganeyalli viśiṣṭa-kāma-bhōgaṅgaḷ-anubhavisuttam*.

The Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Gahaḍavālas

By

MR. D. D. BHARADWAJ, M.A.,

VARIOUS opinions have been held about the relationship between the Rāṭhors and the Gahaḍavālas. Dr. V. A. Smith regarded the 'Rāṭhor dynasty of Kanauj' as a myth, and rejected as worthless the tradition that the Rāṭhor chiefs of Jodhpur are descended from Jaichand Gahaḍavāla 'through a boy who escaped massacre.' But recently there have been some remarkable attempts to disprove this opinion, and to establish the thesis that the Gahaḍavālas are merely a sept of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas or Rāṭhors. The main arguments of this side can be thus summarised :

The Gahaḍavālas are Rāṭhors, because,

(a) the Gahaḍavāla chief of Māṇḍā, a lineal descendant of Māṇikachandra, the brother of Jayachandra, claims to be a Rāṭhor,¹

(b) it is accepted on all hands that Jayachandra of Kanauj belonged to the Rāṭhor Clan,²

(c) Chandavardāi, the author of *Prthvirājarāso* applied the epithets *Rāṭhor* and *Kamadhaja* to Jayachandra,³

(d) 'in the *Rajataranginī* there is a mention of the thirty-six clans of Kshatriyas and in the *Kumārapālacharita*, where thirty-six clans are enumerated, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa clan is designated 'Rat, while no specific mention is made of the Gahaḍavālas,'⁴

(e) Chandra Rāṣṭrakūṭa of the Badāyun inscription, and Chandra Gahaḍavāla of the Chandrāvati plate can be proved to be contemporary, and, therefore identical,⁵

(f) in the reign of Rāo Dhūhar, a grand-son of Rāo Sihā, a Brahman brought down the tutelary deity from Kanauj,⁶ and

(g) in the inscription of Rāṭhor Jug Mal (V. E. 1686=1619 A.D.) 'his ancestor Dhūhar is mentioned as a Sūryavamśi Kanauji.'⁷

We shall deal *seriatim* with these arguments :—

(a) This is a good example of the fallacy called *petitio principii*. The writer assumes as true what he has started to prove by means of adequate reasons. A claim is no proof. It is something standing in need of proof itself,

(b) Jayachandra is not regarded as a Rāṭhor by many. For instance, see the opinion of Dr. V. A. Smith who writes : "The 'Rāṭhor dynasty of Kanauj' mentioned in books is a myth. The rājās belonged to the Gahaḍavāla or Gahaṛwār clan, as is expressly affirmed in the Basāhi copperplate grants of Govindachandra, dated 1161 V. E. = A.D. 1104, and recognized by the traditions of the Gautama clan."⁸

(c) The *Prthvirājarāso*, a work composed somewhere in the 16th century, and full of improbable stories and dates, cannot be put forward as an authority on Rājput history and genealogy. It is useless as sober history.⁹

(d) The *Rajataranginī* merely mentions thirty-six clans. It does not enumerate them. Had it done so, perhaps the name of the Gahaḍavālas would have been in the list. The *Kumārapāla Charita* does not give thirty-six names. Perhaps it leaves out the Gahaḍavālas, as it does some others too, not because of their non-inclusion in the thirty-six clans, but because by 1365 A.C. when the *Kumārapāla Charita* was written, these clans had politically become so insignificant, and numerically so much reduced, that the author did not think it worth while to specifically mention them.

(e) If Chandra Rāṣṭrakūṭa and Chandra Gahaḍavāla could be proved identical, the argument would be really decisive. But to prove this is not merely difficult, but practically impossible. The Set-Maheth inscription describes Madanapāla as ruling in V.E. 1176 = A.D. 1118.¹⁰ If we assign twenty years for each reign, his great-

1. *Sir Asutosh Mookerji Silver Jubilee Volumes—Orientalia*, Part 2, p. 259.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.*

4. *JRAS*, January 1930, p. 117.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 116.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 117.

7. *Ibid.*

8. *Early History of India*, 3rd edition, p. 385n.

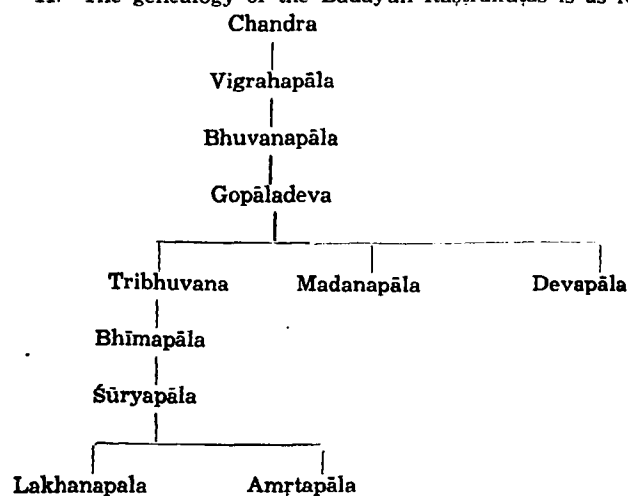
9. cf. the *History of Rajputana* by Rai Bahadur Pandit Gawrishankar Hirachand Ojha, p. 63.

10. *IA.*, Vol. XVII, p. 63.

great-grandfather¹¹ Chandra should have died in 1038. But Chandra Gahaḍavāla died actually in 1100 A.D.¹² If we assume that this Chandra was the ancestor of Madanapāla Rāṣtrakūṭa, we shall be driven to the absurd conclusions that he (Chandra) enjoyed the unusually long reign of eighty-two years, though for some mysterious reasons he had his grants inscribed between the years 1090 and 1099 A.C. only; that he saw his son, grandson and even great-grandson die before his eyes; and that he was perhaps the successor on the Kanauj *gaddi* of his own great-grandson Gopāla, who is styled 'Gādhipurādhīpa' or the 'Lord of Kanauj' in the Seṭ-Maheṭh inscription.¹³

Pandit Ramkaran Vidyāratna and Sāhityāchārya Pandit Bishesharnath Reu try to prove the contemporaneousness of the two Chandras by referring to the undated inscription of Lakhanapāla Rāṣtrakūṭa of Badāyun. The former conveniently assigns it to c. V.E. 1280 = c. A.C. 1223,¹⁴ and the latter to V.E. 1257 = 1200 A.C.,¹⁵ without giving any reasons whatsoever for the adoption of these dates. The process is extremely easy. But it does not prove that the two Chandras were actually contemporary.

11. The genealogy of the Badayun Rāṣtrakūṭas is as follows:—



12. *J.R.A.S.*, January 1930, p. 119.

13. *I.A.*, Vol. XVII, p. 63.

14. *Sir Autosh Mukerjee Silver Jubilee Volumes—Orientalia—Part 2*, 260.

15. *J.R.A.S.*, January 1930, p. 119. It might be noted here that Mr. Reu relies on the opinion of Mr. N. B. Sanyal.

Because the record does not bear any date, some other person would, perhaps, next, assign it to c. 1150. As this Lakhanapāla is most probably the great-grandson of the brother of that Madanapāla who is mentioned in the Seṭ-Maheṭh inscription, the approximate date of Lakhanapāla's inscription is neither c. 1200 nor c. 1223, but somewhere about 1080 A.C. With this date, the time of Chandra Rāṣtrakūṭa's death would be c. 1038 A.C. And that the Chandra who died in this year, cannot be a contemporary of the Chandra who died in 1100 A.C., has been proved above.

The first Chandra, I mean, the Rāṣtrakūṭa Chandra was the founder of a dynasty which was after about forty-five years of rule deprived of Kanauj by the second Chandra, i.e., Chandra Gahaḍavāla. In 1036 A.C. the Pratihāras ruled at Kanauj. But in 1051 A.C., the Rāṣtrakūṭas are mentioned as the rulers of Kanauj in the copper plate of King Trilochanapāla of Lāṭa.¹⁶ In 1090 A.C., we come across the first inscription of the Gahaḍavālas. The Rāṣtrakūṭa dynasty of Chandra was, therefore, founded somewhere between 1036 and 1050 A.C., and ended about 1090 A.C., the year of Chandra Gahaḍavāla's first inscription.

Gopāla was probably the last ruler of this dynasty. He is, as mentioned above, styled *Gādhipurādhīpa* in the Seṭ Maheṭh inscription of his son Madanapāla's time (V. E. 1176 = A.D. 1118). Madanapāla does not call himself *Gādhipurādhīpa*, and was therefore not on the throne of Kanauj in 1118 A.C. Salmān, a great Persian poet, who died in 1152 A.C., and who gives us a detailed account of the Indian invasion of Prince Mahmud, the son of Ibrahim Ghaznavi (1075—1099 A.C.), describes the defeat of one Amīr Jaipāla near the fort of Agra. As his defeat resulted in the submission of the country all around and the occupation of Kanauj, where Mahmud left Chānd Rāi (most probably Chand Gahaḍavāla)¹⁷ in charge of the stable of elephants, it would, probably, be right to assume that Jaipāla was the ruler of Kanauj. The similarity between the names Jaipāla and Gopāla cannot escape any careful reader. The translators of Salmān's account read wrongly, perhaps, Jaipāla, where the actual word in the text was, most probably, Gopāla. Now, if this Gopāla Rāṣtrakūṭa was the ruler deposed by Chandra Gahaḍavāla, as, I think, he was, according to

16. *I.A.*, Vol. XII, p. 201.

17. See in this connection Mr. Dharendra Chandra Ganguly's excellent article, 'Early history of the Gahaḍavālas.' (*Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. IX, No. 4).

the Set-Maheth inscription and Salmān's account, we shall hardly be justified in identifying Chandra Gahaḍavāla with Chandra Rāṣṭrakūṭa, the ancestor of Gopāla.

(f) The Rāṣṭrakūṭa tutelary goddess might have belonged to Kanauj. But this does not turn the Rāṣṭrakūṭas into Gahaḍavālas. Chandra Rāṣṭrakūṭa founded a Rāṣṭrakūṭa kingdom at Kanauj. Therefore, if we find the tutelary goddess of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas being taken away from there to Marwar, we can have no cause for wonder. Rāo Sihā was most probably a scion of this dynasty, and called himself a Rāṭhor, not because he had abandoned his surname Gahaḍavāla on severing all connections with Kanauj, as alleged by Sāhityāchārya Pandit Bishesharnath Reu, but because he was a descendant of Rāṭhors, and never recognized any relationship with the Gahaḍavālas on the paternal side. The bards of Mārwar being ignorant of Rāṣṭrakūṭa history, and knowing merely the name of Sihā's ancestor Chandra, tacked the genealogy of their patrons to that of the Gahaḍavālas whose ancestor too was one Chandra, a ruler of Kanauj, and so probably was produced the genealogy of the Mārwar Rāṭhors that has come down to us, and is to be seen in the inscription of Rājā Rāya Singhji of Bikaner.

(g) If we concede the argument in the last section, there would be nothing inconsistent in calling the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dhūhar a Sūryavamśi Kanaujiā.

The facts given above would show that hitherto no convincing proofs have been adduced to prove the collateralness of the Gahaḍavālas and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. Rather, we have some good proofs to establish the opposite thesis. Kumāradēvī, the wife of Govindachandra Gahaḍavāla, was a granddaughter of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Mahāna.¹⁸ Now, this sort of relationship could be allowed only if the Gahaḍavāla clan were different from the Rāṣṭrakūṭa. Moreover, Gahaḍavālas did not call themselves Rāṣṭrakūṭas. If we, however, are inclined to call them so, we should have adequate reasons for our decision. The parallel examples quoted by Pandit Bishesharnath Reu are not truly parallel.¹⁹ The Pratihāra Bukka does not, no doubt, call the Bhāti Devapāla a Yādava also. But if we leave aside this single inscription of a different clan, and turn to the numerous inscriptions of the clan itself at Ajmer, we shall

find that the Bhāṭis take pride in calling themselves Yādavas, and mention themselves as such in most of their lithic records. Similarly, if we go through a fairly large number of records and inscriptions of the other clans mentioned by Mr. Reu, we shall surely find somewhere a clear mention of the clan from which that special sub-clan is descended. But we turn in vain to more than sixty inscriptions of Gahaḍavālas for even a slight mention of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa clan with which they are supposed to be related.

18. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IX, pp. 319-28, and Sandyākaranandin's *Rāmācharita*.

19. Bhārata° Ke Prāchīna Rājavamśa, (Rāṣṭrakūṭas), pp. 455-459.

Madras Museum Plates of the Cōlas of Rēnādu

By

DR. P. SREENIVASACHARI.

THESE plates 'have been preserved in the Madras Museum for a long time.'¹ No details are available as to where they came from. They form a set of 5 copper plates in all, one of them containing a record of a Vaiḍumba Mahārāja, and the others two separate records of two distinct Cōla rulers of Rēnādu, Śrīkaṇṭha and Balliyacōla by name. For the sake of convenience I have treated them separately in the following paper, and have reserved my studies on the Vaḍumbas for a later occasion.

A. THE MADRAS MUSEUM PLATES OF ŚRĪKAṆṬHA

These plates had originally a ring and a seal, but both of them have disappeared, and they are now fastened together by a crude copper ring only. In the Museum Catalogue the ring and the seal are described as follows: 'They are strung on a ring, which carried a signet ring to which a seal is soldered. It bears in relief, a standing boar facing the proper right. An elephant goad surmounted by the sun and moon is above the boar and a dagger is to its proper right.'²

The identification of the animal on the seal as a boar raises a highly controversial point. If this seal really belonged to the chiefs who issued these plates it will necessitate a new hypothesis that the Boar sign was yet another emblem of a branch of the Cōlas. So far, only the Tiger and the Lion have been associated with them. The Tiger is the well known emblem of the Cōlas of Tanjore. The Lion is found not only on the seal attached to the plates of Punyakumāra,³ but also in the Peddamuḍiyam and Muḍ-

danūr lithic records, both of which belong to about the same date as the Mālēpāḍu plates, and 'belong, evidently also to a member of the same family.' The possibility of this design representing a lion and not a tiger has been discussed by Krishna Sastri at great length, who cites the support of the emblem of the *Nāga-vamśi* King Candrāditya of the Bastar State (a descendant of Karikāla-Cōla, and of the solar race), the sculpture on the rock-cut temple of Śiyamaṅgalam, the emblem on the seals of Indravarman and Vikramēndra-varman of the Viṣṇu Kuṇḍin family, and also the emblem on the Uravapalli plates of the early Pallava King Yuva-mahārāja Viṣṇugōpavarman. Therefore, although we know definitely that the tiger and the lion were associated with the Cōlas, and the latter with other early dynasties as well, there is no evidence except the present record to show that the Boar was used as an emblem by either the Cōlas or any other early South Indian dynasty.⁴ So, in the absence of the seal we are led to conclude, either that there is a mistake in identifying the animal on the seal as a Boar, or that the Boar was also used as an emblem by one of the branches of the Cōlas.

The characters represent a much further stage of development than those found in the Mālēpāḍu plates and the Mālēpāḍu stone inscription. Instead of the unfinished horizontal top strokes found in the Mālēpāḍu plates, we find them quite well developed in this inscription. The clear distinction between *r* and *k* reveals quite a late stage of development. As regards orthography, the use of the Dravidian *ḷa* (lines 7 and 9), *ṛa* (l. 15), and *ḷa* (l. 17) is worth recording. The use of the *anusvāra* in the place of the *anunāsika* has not yet developed. The doubling of consonants before *rēpha* is the general rule.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit and it is full of mistakes of the engraver as well as the composer. The inscription is for the most part in verse except for the list of the ancestors of the donor which is in prose.

After an invocation to Surēśa (or Śiva) the plates give a long genealogy of Śrīkaṇṭha, the donor, starting from Brahma and his son Marīci. No particular authority has been followed in giving

NOTE.—In this article *c* is used where it should be *ch*.—Editor.

1. These plates have already been noticed by R. Sewell in his *Lists of Antiquities*, vol. ii, p. 24, No. 174; by V. Venkayya in the *Annual Report on Epigraphy* 1900, para 54, p. 21; Kielshorn in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. V, p. 123, f.n.

2. Catalogue of Copper-plate Grants in the Government Museum, Madras, Cōlas, 2., p. 14.

3. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XI, p. 337f.; V. Rangacharya's *Topographical List of Inscrns.*, cd. 455 (Vol. I, p. 613).

4. The Boar is the well-known emblem of the Caḷukya, the Kākatiya and the Vijayanagara rulers.

the list of these mythological kings of the Solar dynasty. Coming to historical times, however, we first find the name of Karikāla, and then Sundarananda, the relation between the two not being stated. The genealogy runs as follows:—

Karikāla
|
Sundarananda
|
Navarāma
|
Ereyamma
|
Vijayakāma
|
Virārjuna
|
Agranipidugu
|
Kōkili
|
Mahēndravarma
|
Eḷamjōla
|
Nṛpakāma
|
Divākara
|
Śrikanṭha

Śrikanṭha is stated to be the Rāma of the Cōla dynasty, and a famous donor of land. The plates register the grant of a village called Mandara to the *guru* Bālaśakti for conducting the daily worship of the god Pṛthvīśvara.

The identification of the village Mandara is aided by the mention of this same village along with other villages in Inscription B, belonging to Balliya-Cōla. An inscription⁵ from Nandalur of the time of Kulōttunga-Cōla III refers to a certain Mantram, alias Bhujabalaśiddhi-Catūrvēdimāṅgaḷam. Another inscription⁶ from Attirāla in Pullampet taluk of the Cuddapah district refers to a native of the Mandapaḷli who gave a gift of 15 *māḍais* for lamp and

garlands to the temple of Paraśurāmēśvara in Attirāla in Śaka 1202 Vikrama. This is probably the same as Mandapalle in that region, where according to an epigraph,⁷ an image of goddess Lakshmi-dēvi was set up by a certain Vasant-rāja, in an unspecified cyclic year Manmatha. The modern village of that name in Pullampet taluk has a number of old temples. But there is another village called Mandruram not far from Kitsamambāpuram south of a large tank near by. These two villages are referred to in an inscription of the 17th century.⁸ The Mandaram of our grant must therefore be either of these two villages and most probably the former.

According to Mālēpāḍu inscription of Satyāditya, this region was called Rēnāḍu, which is confirmed by the evidence of later epigraphs. Consequently the dynasty of Cōla rulers who ruled in this region is called the dynasty of the Rēnaṭi-Cōlas. The term Rēnāḍu is quite inexplicable. It might be connected with Rēgaḍi-nāḍu, from the nature of the soil in that region. But so far, early inscriptions throw little light on the origin of this name. Curiously enough, neither the Mālēpāḍu plates nor the Madras Museum plates mention this term. The earliest mention is perhaps in the Mālēpāḍu stone inscription⁹ of Satyāditya, where it is stated to be a 7,000 province. But its extent may be gauged from the fact that Siddhi or modern Sidhout is mentioned separately as a 1,000 province. Rēnāḍu is mentioned as a 70 district in an inscription¹⁰ from Peddamuḍiyam of Jammalamāḍugu taluk, dated Śaka 1046 Krōdhi. This was perhaps a subdivision, since ordinarily Rēnāḍu is mentioned as a 7000 province. It is not possible to determine the exact extent of this territorial division from the evidence of the few inscriptions available which mention this term. Dr. N. Venkataramanayya thinks that it comprised the whole of the modern Cuddapah district.¹¹ But such a conclusion is based on the evidence of epigraphs later than those of these Cōlas. The Mālēpāḍu stone inscription of Satyāditya gives a separate name for the region round Sidhout, although it points out that Rēnāḍu was a 6000 province. So it is clear that what is referred to as Rēnāḍu by Satyāditya—whether it was the whole piece of territory that was called after that name or a portion of it—could not have origi-

5. Rangacharya: Lists cd. 792 (578 of 1907).

6. Rangacharya: Lists, cd. 651.

7. *Ibid*, cd. 709.

8. *Ibid*, cd. 682.

9. *Ibid*, cd. 453 (393 of 1904).

10. *Ibid*, cd. 348 (350 of 1905).

11. The Madras Christian College Magazine, January 1929, p. 13.

nally extended further west than the Sēṣācalam hills, and in the north the Pennar river. The inscriptions of a certain Cōḷa-mahārāja, who has been identified with Mahēndra vikrama Cōḷa-Mahārāja of this dynasty, are found as far west as the Tumkur district.¹² Even assuming that this identification is correct it is not possible to argue from this that all this region constituted Rēnāḍu, since we have no inscriptions of these rulers in the region lying between Tumkur and Cuddapah. Consequently it is extremely doubtful if all this region was Rēnāḍu proper.

Let us now turn to examine some of the historical problems relating to these rulers of Rēnāḍu. The present record reveals to us the existence of a new family of the Cōḷas of Rēnāḍu, different from the one we already know of, from the Mālēpāḍu plates and from other stone inscriptions in Rēnāḍu and other places. Comparing the genealogy given in the Mālēpāḍu plates with the genealogy found in the present record, we find the name Sundarananda common to both. Since they claimed a common origin and ruled practically the same territory we may conclude that these plates refer to the same person as Sundarananda.

The plates are not dated, but assuming that Hieun Tsiang visited this place towards the end of Puṇyakumāra's rule in A.D. 639-40,¹³ we may place Sundarananda roughly about the end of the 6th century. According to this genealogy, ten generations came to the throne. So calculating at the rate of 25 years for each generation we may roughly assign Śrīkaṇṭha to the middle of the 9th century. Palaeographical evidence confirms such a view. It is further confirmed by the fact that on the basis of such calculation we have to assign Kōkīḷi to about A.D. 725, just about the time, that the Eastern Caḷukya king of that name (726-27) was on the throne of Vengi.¹⁴

The question then arises as to what happened to this Cōḷa kingdom during the period of two centuries that elapsed between the dates of the Mālēpāḍu plates of Puṇyakumāra, and the Madras Museum plates of Śrīkaṇṭha. Before considering the question however we may note briefly the factors underlying the rise of this kingdom, for these influenced considerably the subsequent history of this region.

12. *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. XII, Mi 92-93 and 97-101.

13. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri: *Cōḷas*, Vol. 1, p. 122.

14. *Journal of Oriental Research*, Vol. IX, Part I, p. 38.

The Mālēpāḍu stone and copper plate inscription published by Krishna Sastri,¹⁵ the Poṭṭadurti-Mālēpāḍu inscription¹⁶ published by Mr. M. Somasekhara Sarma, and a few inscriptions on memorial stones published in the *Epigraphia Carnatica*,¹⁷ are the only materials so far available to trace the history of this dynasty of rulers, beyond the notice of a few other inscriptions in the Epigraphical reports and the meagre and indefinite account of Hieun Tsiang.¹⁸

The reference of Hieun Tsiang makes it undoubtedly clear that there was a Cōḷa kingdom in this region about the year A.D. 639-640. His description suggests that it was not evidently a newly-carved out principality but must have existed for some time before his arrival there.

When did this Cōḷa power arise? We know that the Pallavas had this region under their sway. It is obvious that this small power could not have risen up as against the power and authority of the Pallavas. Besides, there is, then, no justification for these rulers calling themselves after the names of the Pallava rulers. On the other hand, they seem to have been definitely encouraged by the Pallavas. The reason is not far to seek. The Pallava hold over this distant region was growing weaker just when two important political powers, the Gāṅgas and the Caḷukyas, were growing up. This made it essential for the Pallava rulers to consolidate the integrity of the borderland. The Gāṅga King Durvinīta, son of Avinīta, was evidently hostile towards the Pallavas for their intrigues against him before his accession to the throne. He extended his territory southwards and eastwards at the expense of the Pallava Kingdom, and is even said to have captured the Pallava king in the field of battle.¹⁹ The Caḷukyas were an equally threatening factor. They seem to have acquired Vātāpi at the expense of the Pallavas²⁰ and threatened to advance a great deal farther into the Pallava country.

15. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XI, pp. 337-346.

16. *Vyāsasangrahamu* (A Miscellany of papers presented to G. Ramamurti Pantulu), pp. 301-311.

17. *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. XII, Mi 92-93; 97-101; also 94-97.

18. T. Watters: *On Yuan Chwang*, pp. 224-226.

19. *Mysore Archaeological Survey, Annual Report 1921*, p. 120 (Kuḍḷur Grant).

20. This point needs a little elucidation. The above statement is based on the evidence of the Vēlurpālayam plates and a much damaged stone inscription at Bādāmi. The Vēlurpālayam plates state that Narasimhavarman I carried away the pillar of victory standing in the centre of Vātāpi (South Indian

It was probably to place in check these two growing powers and to provide a bulwark against the expanding Caḷukya kingdom that the Pallavas tolerated if not encouraged the rise of this family who were already perhaps indigenous to the country.²¹

inscriptions, Vol. II, p. 508, l.18). It is important that the Kūram plates which refer to the conquest of Vātāpi do not mention this carrying away of the pillar of victory. The Bādāmi stone inscription which refers to Mahāmalla seems to refer to this *Jayastambha*. Hultsch thinks, "it is not unlikely that the pillar of victory had been set up there by one of the ancestors of Narasimhavarman I himself" (S.I.I. Vol. II, p. 504, f.n. 1). If we grant that this region was originally under the Pallavas as Fleet opines, it does not explain why the Pallavas should have had to set up a pillar of victory there. Such pillars of victory are set up usually to denote fresh conquests and so in order to justify its Pallava origin we have to postulate that the Pallavas before the time of Narasimhavarman I had conquered this region from some unknown enemy and set up a pillar of victory there. It is not possible to consider seriously such a hypothesis in the absence of strong evidence. Besides, if the pillar of victory was indeed a Pallava monument, there was no point in Narasimhavarman I carrying it away from Bādāmi. His action is explicable only if it was a Caḷukya pillar of victory commemorating Caḷukya successes. Narasimha would then be doing a most natural thing in carrying off this 'pillar of victory' of his enemies. Therefore, it looks as though this region originally belonged to the Pallavas and that the Caḷukyas conquered it and planted a pillar of victory at Bādāmi some time before the invasion of Narasimhavarman I. When Narasimhavarman I reconquered this region he certainly could not have put up with a '*Jayastambha*' of his enemies, and therefore carried it away as a sign of his reassertion of authority. It is needless to add that in spite of this victory the Caḷukyas got this region back again quite soon. The above is just a suggestion based on a new interpretation of the inscription. I am not unaware of the difficulties in the way of such an interpretation. The problem is very complicated and it is impossible to come to any definite conclusion at present.

21. We need not go into the question of Karikāla's expedition into Rēnāḍu, and the connection that these chiefs seek with this hero. For the present we may note that the local records of Cuddapah and Kurnool assert that Karikāla conquered this region. One *Kaifiyat* states, "Karikāla Mahārāja of Sūryavamśa having conquered the west, obtained possession of this country. He had the forests cleared on the southern slopes of the Kanigiri hill where he founded a village called Pottapi. He encouraged the growth of a number of villages in its neighbourhood; and as Pottapi was the most important of them, the group of villages around it acquired the name of Pottapi-nāḍu" (Local Records, Vol. 22, p. 141). In the words of Dr. N. Venkataramanayya, 'It is quite probable that after him (i.e. Karikāla) the Rēnāḍu country was under the sway of a local line of Cōḷa princes who trace their descent to him' (The Madras Christian College Magazine, 1926, p. 15).

The striking similarity in the names and titles of these Cōḷa rulers and the Pallavas was pointed out by Krishna Sastri while editing the Mālēpāḍu plates.²² Such names as Simhaviṣṇu and Mahēndravikrama of the Rēnāṭi-Cōḷas bear striking resemblance to Simhaviṣṇu and Mahēndravarman I of the Pallava genealogy. In Mātta-vilāsa the Pallava King actually calls himself Mahēndravikrama-varma. 'Simhaviṣṇu is a name which is not usually met with anywhere outside the Pallava family.' Guṇamudita, the name of Puṇyakumāra's elder brother, strongly reminds us of Guṇabhara, a familiar title of Mahēndravarman I. Then the titles of Puṇyakumāra, namely *Mārdavacitta* and *Madana-vilāsa* 'indicate some apparent affinity to *Matta-vilāsa* and *Vicitra-citta*, the recognised birudas of Mahēndravarman I.'²³ Dr. N. Venkataramanayya has rightly concluded, "it is very probable that Cōḷa Mahēndra and his sons were contemporaries of the Pallava King Mahēndra I."²⁴

The question then arises as to when they became independent of the Pallavas. Dr. N. Venkataramanayya states: "the assumption of the titles Cōḷa-Mahārāja by Mahēndravikramavarma seems to indicate that he had asserted his independence..... He appears to have begun his career as a feudatory of the Pallava King Mahēndravarman I. Taking advantage of the confusion caused by the invasion of Pulakēsin II, and the defeat of the Pallava King he seems not only to have asserted his independence but seized the Pallava province of Hiranyarāṣṭra which lay between the Bay of Bengal and his hereditary dominion."²⁵ But perhaps we would be nearer the truth if we think that Mahēndravikrama died a subordinate to the Pallavas, and that Puṇyakumāra came to the throne as a subordinate of the Pallava king Mahēndravarman I. It is not likely, however, that the Pallava king exercised his dominance over these border-lords in the same way as in the case of other feudatories. It was precisely because they were not able to give this region that close attention and support necessary to withstand the possible onslaughts of the growing enemy kingdoms that they had welcomed the rise of these Cōḷas. This explains why we have a number of inscriptions of these Cōḷas without a proper mention of their overlords the Pallavas. There are a good

22. Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XI, p. 341.

23. Ibid.

24. The Madras Christian College Magazine, January 1929, p. 17.

25. Ibid.

number of such inscriptions belonging to a certain Cōla-mahārāja, some of which at least must have been issued by Mahēndravikrama. The assumption of the title Cōla-mahārāja by him need not necessarily indicate the assertion of independence. The title *Mahārāja* is used indiscriminately, and there are many instances to show that the existence or the lack of it does not prove anything regarding the independent or the subordinate status of a ruler. As a matter of fact, Puṇyakumāra does not bear that title in the Mālēpādu plates, though on that account we cannot argue that he was not independent when he issued these plates. So it looks as though Puṇyakumāra was the person who declared independence. For, if we assume that it was Mahēndravikrama who asserted independence and that Puṇyakumāra inherited an independent kingdom, it will not be easy to explain his pro-Pallava *birudas*. *Birudas* can never be explained away as a heritage from a senior generation as a name can be, since they can depend only on personal likes and dislikes. Nor can we plead in justification that Puṇyakumāra was 'an enthusiastic admirer of the great Pallava monarch.'²⁶ For however much he admired the latter he could not have manifested his admiration so openly when he was all the time trying to be friendly with the Cālukyas—the inveterate foes of the Pallavas. In his Rameswaram pillar inscription,²⁷ Puṇyakumāra's wife is called Vasanta Pōri Cōla Mahādēvi, and he is given a Cālukya *biruda*, Prithvivallabha. Dr. N. Venkataramanayya has shown clearly that "Puṇyakumāra was probably related to the Cālukya royal family through his wife Vasanta Pōri." He further adds, "It is not unreasonable to suppose that Vasanta Pōri was a daughter of the royal house of Bādāmi who was given in marriage to the Cōla prince Puṇyakumāra."²⁸ So it is clear that his pro-Pallava *birudas* were not due to the 'enthusiastic admiration' of a great monarch by an independent king, but to his subordination to that monarch in his early years.

Let us see under what circumstances this Cōla kingdom could have become independent. We need not go into the details of the Cālukya-Pallava relations, but it is necessary to note that, just as the rise of the Cālukya kingdom proved to be fortunate for these Cōlas of Rēnāḍu on account of the Pallava anxiety to provide a strong bulwark against the Cālukyas, in the same way, political

relations between the Cālukyas and the Pallavas were mostly responsible for the vicissitudes in the fortunes of this kingdom. It is unlikely that Puṇyakumāra would have declared independence if he had not been on friendly terms with the Cālukyas. The Rēnāḍu kingdom was after all a tiny one, and no sane ambitious king of such a tiny principality could have courted enmity with a strong power on one side without making sure of his safety on the other side. As a matter of fact, one is led to surmise that the Cālukyas must have helped them in such an undertaking, since it was excellently suited to their own purpose. We know that Pulakēsin II invaded the Pallava kingdom after his conquest of Veṅgi and worsted the Pallava king, Mahēndravarmān I. It is not necessary to discuss here how far he was successful. The main thing for us to note is that this Cālukya-Pallava conflict and the troubles of the Pallavas nearer home rendered them too impotent to exercise any power on the outlying regions, and thus enabled the Cōlas of Rēnāḍu to become friendly with the Cālukyas and with their backing turn independent. But for the Cālukya help, the Cōlas could not have stood their ground, and it was evidently preferable for Pulakēsin II to have an allied power here than a subordinate province.

After this first phase of Cālukya-Pallava relations there seems to have been no war between these two powers for some time, during which period the Cōla kingdom of Rēnāḍu remained independent. Pulakēsin II was evidently satisfied with his achievement in founding the Veṅgi kingdom, and in securing a friendly buffer state in the Cōla kingdom of Rēnāḍu. The Pallavas were evidently recuperating their strength after the initial conflict with the Cālukyas, and under these circumstances the Cōla kingdom enjoyed a brief spell of peace.

It was during this period that Hieun Tsiang visited this Cōla kingdom sometime about A.D. 639-40, and described it²⁹ as 'a wild and jungle region' 'about 2400 *li* in circuit', 'with very few settled inhabitants and bands of highwaymen going about only'. Such a description agrees with what we should expect in a region bordering on two great kingdoms hostile to each other, and a region where the strong arm of a settled ruler was not to be seen.

The Pallava king Narasimhavarman I was evidently a war-like king and he eagerly awaited an opportunity to avenge his father's

26. *Ibid.*

27. Rangacharya: *Lists*, cd. 560 (384 of 1904).

28. The Madras Christian College Magazine, January 1929, p. 18.

29. T. Watters: *On Yuan Chwang*, p. 224.

misfortunes. He claims to have made Pulakēsin II turn his back in the battlefield many a time, and speaks of victories in several battles such as Pariyāla, Maṇimaṅgalam, and Suramāra.³⁰ Without going into the details of this campaign we may note that Pulakēsin II seems to have penetrated into the west of the Pallava territory either as an aggressor or an avenger amidst the changing fortunes of an incessant conflict, but after a number of defeats was pursued by the Pallava king who captured his capital Vātāpi and razed it to the ground.

Under such circumstances, the Cōlas of Rēnāḍu would have suffered severely, and perhaps their rule came to an end temporarily. It is not unlikely that some of the battles in which Narasiṃhavarman I claims to have defeated Pulakēsin II were on this front, and the village of Paidēla in Proddatur taluk (Cuddapah district) sounds suspiciously like Pariyāla, one of the battlefields where the Pallava king Narasiṃhavarman I claims to have been victorious. The date of Puṇyakumāra which has been fixed for the middle of the 7th century on palaeographical grounds would therefore have to be carried back a decade or two earlier on the basis of the fact that the Pallava Narasiṃhavarman I certainly overran all this region about A.D. 642, and could not have left alone this petty independent dynasty in league with his inveterate foes. But we have no evidence to state either that the dynasty continued subject to the Pallavas or even that they were temporarily dispossessed of their territory in order to bring this region under the direct rule of the Pallavas.

Perhaps the next king of Rēnāḍu was a certain Vikramāditya,³¹ referred to in the Mālēpāḍu stone inscription. We do not know what relationship he bore to his predecessor Puṇyakumāra. But since he claims to be of the Cōla family, and ruled in this very region shortly after Puṇyakumāra he has been taken to be Puṇyakumāra's son.

Vikramāditya's name suggests that he was either a subordinate of the Cālukya king Vikramāditya I or at least owed him a deep debt of gratitude for some great help rendered. It is logical therefore to conclude that when the Cālukya king Vikramāditya I resumed his active foreign policy after consolidating his position on

the throne, he effected the restoration of the Cōla power in Rēnāḍu. Such a restoration may have taken place roughly about A.D. 655 or even later, since Vikramāditya I had to make his position firm on the throne, before helping his humble allies and seeking further conquests.

We have evidence of the rule of only two kings after the restoration, that is, Vikramāditya and his grandson Satyāditya.³² They do not seem to have enjoyed a long period of rule altogether which may be due to the fact that the former got the throne at an advanced age while the latter lost it not long after his accession. We have no evidence of the rule of Satyāditya's father.

But the Cōla kingdom could not expect any permanency of rule in the peculiar circumstances in which it came into being. The fortunes of Vikramāditya I, their main prop, began to wane after the advent of Paramēśvaravarman I into the field. Vikramāditya I was defeated in the battle of Peruvālanallur and his city was destroyed.³³ It has been suggested that this city was Vātāpi itself. In any case, it is clear that after an initial period of success, Vikramāditya I had to give way to the Pallavas.³⁴ The Pallavas evidently overran all this region, though they do not seem to have extended the limits of their kingdom as far as the Tungabhadra. The existence of a number of copper plate records of Vinayāditya in Kurnool proves that this district or at least a good portion of it continued to be under the rule of the Cālukyas. It is unlikely that independent Cōla rule survived such a shock. It looks as though the dynasty of Dhanañjaya came to an end with this, for there is no further mention of them, and when we next hear of the independent rule of the Cōlas of Rēnāḍu we come across the descendants of Sundarananda and not of his brother Dhanañjaya. The Pallavas evidently put an end to the rule of this dynasty and once again there is a gap in the history of this family.

We do not know when again the Cōlas of Rēnāḍu got this region under their rule, or under what circumstances the descendants of Sundarananda got the chance of becoming its rulers. It is

32. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XI, p. 345f.

33. *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II, Part III, p. 371.

34. The records of Vinayāditya state that he defeated the Pallavas during the reign of his father. This probably means that the Cālukyas were able to beat back the Pallava advance and retain their territory even south of the Tungabhadra.

30. *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I, 144f. the Kuram, C. P. Grant.

31. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XI p. 345, and p. 343.

not probable that Vinayāditya or his son Vijayāditya made up for the reverses in the previous reign. Vinayāditya claims to have been very successful against the southern kings and the Pallavas in particular. But they may all refer to feats achieved by him in his father's reign.³⁵ It was perhaps after the end of Paramēśvara-varman II's rule, when the affairs of the Pallava kingdom were in a confused state that there was an opportunity for the Cōlas of Rēnāḍu to regain their power. But the dynasty of Puṇyakumāra had probably come to an end and Sundarananda's descendants were the only rightful heirs to the throne. What these were doing when their cousins were ruling is not known. They perhaps remained in charge of some small region in Rēnāḍu itself³⁶ and bided their time. It was only a period of four generations since they had been dispossessed of their rights by Mahēndravikrama and they could not have died away in that short time, especially when the troublous times, made the position of the ruling families none too secure.

In spite of the long list of names that our grant provides it does not seem probable that this branch of Cōlas became the rulers of Rēnāḍu earlier than the time of Kōkili. He is the sixth in descent from Sundarananda, and since the descendants of Dhanañjayavarman, brother of Sundarananda ruled for five generations after him, it follows that Kōkili would have been the earliest

35. In his own reign his attention seems to have been turned towards the north. Vinayāditya's claim of having won the *pālidhvaja* and other royal insignia by crushing the lord of the region of the north (Fleet: *Dynasties*, p. 28), may at least indicate that his attention was turned towards the affairs of the north. This statement gains in weight from another statement of his son Vijayāditya that he 'maintained the supremacy acquired by his father in the north, and by his grandfather in the south' (Fleet: *Dynasties* p. 29).

36. There are a number of inscriptions in a place called Sravanagudi in Muddagiri taluk (Tumkur district in the Mysore State), relating to a certain Cōla Dhanañjaya Eriḡa (Epigraphia Carnatica XII Mi 92-97; 100-107). He is also referred to as Erika and is stated to be ruling the Alvāḍi 600, evidently under a certain Gangul Vallava-rāja. A certain Cōlika Muttarasa or Mutta-rāja is also mentioned along with him in some of these inscriptions. All these inscriptions have been assigned to about A.D. 750, on the basis of the sole fact that there is an inscription of Śrīpuruṣa Muttarasa among them, the date of whom we happen to know (Epigraphia Carnatica, Vol. xii, Intro. p. 7). So it is possible to take them to belong to an earlier date, in which case, they would relate to some member of the Cōla dynasty of Rēnāḍu, perhaps Ereyamma. Of course, they might relate to a son of Dhanañjaya, a younger brother of Mahēndravikrama or Cōla-mahārāja. Anyhow, the evidence at present available is too meagre to enable us to come to any definite conclusion regarding their relationship with these Cōlas of Rēnāḍu.

king of this branch to rule even if he had succeeded Satyāditya under the normal circumstances. This is confirmed by the fact that his name bears a striking resemblance to that of the Eastern Cālukya ruler, Kokkili of A.D. 726—27. The name Kōkili or Kokkili is rather an unusual one, and we cannot attribute such striking similarity to mere coincidence. It seems as though the descendants of Sundarananda got no help from the Cālukyas of Bādāmi, either because they were not in a position to help them effectively or because they did not know this branch of rulers. Therefore these Cōla princes sought the help of the Eastern Cālukyas to effect a restoration.³⁷ Since the date of the Eastern Cālukya king is A.D. 726—27,³⁸ we must attribute this restoration to some time about that date.

Although the Eastern Cālukyas might have helped them on a particular occasion like this it could not have been possible for them to develop any systematic relations with them on the lines of the Cālukyas of Bādāmi. It was not a great advantage to them to cultivate friendly relations with these Cōlas on account of the geographical position of Rēnāḍu. On the other hand the Cālukyas of Bādāmi could not afford to neglect them. It was a buffer state between the Pallava Kingdom and themselves, and if they allowed the Pallavas to dominate this region, their own position would be insecure. Some such consideration seems to have been at the root of Vijayāditya's action in turning his attention towards this region. We have a stone inscription of his in Dānavulapāḍu³⁹ (Jammalamadugu taluk of the Cuddapah district). We know that Kurnool or at least a good deal of it had already been in the hands of the Cālukyas of Bādāmi, and so Vijayāditya's advent into the northern portion of the Cuddapah district suggests an attempt on his part to strengthen his hold on this region, especially since the affairs in the Pallava Kingdom clarified into the firm establishment of Nandivarman II Pallavamalla on the throne. But there is no evidence to show that Vijayāditya succeeded in establishing his influence over the Cōla Kingdom of Rēnāḍu. On the contrary,

37. It is not necessary to assume that the nature of the help thus rendered to the Cōlas of Rēnāḍu was of an immense character. As such, the shortness of Kokkili's reign is not necessarily a serious objection to stand in the way of our hypothesis that he aided the Cōlas of Rēnāḍu in regaining their power.

38. Journal of Oriental Research, Vol. IX, Pt. I, p. 38.

39. Rangacharya: Lists: Cd. 155-A (339 of 1905).

the Pallava influence is seen in the name of Mahēndravarmān, the successor of Kōkili.

It is quite impossible to trace definitely the vicissitudes of fortune that this region underwent in the succeeding years. In the Kendur Plates⁴⁰ the Čālukyas claim an overwhelming victory for Vikramāitya II as against Nandivarman II Pallavamalla, and even suggest a second capture of Kāñci by the Čālukyas. If so, it is unlikely that the Čōlas of Rēnādu would have escaped Vikramāditya II's victorious advance, unless they had been friendly with him.

The substitution of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas in the place of the Čālukyas made matters no better for the Čōlas of Rēnādu in order to attain independence. We do not know if the Čōlas of Rēnādu came under the sway of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas before the 9th century. We are not certain how far the aggressive Dhruva and Govinda III encroached upon the Pallava Kingdom. Fleet thinks that Govinda III's dominions extended at least as far as the Tungabhadra in the south.⁴¹ This statement gains weight from the fact that Govinda III advanced no further south than the Tungabhadra in order to subjugate the Pallavas. According to another inscription⁴² dated Śaka 726, Govinda III encamped at Rāmēśvaram on the Tungabhadra from where he collected the tribute from the Pallava king. An inscription⁴³ from Arakatavēmūla purports to belong to a Western Čālukya King, Śrīvallabha Mahārājādhirāja by name, and records his gift to a certain Brahmin, Vinnaśarman. It is not clear who the Western Čālukya King Śrīvallabha was, though we know that Śrīvallabha was a *biruda* of some of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings.⁴⁴ It is quite probable, therefore, that in their conflict with the Pallavas, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas penetrated into Rēnādu several times and considerably weakened the Pallava hold on that region.⁴⁵ But

40. Epigraphia Indica, Vol. IX, No. 29, p. 205.

41. The Dynasties, Kan. Dts., p. 34.

42. Ibid.

43. Rangacharya: Lists, cd. 489; 474 of 1906.

44. The details furnished by the Annual Report on Epigraphy are not sufficient to enable us to identify this king. But since there is a question mark after the name of the dynasty which is given as Western Čālukya, it is probable that there is no definite mention of the dynasty of this king Śrīvallabha.

45. Even if the above inscription does not belong to the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, it does not seriously affect our main argument.

the Rāṣṭrakūṭas did not care to conquer and annex this region. Their dominions extended certainly as far as the Tungabhadra in the south, or even the Pennar perhaps, but not farther beyond. It is this rather unusual factor that enabled the Čōlas of Rēnādu to become independent. They were on the borders of two big kingdoms which were constantly at war, and which did not consider this region as an integral part of their kingdom. It would not have been impossible, therefore, for even a petty dynasty to hold its own in these circumstances, skilfully bowing down to every storm that passed overhead and waiting for a suitable opportunity to set at nought both the big powers.

In the reign of Amōghavarṣa I, however, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kingdom was beset with a number of difficulties at home and abroad. Consequently Amōghavarṣa I's attention was fully occupied in meeting successfully the innumerable obstacles he encountered. At the same time the Pallavas were in no stronger position. The Pāṇḍyas demanded their undivided attention, and they had no reason to disturb the peaceful respite they enjoyed on the Rāṣṭrakūṭa side during Amōghavarṣa I's reign.

It is possibly under such circumstances that the Čōlas of Rēnādu began to act independently. That rule of Śrikanṭha must have come about that date, or a little after that, that is, sometime about the middle of the 9th century. This agrees with the conclusion we came to on grounds of palaeography.

It may not be out of place to add in conclusion that in the beginning of the 10th century, this region passed into the hands of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas,⁴⁶ which is the main reason why we cannot assign a later date to this independent Čōla ruler Śrikanṭha. A little later, this region evidently passed into the hands of the Vaiḍumbas. An inscription from Pālagiri⁴⁷ in Kamalapuram taluk speaks of a certain Vaiḍumba king called Kanada.⁴⁸ There is another Vaiḍumba record⁴⁹ of Bhuvana Trinētra, dated Śaka 894,

46. Rangacharya: Lists, cd 150, 450 and 75.

47. Ibid, cd 461.

48. But the inscription is dated in Śaka. 97, Durmukhi. It is impossible to reconcile the cyclic year with any Śaka year ending in 97 during the period that we can roughly assign to the Vaiḍumba rule. One is tempted to wonder if this Kanada is the same as Śrikanṭha for whom the dates A.D. 958, 960, and 962 are available.

49. Rangacharya: Lists cd 583 (325 of 1905).

and a copper plate grant of yet another Vaiḍumba Mahārāja, dated Śaka 893.⁵⁰ So considering all these, we may not be far wrong in assigning these plates to the second quarter of the 9th century.

B. THE MADRAS MUSEUM PLATES OF BALLIYA CŌLA

This record is engraved on one side of a copper plate except for the last three lines which are engraved on the plate containing the last side of Śrikanṭha's grant. The characters are in Telugu of a period about the beginning of the 12th century, and there are few orthographical features of special interest apart from the use of *l* in the place of *ḷ* or *ḍ* (e.g. in line 3).

The language of the inscription is Telugu, and there are one or two early forms of interest. The use of the verb *ali* in the sense of destroy and *vḷaccu* in the sense of split is noteworthy. *Alisu* is even now used in Kannaḍa in the sense of *kill, destroy or ruin*. *Vḷaccu* is the same as the modern *vraccu*. The change of *l* into *r* is quite common as pointed out below in dealing with the word *Inumbrōlu*.

The inscription begins with a statement that the donor, Balliya Cōla, belonged to the dynasty of Karikāla, and repeats the two traditional facts associated with Karikāla, namely the effacing of the eye of Trilōcana Pallava, and the construction of the Kāvēri banks. No genealogy is given, and the inscription contains the bare details about the grant of *Siddhāyam* in the villages of Mandara, Inumbrōlu and Pāka, to a certain Śvētēśvara-bhaṭāra after first worshipping the God Sahaśa (Guhēśa ?), of Naritirēvula. In addition to the *siddhāyam* of these three villages was also granted what is referred to as *brōli-pannasa-pasimḍi*. *Brōli* is evidently short for *Inumbrōli*. The expression literally means "the gold (*pasimḍi*) of the *pannasa* of *Brōli* (or *Inumbrōli*). It is clear therefore that the word *pannasa* refers to a kind of land tenure, as suggested by Mr. M. Somasekhara Sarma,⁵¹ and not to a unit of measurement. The term *siddhāyam* is well known as the same *suvarṇādāyam*, that is, 'income in gold'; and so the use of the term *Pannasa pasimḍi* along with the term *siddhāyam* indicates that it probably referred to a certain kind of income which was not included in the general category of *siddhāyam*, and which was peculiar only to a certain kind of tenure.

50. Catalogue of copper plate grants in the Madras Museum, Cholas, 2.
51. *Vyāsa-saṅgrahamu*. Poṭaldurti-Mālēpāḍu ins., p. 305f.

All the places mentioned herein were evidently situated in the Pullampet taluk of the Cuddapah district, not far from the village of Pottapi. The village Naritirēvula is the same as the modern Attirāla in the Pullampet taluk. It is called in the local Telugu inscriptions Araturēvula and in Tamil Tiruvarattirai. In the latter it is stated to have been situated in Pottapi-nāḍu, a sub-division of Mērpākkai-nāḍu in Adhirājendracōla-maṇḍalam. There is a famous shrine of Paraśurāma in this place, and an inscription⁵² of Śaka 1198 refers to the shrines of Bhairava and Rāmanātha. Two inscriptions⁵³ of the 17th century refer to two other deities, Trā-tēśvarasvāmi and Guddaṇḍara-svāmi by name, but no Sahēśa is referred to anywhere in the local inscriptions. It was perhaps an early shrine that developed later in Śaka 1198 into the Bhairava shrine.

Mandara is the same as the village referred to by that name in the grant of Śrikanṭha.⁵⁴ Pāka is probably a mistake for Lem-bāka⁵⁵ or its shortened form. Lem-bāka, or in its Tamil form Nem-pākkam or Nenpākkai was evidently quite famous in those days as seen from the large number of inscriptions recording gifts to its two temples, some of them dated as early as the reign of Virarājendracōla.

The name Inumbrōli does not survive in that form to-day. However, we may note that it existed somewhere quite near Nandalur, since in an inscription⁵⁶ at Nandalur is recorded the decision of Manmasiddha (the son of Tikka I of the Nellore branch of the Cōlas) as follows. 'The Brahmins represented their grievance to king Manumasiddha who sent for the cultivators of Inumbrōli and made an enquiry.' Not far from Nandalur we have now a place called Poli. Though the earliest inscription⁵⁷ so far discovered in this place is dated only in Śaka 1208, it seems to have been at that time an important shrine of a deity referred to as Kariya-mānikyārāya and Karumānikkarāya-Perumāḷ. In a record of the time of Rājarāja this place is referred to as Puḍōli.⁵⁸ It is possible to suggest that the original name of this place was Inumbrōli, which

52. Rangacharya : Lists cd. p. 17, 655.

53. *Ibid.* cd 656 and 657.

54. *Vide ante* p. 3f.

55. Rangacharya : Lists cd 697 (422 of 1911), and 699 (424 of 1911).

56. *Ibid.* cd 794 (580 of 1907).

57. *Ibid.* cd 847 (408 of 1911).

58. *Ibid.* cd 848 (407 of 1711).

changed in course of time to Puḍōli and Poli. Both the forms Inumbrōli and Pōli are given in the present inscription. In an early Telugu inscription published by Mr. M. Somasekhara Sarma, a still more ancient form of the name is found, that is, Inpuḷōli.⁵⁹ Mr. Somasekhara Sarma has clearly shown⁶⁰ how ḷ changed into ḍ and ḷ and even ḥ and ṛ citing the following examples :—

cōḷa→cōḍa→cōḷa
mēḷāmbā→mēhāmbā
pḷolnāṇḍu → prōlnāṇḍu.
cēmbḷōlu→cebrōlu.

So Puḷōli could have changed into purōli, prōli and prōli. We have seen that it has also another form Puḍōli. We may safely conclude that Inpuḷōli of the Cōḷa-mahārāja, inscription from Poṭḷadurti-Mālepāḍu, and Inumbrōli or Prōli of the Madras Museum plates is the same as the modern Poli.

The inscription gives no detail to help us in identifying the donor Balliya-cōḷa mahārāja, beyond stating that he belonged to the Cōḷa family. But the name bears an unmistakable resemblance to the names of the Cōḷa rulers of Koṇidena, and for this reason we may as well connect them with the Cōḷas of Koṇidena. There is a certain Ballaya-dēva-cōḍa of this branch for whom we have the date A.D. 1106—7.⁶¹ On grounds of chronology and similarity of name we may therefore identify Balliya-cōḷa-mahārāja of the present record with this Cōḍa-ballaya-cōḍa of Koṇidena.

The main difficulty in the way of such an identification is the fact that the present record relates to a grant of villages in Rēnāḍu while the Cōḷa rulers of Koṇidena seem to have had no connection with Rēnāḍu. However, they claim that their ancestor Dasavarman ruled in Rēnāḍu, and several of them added the term Pottapi to their names,⁶² thus indicating their ancient connection with Pottapi-nāḍu or the village of Pottapi, the most important place in Rēnāḍu. So there is nothing improbable in these rulers having been in Pottapi or Rēnāḍu originally, and then migrating to Koṇidena, sometime perhaps in the beginning of the 12th century.

59. Vyāsa-saṅgrahamu. Poṭḷadurti-Mālepāḍ ins., p. 310.

60. *Ibid.* p. 306f.

61. Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy, 1899-1900, p. 18.

62. Rangacharya : Lists, cd 228 (168 of 1899) & cd 239 (179 of 1899).

The reasons for such a migration are not far to seek. We find the inscriptions of a certain chief called Betta and Vimalāditya about A.D. 1122 and 1125,⁶³ who seem to be the subordinates of the Cōḷas. These give place a little later to another family of rulers beginning with Mallidēva I, who were the cousins of the Nellore branch of the Cōḷas. Evidently during the conflict between the Cāḷukyas of Kalyān and the Cōḷas, this region suffered a good deal, and since these rulers (i.e. Cōḷas of Rēnāḍu) could not win the favour of the Cōḷas, the other branch succeeded in driving them away and establishing themselves in this region with the backing of the Cōḷas.⁶⁴

[In this article the author uses c for ch. and ṣ for sh. The Text of Inscriptions and Plates will follow in the next issue.—
EDITOR.]

63. *Ibid.* cd. 797 (583 of 1907) & cd. 793 (579 of 1907).

64. This does not mean that the Cōḷas grew hostile towards them. They were still in the Cōḷa kingdom, but in one of its outlying regions.

Monserrate on Akbar's Army

By

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

IN this Journal for August 1935, Mr. Rao Sahab cited (p. 218) Father Anthony Monserrate as an authority in support of his contention that Mogul officers were under obligation to maintain contingents of infantry as well as cavalry. The translation of Monserrate's *Commentarius* on which he relied can in fact be read in this sense, though not without some incidental difficulties; but it is elegant rather than precise, and the subject is of sufficient interest to justify examination in the light of Monserrate's actual words. His Latin does not go easily into neat English, and in the following version no attempt has been made to do anything but render his actual words and reproduce the order of his sentences; but I have numbered the clauses for facility of reference.

Monserrate started to describe Akbar's army—horse, foot, and elephants—as he saw it on the march against Mirza Muhammad Hakim in the year 1581, but he was led into a lengthy digression on the elephants, to him a novel feature in war. Having disposed of them, he went on as follows (*Memoirs* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. III, p. 585.) (1) "To return, however, from this digression, all the infantry, armed with a variety of weapons, take part in war, but the whole force of war lies in the cavalry; consequently he [Akbar] does not shrink from the heavy expenditure whereby he may preserve his empire protected by forces of cavalry always (as far as possible) at full strength.

(2) "For (apart from the forces which follow leaders like hereditary masters, and comprise cavalry, infantry and elephants, paid by these same leaders from the revenue of the provinces handed over to them by the King), he pays from his treasury 45,000 horse, 5,000 elephants, and many thousands of foot.

(3) "For it is an old-established practice and custom that territories acquired by war are not given by the King to anyone in perpetual right, but (after a certain amount of revenue has been assessed on them for the King's treasury) they are made over as provinces to be governed by leading men. These then distribute the cities, towns and villages among their troops, and pay them

either from the lands assigned to them or from the revenue. For the King sees to it most carefully that each one of them shall receive provinces which are sufficient for the forces under his orders to live respectably and without poverty; so that one who has two regiments is assigned a more productive province than one who has a single regiment only."

In interpreting this passage it is necessary to bear in mind that Monserrate was thinking in terms of the European military organisation of the sixteenth century, and was naturally inclined to stress those features of Akbar's army which came to him as novelties. Thus he begins by emphasising the exceptional importance attached to cavalry; it is true that the infantry fought, but the safety of the empire was essentially a matter of cavalry, and it was with them that Akbar was primarily concerned. The concluding words of clause (1), "always (as far as possible) at full strength" must refer to the struggle which Akbar carried on to make the contingents furnished by his officers a reality. As I have shown in an article which is about to appear in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, he succeeded to an army in which the effective strength of the cavalry fell far below the nominal; in his eleventh year (1566) he instituted the novelty of *suwār*, or trooper-rank, requiring each officer to maintain a fixed number of troopers always ready for service; and, when fraud persisted, he introduced the branding regulations (1573), which at last gave him an effective cavalry force of approximately the prescribed strength. Evidently the topic of effective strength was still of interest when Monserrate was at court.

In clause (2), we have, first, the parenthetical mention of troops under hereditary leaders. In the translation used by Mr. Rao Sahab these troops are taken out of parenthesis and given a separate position further on; and this transposition, explains, I think, his identification of them with the contingents maintained by officers. That identification cannot, however, be founded on the text as it stands. If Monserrate had thought that officers held hereditary positions, he would have been ruled out of court as a witness ignorant of the very elements of his subject; but he did not think this, for in clause (3) he made it plain that appointments were made purely at the King's pleasure and were not hereditary. The parenthesis is a precise description, not of officers' contingents, but of the local forces called *būmī*, which the *Ain* tells us numbered over four millions: they comprised horse, foot, and elephants, and they were furnished by the Chiefs, or zamindars, whose position

was in fact hereditary. The only flaw in the description is the statement that their 'provinces' were handed over to them by the King: actually they were allowed to retain their hereditary territories, but this distinction would not have presented itself to Monserrate, who was describing merely what he observed or was told. These local forces, though numerous, play practically no part in the fighting of the period as it is described in the contemporary chronicles, and Monserrate was doubtless reflecting the current opinion of their value when he disposed of them in a parenthesis: he could not possibly have treated the officers' contingents in this summary way. Incidentally it may be mentioned that the word 'province' is not to be taken in the precise sense of Suba, but rather as denoting in a general way a portion of the empire.

The clause we are considering thus tells us that, excluding the local forces, Akbar's effective army consisted of 45,000 horse, 5,000 elephants, and an indefinite number of foot soldiers. The size of the figures shows, what is equally apparent from the language, that this is the whole army, palace troops and officers' contingents taken together. The idea that Akbar had anything like 45,000 horse, apart from the contingents, is ruled out by the military history of the period; and the number given is just about what might be expected in the known conditions. We possess no record of the trooper-rank held by Akbar's officers, but we know that it was commonly much lower numerically than the personal (*zāt*) rank; the inflation of trooper-rank was the work of Jahangir. It is true that the words 'he pays from his treasury', standing by themselves, might suggest that these numbers represented only the palace troops; but they do not stand by themselves, for they are explained in the next clause, which shows that Monserrate regarded payment by assignment as the same thing as payment from the treasury.

In clause (3) we have laid stress on another feature of Akbar's system which took Monserrate by surprise. He was accustomed to a hereditary nobility, with dukes, or counts, or barons, created on the occasion of each territorial conquest: he found that Akbar organised his conquests in provinces, assessed them to revenue, and then assigned them for a time to some of his officers. That is a precise statement of the system disclosed in the chronicles of the period; and his further observation that Akbar took great pains to ensure that assignments were appropriate is entirely in accordance with the story of the Valuation of the empire which I told in Chapter IV of *the Agrarian System of Moslem India* (Cambridge, 1929).

The remaining statement, that an officer sub-assigned his as-

signment among his troops, is one for which I do not know of any contemporary authority, but it was certainly the practice at some periods, and there is no difficulty in believing that the practice was in force under Akbar. It will be noticed that Monserrate does not assert that sub-assignment was universal; some troops were so paid, but others were paid from the revenue collected by the principal assignee.

Scrutiny of Monserrate's actual words thus shows that he did not say anything to support the view that Mogul officers were under obligation to maintain contingents of Infantry. I may add that the passage is not altogether an easy one, and that I am indebted to the expert staff of the Bodleian Library for generous assistance in its interpretation.

The Incident of Javli

By

MR. BANKEY BEHARI MISRA

A NUMBER of incidents are associated with the life of Shivaji. These incidents throw a flood of light upon his character and his skill, his dexterity and his genius. A study of them, such as, the incidents of Afzal Khan, of Shāista Khan, of the Loot of Surat, of his visit to Agra, constitutes problems of profound interest, both historical and popular. His responsibility in the affair of Javli, which forms the subject of discussion here, is equally significant inasmuch as it is representative of his character and policy.

A diversity of opinions and views exists with regard to the incident at Javli. The first school of historians holds that the execution of Chandra Rao of Javli was an act, not of murder, not of treachery, but political in nature committed under dire political exigencies. The second school of historians, however, gives it a colour of treachery and murder effected under motives of personal aggrandisement and selfish gain. Of the latter, Sir Jadunath Sarkar stands as the pre-eminent exponent who has alleged against Shivaji the charge of a "deliberate murder and organised treachery; nay, of "premeditated murder for personal gain and not a pardonable homicide done in self-defence or in the heated blood of an open fight."¹ With a view to affording an adequately satisfactory solution of the problem in hand and calculating, though not mathematically, as to which way the probable truth lies, it would be desirable and profitable as well on our part to examine critically "the most probable reconstruction of the Javli affair"² by Sir Jadunath Sarkar. His story runs thus:

"The then Chandra Rao, named Krishnaji and eighth in succession from the founder, was a boy of sixteen and all his business was conducted by his kinsman, Hanumant Rao More who was his diwān. Raghunath Ballal Korde (and not Atre, as the latter was not *sabnis*), under Shivaji's orders visited Hanumant (the diwān or person who really ruled the state) with a pretended offer of marri-

age between his master and the late Chandra Rao's daughter, and treacherously slew him at a private meeting. He escaped unscathed and quickly brought Shivaji to the scene with a vast army. Javli was captured after six hour's fighting, and several members of the More's family were taken prisoner. But Chandra Rao himself was either absent from the place or had fled away before its fall. He took refuge in Raigarh (a fort belonging to him). Shivaji invested it and gained possession of it by negotiations. The two boys, Krishnaji Chandra Rao and his younger brother Baji Rao More, were carried away by Shivaji to Puna and there the elder one was beheaded. His offence is alleged by some modern theorists to have been the opening of correspondence with the Adil Shahi Government for recovering his heritage,—which would be a quite natural and legitimate desire."³

Now, a critical perusal of the said story of Javli, as we may call it, would lead us to conclude that the idea of a treacherous murder has been borrowed from an unscrupulous exploitation of the Bakhars, particularly, of the Sabhasad and the 91, Kalmi Bakhar. At places, however, where they fail to yield materials sufficient for the completion of the above structural story, attempts appear to have been made to invent new facts, although imaginary, so that it may look organic and, therefore, believable.⁴ For the sake of convenience, we shall proceed with an attempt to show the unreliability of the authorities that have been utilised in order to propound the theory of treachery and murder, and then to criticise Sarkar's statement quoted above.

From his bibliographical notes in 'Shivaji and His Times' we learn that he has classified the Bakhars, which constitute the prop of his theory, under the heading "Materials rejected." "They", he writes, "do not make the least pretence of being based on old written records, but contain loose traditions (often palpably false) in the latest and most perverted form, a maximum of legends, supernatural marvels and bazar gossip with a minimum of facts and dates. . . ."⁵ One feels astounded when one finds him reposing reliability and authenticity in them. For instance, he writes: "There is no reason to disbelieve such an authority (the Sabhasad)

1. Sarkar: Shivaji and His Times (1929 edn.), pp. 44, 45.

2. Sarkar: Shivaji and His Times (1929 edn.), p. 43.

3. Sarkar: Shivaji and His Times, p. 44.

4. The description of "the late Chandra Rao" having a daughter to be married is quite a new personal creation, as we shall show later.

5. Sarkar: Shivaji and His Times, p. 412.

in a matter like this (the affair of Javli) ",⁶ in spite of the fact that the pages of the book have been "composed from memory without the help of written memoranda or documents",⁷ about thirty years after the incident took place.⁸ This self-contradiction is perhaps the production of an unsettled conviction.

Secondly, it is curiously doubtful how both Chandra Rao and Hanumant Rao should have been killed on the same excuse of matrimonial alliance with them, and that also consecutively; Thirdly, we are told by the Sabhasad that Raghunath Ballal was dispatched with 125 of his choice swordsmen to conduct a negotiation with Chandra Rao. This could not have escaped the notice of the rulers of Javli. There is an explicit mention in the Sabhasad that Chandra Rao granted an audience to them (the swordsmen with Raghunath Ballal). This, being tantamount to dictating terms at the point of the sword, could not have failed to open the eyes of Chandra Rao and his able minister, Hanumant Rao, who could never allow themselves to be so easily entrapped without having taken adequate measures to meet the imminent danger of the situation. The Sabhasad Bakhar owing to its failure to stand the test of scrutiny and a careful examination, cannot be relied upon.

Let us now proceed with what other Bakhars have to say. Chitnis agrees with the Sabhasad, except in certain matters of detail. Hanumant Rao has been described as a *Kārbhāri*, not a brother as the latter maintains, of Chandra Rao. Further, the two brothers, Krishnaji Rao and Baji Rao, are said to have been put to death near Puna.⁹

According to the 91, Kalmi Bakhar, Chandra Rao More had some handsome daughters. Shivaji wanted to seek the hand of one of them. Therefore, he "sent Raghunath Ballal Sabnis on an embassy to Hanumant Rao to negotiate a marriage connection..... Hanumant Rao came across the threshold into the courtyard to meet him. Immediately he was treacherously killed with a

6. Sarkar : Shivaji and His Times, p. 43.

7. Sarkar : Shivaji and His Times, p. 412.

8. Sarkar's contention that Krishnaji Anant Sabhasad wrote his book only fourteen years after Shivaji's death, and, therefore, its reliability, does not help us so far as the question under discussion is concerned. The book is old by thirty years, and not by 14 years, in relation to this incident, as Sarkar tries to impress on his readers.

9. Sen : Shivachhatrapati, p. 168.

dagger," Raghunath then escaped along with his men and informed Shivaji of this murder. Shivaji then captured Javli by laying siege to it, and, after "six hours fighting, the place fell into his hands. Baji Rao and Krishnaji More were taken with their wives . . . Shivaji returned to Puna with Chandra Rao More. Thereupon Baji Rao and Krishnaji Rao More . . . were beheaded at Nimjaga to the south of Puna. There were their wives and the girls of marriageable age; they were set free; no marriage connection was made."¹⁰

The Shiva Digvijaya informs us that the daughter, who formed the subject of negotiation, was one of Hanumant Rao who was killed by Raghunath Ballal. Secondly, Chandra Rao fought to the last till he succumbed in the battle field. His two sons were captured, brought to Puna and later beheaded on a charge of perfidy, because they were having secret correspondence with the Government of Bijapur for their escape and restoration of the lost property.

Thus, without unnecessarily going into details, which are beyond the province of this small essay, we may remark that almost all the said traditional narratives, upon which Sarkar bolsters up the idea of treachery, lack the elements of consistency, a scientific and reasonable background for the incident; and are replete with genealogical uncertainty, and absence of chronological data. All of them put together failed to yield materials which can enable us to ascertain, with adequate precision, as to who the real Chandra Rao was, how and why his life was put an end to, and similar other problems. Consequently, these Bakhars are defective and unreliable and as such, cannot contribute to the supply of sufficiently solid materials for a satisfactory reconstruction of the Javli affair.

A CRITICAL PERUSAL OF SARKAR'S THEORY AND "THE MOST PROBABLE RECONSTRUCTION":—

Based as the theory of murder is upon untrustworthy sources as shown above, it cannot stand the test of reason and logic. For the genealogical source of information he utilises the More's Bakhar without acknowledging it. Further he writes, ¹¹ "Raghunath Ballal Korde, under Shivaji's orders, visited Hanumant (the Diwan or person who really ruled the state) with a pretended offer of marri-

10. Rawlinson and Patwardhan : Source Book of Maratha History, Vol. I, page 54.

11. Sarkar : Shivaji and His Times, 41.

age between his master and the late Chandra Rao's daughter and treacherously slew him at a private meeting." In this we do not find any explicit mention as to who that late Chandra Rao was. By the More's Bakhar, however, we are told that Daulat Rao was the last ruler in the line of the family of Chayaji Rao, and with him (Daulat Rao), for the lack of a son, the line became extinct. "There upon Mankai Ai, Daulat Rao's mother, adopted Krishnaji More, a descendant of Yaswant Rao of Shiothar line."¹² This Krishnaji was eighth in succession from the founder.¹³ By the late Chandra Rao he perhaps means Daulat Rao, but he does not admit the fact of adoption by Mankai Ai for reasons best known to him.

Let us proceed further. The whole structure of the story is based upon his own creation of a new imaginary fact. He says that the daughter to be married belonged to the late Chandra Rao, and therefore she was the sister of Krishnaji Rao. None of the sources available, however, supports this invention and as such it cannot find acceptance at the hands of any student of history. If the daughter in question belonged to the then Chandra Rao, things become extremely incredulous, and it is impossible for us to suppose that, a boy of sixteen as Krishnaji Rao was, he should have a daughter or daughters of marriageable age. The introduction, or rather, the creation of a new fact of the late Chandra Rao having daughters to be married could avert, to some extent, the absurdity underlying the said supposition. With this end in view, perhaps, our learned historian caused daughters to be born to the late Chandra Rao. The function of the historian, however, is not to give birth to new facts, but to interpret them as they are. Interpretation, not interpolation, is the work of a historian. The latter leads to historical perversion, and as such should be abandoned.

The untrustworthiness and impossibility of the story of marriage can therefore, be attested on the following grounds: (i) The then Chandra Rao being a boy of sixteen, whose affairs were conducted by Hanumant Rao, an able minister, could not have had a daughter of marriageable age,

(ii) Both Chandra Rao and Hanumant Rao could not have been entrapped on the same excuse of matrimonial alliance,

(iii) The carrying of arms and choice-swordsmen¹⁴ was a sufficient indication of the loss of confidence and the existence of

12. Rawlinson and Patwardhan, p. 56.

13. I shall give the genealogical table later.

14. Sen: Shivachhatrapati.

hostility, as we shall see later. The marriage alliance would not be a possibility. The Mores were not fools to allow themselves to be beguiled and not to have taken measures to safeguard their person and property.

Rancour and hostility¹⁵ existing already, to initiate a matrimonial negotiation sounds entirely incompatible with reason and commonsense. If Shivaji had a desire for it, he would have easily accomplished it when, according to the 91 Kalmi Bakhar, the so-called daughters had fallen into his hands. Marriage could neither be his motive nor his means. The theory of murder based upon it, therefore, loses all its vitality and ultimately collapses. There is another misconception. Sir Jadunath Sarkar writes that, according to the Shiva Bharat, "Shivaji took Javli after slaying in battle Baji and Krishna Raj and their father Chandra Raj . . ."¹⁶ The word used in the Shiva Bharat is Nigrhya (निग्रह), which means having conquered, siezed, or captured, and not "after slaying", as Sarkar translates it.¹⁷ This also cannot help him in getting his theory fully established.

One of the leading factors that invalidates the authenticity of the said Bakhars, which constitutes the source of information for Sarkar with regard to this incident, is that they hopelessly fail to satisfy the logical aspect of historical laws. We know that the laws of history are governed by the well-known principle of cause and effect. There is no effect without a cause. The very existence of an effect presupposes a number of causes preceding a particular incident which prepare the background for it to rest upon. Great and momentous historical events are the result, not of a night, not of a day or two, but of years together. They are the production of a multiplicity of interactions of diverse forces. As such, for the incident of Javli to have taken place there must have been a gradual and successive development of rancorous feeling and bitter discontent before they could have assumed a concrete form. In the failure of Sarkar's theory of the Javli affair in explaining this problem lies its futility, its worthlessness which therefore, call for its rejection.

There are other source of information, other authorities, which have escaped the notice of Sarkar. These authorities, if carefully

15. See Page 13.

16. Sarkar: Shivaji and His Times, p. 43,

17. निग्रह बनाजराज तं कृष्णराज च दुर्मदम् । xviii.4-6.

examined, afford enough materials to give a solution of the problems raised in the preceding paragraphs. They are: (i) The Jedhe Chronology, (ii) The Jedhe Kareena, (iii) Contemporary letters (Shivakalin Patra-Sar-Sangraha-PSS), (iv) the Shivabharat, and (v) a 'Short Bakhar of the Mores,' or the More's Bakhar, as we shall briefly call it.

With regard to the authenticity and reliability of the Jedhe Chronology Sir Jadunath Sarkar himself writes: "Its correctness depends upon three conditions, viz., (a) the Jedhe's personal knowledge of what they wrote down, (b) their promptness in recording every event after its happening instead of trusting it to a dim and distant memory, (c) the accuracy of the transcriber of the only manuscript that has come down to us."¹⁸ He further speaks of it as a "new and very valuable source for the political history of this most interesting and least known formative period of the Maratha state (17th century), . . ."¹⁹ It is extremely curious why such a valuable source has been rejected.

The Jedhe chronology as well as the *Shivakaleen Patra Sāra-Sanghrahā* forms quite contemporary evidence for the subject under dispute here. It would not be out of place if a passing mention of Kanhoji Jedhe's acquaintance and intimate knowledge of the then political situation be made here. The P. S. S. (553) dated June, 1649 shows that Afzal Khan was appointed Subedar of the Wai Pargana the administration of which he began to organise more efficiently, and planned to lead a campaign against Javli. The reason was that Chandra Rao of Javli had lately died and wrong persons (Gairloki- गैरलोकी) were rebelling and taking possession of it. There was anarchy and rebellion. Afzal Khan wanted to restore order and asked Kanhoji Jedhe for help.²⁰ But as the latter had made a solemn promise to Shahaji, just after they were released together, to stand by Shivaji and not to betray his patriotic cause,²¹ he communicated the substance of Afzal Khan's letter to Shivaji in reply to which the latter wrote to him the desirability of going to Afzal Khan in compliance with his solicitation, but simultaneously suggested to him the idea of effecting all possible measures of safety and precaution, lest treachery should overtake him.²² There are

18. Sarkar: Shivaji and His Times, p. 409.

19. Quoted in Rawlinson and Patwardhan, p. 26.

20. P.S.S. 557.

21. Rawlinson and Patwardhan, pp. 28-29.

22. P.S.S. 558.

other letters, particularly P. S. S. Nos. 564 and 567 which prove that Hanumant Rao had taken illegal possession of the valley of Jor, and that Afzal Khan wanted to replace him by Kanhoji Jedhe, who was thus in the full possession of the knowledge of the nature of the political development since the death²³ of Chandra Rao of Javli (1648). A man on the spot as he was, his chronology must merit the maximum of consideration and confidence. Any other account or evidence in harmony with it should also be regarded equally trustworthy.

Versions of the more reliable authorities:—

The Mores' Bakhar supplies information of a trustworthy and logical character, and its account, as we shall find during the course of our discussion, bears striking coincidence with that of the Jedhe Chronology. According to it, Javli had first belonged to the Gujars, the Malmulkars, the Shirkes and the Mohites, although there was no firm kinship before the first Chandra Rao who acquired it under the influence of Bijapur. The first Chandra Rao Raje More, his son Chayaji Raje, then Bhikaji Raje, then Shodapi Raje, then Yesaji Raje, then Gondaji Raje, then Balaji Chandra Rao Raje, then Daulat Rao Raje;—thus there were eight men in all. The heirs of Chayaji Raje ruled over Javli for seven generations up to Daulat Rao. With Daulat Rao, the family of Chayaji Raje became extinct. Thereupon Mankai Ai, the mother of Daulat Rao, adopted Krishnaji Baji Raje, a descendant of Yaswant Rao of Shivther line, and installing him at Javli as the king, carried on the government²⁴

When Shivaji came to power, he sent a message to Chandra Rao Krishnaji More, "You call yourself 'Raje' without propriety. We are the true king. You must not therefore call yourself by the title Raje. You must serve us, and maintaining yourself by your own territory render due service. Otherwise if you are disloyal and plot against us, we shall conquer Javli and keep you in confinement."²⁵ Chandra Rao gave no heed to it; on the other hand, he began to show clear signs of opposition and open defiance of Shivaji's authority, who thereupon wrote to Chandra Rao: "You surrender Javli, cease to call yourself Raje, . . ."²⁵ and that way the quarrel began to grow chronic. Discontent was piled upon dis-

23. P.S.S. 557.

24. Rawlinson and Patwardhan, pp. 55-56.

25. Rawlinson and Patwardhan, p. 56.

content, till hostilities broke out and assumed the appearance of an actual fight. Shivaji sent about two thousand foot against Javli under Surya Rao Kakde who laid siege to it. After a month, however, Krishnaji More left Javli and took refuge in Raigarh. "Shivaji advanced against it. Chandra Rao held out for three months at Raigarh. Then peace was made. Javli was captured by Shivaji Maharaj, Raigarh also fell to him."²⁶

Thus, according to it, an actual fight took place in which Krishnaji had to acknowledge defeat and cede Javli and, later Raigarh, to his adversary Shivaji. We are further told that Krishnaji More was well treated but kept imprisoned to avert any further possibility of an insurrection, although Shivaji had "intentions that Chandra Rao should be allowed to have a few men and that Javli should be restored to him."²⁷ He was, however, to enjoy the status of a subordinate power and not that of a Raje, which had proved the real cause of the whole conflict. But he was ultimately executed on a charge of perfidy, because he was detected to have opened correspondence with a Mansabdar of the Bijapur Government with a motive to subvert the terms of the treaty.

The *Jedhe* chronology supplements the account of the More's Bakhar, although its narration of facts is short and concise. We are informed that "Shivaji went and captured Javli on the 31st December, 1655 or the 15th January, 1656. At that time he took with himself the contingents of Kanhoji Jedhe Deshmukh and Bandal and Silimkar, and also that of the Deshmukhs of Mawal, and he fought with the help of these forces and took Javli." Further, "Shivaji took Rairee (15th April—14th May 1656). With him were Kanhoji Jedhe, Deshmukh of Bhor and the Bandal and Silimkar Deshmukas and the forces of Mawal; Haibat Rao and Balaji Nayak Silimkar mediated, and Chandra Rao got down from the fort; . . ."²⁸

The *Jedhe Karina* gives the following account: "In course of time when an expedition against Javli was planned, Kanhoji Naik, and other Deshmukhs were summoned together with their contingents and sent against the Mores of Javli who had already been routed by Kanhoji and who had fled from Javli. Later, however, Hanu-

mant Rao More renewed the insurrection in the Jor valley against whom Shivaji sent Raghunath Ballal Sabnis with the body of troops from Puna. Raghunath Ballal killed Hanumant Rao and took possession of Jor.

"Soon after Shivaji himself went against Javli with the troops of the Deshmukhs and captured it on Paush Shukla 14th, (31st. December 1655) of the Manmath Year 1577 Saka. When Chandra Rao lost Javli he took shelter at Rairee where Shivaji besieged him. . . . He (Haibat Rao Silimkar) mediated for Chandra Rao with Shivaji and brought about a meeting between them. Negotiations took place and Rairee was captured in the Durmukh Year 1578 Saka . . ."²⁹

The *Shivabhārat* holds that Shivaji took Javli after having conquered Chandra Raj and also his son and minister.³⁰ Further Shivaji took Javli by conquering Baj Raj and Krishna Raj, . . .³¹

Upon the strength of these sources which exhibit a happy harmony of narration, a more probable, a more scientific and logical reconstruction of the Javli incident, than one by Sarkar, can be safely made. It would be as follows:—The equivalent of the Mores in Northern India is perhaps Mauryas from Murā. A More family had established itself in Maharashtra during the regime of Yusuf Adil Shah (1489-1510). His son Ismail Adil Shah (1510-1534) had to wage war against Burham Nizam Shah (1508-1583). In one of the expeditions led by Ismail against Burham Nizam Shah, one Yashawant Rao More gave proof of his valour and war-like qualities in favour of the former. In recognition of the merit thus displayed and proved, the Bijapur Government made a grant of the estate of Javli to his father who entitled himself as the First Chandra Rao—a title which the head of the family bore hereditarily thenceforward. The strength of their sword brought to them enormous wealth and power, lands, persons and prosperity. They ruled for eight generations till with the last ruler, Daulat Rao, the family of Chayāji Rao became extinct. The mother of Daulat Rao, Mankai Ai, adopted Krishnaji More, a descendant of Yashawant Rao of the Shivther line. The following table will make the point more clear and intelligible:

26. Rawlinson and Patwardhan, p. 57.

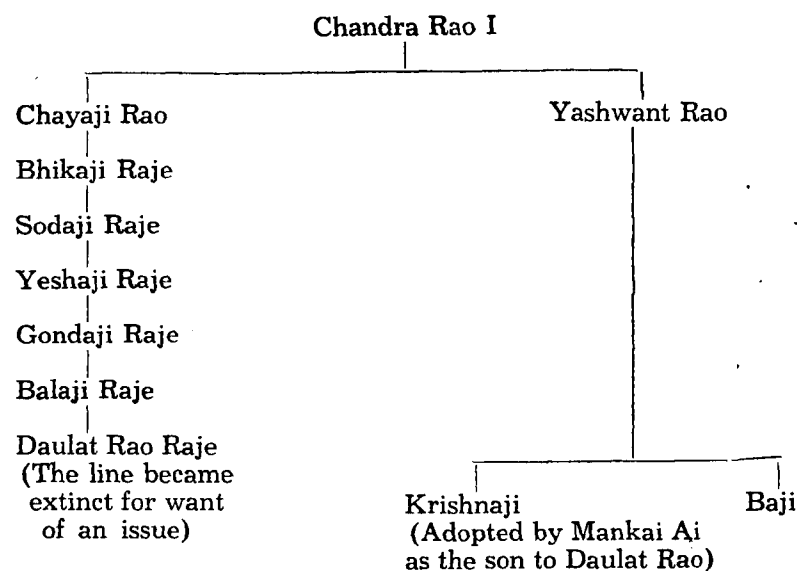
27. Rawlinson and Patwardhan, p. 29.

28. Rawlinson and Patwardhan, p. 29.

29. Sardesai: Shivaji Souvenir, p. 52.

30. Chapter xvii, 16.

31. Chap. xviii, 4-7.



The then Chandra Rao was Krishnaji More and Baji More was his brother.

Daulat Rao must have died before 1649. Because PSS. 557, dated July 1648, written by Afzal Khan to Kanhoji Jedhe, indicates, though indirectly, that Chandra Rao had died and wrong persons (Gairloki—गैरलोकी) had found place in the territory of Javli.³² The Shivabharat tells us that about the same time (1649), nay, a little earlier, Shivaji took the famous Javli and established Chandra Rao in it, the Chandra Rao who coveted that place.³³

Daulat Rao's death must have been followed by anarchy and confusion, a usual phenomenon in Indian history with regard to matters of succession. Afzal Khan was therefore sent and appointed Subedar to the Wai Pargana in June, 1649.³⁴ In such a state of affairs,³⁵ it would have been a herculean task for Krish-

32. P.S.S. 557. "चन्द्राय कदीम मयत (dead) जालियावरि गैरलोकी पैस करून बलकाविले आहे..."

33. Shivabharat, Chap. XIII, 43. गृहता महिता लोके जयवल्ली मय पुरा ।
स्थापितश्चन्द्रराजश्च तस्यां तदभिलाषुकः॥

From it we may infer that Shivaji established Chandra Rao in the sense of supplementing and aiding the said act of adoption against the opposition of Bijapur.

34. P.S.S. 553.

35. Afzal Khan wanted to occupy Javli for Bijapur and, therefore, asked for the help of Kanhoji. The new succession was, to him, not legitimate and hence Gairloki गैरलोकी ; P.S.S. 557.

naji More to have made a successful bid for the throne but for the opportune and momentous help extended by Shivaji who assented to the adoption of Krishnaji by Mankai Ai. With it fits in the statement of the *Shivabhārat* that Shivaji established Chandra Rao in Javli, as quoted before (p. 12) ; and therefore the latter must have acknowledged his inferiority and fealty to the former whose object underlying all these was to have created a congenial and favourable situation for the extension of his territory towards the south. And if Krishnaji More had retained the spirit of subordination to Shivaji, all the later complications would not have arisen. But three years³⁶ experience was sufficient to make him feel that Chandra Rao was a wolf in the guise of a lamb, and could not be easily tamed. Shivaji had, therefore, every right to interfere if the ruler of the place refused to act in conformity with the interest of his ideals. And we actually find that Shivaji granted a *kaul* or assurance to the Patil of Birwadi in 1651-52 against Chandra Rao who had ousted the Patil and had been misappropriating the proceeds therefrom.³⁷ Other causes of discontent also began to manifest themselves. Protection was extended by Krishnaji More to one Ragho Trimbak who had been arrested by Shivaji's men ; and, Ramoji Wandekar along with his son, was put to death by Krishnaji Rao's orders particularly, in Shivaji's territory.^{37-a} It should be noted here that the account of the Mores' Bakhar and that of the *Shivabhārat* are largely in agreement with each other ; because, according to the former also, Shivaji objected to Chandra Rao's having entitled himself as the Raje. "You call yourself Raje without propriety."³⁸ The thing is that the family of the Raje had already become extinct with the death of Daulat Rao, and as the adoption had been aided by Shivaji, as we have already noted above,³⁹ the More had no right to call himself the Raje.

It would not be out of place to write a few words about the triangular character of the political situation of Javli during (1649-1655). On the one hand, Afzal Khan had been trying to restore it

36. The More's *Bakhar* writes that Krishnaji ruled for three years, and then it mentions the development of a conflict between Shivaji and the More. This means that Shivaji's measures both precautionary and preventive began to be adopted according to the necessity of the altered situation. When three years' persuasion failed coercion ensued.

37. P.S.S. 615.

37-A. P.S.S. 627, dated December, 1652.

38. Rawlinson and Patwardhan, p. 56.

39. See page 12, footnote 33.

to the Bijapur government; on the other, Shivaji was desirous to annex it to his own territory; and, finally, Krishnaji thought it *infra dignitatem* to submit to any of them; and, therefore, applied himself strenuously to retain it for himself. Kanhoji Jedhe was in a fix as to which way he should steer his course, whether to help Afzal Khan with whom hope-inspiring correspondence had been passing for the acquisition of Javli, or to side with Shivaji. But the solemn promise that he had made to Shahaji in 1649, to the effect that he would not betray the noble cause of Shivaji, kept him bound to it. Any violation of the pledge and action to the contrary, he thought, would be sacrilegious. His ultimate weight was therefore thrown upon the side of his Patron, though Afzal Khan was kept in suspense for a long time.

Thus, in the history of the event of Javli, we broadly notice three main stages. The first stage covered a period of about three years (1649-1652) and was characterised by peaceful relation between the two opponents. During all these times Afzal Khan was kept in suspense and was hopeful of Kanhoji's assistance against the Mores of Javli. When, however, Afzal came to learn that his wishes were never to be accomplished through the agency of Kanhoji, he looked for a diplomatic alliance with the More against Shivaji who was looked upon with an eye of construction both by Afzal and Chandra Rao, because in the absence of a palpable hope from the side of Bijapur Chandra Rao could not stir against Shivaji. These developments must have occupied from two to three years. During this second stage Shivaji, naturally conscious of the danger that would result from the said combination of Bijapur and the More, started to improve his means to meet the necessity of the situation. The third stage was one of actual measuring of strength. Thus we see that the ground was being prepared for the two contending parties to have eventually come to blows.

But a suitable opportunity was needed, which would serve to apply a match to the explosive already in store. And this was supplied by circumstantial factors favourable to Shivaji. For Muhammad Adil Shah was lying on his death-bed, and consequently, no army could be dispatched to the man in charge of Javli affairs due to factions, troubles and intrigues at the Court. Secondly, Bijapur had been involved in a war with the Portuguese in 1654, and thus, she could not have spared her energy and resources to deal with the situation at Javli on account of over-exhaustion and war effects. Thirdly, disorders took place in Kanakgiri and Afzal Khan was removed from the Wai pargana and shifted to Kanakgiri with a view

to restoring law and order.⁴⁰ Finally Bijapur and Aurangzeb were on the verge of a war with each other, which really followed the death of Muhammad Adil Shah. Taking advantage of the situation thus developed, Shivaji obtained permission of Aurangzeb for snatching away portions of the Bijapur territory.

The opportunity being ripe, Shivaji proceeded to utilise it to his best advantage. An expedition was organised under Kanhoji and other Deshmukhs who were summoned; Surya Rao Kakde, who was sent to Javli, according to the Mores' Bakhar, must have been one of them. The combined forces marched against Javli. The Jedhe Chronology and the Jedhe Kareena tell us that the final conquest of Javli was effected on Paush Sukla 14, (Dec. 31, 1655);^{40-a} and the Mores' Bakhar informs us that the fighting at Javli went on for a month; and the expedition against it therefore must have started its career in the beginning of November, 1655.⁴¹ Krishnaji had to experience a defeat, although he did not acknowledge it. He, however, fled to Raigarh and took refuge there. In the meantime Hanumant, who, as he had the courage and intrepidity to hold out even against Bijapur, must have been a bold and daring personality, rose in insurrection and defied Shivaji's authority. Raghunath Ballal was therefore sent along with a good number of choice swordsmen in order to annihilate the opposition organised by Hanumant Rao who was then killed. To complete the victory, Shivaji marched immediately and the acquisition of Javli was a foregone conclusion.

An efficient organisation and manoeuvre of troops for a successful siege of Raigarh must have occupied his time for a few days more after December, 31, 1655. The actual process began after the 15th January, 1656. Here we find that the account of the Jedhe Chronology, the Jedhe Kareena and the Mores' Bakhar are remarkably homogeneous, and hence the reliability of the Mores' Bakhar, according to which the siege of Raigarh lasted for three

40. P.S.S. 688, 702, 709.

40-A. *Shivapur Daftar Yadi*, an independent source gives exactly the same date, *Shivacharitra Pradip*, p. 50. *Shivapur Deshpande Chronology*, another independent source, supplements it,—*Shivacharitra Pradip*, p. 55.

41. From P.S.S. 567 we learn that Afzal Khan had already authorised Kanhoji to capture Javli and become its naik when the latter had demanded it in lieu of his services to be offered to the former against Hanumant Rao who had seized the valley of Jor. The authority thus obtained was used in heralding the patriotic ideals of Shivaji.

months. The Jedhe Chronology maintains that Shivaji took Raire about April 15-May 14, 1656;⁴² and, if the garrisoning of the fort began about the 15th of January, 1656 and it took a period of three months, its acquisition must have become an accomplished fact sometime in the range of time given by the Jedhe Chronology.

Let us proceed further. When Krishnaji lost all chance of success, Haibat Rao, one of the Deshmukhs who had accompanied Kanhoji and Shivaji to Raigarh, "mediated for Chandra Rao with Shivaji to bring about a meeting between them. Negotiations took place and Raire was captured."⁴³

It would appear curious and untrustworthy how one of Shivaji's Deshmukhs could be entrusted, by the other party, with the work of mediating to bring about negotiations. Our surprise, however, disappears when we learn that this Haibat Rao had been almost won over by Krishnaji More, and Shivaji had to write a long Letter^{43a} to Haibat Rao in which he showed that the latter was regarded with paternal care. Shivaji had thus to tax much of his energy and resources to neutralise the influence exercised by the More upon him. Hence, Haibat Rao, who had lately adhered to Krishnaji More and pacified by Shivaji, was supposed to be the fittest person to both parties for the business of negotiation. "Shivaji gave a fresh seal (issued a sanad) to Haibat Rao Silikar and made a division (of the property) between the two brothers."⁴⁴

Thus, in the light of the afore-said consideration, the acquisition of Javli and Raigarh was the result, not of a treacherous murder, but of battles and sieges, of negotiations and the terms of peace concluded between the two contending parties. All these took about six years for development, maturing and completion.

A grave source of danger as Krishnaji More was, Shivaji could not let him have his own way; he was therefore disarmed and imprisoned at Chakan. But a man of signal statesmanship and eminent shrewdness as Shivaji was, he would not like to antagonise the More for long, because Afzal Khan, on behalf of Bijapur, had strained all his nerves to occupy Javli for his master. When in 1655 he

42. Rawlinson and Patwardhan, p. 29; the Shivapurkar Deshpande chronology and the Shivapur Daftar Yadi give identical dates of the fall of Raigarh; see pages 50, 55 of the Shivacharitra Pradip.

43. Sardesai: Shivaji Souvenir, p. 52.

43-A. P.S.S. 708.

44. Rawlinson and Patwardhan, p. 29; Sardesai: Shivaji Souvenir, 52.

(Afzal) learnt that Kanhoji Jedhe had manifestly upset the balance, and that Javli slipped into the grip of Shivaji, he must have got wild; and the incident must have opened the eyes of Bijapur towards the rising sun, not in the East, but in the West, of his dominions. To nip this rising power in the bud, Afzal Khan was later sent against Shivaji. To these possibilities he was not unprovided. He therefore wanted that Krishnaji More be restored to Javli. "When Krishnaji More was with the Raje (Shivaji), it was the latter's intention that Chandra Rao should be allowed to have a few men and that his Javli should be restored to him, that he should be established in the former country as a servant..... Thus did Shivaji Maharaj decide."⁴⁵ This account of the Mores' Bakhar is supremely natural and consonant with the germ of the quarrel⁴⁶ which, with the lapse of time, took such a formidable shape and gave cause to a heap of controversy amongst historians.

The More's opening of correspondence with Ghorpade of Mudhol was, however, more than what Shivaji could connive at. Krishnaji More was consequently sentenced to death at Chakan.

Sir Jadunath Sarkar's rancorous sarcasm against the so-called modern theorists should not escape our notice. He writes: "His (Krishnaji's) offence is alleged by some modern theorists to have been the opening of correspondence with the Adilshahi Government for recovering his heritage—which would be a quite natural and legitimate desire"⁴⁷ In it we have chiefly two things to examine; the one is the charge against modern theorists, the other the question of "a natural and legitimate desire" to recover heritage. As regards the first, it should be remembered that the charge alleged against Chandra Rao was first asserted by Grant Duff on the strength of *Shivadigvijay*. With regard to the second it should be observed that the aforesaid adoption by Mankai Ai had not received the approval of Bijapur.⁴⁸ It was the superior strength of Shivaji's sword that had installed him (Krishnaji) on the throne. When once securely established in his position he began to give free play to his wishes and lost all sense of gratitude to Shivaji for the help he had rendered to him. And now, a prisoner of war and pensioner as he was, he had no right, whether legal or moral, to have indulged

45. Rawlinson and Patwardhan, p. 57.

46. Shivaji wanted that the More should not call himself 'Raje,' which implied independence. The latter's refusal of acquiescence led to further complications.

47. Sarkar: Shivaji and His Times, Ed. 1929, p. 44.

in opening a correspondence of that type ; and therefore the punishment that was meted out to him can claim every justification.

In the light of what has been said before, the theory of marriage and murder expounded by Sarkar can not hold water. It appears to have been a production of a biased mind, a prejudiced perusal, and an indiscriminate study and examination of materials.

A few words more and we finish. We have mentioned in earlier pages how Sarkar has commended the authenticity, correctness and indispensability of the Jedhe Chronology in the reconstruction of the political history of the Marathas particularly in its formative period (the seventeenth century). In spite of this it is disregarded ; nay, discarded wherever it is inconsistent with his purpose, and he adheres to those authorities which are incomplete, inconsistent, unreliable and unsupported by reason and logic. Another instance of a similar fantastic conclusion, as one in our own case here, is with regard to the date of the release of Shahaji from imprisonment. We know that Kanhoji Jedhe had been arrested and released along with Shahaji. The Jedhe Chronology—a more reliable authority than this is difficult and impossible, to obtain, because of personal knowledge particularly with regard to this release—maintains that Shahaji was released on the 16th May, 1649. . . .⁴⁸ This is not all. By P. S. S. 567, dated September 18, 1649, from Afzal Khan to Kanhoji Jedhe, we are told that the former authorised the latter for depriving Hanumant of the Jor valley and becoming the Naik of Javli. Another letter, written even earlier than this in July 1649 from Afzal Khan to Kanhoji Jedhe, shows that the latter was asked to interfere in the affairs of Javli on behalf of Bijapur. Kanhoji and therefore Shahaji must have been thus released before July 1649. There is no reason then to disbelieve the date given by the Jedhe Chronology and supplemented by the PSS. 557 and 567. It is extremely fanatical to distrust a man on the spot and trust one (Murad) at a remote distance who could not ascertain with ease and precision as to when Shahaji was released.

One thing more, Our learned historian, if I am permitted to remark, sometimes works miracles also. Randulla Khan, for instance, who had died in 1643⁵⁰ has been made to live and mediate for Shahaji's release in 1649.

48. P.S.S. 557 and 567.

49. Rawlinson and Patwardhan, p. 28.

50. P.S.S. 488 ; Kincaid, Vol. I, p. 143.

The Educational Reform of Lord William Bentinck

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THE period of Lord William Bentinck's administration in India witnessed a series of reforms, of which the last one was perhaps the most important. It was the educational reform of March 7, 1835. In order to appreciate the full significance of this reform, let us see what the background was, how much had been attempted and achieved by his predecessors, and in what direction the current was flowing.

In the early stages the East India Company was not required to look to the education of the Indians, because it was a mere commercial company. Even when the Company obtained the *Dīwānī* of Bengal in 1765 and began a political career, it continued to exhibit its former apathy to the cause of Indian education for another half a century. The Court of Directors of the East India Company concerned themselves principally with trade and acquisition of wealth. They were deterred from furthering the Indian education, because they were apprehensive of a political danger, viz., the loss of conquered territories from the diffusion of knowledge among Indians. Ignorance was the talisman on which, they thought, their power over the people and the safety of their possessions in India depended. To dispel this popular ignorance would have been, in their opinion, 'the most absurd and suicidal measure that could have been devised.' The typical opinion of the Directors can be had from the debate on the 1793 charter, when one of them is reported to have remarked that 'we have just lost America by our folly in having allowed the establishment of schools and colleges, and that it would not do for us to repeat the same act of folly in regard to India.'¹ For 20 years more the same feeling prevailed in England. In fairness to the Directors it might be urged that such was the general opinion of an average Englishman. Even Burke did not think that India should learn anything from England 'in letters, religion, commerce and agriculture.' Moreover, there was

1. Parliamentary Papers, Second Report of the Select Committee on Indian Territories (1853), p. 113.

no State system of education in England; and the British Government during this period was pledged to the policy of the maintenance of the *status quo*. The East India Company had not inherited such traditions from the Hindu and Muslim kings. Education was regarded in Mediæval India as a religious work. The kings, Hindu and Muslim, only patronised the learned. Lastly, the political turmoils of the period did not permit any consideration to this problem.

But although the diffusion of knowledge and education of the Indians was not regarded as a State duty till 1813, the attention of some individuals of high rank in the administration of India, some philanthropists, and the missionaries was drawn towards it, no doubt, due to widely different reasons in each case.

The attention of some Governors-General was drawn towards education because a change in the character of the East India Company forced upon the administrators of the Company's dominions in India the task of tackling the real problems of administration. The want of a large number of competent men was keenly felt. Hence Warren Hastings, on the request of some Muslims of distinction for the permanent establishment of a Madrasa (college) at Calcutta, so that the Muslims might become fit for the numerous offices of Government, founded the Calcutta Madrasa in 1781. The original intention of the founder appears to have been the promotion of a study of the Arabic and Persian languages and of Muslim Law, with a view, more especially to the production of well-qualified officers of the Courts of India.²

Lord Cornwallis's perfect indifference to the cause of education was equal only to that of Sir John Shore. But the former by disallowing all higher posts to be occupied by Indians rendered the task of administration very difficult.

Lord Wellesley fully realised the need of establishing a college for obtaining competent and responsible men who could undertake the noblest and most arduous task of discharging satisfactorily the duties of administrators. Hence the Fort William College. Its establishment is important not from the point of view of the education of Indians, but because it helps us to understand that the necessity of education was felt even for the sake of a better ad-

2. Parliamentary Papers (1833). Affairs of the East India Company (Public)—Memoir of Fisher in Appendix I.

ministration of the country and because the work of the translation of classical works and of the growth of vernaculars progressed here.

The necessity of enlightening the Indian people was felt even for checking crime, as is clear from a passage from the memorable minute of Lord Minto in 1811.³ He proposed the foundation of 2 colleges at Nuddea and Tirhut, but did not undertake the work in deference to the Hon'ble Court of Directors whose wishes he wanted to consult beforehand.

The philanthropically-minded men were drawn towards it because a wave of reform was surging in Europe and England, from which many of the actors in the drama of Indian History take their cue. Europe was pulsating with new life, new thought, and new conceptions of government. The French Revolution had broadcast the ideals of 'equality, liberty and fraternity.' In England, humanitarians like Wilberforce and Clarkeson had embarked upon the task of the emancipation of slaves. Initiated in, and influenced by, this spirit of reform, some philanthropists took up the work of the revival of Indian literature and diffusion of knowledge. William Jones, the great Orientalist, with the strong support of Warren Hastings, founded the Bengal Asiatic Society. Jonathan Duncan asked and obtained permission to found the Benares Hindu College, its object being not merely the attachment of the people of India to the British rule and the supply of able expounders of Hindu Law to assist the administration of justice, but also to preserve and cultivate the laws, literature and religion of the Hindus in their sacred city.⁴

Besides them, the missionaries also realised the need of educating the Indians, whom they found greatly demoralised and whom they wanted to christianise. Mr. Charles Grant wrote his "Treatise on the Moral and Intellectual condition of India", suggesting the instruction of Indians in European literature and sciences, preferably through the medium of English for their moral improvement and conversion.⁵ In 1786 he had himself proposed to start a mission in Bengal but only to meet with disappointment. In 1797 he again suggested the spread of education. In 1790 a certain Mr. Thomas wrote to the English people about the need of starting

3. History of English Education by S. Mahmud—op. cit. in Chap. IV.

4. Parli. Papers (1833)—A. O. E. I. Company (Public)—Memoir of Fisher.

5. Parli. Papers (1833)—A. O. E. I. Co. (General Appendix)—pp. 3 to 89 of Appendix I—Sir Charles Grant's Treatise.

missions in Bengal. The Baptist Missionary Society sent Carey in 1793 and Ward and Marshman in 1797 to India for her evangelisation.⁶ They established themselves at Serampore, principally because within the British dominions great hostility was shown by Court of Directors to the cause of conversion. They started a press, published translations of the *Mahābhārata*, the *Hitōpadēśa*, the *Rāmāyāna* and the Gospel into vernacular languages. They published many tracts in Bengālī and Hindustānī and distributed them free. For the purpose of proselytism they also started the first vernacular schools in 1800.

From the above brief account of the work of the three agencies for the promotion of education, it is clear that though certain Governors-General were not altogether oblivious of the need of Indian education, no systematic and organised effort was made to place this problem on a firm footing. The main object of the semi-official efforts was to get a regular supply of qualified officers. Their efforts as well as those of the philanthropists and the missionaries were confined to the Oriental studies, except for the study of the Bible in the Missionary schools. All these agencies fully appreciated and realised that education was one of the best ways of the removal of criminality and immorality among the Indians, especially the people of Bengal.

In his 'Treatise on the Moral and Intellectual condition of India,' Sir Charles Grant tells us that "it has suited the views of some philosophers to represent the people (Indians) as amiable and respectable, and a few later travellers have chosen rather to place some softer traits of their character in an engaging light, than to give a just delineation of the whole. The generality, however, of those who have written concerning Hindustan, appears to have concurred in affirming what foreign residents there have as generally thought, nay, what the natives themselves freely acknowledge of each other, that they are a people exceedingly depraved." He goes on saying that "they exhibit human nature in a very degraded, humiliating state, and are at once the objects of disesteem and of commiseration." He would have us believe that the Hindus suffered from want of veracity, betrayal of confidence, venal justice, forgery, perjury, selfishness, avarice, cunning, hypocritical obsequiousness, mutual discord, malice, want of benevolence, etc. and were addicted to thefts, burglaries, and other crimes. In their society, the exclusion of women, the caste system, idolatry, sati, infanticide

6. J. C. Marshman—History of the Serampore Mission—Vol. I, pp. 40-41.

and superstitious beliefs prevailed. The Muslims, he says, were fierce, proud, lawless, perfidious, licentious, cruel, dishonest, etc. etc. They kept their women in *purdah* and could not regard secular business reconcilable with strict virtue and religion.⁷ Southey anticipated Lord Macaulay in his criticism of the Hindu society, its degraded morals and customs. Ward in his 'History, Literature and Mythology of the Hindus' describes them as 'sunk to the deepest depths of human depravity.' Alexander Duff, writing in 1839 says in his Indian Missions that all their vices are to be ascribed to their "false religion." Others including Abbe Dubois speak in the same strain.

This painfully dark picture of the then Indian (especially Bengali) society, though neither wholly untrue nor actuated by wilful falsehood, seems to be grossly exaggerated and prejudiced. It must not be forgotten that "the Missionaries thought that the Indians should be awakened from their torpid moral slumber by the vivifying force of Christianity; and in their admiration of their own religion and its tenets did not pause to realise the fundamental truth of other religions." They were, moreover, making such a vicious propaganda in order to enlist the support of the Christians and to arouse enthusiasm in others for the missionary work. Sir John Shore in his 'Notes on Indian Affairs' remarks that there was a tendency to draw an overdrawn picture, and he warns the people against vague generalisations of some Europeans due to their limited observation, limited intercourse with the people, tendency to judge Indians according to European standards, and a disposition to show the superiority of European things over every thing Indian.⁸ Further, we find Lushington and Lord Minto passing high encomiums on the Hindus and Hindu Religion. Heber (Bishop) "found enough to call forth his admiration." Dr. Bryce too had a favourable view.

Though their descriptions abounded in exaggerations, they were not palpable falsehoods. Even the comparatively balanced statements of Sir John Shore leave an impression that the Indian society had sunk low. The vitiated taste of the literature of Bengal in the 18th century points to the same conclusion.

7. Parli. Papers (1833)—A. O. E. I. Co. (General Appendix)—pp. 3 to 89 of Appendix I.

8. (a) Sir J. Shore—Notes on Indian Affairs—chapters on 'Character of the Hindus'.

(b) Bishop Heber's Journal, pp. 33 to 350.

But then it should not be supposed that Christians living in India were leading better lives. Europeans, both in and out of service, lived unmarried with Indian females, and their leisure was spent in the most debasing associations. The young civilian on his arrival in India was told that one of his first duties was to "stock a zanānā." The influence of Christian principles was almost extinct in European society; "a deadly taint of impiety" was found; and idolatry was regarded with complacency. When Thomas came to India, he wittingly expressed the truth, when he said, that he "had to advertise for a Christian." For a quarter of a century after the Battle of Plassey, "Calcutta presented a scene of such unblushing licentiousness, avarice, and infidelity as had never been witnessed before under the British flag." England had subdued Bengal, and Bengal had subdued the morals of its conquerors.⁹

It is not difficult to find out the causes of the moral *nadir* of the Indians. "The decay and downfall of the Moghul Government, which had done so much good for the Indians . . . and which had now become a spent bullet . . . led to anarchy, constant wars and overwhelming confusions," resulting in the impoverishment of the people, and the complete breakdown of the social organisation. It impeded the progress of arts and sciences, "nay destroyed the very chances of their progress." Education itself was in a state of steadily increasing atrophy for want of patronage and poverty of the people. The British Government had done little to stem the tide of this demoralisation.¹⁰

While this was the condition of Indian affairs, important events were taking place in England in regard to the renewal of the East India Company's charter. The attention of the British Parliament had been drawn to the problem of Indian education in 1793 for the first time, but the 2 clauses added by Wilberforce were quashed because they smacked of a religious bias. A Select Committee of the House of Commons was appointed in 1809-10. After a good deal of discussion the charter Act was passed. The 13th Resolution proposed by Lord Castlereagh laid down that "it is the duty of the country (England) to promote the interest and happiness of the native inhabitants of the British dominions in India, and such measures ought to be adopted as may tend to the introduction among them of useful knowledge, and of religious and moral im-

9. *Hist. of Seram. Mission*—pp. 40-41 in Vol. I.

10. (a) J. N. Sarkar—*India through the Ages*.

(b) Mahmud's *History of English Education*—pp. (16-17).

provement." To the Missionaries, legal toleration was extended; but it was laid down that 'the principles of British Government, on which the natives of India have hitherto relied for the free exercise of their religion, be inviolably maintained.' It further laid down that 'it shall be lawful for the Governor-General in Council to direct that out of the surplus which may remain of the rents, revenues, and profits arising from the said territorial acquisitions, after defraying the expenses of the military, civil and commercial establishments and paying the interest of the debt, in manner hereafter provided, a sum of not less than one lakh of rupees in each year shall be set apart and applied to the revival and improvement of literature, and the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and for the introduction and promotion of the knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of British territories in India.' A survey of Indian educational institutions was also urged.¹¹

This charter marks an epoch in the history of the educational policy of the British rulers in India. It marks 'the first definite step taken by the State in the direction of education, in the shape of a legislative affirmation of the educational policy of the British Rule in India, a policy which till then was far from being founded on a sound and stable basis.' Moreover, the provision of a sort of legal toleration to the Missionaries served to whet the missionary zeal and help the growth of education in India.

The peculiar circumstances—the pressure of Missionaries, administrative needs—combined with "the proviso that the grant was to be paid out of any surplus—a most improbable contingency," seem to have reconciled the Court of Directors and their followers to allow this miserable pittance out of a revenue of 15 millions for the instruction of so vast a population as that of the then India under British rule.¹²

But unfortunately even this "miserable pittance" was not allowed to do the little good which it could till 1822, and no significant measures were taken in furtherance of the provisions of the Resolution 13 of the 1813 charter Act. The Directors were not likely to press this matter, for they had yielded but reluctantly. In England Lord Castlereagh, the leader of the House of Commons, had almost identified himself with the spirit of a repressive govern-

11. *Beveridge's History of India*, Vol. III, pp. 3 to 6.

12. *Hist. of Seram. Mission*, Volume, II, pp. 50-51.

ment. Lastly during this period the attention of the Government of India was absorbed in the Nepalese War, the Pindari War, and the last Marāthā War, which consequently led to not a little financial embarrassment.

Considering these circumstances it will be unfair to accuse Lord Hastings' government of apathy; all the more so when it is remembered that 'he found leisure to attend to the interests of education.' Pecuniary aid was extended to the Calcutta Madrasa, the Benares Sanskrit College, and their efficiency was improved by the substitution of European superintendence. It was also extended to Jai Narain Ghoshal's seminary at Benares, to the vernacular schools of Mr. May (a missionary) at Chinsurah, and to the Calcutta School Book Society and Calcutta School Society. He also appropriated the sum of money, presented by the Vizier (of Oudh) to the Governor-General to be devoted to charitable purposes, for moral improvement 'to a people in absolute destitution', by opening vernacular schools in Rajputana under the supervision of the missionaries. Instead of the proposed colleges at Nuddea and Tirhut, he proposed to open a Hindu College at Calcutta. The Government spent £76,853 between 1814 and 1822, less than one lakh per year on an average.¹³

Besides pecuniary aid to various schools and societies, he is also reported to have expressed improved sentiments. In a minute on the Administration of Justice, October 11, 1815, he wrote: "In looking for a remedy to the evils, which afflict the country, the moral and intellectual improvement of the natives will necessarily form a prominent feature of any plan which may arise from the above suggestion (improvement of vernacular tuition and use of schoolmasters)." He also wrote to the Court of Directors "whether the Court could not be persuaded to give support to schools formed on right principles, altogether different from those based on the Oriental system." but he was told to wait till the proper time. He is said to have expressed on July 30, 1817, that 'it is a god-like bounty to bestow expansion of intellect, to infuse the Promethean spark into the statute and waken it into a man.'¹⁴

The Government of India and the Court of Directors might fail to exhibit activity, the missionaries and the philanthropists could

not. The former had received great encouragement from the Charter Act of 1813. Now the Baptist Missionary Society, the London Missionary Society and the Church Missionary Society sent missionaries to India for evangelising her. They started many vernacular schools. The Serampore Missionaries extended the field of their activity. They were the first to open a vernacular school at Serampore; they established many more at other stations on the Lancaster system. Marshman in his "Hints" elaborated a scheme of the establishment of vernacular schools all over India, a scheme which contains the germs of the 1854 despatch. They also started a Normal school in 1819 for teachers' training. They also planned a college for higher education, where Sanskrit, Arabic and European sciences were to be the main subjects of study. Mr. May opened vernacular schools at Chinsurah. Miss Cook opened vernacular school for girls in 1821, the first bold attempt of the kind from the side of Europeans.

The most significant step, however, of this period was the foundation of the Vidyalaya or the Anglo-Hindu College in 1816. In the year 1815 David Hare and Rājā Rām Mohan Rāy were in consultation one evening as to what should be done with a view to the elevation of the Indian mind and character. 'Mr. Hare proposed the plan should be to institute an English school or college for the instruction of native youth.' Rājā Rām Mohan Rāy proposed the preaching of the Vedāntā. The 'two friends' separated and followed their own convictions.¹⁵ A propaganda was carried on in favour of English education, and in 1816 through the help of Sir Edward Hyde East, the Vidyalaya was founded for the study of Indian and European languages and literature and sciences. Its origin is important for various reasons. Firstly, as Alexander Duff maintained in his evidence before the Select Committee on Indian Territories in 1852, the initiative for the college to impart instruction in English language and European literature and sciences came from the side of the non-officials. Secondly, it was the first movement for the acquisition of a knowledge of European literature and sciences through the English medium, started by Hare and supported by some influential Indians. It also enables us to understand that the rising intellectual class of the Indians began to feel the need of European education, though as yet mainly for purposes of commerce and service.

13. *Parli. Papers* (1833)—A. O. E. I. Co. (Public)—Memoir of Fisher.

14. *Hist. of Seram. Mission*, Vol. II, pp. 117 to 164.

15. (a) *Calcutta Review*, Vol. XVII, pp. 342 to 386.

(b) *Parl. Papers* (1853)—Indian Territories—Mr. A. Duff's evidence.

From the above brief analysis of the growth of education between 1813 and 1822, it becomes quite clear that the Government of India confined their activities to the promotion of Oriental studies mainly.

In the period that followed Hastings' retirement great activity and interest were exhibited in this particular field. Perhaps that was but natural. The appointment of Canning as the Prime Minister was the first recognition of the victories of the Liberal tendencies of the English people since long. The years 1823 up to 1837 saw a large number of reforms in England. In India too conditions had undergone considerable changes. Practically the whole of India (excluding the Punjab, Sind and Burma) had either been annexed to the British Empire or was under its patronage. With the partial exception of the First Burmese War, no wars were fought. This extension of the bounds of the British Indian Empire increased the need for more competent, and a larger number of, men for administration. In addition to these, the foundation of the Vidyalaya and the publication of some newspapers led to the production of a band of reformers who felt the strong and urgent need of the growth of education.

The first indication of this keen interest is to be found in the formation of a General Committee of Public Instruction in 1823 during the Governor-Generalship of Mr. Adam, on the basis of a memorandum of Mr. Holt Mackenzie, which henceforth became for a long period of time the sole organ of the British Indian Government for education. It was formed "for the purpose of ascertaining the state of education in the territories under the Bengal presidency and of the public instruction designed for its promotion" and "of considering, and, from time to time, submitting to Government the suggestion of such measures as it might appear expedient to adopt with a view to the better instruction of the people, to the introduction among them of useful knowledge, and to the improvement of their moral character." The sum of 1 lakh of rupees was placed at the disposal of this committee.¹⁶

As soon as the Committee began its deliberations regarding the completion and execution of the plan of the Calcutta Hindu Sanskrit College, a letter was addressed by Rājā Rām Mohan Rāy, in the name of his countrymen, as he said, requesting the Governor-General to employ European gentlemen to teach European science

and literature and not to waste money on the Sanskrit system of education. The Government of Bengal regarded this letter as having been penned under a somewhat erroneous impression respecting the views of Government in the establishment of the Sanskrit College, and they forwarded it to the Committee, which rejected it. "The memorial remained unanswered, and the design of founding a new Sanskrit College was carried into execution."¹⁷

Soon after the Committee received a despatch of the Court of Directors, dated the 24th February, 1824, which observed that "the great end should not have been to teach Hindu learning or Muslim learning, but useful learning," and that "in professing... to establish seminaries for the purpose of teaching mere Hindu or mere Muslim literature, you bound yourselves to teach a great deal of what was frivolous, not a little of what was purely mischievous." The Committee of Public Instruction gave a spirited defence, urging that admitting that "the legitimate object to be pursued was the introduction of European science circumstances had rendered necessary the course which had been pursued." The absence of all media, either of teacher or books; the pledge of the Government to open the Calcutta Sanskrit College instead of the Tirhut and Nuddea Colleges for the Sanskrit learning; the state of public opinion more in favour of Oriental studies; and the introduction of European superintendence—were sufficient to justify this course.¹⁸

However, when the Vidyalaya due to the need of financial aid came under their management and they saw that some English should be taught to serve the administrative needs, they attached English classes to the Oriental colleges. They also published in classical languages the translations of some books on European sciences. The work done by them up to 1831 may better be gathered from the report of 1831.¹⁹ :—

"The introduction of useful knowledge is the great object which they have proposed as the end of the measures adopted or recommended by them, keeping in view the necessity of consulting the feelings and conciliating the confidence of those for whose advantage these measures were designed. The committee has therefore continued to encourage the acquirement of the native literature of both Hindus and Muslims In the absence of their natural

16. Parli. Papers (1833)—A. O. E. I. Co. (Public)—Memoirs of Fisher.

17. *Ibid.*

18. *Ibid.*, Appendix I.

19. *Ibid.*, Appendix I.

patrons, the rich and powerful of their own creeds, the committee have felt it incumbent upon them to contribute to the support of the learned classes of India, by literary endowments But while every reasonable encouragement is given to indigenous native education, no opportunity has been omitted by the committee of improving its quality and adding to its value. In all the colleges, the superintendence is European To the Madrasa, Sanskrit College of Calcutta and the Agra College also, English classes are attached, while at Delhi and Benares district schools have been formed for the dissemination of the English language. Without offering therefore any violence to the native prejudices, and whilst giving liberal encouragement to purely native education, the principle of connecting it with the introduction of real knowledge has never been lost sight of, and the foundation has been laid by great and beneficial change in the minds of those who, by their character profession, direct and influence the intellect of Hindustan. In addition to the measures adopted for the diffusion of English the encouragement of the Vidyalaya has always been one of the chief objects of the committee of Public Instruction's attention. The consequences have surpassed expectation. A command of the English language, and a familiarity with its literature and science have been acquired to an extent rarely equalled by any schools in Europe. 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, and a disregard of its ceremonies are openly avowed by many young men of respectable birth and talents."

The years 1830 to '34 witnessed a great controversy between the Anglicist and the so-called Orientalist parties, the two parties in the committee of Public Instruction. The terms the Anglicists and the Orientalists are not a little misleading, for the latter did not support the exclusive encouragement of the Oriental languages only, but stood for the maintenance of the *status quo*, the simultaneous growth of English and Oriental education.²⁰

Both the parties agreed and disagreed on certain vital points. Both agreed that the vernacular languages at that time were not well-developed and that their immediate policy should be the education of the "few" and not "all." Similarly, both considered the question of education from the point of view of its effects on the Indian mind, lest a particular kind of

education might create conditions embarrassing the British Government, and lest the English should lose their empire. But the two differed on a very vital matter. The Orientalists wanted to continue the policy of "letting the natives pursue their present course of instruction, and of endeavouring to graft European science thereon." Their opponents desired not to 'waste' any money at all on the Oriental studies—e.g. giving of bounties to Oriental students or the printing of Oriental books or the encouragement of Oriental educational institutions by pecuniary aids—but to devote all the sum to the diffusion of a knowledge of European literature and sciences through the medium of the English language alone.

(To be continued)

20. Asiatic Journal (1838), pp. 301 to 323.

Vedic "Monotheism,"

By

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"ONE only Fire is kindled manifold, one only Sun is present to one and all, one only Dawn illuminates this all : that which is only One becomes this all," RV. VIII, 58, 2.

Modern scholarship for the most part postulates only a gradual development, in Indian metaphysics, of a notion of a single principle, of which principle the Several Angels (*dēvāḥ*, *viśvā dēvāḥ*, etc.) are, as it were, the powers, operative aspects, or personified attributes. But as Yāska expresses it, "It is because of his great divisibility (*mahā-bhāgyāt*) that they apply many names to Him, one after another. . . . The other angels (*dēvāḥ*) come to be (*bhavanti*) sub-members (*pratyāṅgāni*) of the One Essence (*ēkas-yātmanah*) . . . their becoming is a birth from one another, they are of one another's nature ; they originate in function (*karma*) ;¹ Essence of their origin . . . Essence (*ātmā*) is the whole of what an Angel is" (*Nirukta* VII, 4). Similarly the *Bṛhad-Dēvatā*, 1, 70-74 : "Because of the magnitude of the Essence (*mahātmyāt*) a diversity of names is given (*vidhīyatē*) . . . according to the distribution of their spheres (*sthānavibhāgēna*). It is inasmuch as they are powers (*vibhūtiḥ*, cf. *Bhagavad-gītā* X, 40) that the names are innumerable. But the shapers (*kavayah*) in their incantations (*mantrēṣu*) say that the *dēvatās* have a common source ; they are called by different names according to the spheres in which they are established. Some say that they are participant therein, and that such is their derivation ; but as regards the aforesaid Trinity

1. It is in fact Viśvakarma, the Doer of All Things, that gives their "names," that is to say, their individual being, to the Angels, and is therefore called *dēvānām nāmadhāḥ*, X, 82, 3.

of world-rulers, it is well understood that the whole of their participation (*bhaktiḥ*) is in the Essence (*ātmā*)."²

The foregoing passages illustrate the normal method of theology in any discussion *De divinis nominibus*, when a recognition of the various operations of a single principle gives rise to the superficial appearance of a polytheism. In Christianity, for example, "we do

2. An ontology of this kind is not properly to be called pantheistic or monistic. This would only be legitimate if, when the essence has been analysed into its many aspects, there were no remainder ; on the contrary, the whole of Indian scripture, beginning with the Rg Veda, consistently affirms that what remains exceeds the whole of that which suffices to fill up these worlds, and that the source remains unaffected by whatever is produced from it or returned to it at the beginning or end of an aeon. The view that all this is a theophany does not mean that *all* of Him is seen ; on the contrary, "only a quarter," so to speak, of his abundance (RV. X, 90, 3) suffices to fill up the worlds of time and space, however far they may extend, however long they may endure.

Cf. Whitney, in Preface to the English version of Guénon, *L'Homme et son Devenir selon le Vedānta* : "It is to be hoped that this book will give the coup de grace to the absurd and well-nigh unaccountable prejudice which persistently depreciates the Vedic doctrine on account of its alleged 'pantheism.' This parrot-cry . . ."; and Lacombe, in Preface to Grousset, *Les philosophies indiennes*, 1931 : "Il ne faut pas conclure, à notre avis, que le Vedānta soit panthéiste ou même, moniste, surtout au sens que ces mots ont chez nous. Il se nomme lui-même *advaita*, non-dualiste. Sa préoccupation d'assurer la transcendance de Brahman non moins que son immanence, de maintenir l'intériorité de son Gloire, est manifesté. Position irréductible . . ."; and my *New Approach to the Vedas*, Note 42.

It may be added that similar objection can be made to the word "Monotheism" in the title of the present essay. *Tad ēkam* in RV. X, 129, 2 is much rather "First Principle" than "only God". It is as "only God", with aspects as many as the points of view from which He is regarded, that "That One" becomes intelligible ; but what That One may be in itself can only be expressed in terms of negation, for example, "without duality".

As to the rendering of *ātman* by "essence", which I adopt in the present context : essence (*ātman*) is that by which a thing is ; name or idea (*nāma*) is that by which a thing is what it is ; aspect or mode (*rūpa*) that by which it is as it is. Thus *nāmā-rūpa* is the integration of "soul and body", *ātman* the ultimate subject.

Ātman is never "soul" : the Christian "soul" is not its own being, does not receive its being from God except in combination with a body, was not in being before the body, is threefold, and is the form of the body (St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, passim) : none of these characters are those of *ātman* ! The word that can be translated by "soul" is *nāma*. *Ātman* is etymologically "Spiritus", and is generally best so translated, but can be rendered by "Essence" in many contexts, precisely because the divine being is a spiritual *ātmanvi* being. *Vāyu* and *vāta* are distinguishable from *ātman* only by the added concept of movement (RV. III, 29, 31 and VII, 87, 2), just as the Spirit of God that "moved" on the face of the waters is sometimes

not say the *only* God, for deity is common to several" (St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, I.q.31, a.2c); still, "To create beings belongs to God according to his own being, that is his essence, which is common to the three Persons. Hence to create is not peculiar to any one Person, but is common to the whole Trinity" (ib. I, q. 45, a. 6c.); and it is well understood that "Although the names of God have one common reference, still because the reference is made under many and different aspects, these names are not synonymous The many aspects of these names are not empty and vain, for there corresponds to all of them one single reality represented by them in a manifold and imperfect manner"³ (ib. I, q. 13, a. 4 ad 2). In the same way, Plotinus: "This life of the ensouled stars is one identical thing, since they are one in the all-soul, so that their very spatial movement is pivoted upon identity and resolves itself into a movement not spatial but vital" (*Enneads*, IV, 4, 8).

That these conceptions of the identity of the First Principle with all its powers are current in the *Brāhmanas* and the *Atharva-Vēda* is well known. There may be cited, for example, *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* X,5,2,16. "As to this they say, 'Is then Death one or many'? One should answer, 'One and many'. For, inasmuch as He is That (Person in the Sun), He is one; and inasmuch as He is multiply-distributed (*bahudhā vyāviṣṭiḥ*) in his children, He is many", cf. with ib. 20: "As He is sought unto, so He becomes" (*yathōpāsātē tad ēva bhavati*); and *Atharva Vēda*, VIII, 9,26 "One Bull, one Prophet, one Home, a single Ordinance, one simplex Yakṣa in his ground, one Season that is never emptied out, and 1.12,1, Agni "One energy whose procession is threefold (*ekam ojas tredhā vi-cakrame*)."

It is more often overlooked that the same point of view is so explicitly and repeatedly affirmed in the *Rg Vēda* as to leave no room for any misunderstanding. A full discussion of the Vēdic

called the "Gale". Because *ātman*, whether as Spirit or Essence, is the ultimate knowing subject, the word in reflexive use can be rendered by "self", but this does not legitimate the rendering of *ātman*, considered absolutely, by "Self", which leads to many misunderstandings, and especially to a confusion of *ātman* as Essence with the entity (*sattva*) of things as they are in themselves.

3. Cf. *Jaiminiya Up. Brāhmaṇa*, III, I, where the gale (*vāyu*) is called "the one entire godhood (*ēka . . . kṛtsnā dēvatā*), the rest are semi-godhoods."

4. Just as in later literature the deity may be addressed as "Thou that dost take the forms imagined by thy worshippers".

formulation of the problem of the one and the many would require an extended study of Vēdic exemplarism; space is not available for this at the present time, (See my "Vēdic Exemplarism", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 1, 1936), but we may call attention to the expression *viśvam ēkam*, "integral multiplicity," in RV, III, 54,8. All that we propose now is to assemble some of the most conspicuous of the Vēdic texts in which the identity of the one and the many is categorically affirmed; adding that, even were none of these explicit statements available, the law expressed in them could have been independently deduced from an analysis of the functions attributed to the various powers, for although these functions are characteristic of particular deities, they are never entirely peculiar to any one of them.⁵

Familiar passages, often dismissed as "late," include RV. I, 164, 46. "The priests refer in many different ways (*bahudhā vadanti*) to that that is but one, they call him Agni, Yama, Mātariśvān: they call him Indra, Mitra, Varuṇa, Agni, who is the heavenly eagle Garutmān"; X, 114, 5, "Ecstatic shapers (*vipra kavayah*) conceive of him in many ways (*bahudhā kalpayanti*) the eagle that is one"; and X, 90, 11, where, after the First Sacrificers have divided up (*vyadadhuh*) the person, the question is posed in *brahmōdaya* fashion, "How many-fold did they think him out"? (*katidhā vya-kalpayan*). It is precisely this goal (*artham*) of being made to dwell in many places (*bahudhā nivīṣṭa*) that Agni dreads, as he lingers in the darkness (*tamasi kṣesi*, X, 51, 4-5), although in fact even while he proceeds he still remains within (*anu agraṇ carati kṣēti budhnaḥ*, III, 55, 7=*kṛṣṇe budhne*, IV, 17, 14=*vṛṣabhasya nīle*, IV, I, 12, etc., etc.). As Eckhart expresses it, "the Son remains

5. Max Müller invented the term "henotheism" to describe this method, which he apparently imagined to have been peculiar to the Vēdas. Christianity, as a matter of fact, is "henotheistic" in so far as it affirms that whatever is done by any one of the Persons is done by all, and *vice-versa*. A fully developed "henotheism" is even more characteristic of Stoicism and of Philo, cf. Bréhier, *Les Idées philosophiques et religieuses de Philon d'Alexandrie*, 1925, pp. 112, 113; "La conception de dieux myrionymes, d'un dieu unique auquel sous ses différentes formes s'adressent les prières des initiés était familière au stoïcisme . . . de même que dans les hymnes orphiques, la toute-puissance de chaque Dieu n'empêche pas leur hiérarchie, de même ici (that is, according to Philo) les êtres sont classés bien souvent hiérarchiquement comme s'il s'agissaient d'êtres distincts." Here also, then, we meet with that superficial appearance of polytheism by which the apologist of some other religion than that under discussion is so conveniently deceived, the Muslim for example, when he calls the Christian doctrine of the Trinity "polytheistic".

within as essence and goes forth as person . . . the divine nature steps forth into relation of otherness, other but not another, for this distinction is rational, not real." "To the Shapers he is manifested as the Sun of men" (*āvir . . . abhavat sūryō nṛṇ*, I, 146, 4, cf. John I. 4, *bux hominum*).

Equally explicit, however, are the statements scattered through the other books. In particular he is often said to have two different forms, according to his being in the Day or Night, and this is "as He wills," *yathā vaśam* (RV. III, 48, 4; VII, 101, 3; of X, 168, and AV. VI, 72, 1). When this is expressed as "Now he becometh sterile (*stair u tvad bhavati*), now begets (*sūtē u*)" VII, 101, 3, the latter expression, like his designation as *sūh* in I, 146, 5, is as much as to say *savitā bhavati* "he becomes Savitr." Cf. III, 55, 19 and X, 10, 5 where Tvaṣṭṛ and Savitr are identified by apposition. In RV. III, 20, 3 and VIII, 93, 17, Agni and Indra are called polynominal (*bhūrīṇi-nāma*, *puru-nāma*), and in II, I, Agni is addressed by the names of nearly all the powers, and there are countless passages in which Indra is a designation of the Sun. In VIII, 11, 8, Agni is "to be seen in many different places, or aspects." Although his semblance is the same in many places (*purutrā hi sadṛśn asi*, VIII, 11, 8, cf. I, 94, 7), yet his becoming is manifold (*purutrā . . . abhavat* I, 146, 5), and he is given many names, for "Even as He showeth, so is He called" (*yādṛg ēva dadṛśē tādṛg ucyatē*, V, 44, 6) of which *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, X, 5, 2, 20 cited above is hardly more than a paraphrase. RV. I, 146, 46 cited above is based on innumerable texts scattered throughout RV., e.g. III, 5, 4 and 9, where Agni is identified with Mitra, Varuṇa, and Mātariśvān; similarly V, 3, 1-2, where Agni is identified with Mitra, Varuṇa and Indra. Nor is this a matter of mere suggestion; the particular points of view from which the different names are appropriate is carefully stated.

In many cases the verb *bhū*, to "become," as it occurs in the *Brāhmaṇa* and *Nirukta* texts already cited, is employed in the *Rg Vēda* to denote in the same sense the passing over from one name and function to another. For example, RV. III, 5, 4 "Agni becometh (*bhavati*) Mitra when enkindled, Mitra the priest, and Varuṇa, Jātavēdas," of IV, 42, 3 "I, Varuṇa am Indra," and V, 3, 1-2, "Thou, Agni, art Varuṇa at birth, becomes (*bhavasi*) Mitra when enkindled, in thee, O Son of Strength, abide the Several Angels; Indra art thou to the mortal worshipper. With respect to maidens thou becomest Aryaman, and as Svadhāvan bearest a secret name" (*nāma . . . guhyam*, probably as Trita, of I, 163, 3 "Trita art thou by the interior operation," *asi trito guhyēna vra-*

tēṇa). Again, RV. III, 29, 31 "As Titan Germ he might Tanūnapāt,⁶ when born abroad is Narasānsa, when fashioned in the Mother he becometh Mātariśvān, the Gale of the Spiritus in its course." That Spiritus is indeed Varuṇa's own Essence (*ātmā te vāta*, VII, 87, 2), and the breath of Vāc (X, 125, 8); a gale whose form is never seen, but is the Essence (*ātmā*) of all the Angels, moving as it listeth (X, 168, 4 Cf. *lux hominum*, John, I, 4). Vāc herself, the eternal Mother, is divided by the Angels, and made to dwell in "multifarious stations" (*mā devā vyadadhuh purutrā bhūriṣṭhāt-ram bhūryā-vēsayantīm*, X, 125, 3).

To the foregoing passages, in which the diversified effects of what is really a single operation are considered, may be added RV. VI, 47, 18, "He is the counter-form of every form, it is that form of his that we should look upon; Indra, by virtue of his magic-powers proceeds as multiform" (*rūpaṁ rūpaṁ pratirūpaṁ babhūva tad asya rūpaṁ caksanāya, indrō māyābhiḥ purūrūpa iyatē*), a passage closely corresponding to Eckhart's "single form that is the form of many different things," resuming the scholastic doctrine of exemplarism: and whereas in X, 5, 1, Agni alone is *ṛtupati* in RV. VI, 9, 5, "The Several Angels with one common mind and common will unerring move upon the single season" (*ekam ṛtum*, cf. *ēka ṛtu* in AV. VIII, 9, 26, cited above), closely corresponding to St. Thomas, *Summa Theologica*, III, q. 32, a. 1 ad 3, where what is done by any one of the Persons of the Trinity is said to be done by all, "because there is one nature and one will."

Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa VIII, 7, 3, 10, "Yonder Sun strings these worlds upon his Essence as upon a thread." *Bhagavad-gītā* VII, 7, "All this is threaded upon Me," and X, 20 "I am the Essence seated in the heart of all beings," merely repeat the thought of RV. I, 115, 1, "The Sun is the Essence (*ātman*) of all that is moving or at rest." In X, 121, 2, Hiranyagarbha, (Agni, Prajāpati), is called the "giver of Essence" (*ātmā-dā*), and it is in this sense that Agni, in I, 149, 3, is "of hundredfold Essence" (*śatātmā*). In X, 51, 7 Agni is called upon to give the angels their "share" (*bhāgam*); that is his particular function as priest.

It is thus clear enough that the *Nirukta* and the *Brhad Dēvatā* are fully justified in saying that the Angels are participant (*bhakta*)

6. The name Tanūnapāt, "Son of Himself", formulates the well-known doctrine that "Agni is kindled by Agni" (RV. I, 12, 6), according to which in ritual the new Gārhapatya must be lit from the old. Cf. St. Thomas, *Summa Theologica*, III, q. 32, a. 1 ad 1, "the taking itself (i.e. the assumption of human nature, taking birth) is attributed to the Son", i.e. it is the Son's own act as well as that of the other Persons.

in the divine Essence or spiration ; even the phraseology of the Vedic *mantras* is retained by the expositors. The reference to "participation" leads us to the consideration of Vedic Bhaga, later Bhagavān. Bhaga is not a personal name, but rather a general designation of the active power in any of his aspects, as the "Free Giver" or "Sharer-out," who makes his *bhaktas* to participate in his riches. These riches can be only the aspects of his Essence, for assuredly we cannot think of deity as possessing anything more than what He himself is ; "Sharing out himself, He fills these worlds full" (*ātmanam vibhajya pūrayati imān lōkān*). This last is indeed an Anupaniṣada text (*Maitri Up.* VI, 26), but the concept is Vedic. Bhaga is, in fact, referred to by apposition as the "Dispenser" (*vibhaktr*, RV. V. 46, 6) ; and *bhāga* is "share" or "dispensation," as in II, 17, 7, addressed to Indra, "I pray thee, Bhaga . . . measure out, bring forward, give me that share (*bhāgam*) whereby the 'inveterated' body is restored" whose *bhāgam*=*amṛtasya bhāgam*, in I, 164, 21 ; VIII, 99, 3, "Depending upon him, as upon the Sun, the Several (*viśvē* sc. *dēvāh*) have participated in what is Indra's ; I, 68, 3, where in a laud addressed to Agni, the Several (*viśvē* sc. *dēvāh*) are said to "participate in thy deity". (*bhajanta dēvatvam* : VII, 81, 2) has the prayer at dawn, "May we be associated in participation" (*sam bhaktēna gamēmamahi*). From these passages it is sufficiently plain that *bhaga* and *vibhaktr* are the dispenser or giver, who bestows himself or his substance ; *sambhāja*, the participant who shares in the gift ; *bhāga*, *bhakṣa* and *bhakta* the share that is given or received. While these are Vedic expressions, *bhakti*, the act of distribution, or making to partake of what is given, and *bhakta* as the synonym of *vibhaktr*, the giver, occur only later.

The vexed problem of the "origin of the *bhakti* movement" need never, perhaps, have been posed, if renderings such as these had been retained in the translation of later texts, especially that of the *Bhagavad-gīta*. *Bhakta* in RV. may be either the share of "treasure" obtained by the sacrificer from the deity (IV, 1, 10 *ratnam devabhaktam*, etc.), or conversely the share that is given or appointed to the deities by the sacrificer (I, 91, 1 *pitara . . . dēveṣu ratnam abhajanta dhīrāḥ*). In the latter case the sacrificer or sacrificial priest is the *vibhaktr*, and the substitution of *bhakta* for the Vedic *vibhaktr* introduces no new conception. *Bhakti* implies devotion, because all giving presupposes love : it does not follow that *bhakti* should be translated by "love".

It is true that the *bhakti-mārga* is also the *prēma-mārga*, the passive "Way of Love" as distinguished from the *Jñāna-mārga*, the active "Way of Gnosis" ; but that the expressions *bhakti-mārga*

and *prēma-mārga* have a common reference does not make them synonymous (expressions are only "synonymous" when they refer to the same thing *under the same aspect*). It can hardly be denied that the *pitaraḥ* who in RV. I, 91, 1 *abhajanta* were *bhaktas* in the later sense, or that theirs was a *bhakti-mārga*. We should render *bhakti-mārga* "Way of Dedication" a "Way of Devotion" rather than "Way of Love". It is true in the same way that "participation" implies "love," and *vice-versa*, since a love that does not participate in the beloved is by no means "love", but rather "desire". Love and participation are nevertheless logically differentiated conceptions, each of which plays its own part in the definition of the devotional act ; and when the two expressions are confused in an equivocal rendering, not only are these shades of meaning lost, but at the same time the evidence of the continuity of the Vedic with the later thought is concealed, and an unreal problem is evoked.

We then wish to express ourselves as in full agreement with the views of Edgerton, who concluded that "Everything contained in at least the older Upaniṣads, with almost no exceptions, is not new to the Upaniṣads, but can be found set forth, or at least *very* clearly foreshadowed, in the older Vedic texts" (*Journ. Am. Or. Sec.*, XXXVI, 197), and those of Bloomfield, who argued "that *mantra* and *brāhmaṇa* are for the least part chronological distinctions ; that they represent two modes of literary activity, and two modes of literary speech,, which are largely contemporaneous . . . Both forms existed together, for aught we know, from the earliest times ; only the reduction of the *mantra* collections seems on the whole to have preceded the redaction of the *Brāhmaṇas* The hymns of the Ṛg Veda, like those of the other three Vēdas, were liturgical from the very start. This means that they form only a fragment . . . late texts and commentaries may contain the correct explanation" (*ib.* XV, 144) ; also *ib.* XXIX, 288, where with reference to the oldest parts of the Ṛg. Vēda he calls it "the last precipitate, with a long and tangled past behind it of a literary activity of great and indefinite length."

We are in agreement with Jeremias, when he says (*Altorientalisches Geisteskultur*, Vorwort) : "Die Menschheitsbildung ist ein einheitliches Ganzes, und in den verschiedenen Kulturen findet man die Dialekte der einen Geistesprache" ; with Scharbau (*Die Idee der Schöpfung in der vedischen Literatur*, 1932, p. 168, Note 166), "die Tiefe und Grosse der theologischen Erkenntnis des Ṛgvedas keineswegs hinter der des Vedānta zurücksteht ;" and finally with Sāyaṇa, that none of the Vādic references are historical.

It is precisely the fact that the Vedic incantations are liturgical that makes it unreasonable to expect from them a systematic exposition of the philosophy they take for granted; if we consider the *mantras* by themselves, it is as if we had to deduce the Scholastic philosophy only from the *libretto* of the Mass. Not that this would be impossible, but that we should be accused of reading into the Mass meanings that could not possibly have been present to the mentality prevailing in the "Dark Ages," of yielding, as Professor Keith expresses it (who cannot himself be accused of any such weakness) to "our natural desire . . . to find reason prevailing in a barbarous age." In fact, however, the *mantras* and the Latin hymns alike are so closely wrought, their symbolism is employed with such mathematical exactitude (Emil Mâle speaks of Christian symbolism as a "calculus"), that we cannot possibly suppose that their authors did not understand their own words; it is *we* who misunderstand, if we insist on reading algebra as though it were arithmetic. All that we can learn from literary history is that the doctrines which are taken for granted in the *mantras* were not perhaps published until after a certain amount of linguistic change had already taken place; we may find some new words, but we do not meet with new ideas. It is our own fault if we cannot see that Mitrāvaruṇau, of whom the latter is "the immortal brother of the mortal" former, are none other than the *apara* and the *para* Brahman to whom the Upaniṣads refer as mortal and immortal respectively.

Just as in relation to the Babylonian liturgies there must also have existed a "wisdom literature . . . not written, to be repeated in temples" (Langdon, *Tammuz and Ishtar*, p. 11), and as it must be assumed that there existed the concept of a "single God . . . (whose) various aspects were not yet considered separate deities in the Sumero-Accadian pantheon" (Frankfort, in *Iraq*, I, 1934, p. 47), so in the case of the Vedic liturgies, where the occurrence of the concepts of a "One, that is equally spirated, despirated" (*ānīt avātām*, X, 90, 2), and of Agni as "being and non-being in one" (*satasat* X, 5, 7) cannot be called surprising. We see then in the Brāhmaṇas, Upaniṣads, *Bhagavad-gītā*, and even in Buddhism, nothing but an ultimate recension and publication of what had always been taught, whether to initiates or in those circles the existence of which is implied by the *brahmōdaya* form of many is referred to as expounding the lore of the genesis (*vadati jāta-vidyām*), and whom we may assume to have been, like Agni himself, a "comprehenser of the generations of all things" (*viśvā veda janimā* VI, 15, 13, cf. IV, 27, 1).

Kālidāsa and the Hūnas

By

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[This article was sent for the Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar Commemoration Volume and got laid aside. It is published here with apologies to the author.—EDITOR.]

कलिकदेवं नमस्कृत्य म्लेच्छकुलनिषूदनम् ।

कालिदास कवेः काव्ये हूणशब्दो विविच्यते ॥

It is characteristic of the history of Sanskrit literature that we do not know for certain the time when Kālidāsa lived and scholars assign him to this century or that, according as they understand the so-called historical references in his writings or his real or imaginary borrowings from other writers. He has thus been placed in the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries A.D. and there are still some writers who would have him in the first century before Christ. The majority of scholars are in favour of the age of the Guptas, some making him a contemporary of Candragupta II Vikramāditya and others of Kumāragupta I Mahendrāditya and Skandagupta Vikramāditya. Scholars holding the latter view contend that Kālidāsa's mention of the Huns in the *Raghuvamśa* proves that the poet could not have lived long before 455 A.D.¹ We know from the Bhitari Stone Pillar Inscription of Skandagupta (Fleet's No. 13) that the Huns attacked India in the beginning of Skandagupta's (455-c. 467 A.D.) reign or about the close of the reign of his father Kumāragupta I. (415-455 A.D.). We have no epigraphical or any other information of a definite character about the incursions of the Huns in India before the middle of the fifth century A.D. It is, therefore, assumed that an Indian poet could not know of the Huns till this time. Consequently Kālidāsa cannot have lived before the fifth century A.D.

Kālidāsa names the Huns in *Raghuvamśa*, IV. 68,

तत्र हूणावरोधानां भर्तृषु व्यक्तविक्रमम् ।

कपोलपाटनादेशि² बभूव रघुचेष्टितम् ॥

1. K. B. Pathak in *Indian Antiquary*, 1912, pp. 265-7 and B. Liebich in *Indogermanische Forschungen*, XXI, pp. 199-201. For other references see my *The Date of Kālidāsa* (Allahabad University Studies, Vol. II), p. 127 n.l.

2. The reading of Vallabha, Cāritravardhana and Sumativijaya, in place of Mallinātha's *pāṭalā*. See Pathak in *I.A.*, 1912, p. 267.

where Raghu is anachronously described as defeating the Hūṇa in the course of his *dig-vijaya*. The place where the engagement takes place is mentioned in the previous verse, which reads, according to Mallinātha, as

विनीताघ्नश्चास्तस्य सिन्धुतीरं विचेष्टनैः ।

दुधुवर्वाजिनः स्कन्धांलम्बकुङ्कुमकेसरान् ॥

This would place the Huns on the banks of the Indus (*sindhu-tīra*) and in Kashmir, believed to be the home of saffron (*kuṅkuma*). But we now know that *sindhu* in the second line of this verse is a wrong and recent reading for the old *vaṅkṣu* or *vaṅkṣū*—the Oxus.³ The *Vaṅkṣu* or Oxus ceased to be well-known as a river.⁴ Hence manuscripts and commentators made much confusion in the spelling of the name in *Raghuvamśa* IV. 67 and some late editor cut the Gordian knot by boldly emending the reading into *sindhu*, probably on account of the reference to saffron in line 4. As Mallinātha followed this readings, it has become stereotyped for us and we are apt to forget that the original word was something quite different. Though we usually associate the saffron plant with Kashmir only, it is not true that it does not grow elsewhere. "Saffron has long been cultivated in Persia and Kashmir. . . . The chief seat of cultivation in early times was the town of Corycus (modern Korghoz) in Cilicia."⁵ And at the present day it is chiefly cultivated in Spain and Kashmir.⁶ The *Amarakośa* (II. 6. 124) knows saffron as a product of Balkh as well as of Kashmir (*bālhika* by the side of *Kāśmirajanman* as synonym for *Kuṅkuma*. His commentator Kṣīrasvāmin, cites *Raghuvamśa* IV, 67 to prove its origin in Balkh.⁷ If we carefully go through Kālidāsa's account of Raghu's *dig-vijaya* in Canto IV of the *Raghuvamśa*, it becomes abundantly clear to us that the poet places the Hūṇa to the north of Persia. Verses 58 and 59 describe Raghu's conquest of the Aparānta country. Verse 60

3. See Nandargikar's *Raghuvamśa*, 3rd edition, p. 115 and Notes, pp. 81-2, Pathak, op. cit., 265-6 and *The Date of Kālidāsa*, op. cit., 126.

4. Manuscripts of the *Mahābhārata* (XIII. 165. 22—cf. Ganapati Krishnaji's edition) and the *Matsya Purāṇa* (121, 40 and 46—cf. Gondhlekhar's lithographed Poona edition) often substitute *Cakṣu* for *Vaṅkṣu* in other Mss. Similarly Mss. of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (57, 18) show *Raṅkṣu* and of the *Vāyu* (45, 96) *Ikṣu*! See Pargiter's Translation of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, p. 292.

5. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th edition, Vol. 23, p. 999.

6. *Ibid.*

7. Edition by Oka, p. 110.

says that Raghu then marched forward to conquer the Persians "by the land-route" (*sthalavartmanā*). This specification shows that there was an alternative *water-route*, i.e. sea-route open to him. Consequently the Persians were attacked in their own home in Persia. The Persian expedition is described in verses 60-65 and verse 66 mentions that Raghu then started for the north. Verse 67, which comes after it, makes the horses of Raghu remove their fatigue by roaming along the banks of *Vaṅkṣu* (= Oxus) and shake their shoulders with pollens of saffron adhering to the manes. These horses must, therefore, have come in contact with pollens of saffron on the banks of the Oxus or, earlier, in Persia itself. Consequently the Hūṇa who are named in the next verse have to be located near the Oxus and not in Kashmir.

The late Professor Pathak, who accepted the reading *vaṅkṣu* and placed the Hūṇa on the Oxus, supposed on the authority of Cunningham that they were not there before the beginning of the fifth century A.D.⁸ But is this true? The present writer believes that Kālidāsa did not borrow from Aśvaghoṣa, as is assumed since Cowell edited the *Buddhacarita*,⁹ but Aśvaghoṣa borrowed from him. Consequently Kālidāsa has to be assigned to a date not later than 100 A.D. Tradition associates him with a king Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī.¹⁰ As it is now appearing probable that there was such a Vikramāditya in Ujjayinī in the first century B.C., there is no reason why we should not place Kālidāsa also in that century.¹² Whether such views can be accepted or not, it is our duty to examine the allegation that the Huns did not reach the Oxus region till the fifth century A.D. and that they could not have been known in India before the fifth or the fourth century A.D.

8. *Indian Antiquary*, 1912, p. 266, quoting Cunningham, "According to the Chinese authorities the White Huns first appeared in the countries on the Oxus in the beginning of the fifth century."

9. Introduction to his edition, p. x-xii.

10. Cf. the Prologue of the *Abhijñānaśakuntala*, according to the Bengali recension.

11. Rapson in *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, pp. 532-3 and Sten Konow in *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. II, part I, pp. xxvii-xxix.

12. See my *Date of Kālidāsa*, in which I have made a comparison of Kālidāsa and Aśvaghoṣa and answered the usual objections against the first century B.C. theory. I do not now think highly of my attempt to show that Kālidāsa's historical references point towards the first century B.C. Most of these so-called historical references exist only in the imagination of the theorist!

We should therefore, enquire into the history of the Huns and their wanderings in antiquity. The ancient Chinese historians tell us a lot about these people. The Huns were known to the Chinese in antiquity as Hiung-nu.¹³ Some scholars deny that Hiung-nu and Hun are identical but Hirth has conclusively proved their identity. The phonetic agreement between the name *Hun* on the one hand and *Hun-ū* and *Hiung-nu* on the other is so close that we cannot doubt their connexion. The problem has been finally settled by the agreements observed by Hirth between names in a list of the Hun king Attila's ancestors with names of Hiung-nu chiefs known from Chinese history.¹⁵ The home of the Hiung-nu was to the north of China in the Mongolian steppes from where they made depredations into Chinese territory as early as the thirteenth century B.C.¹⁶ but connected history of Hiung-nu-Chinese relations begins from the third century B.C.¹⁷ The great Chinese Emperor Shi Huangti of the Ts'in dynasty (king of Ts'in from 246 to 221 B.C. and Emperor of China 220-210 B.C.), who is notorious for the destruction of the ancient literature and the learned men of China, inflicted on the Hiung-nu a crushing defeat, drove them far into the north and, to keep them permanently out of Chinese territory, completed and extended the already existing Great Wall.¹⁸ This purpose, however, failed, on account of the collapse of the Ts'in dynasty immediately after Huangti and the Great Wall, though acting as some check on the Hiung-nu and forcing them to push to the north and to the south-west, did not remain impregnable and the Hiung-nu again and again penetrated into China and caused great havoc in its northern provinces.

13. Hirth, *The Ancient History of China*, p. 13. Other variants of the name are known, the earliest of them being *Hun-yü*.

14. In a paper "Ueber Wolga-Hunnen und Hiung-nu", published in the Proceedings of the Munich Academy (*Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-philologische Classe der königlichen bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Bd. II, fasc. 2, Muenchen, 1900)—*The Ancient History of China*, p. 184 n.

15. Hirth, *Sinologische Beiträge zur Geschichte der Tuerkvoelker*: I Die Ahnentafel Attila's nach Johannes von Thuröcz in *Bulletin of the Imperial Academy of St. Petersburg*, 5th Series, Vol. XIII, No. 2—*The Ancient History of China*, pp. 185-6.

16. Helmholt, *History of the World* (English Translation), Vol. II, p. 139. Chinese annals speak of tussle with the Hun-yü, even in the reign of the mythical king Huang-ti (2704-2595 B.C.)—Hirth, *Ancient History of China*, p. 13.

17. Parker, *A Thousand Years of the Tartars*, 2nd ed., pp. 6 ff., Helmholt, *op. cit.*, pp. 140 ff.

18. Parker, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-7.

The *Jenuye*, i.e., the Chief of the Hiung-nu whom Ts'in Haungti defeated was one Deuman by name, who was succeeded by his son Baghdur (209-173 B.C.), a great conqueror. Besides making several raids into Chinese territory, he began that process of dislodging the Yüe Chī from their home in Kan-su and along the Altyn Tagh, a process completed by his son Kayuk (173-162 B.C.), which led to several tribal shiftings and political changes, well known to students of Indian history.¹⁹ Chinese annals give a complete record of the succession of Hiung-nu Jenuyes from Deuman till about the end of the second century A.D. and their various relations with China—the contest for mastery from the time of Baghdur to that of the Jenuye Achi (114-105 B.C.), the period of Hiung-nu defeat and decline from 105 B.C. to 51 B.C. when the Jenuye Khuganja, distracted by internecine quarrels, submitted to China as a vassal, a short period of semi-independence and subsequent disintegration and collapse of Hiung-nu power by the end of the second century A.D.²⁰ The whole story is extremely wearisome to read on account of the long tale of massacres on both the sides.

Besides making incursions into China, whenever they got an opportunity, the Hiung-nu caused great terror to the merchants passing with their goods along the old trade route in the Tarim Basin, from where the Yüe Chī and the Usun had already been driven westward. The Hiung-nu used to attack traders from the north and if they chose the route to the south of the Taklamakan Desert, there were the Tibetan nomads, with whom the Hiung-nu were in alliance, to fall on them. Thus being plundered or with heavy toll levied by these northern or southern nomads, the poor traders had a very bad time of it. The terrible name of the Huns seems to have been carried by these traders to distant countries and we have the name *Unoi* among the Greeks, *Hunavo* among the Iranians²¹ and *Hūnāḥ* in India.²² Like Europeans, the Indians

19. V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, 4th ed., pp. 263-7.

20. Parker, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-72. Parker is my chief authority for what follows. I have also drawn on Helmholt, *History of the World*, Vol. II, pp. 139-142, 145-155.

21. In the Avestan *Yast* XIII. 100 = XIX. 86, following Westergaard's reading *hunūiwyō* ('from the Hunus'). But Geldner's new reading *hinūiwyō* ('from bondage'—Bartholomæx, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, 1814) makes reference to the Hunus extremely doubtful. The word *hunu* means 'son' in the other passages cited by Modi (*Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume*, pp. 68-72).

22. Lalitavistāra (Edn. by Lefmann), p. 126.

imported large quantities of Chinese silk, calling it, after its home, *cināṃśuka*.²³ Originally this western trade was in the hands of foreigners and China took very little interest in her export of silk. But during the reign of the great Chinese Emperor Wu Ti (140-87 B.C.) of the First Han Dynasty, the foreign policy of China knew a great change. After an unsuccessful attempt to destroy the Hiung-nu by guile, he sent the great traveller Chang K'ien to the west on a diplomatic mission to the old enemies of the Hiung-nu, the Yüe Chī. After a good deal of adventure, being captured and detained by the Hiung-nu both on his outward march and on his return journey, Chang K'ien brought very valuable information about the topography and political conditions of the western world, which the Emperor turned to very valuable account. Wu Ti secured the trade route along the Tarim Basin by posting strongly fortified military stations along the whole length,²⁴ separated the Tibetan nomads of the south from the Hiung-nu nomads of the north and inflicted on the latter a crushing defeat and drove them to the north. The transport of the western trade was now secured in Chinese hands and China now began to know a good deal about western countries, including India.

Before this, the Chinese knowledge of the western countries was practically blank and though we have full account in Chinese annals of the succession of the Hiung-nu Jenuyes from the time of Deuman and their movements in the vicinity of Chinese territory, we get no information about their movements in western countries. But from now the increased knowledge of western geography and the existence of Chinese outposts in the west enable the annalists to record bits of interesting information about Hiung-nu movements in the west. We thus read that the Hiung-nu Jenuye Hülugwengu unsuccessfully endeavoured, shortly after 68 B.C., to capture the Chinese military colonies in the western trade route and to put pressure on the Kuldja and Kashgar states, which were in

23. E.g. *Abhijñānaśakuntala*, I. 30, *Kumārasambhava*, VII. 4. *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* of the first century A.D. says (64) "raw silk and silk yarn and silk cloth are brought on foot through Bactria to Barygaza, and are also exported to Damirica (i.e. the Tamil country) by way of the river Ganges (sic)." (Schoff's translation, p. 48). The author's knowledge of the western coast of India and its trade was very accurate but of countries to the east of India extremely hazy.

24. In this connexion see Sir Aurel Stein's very interesting paper "Innermost Asia: Its Geography as a Factor in History" in *The Geographical Journal*, May 1925, pp. 397-403.

friendly relations with China. We are told in this connexion that the province now called Urgendj, "one of the Hiung-nu westernmost principalities, was engaged in this war."²⁵ This Urgendj is on the bank of the Oxus and the state of Kashgar which the Hiung-nu pressed on lies *between the sources of the Oxus and the Jaxartes*. We thus learn that in the first century B.C. the Hiung-nu occupied some portions of the trans-Oxonian region, where *Kālidāsa* also places his *Hūṇa*.

We hear again about the Hiung-nu in this region after a few years. Hulugwengu was succeeded by Okyenküte, who was followed by Hulugwengu's son, Khuganja (58-31 B.C.). I have mentioned already that this Khuganja, being distracted by interne-cine feuds submitted to China as a vassal in 51 B.C. He then moved to the north and organised a powerful dominion there. His brother Chirche, who was one of the rivals claiming the Jenuyeship and who ruled the eastern portion of the Hiung-nu territory, marched to the western portion with his horde and settled there. China was now at the height of her power. Chirche had given offence to the Emperor of China by assassinating a Chinese envoy. His guilty conscience and the fear of Chinese retribution made him move away farther to the west. We find him entering into alliance with the state of Samarkand, between the Oxus and the Jaxartes, and going there with his horde, much reduced during the march through severe cold. Here he was pursued and killed by a Chinese army (36 B.C.).²⁶ About the middle of the first century A.D., the Hiung-nu were divided into two groups, that of the Southern and of the Northern Jenuye. Parker says that at this time permanently appeared in the Sogdian region (between the Oxus and the Jaxartes) "the Hun nucleus afterwards destined to work their way into South Europe."²⁷ About the close of the first century A.D., the Northern Jenuyes "were totally unable to maintain their ground, and disappeared far away to the north, many of them no doubt finding their way (by the upper waters of the Selenga and the Irtysh to Issikul, the Aral, and the Caspian, struggling with the Bashkirs, the Alans, and the unknown tribes then occupying Russia) into Europe."²⁸ The Southern Jenuyes too could not hold their ground for more than a century after this and their power collapsed about

25. Parker, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

26. Parker, p. 43.

27. *Op. cit.*, p. 63.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 69.

the end of the second century A.D., though they later supplied to China some of her Emperors.

The Yüe Chī whom the Hiung-nu dislodged from their homes in the second century B.C. had been divided into two groups, the Great Yüe Chī and the Little Yüe Chī. The former supplied to India her Kuṣān rulers. A section of this Great Yüe Chī people appear later, according to Chinese historians, as the Ye-ta-i-li-to (or briefly, Ye-tha) or Epthalites, known to Europeans as White Huns, and in India and Iran, simply as Huns. This was probably because they were racially connected with the Hiung-nu or, better, were greatly mixed up with them. They originally dwelt to the north of the Great Wall of China as an insignificant tribe and were known as Hoa or Hoa-tun. In course of time they became very powerful and moved to the west of Khotan as far as the Oxus and the Murghāb rivers. This was when the Kuṣān power was tottering in the fourth century A.D.²⁹ The Epthalites or White Huns now occupied the territory of the Kuṣāns and began pressing on Persia. They invaded Bactria but were defeated near Merv by the Sassanian king Bahrām Gūr (420-438 A.D.). Firuz (459-484 A.D.) called in their aid in the war of succession but had himself to fight with them about the close of his reign and lost his life in the war. For two years Persia had to pay tribute to the Epthalites.³⁰ It was about the middle of this century that these Huns attacked India and their subsequent history is well known to the students of Indian history.³¹

This, in brief, is the history of Hun movements in the vicinity of the Oxus region from the earliest times. We find two distinct tribes, the Hiung-nu and the White Huns in different periods in this locality. We have definite evidence of Hiung-nu occupation of the banks of the Oxus in the first century B.C. with traces of their continuance in that locality for two to three centuries and the White Huns appear there about the fourth century A.D. Consequently Cunningham's statement that the Huns do not appear here before the fifth century A.D., on which Dr. Pathak has placed his reliance, cannot be accepted.

Now comes the question as to the identification of Kālidāsa's Hūṇa; are they Hiung-nu or White Hun? It is generally assumed that they are the latter. But why? We have absolutely no data

29. Sir Aurel Stein in "White Huns and Kindred Tribes" in *Indian Antiquary*, 1905, p. 80.

30. Huart, *Ancient Persia and Iranian Civilization*, pp. 129-131.

31. Smith, *Early History of India*, 4th ed., pp. 326-9 and 334-340.

in Kālidāsa's reference to the Hūṇa to determine the question.³² His statement would suit the Hiung-nu or the White Hun equally well. The local colour in Kālidāsa's references to countries and peoples in the fourth canto of the *Raghuvamśa* and in other works shows that he was a well-travelled man with keen power of observation and was very well informed about different countries. For such a man knowledge of the Hūṇa in the Oxus region is easily intelligible even before their arrival in India. I have already noted that the terror of the Hiung-nu name was carried far and wide by the traders bringing Chinese goods along the T'ien route before the Christian era. We have to date Kālidāsa independently of the Hūṇa problem and then decide the identification. If Kālidāsa belonged to the first century before or after Christ, the Hūṇa must be the Hiung-nu and, if to the fourth or the fifth century of the Christian era, they must be the White Hun. It should be noted that if the later date is determined on other grounds, it is not necessary to make Kālidāsa live about 455 A.D. on account of the Hūṇa reference, for even the White Huns had reached the Oxus region long before this date. Consequently Candragupta II could be his patron Vikramāditya as well as Skandagupta.

We have, therefore, to make efforts to determine the date of Kālidāsa independently of the Hūṇa problem and independently, as I believe, of the poet's alleged reference to Dignāga, his knowledge of scientific astronomy derived from the Greeks and the other arguments that have been adduced to place him in the Gupta period.³³

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32. It cannot be said that *Raghuvamśa*, IV, 68, c makes them White Huns because the cheeks of the widowed wives of the Hūṇa were turned red by slapping, for *kapolapātānādeśi* and not *pāṭalā* now appears to be the correct reading: the widows of the Hūṇa warriors gashed their cheeks and not slapped them—a method of mourning authenticated for the Huns (Helmholtz, Vol. V, p. 320). Even if the reading were *pāṭalā*, that would not have altered matters, for cheeks of "yellow" persons also turn red after constant striking.

33. See my *Date of Kālidāsa* for a full refutation of these arguments. My remarks there about the Hūṇa on pp. 127-8 were deficient for want of knowledge of Chinese history and I have tried above to remove that deficiency. Not knowing the Chinese language and having, therefore, had to depend on translations and summaries, I could not give fuller details; but I hope that though my account may suffer from errors of omission, there are none of commission. Parker, whom I have chiefly drawn on, was a great Chinese scholar and was Professor of Chinese in the University of Manchester. About the Dignāga theory, I would here add one remark: a careful examination of the commentary on the *Meghadūta* by Dakṣiṇāvartanātha revealed that he was an uncritical pedant and revelled in bringing in impossible references. Mallinātha, therefore, followed an unreliable guide.

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To my mind the question to settle first is the relation between Kālidāsa and Āsvaghoṣa. The agreements that I have brought to light in my monograph on Kālidāsa's date make it absolutely certain that of the two authors one definitely borrowed from the other. It may be that I am wrong in taking Āsvaghoṣa to be the borrower but a thorough comparison of the writings of the two authors should be made with a perfectly open mind. There are other ways of approaching the problem of Kālidāsa's date, e.g., the examination of his vocabulary and a careful study of the mythological references in his writings. These will naturally involve painstaking researches in a number of connected fields but we cannot escape the labour if we are to come to really definite conclusions. The extremely difficult problems of Kālidāsa's date cannot be solved so easily as many scholars are apt to believe.

Hindu Religious Movements in Medieval Deccan

By

PROF. S. HANUMANTA RAO, M.A.

[Note. The Author uses no diacritical marks and his article is allowed to go in as he wrote it. This was sent like the two articles immediately preceding for the Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar Commemoration Volume, and are published here at the instance of the editing committee.—EDITOR.]

ŚRĪ Madhwa Āchārya was the founder of one of the three important schools of South Indian philosophy, the other two being Śrī Śankara and Śrī Rāmānuja. He was born in 1238 A.D. at Pājakakshētra, a small village, 8 miles south-east of Udipi, near Mangalore, on the west coast of India.

The main source of information for the life of Śrī Madhwa is a Sanskrit biography, known as Madhwa Vijaya¹ by Narayana Paṇḍita, son of Trivikrama Paṇḍita, one of the disciples of Śrī Madhwa.

At a very early age Sri Madhwa resolved to enter the holy orders as a monk or *sanyasi* and approached Purushottama Tirtha or Achyutapreksha for initiation. Epigraphical evidence confirms this fact. An inscription² dated 1281 A.D. at Srikurmam, in the Ganjam District mentions Purushottam Mahatirtha as the teacher of Sri Madhwa. In a short time, Sri Madhwa obtained reputation as a scholar and a skilful debater and came to be known as Poorna-Prajna, Ananda Tirtha and Madhwa.

After establishing his reputation as a scholar and a saint he proceeded on a tour to the south, visiting Trivandrum, Rameswaram and Srirangam. This was followed by a tour to the Himalayas. On his return journey, he passed through Orissa, Kalinga and Andhra and converted to his faith two great scholars, Sobhana Bhatta and Sami Sastri, who later on became his successors in pontifical office, with the names, Padmanabha Tirtha and Narahari Tirtha. This triumphal return from an All-India pilgrimage was commemorated by the installation of a temple to Sri Krishna at Udipi. That Sri Madhwa was not only a great scholar but also a mystic and saint is evident from the soul enrapturing music of the 12 famous hymns³

1. Madhwa Vijaya, (Sanskrit). Nirnaya Sagar Press, Bombay.

2. Epigraphica Indica, Vol. 6 and South Indian Inscriptions, Texts, Vols. 5 and 6.

3. Dwadasa Stotra, Sanskrit. See Complete works, Sarva Moola.

that he composed in praise of Sri Krishna, on the day of the installation.

Some time later, he went on a second tour to the Himalayas. During this tour, he seems to have passed through Deogiri, whose ruler was Mahadeva (Chapter 10, verse 4, Madhwa Vijaya). He is also said to have halted at Delhi and conversed with the Moslem prince in his own language (Chapter 10, verse 10.) and that he was helped by a prince with boats to recross the Ganges (Chapter 10, verse 30).

The latter period of his life was spent at Udipi and the neighbouring country. The Madhwa Vijaya refers to King Jayasimha, as having prostrated himself before Sri Madhwa. He may be identified with the ruler of Kerala, Jayasimha, whose son, Ravivarma Kulasekhara was a great warrior, who conquered the Cholas and Pandyas and was crowned at Conjeevaram in 1313 A.D.⁴

Trivikrama Pandita, the father of the biographer of Sri Madhwa is said to have blessed Jayasimha thus :

Swah sundari subhalata parirambhini dhuh paurandari bhavati
yam bhajatam bhujishya
Ananda Tirtha bhagavat pada padma renuh swananda do
bhavatu te Jayasimha Bhupa.⁵

Invoking on King Jayasimha domestic happiness, prosperity and everlasting bliss by the touch of the dust of the holy feet of Ananda Tirtha. Trivikrama Pandita was an ardent admirer of Sri Madhwa and had implicit faith in his spiritual greatness. Only those who have experienced the vision of God, through the grace of a teacher or guru can understand the way in which such men completely surrender themselves to that teacher. It is in that spirit of humility, gratitude and complete self surrender, that Trivikrama composed the famous hymn, known as Vayu Stuti,⁶ where he addresses his Master as father, mother, teacher and true friend and prays for an evergrowing, unselfish and unpretentious life of devotion to God and to his Master Sri Madhwa.

Matarme materiswan Piaratulaguro Bhratarishtaptha bandho
swamin sarvantaratman . . .
Govinde dehi bhaktim bhavaticha bhagavan urjitham nir-
nimittam, nirvyajam, nischalam. . . .

4. Pandyan Kingdom, K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Page 211.

5. From a collection in my possession.

6. Vayu Stuti (Sanskrit).

The followers of Sri Madhwa continue to the present day to recite this hymn daily in praise of Sri Madhwa and feel that Sri Madhwa is still with them and that they are touching the feet of Sri Madhwa and listening to his voice, as Trivikrama did.

Besides Trivikrama, several others joined holy orders, the most important being Madhawa Tirtha and Akshobhya Tirtha.

After the death of the parents of Sri Madhwa, his own brother, Vishnu Tirtha entered holy orders and established a monastery at Subrahmanya, 50 miles east of Mangalore. Of the severe austerities and penances that characterised the life of Vishnu Tirtha, a vivid account is given in Madhwa Vijaya (Chapter 15, verses 97 to 120).

Seven more monks were initiated who along with Vishnu Tirtha were the 8 monks who established 8 monasteries at Udipi.

The complete works of Sri Madhwa are 37 in number and the collection is known as Sarvamoola.⁷ They extend over a wide range of literature, being commentaries on some portions of the Rig Veda, several Upanishads, the Brahmasutras, the Bhagavat Gita, Bharata and Bhagavata purana. His attack on the rival schools of philosophy is to be found not only in the above commentaries but also in 10 more original works, known as the Dasa-prakaranas. There were in addition a few hymns and other treatises dealing with methods of meditation and practices of religious ritual.

The leading doctrines of Sri Madhwa's philosophy are summarised in a single verse⁸ :—

Sriman madhwamate Harih paratarah satyam jagat tatwato
Bhedo jivaganah Hareranuchara nichocha bhavam gatah
Muktirnaija suksmanubhutiramala bhaktischa tatsadhanam
Hyakshadi tritayam pramana makhilamamnayaika vedyo harih.

In the theology of Sri Madhwacharya Hari or Vishnu is the highest God, the Universe is real, Difference between God and individual soul, soul and soul, God and matter, matter and matter, matter and soul is real, the individual souls which entirely depend upon Vishnu are graded as superior and inferior, emancipation is the experience of the natural bliss of the soul, pure devotion is the means to this end, perception, inference and word are proofs or

7. Sarva Moola (Sanskrit).

8. Quoted from Proceedings of the fifth Oriental Conference, Vol. 2, page 1023.

sources of knowledge, Hari or Vishnu is knowable only by the Vedas.

On January 13th 1318 Sri Madhwa passed away.

PADMANABHA TIRTHA 1318 to 1324 A.D.

Padmanabha Tirtha was one of the scholars from the Telugu country. Some time before 1318, he migrated to the kingdom of Kampila Deva, the present Anegundi of H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions. Near Anegundi, on a rocky island in the Tungabhadra river is the tomb or Brindavana of Padmanabha Tirtha. He wrote commentaries on some of the works of Sri Madhwa.⁹

Trivikrama Pandita also wrote a commentary on the Sutra Bhashya, known as Tatwa Pradipa.¹⁰

NARAHARI TIRTHA, 1324 to 1333 A.D. "

Narahari Tirtha is a statesman, scholar and saint. In addition to the biographical information in the Narahari Stotra, we possess abundant epigraphic evidence about Narahari Tirtha¹¹ He belonged to the Kalinga country. Its rulers were the Eastern Gangas, Narasimha 1238-64, Bhanudeva 1264-78, Narasimha 1278-1305, Bhanudeva 1306-1328. The inscriptions of Narahari Tirtha are found in the Sri Kurmam temple in the Ganjam District of the Madras Presidency and the Simhachellum temple in the Vizagapatam District. The earliest inscription of Narahari Tirtha is dated 1264 A.D. An inscription dated 1271 A.D. mentions that Narahari the sage, who is a protege of King Sri Bhanudeva made a grant by the orders of Bhanudeva. Another inscription of 1282 mentions that Narahari Tirtha was a provincial governor or Mandalika. The most important of these inscriptions is dated 1293 where Narahari Tirtha Sri-pada is said to be the disciple of Srimad Ananda Tirtha Pujya Pada-charya and that he installed the images of Rama, Sita and Lakshmana in Sri kurmam.

The Narahari Stotra¹² says that 80 days before Sri Madhwa passed away, Narahari Tirtha joined Sri Madhwa with the images

of Rama, Sita and Lakshmana and that Sri Madhwa worshipped them and handed them over to his successors.

Several inscriptions relating to Narahari Tirtha are also found in the temple at Simhachallum. They are dated 1291 and 1292 A.D. In the presence of Narahari Tirtha, Oddadi Jayanta Raja of Matsya dynasty made a gift.¹³

The Narahari Stotra refers to the regency of Narahari Tirtha in Orissa for 12 years. Probably Narasimha was a boy and Narahari conducted the administration from 1278 to 1290. An inscription of 1281 mentions that Narahari protected the kingdom from the invasion of the Sabaras. In the same year, he got constructed a temple to Yogananda Narasimha at Sri kurman.

The last years of Narahari Tirtha were spent at Anegundi or Kampila. On a rock in the River Tungabhadra, 2 miles down from Anegundi towards Hampi is the tomb or Brindavana of Narahari Tirtha.

Narahari Tirtha was a scholar and composed commentaries on Sri Madhwa's sutra bhashya, gitabhashya and yamaka bharata.¹⁴

One of the chief contributions of Sri Madhwa to the religious movement of medieval India was the emphasis laid on Bhakti or devotion as a means to God vision. His followers have composed popular devotional songs in the vernacular. They are known as belonging to the Dasa kuta, similar to the Bhaktipantha of Maharashtra. Every Dasa takes a *nom de plume* and composes songs in praise of God or the masters. Through these songs, the teachings of Sri Madhwa were conveyed to the masses. The *nom de plume* of Narahari Tirtha is Raghupathi Vittala and a few hymns of his are still extant. In one of these entitled, Know thyself within thyself, he admonishes the seeker after God to abandon attachment to the senses and obtain true wisdom. (Tiliko ninnolege neene.) In another he condemns the life of hypocrisy led by the man of the world, the outward conformity to religious forms and the inward emptiness of all those qualities that are necessary for the upward path of holiness. (Inthu marulade.)¹⁵

The fall of Kampila took place in 1334 A.D. The traditional date ascribed to the foundation of Vijayanagara is 1336. Vidya-

9 & 10. Catus-sutri Bhashya by B. N. K. Sarma. Annamalai University, 1934.

11. Eastern Gangas by R. Subbarao in Journal of Andhra Historical Research Society, Vol. 8.

12. Narahari Stotra in Stotra Mahodadhi (Sanskrit).

13. Journal of Andhra Historical Research Society. Vol. 8.

14. See Catus Sutra Bhasya, *Ibid.*

15. From a collection in my possession.

ranya, sage and scholar of the rival school of thought received state patronage at the court of Vijayanagara. In 1347 Alauddin Bahmani Shah established his independence in the Deccan. The country between the Tungabhadra and Krishna known as the Raichur Doab was a debatable ground between the Bahmanis and the Vijayanagar kings. The land beyond the Krishna and the Bhima was under the Bahmanis. The Burhani Masir says that Sultan Alauddin Hasan sent Sikandar Khan to Malkaid, "and the Hindus of that place having heard and seen the recent success of the Turks deemed it advisable to refrain from offering resistance: they therefore tendered their submission and agreed to pay tribute and so obtained immunity from molestation by Sikandar's troops."

So long as the Hindu feudal vassals acknowledged the suzerainty of the Sultan of Gulbarga and regularly paid their tribute, no attempts were made to interfere with the life of the people in the Jagirs and samasthans. Monks and holy men, who had no property with them and whose conduct was above suspicion had not only perfect freedom of travel all over the country but were held in high esteem by the Muslim rulers.

Thus the successors of Narahari Tirtha left Anegundi and Hampi and proceeded towards the River Bhima.

MADHAWA TIRTHA, 1333-1350

The pontifical succession passed from Narahari Tirtha to Madhawa Tirtha. His tomb or Brindavana is at Manur on the banks of the river Bhima, near Raichur in H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions.

AKSHOBHYA TIRTHA, 1350-1365.

Akshobhya Tirtha, the successor of Madhawa Tirtha, was a great scholar and skilful debater. From the time of Padmanabha Tirtha, there was a Madhwa monastery at Mulabagal, now in the Mysore province. After the establishment of the kingdom of Vijayanagara, Mulabagal formed an important province, whose viceroy from 1351 to 1356 was the enterprising son of Bukka, Kumara Kampana. He was, perhaps, the prince that patronised Akshobhya.

A famous disputation took place at Mulabagal between Vidyanarya and Akshobhya on the import of the phrase *Tatwamasi*, Thou

16. King. History of the Bahmani dynasty. (Indian Ant. Reprint). Page 9.

art That. Sri Vedanta Desika of the Ramanuja school acted as an umpire and gave the verdict in favour of Akshobhya.¹⁷

Similar disputations took place between the Jainas and Vaishnavas at the court of Bukka the first.

The tomb or Brindavana of Akshobhya is at Malkhed in H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions. He passed away on 4th December 1365 handing over the pontifical succession to Jaya Tirtha.

JAYA TIRTHA, 1365-1388.

Jaya Tirtha was the second great outstanding personality in the history of the Madhwa religion, after its founder, Sri Madhwa. He belonged to a very wealthy Mahratta family of Mangalved, 13 miles south of the famous Vaishnava centre of Pandharpur. His name was Dhonde Rao and his father's name was Raghunath Rao. His father was the head of a cavalry force and the son was brought up in luxury and opulence and had two wives. We do not know the circumstances that led to the abandonment of all his worldly possessions. On a certain day, when he was drinking water in the River Bhima, seated on horseback, he happened to meet Akshobhya Tirtha and this meeting led to his entering into holy orders as a monk. All attempts of his parents to dissuade him from such a course proved futile.

Jaya Tirtha spent his days in the caves of the Yerogola hill near Malkhed and wrote brilliant commentaries on the works of Sri Madhwa and is known as Tika Acharya. Sage Vidyanarya is said to have come to Yeragola to visit Jaya Tirtha and invited him to Vijayanagara and honoured him by taking him on an elephant procession.

He wrote commentaries or Tikas on (1) Rig Bhashya, (2, 3) Isavasya and Shatprasna, (4) Sutra Bhashya, known as Tatwa Prakasika, (5) Anu Vyakhyana, known as Nyaya Sudha, his masterpiece, (6, 7) Gita Bhashya and Gita Tatparya, known as Prameya Dipika and Nyaya Dipika, (8 to 17) Dasaprakaranas of Sri Madhwa.

In his works Jaya Tirtha acknowledges his indebtedness to Padmanabha Tirtha and Akshobhya Tirtha in addition to Sri Madhwa.¹⁸

17. The Life of Sri Vyasaraja by B. Venkoba Rao (Bangalore. Introduction, page xxxvii.).

18. Nyaya Sudha by Jaya Tirtha (Sanskrit) and Tatwaprakasika by Jaya Tirtha (Sanskrit).

One of the disciples of Jaya Tirtha, Vyasa Tirtha wrote a biography of his master known as Jaya Tirtha Vijaya.¹⁹ He also wrote commentaries on Kathaka, Talavakara, Manduka and Atharvana Bhashyas.

Another disciple of Jaya Tirtha was Vijayadhwaja, whose commentary on the Bhagavata Purana is one of the most popular of devotional works.

Jaya Tirtha is regarded by some as having belonged to the Dasakuta with the *nom de plume*. Swami Vittala. His psalms, however, are not known to be extant. Like his Master Sri Madhwa, he emphasised on the importance of Bhakti or devotion as a means to Mukti or realisation. In his Nyaya Sudha he defined Bhakti as follows :—Niravadhikanantaanavadya kalyanagunatwajana purvakaah swatmatmiyasamastavastubhyonekagunadhika antarayasahasrenapyapratibaddho niranthara premapravahah.

The incessant flow of love, which is preceded by the knowledge that He is possessed of unequalled, unsurpassed, infinite, auspicious attributes, which exceeds many fold one's love to oneself, one's relations and belongings, which is not retarded or shaken by a thousand troubles and difficulties.²⁰

The tomb or Brindavana of Jaya Tirtha is at Malkhed. If Udipi is regarded as the Mecca of the Madhwas of the whole of India south of the Vindhyas and Narbada, Malkhed is looked upon with similar reverence by the Madhwas of the H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions. For the maintenance of this tomb an annual grant is given by the government of His Exalted Highness.

VIDYADHIRAJA 1388-1392.

The succession was handed over to Vidyadhiraja, whose tomb or Brindavana is at Yeragola near Malkhed.

Vidyaranya, the patron saint of the first dynasty of Vijayanagara died in the year 1395. In November, 1397 Firoz Shah Bahmani ascended the throne bringing to a close a long period of peace between Vijayanagara and the Bahmani Kingdom. Harihara the second and his minister Muddappa Dandanayaka followed a policy of equal patronage to all the religions in their kingdom. There was also a split among the disciples of Vidyadhiraja. These facts may explain the migration of Kavindra 1392-99 and Vagisa 1399-1403

from Malkhed to Anegundi, where we find their tombs on the same rocky island, where Padmanabha Tirtha was entombed.

The successors of Vagisa, Ramachandra 1403-36, Vidyanidhi 1436-1444 spend their last years at Yeragola and are entombed there, while the next in succession, Raghunatha 1444-1502 is entombed at Malkhed. No one who succeeded to this particular monastic line after 1502 chose to make Malkhed his last resting place. But for a period of nearly 2 centuries from 1317 to 1502 there were 11 pontiffs, of whom 6 chose either Malkhed or the neighbouring hill of Yeragola as their last resting place, while 4 others chose Anegundi or Hampi.

One epoch is closed in the history of this religious movement and a more glorious epoch begins with the accession of the second Vijayanagara dynasty. That will be the subject of the next chapter.

19. Jaya Tirtha Vijaya (Sanskrit).

20. Quoted from Sri Madhwa by C. R. Krishna Rao, Udipi 1929, p. 137.

APPENDIX 1.

Genealogy showing the monastic succession of one of the principal monasteries established by Sri Madhwa.

Sri Madhwa or Ananda Tirtha, 1238-1317 A.D.

(had 4 disciples who held pontifical office in succession)

Padmanabha Tirtha 1317-1324 (Anegundi on R. Tunga- bhadra)	Narahari Tirtha 1324-1333 (2 miles from Anegundi near Hampi)	Madhwa Tirtha 1333-1350 (Manur on R. Bhima)	Akshobhya Tirtha 1350-1367 (Malkhed) Jaya Tirtha 1367-1388 (Malkhed on R. Kagini) Vidyadhiraja 1388-1392 (Yeragola 3 miles from Malkhed) Kavindra 1392-1399 (Anegundi) Vagesa 1399-1403 (Anegundi) Ramachandra 1403-1436 (Yeragola) Vidyanidhi 1436-1444 (Yeragola) Raghunatha 1444-1502 (Malkhed) Raghuvarya 1502-1557 (Anegundi)
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N.B.—The places mentioned refer to the places where their last mortal remains were (laid at rest) entombed. The Hindus call them Brindavanas or Sacred Burial Grounds. All of them are situated in H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions. The dates from 1317 onwards refer to the period of their pontifical office.

APPENDIX 2.

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11. Life and Times of Madhwacharya by S. Hanumantha Rao in the Journal of the Madras University, Vols. 1 and 2.
12. The Religious School of Sri Madhwa and its influence on Vijayanagara by S. Hanumantha Rao in Journal of the Mythic Society, Bangalore, 1930.
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Obituary

PROFESSOR JARL CHARPENTIER.

It is matter for great regret that Professor Jarl Charpentier should have passed away on the 5th of July 1935. We had heard from him of an illness from which he had apparently suffered very badly. His passing away at the early age of 52 is a sad loss to Oriental scholarship, and it is not easy to fill his place, as his reading was very wide and the profundity of his learning great. He was born on the 17th of December 1884, received his early education at Gothenburg, and graduated from the University of Uppsala in 1902 as a student of Comparative Philology. The names of both his teachers, Professor K. F. Johansson of the Uppsala University and Professor Jacobi of Bonn are credential enough for his great scholarship. After attaining to a doctorate of philosophy in 1908 at Uppsala, he became Deputy Professor first, and rose to the professoriate in succession to Professor Johansson in 1927. His contributions, generally to German journals, were learned and frequent. He devoted attention to early Jain History and edited the Śvētāmbara classic Uttarādhyāyana-sūtra. Other interesting works from his pen in English are the Indian Travels of Apollonius of Tyana published in 1934 and Fenicio's *Livro da Seita dos Indios Orientais*, of which, at our suggestion, he undertook an English version, which he has not completed, having sent on the manuscript of only the first two chapters. As a scholar he was thorough in his work. He read widely, and was full of information on every subject that he took up for study. We have had occasion to know him by correspondence, and the loss is not without a personal touch.

PROFESSOR SYLVAIN LEVI.

By the death of Professor Sylvain Levi on 16-11-1935, another great Orientalist passes away into the great unknown. He was born in Paris in 1863, and had attained to the 72nd year before he died. He was at work even up to the moment of his death. He was appointed Professor of Sanskrit in the Paris University in 1890 at the age of 27, and, four years after, rose to the position of Professor of Sanskrit and Indian civilization in the Collège D'France. The work of Professor Levi covered quite a half century, and actually began with the publication of his great work, the *Theatre Indienne* in 1890, which at once secured for him an established posi-

tion. It was he who was primarily responsible for the fact widely recognised now that the History of India and its civilization could not be studied in isolation, and his work throughout partook of the character of being Asiatic rather than Indian, as in fact that was his conviction that the whole should be studied as one. His studies ranged over the whole wide field of Asiatic culture, and took into it Sanskrit, Vedic Studies, studies Buddhistic, which necessitated the study of Chinese and Tibetan, and, what is much more remarkable, other languages of Asia. This led him to the discovery of a new Indo-European language long forgotten, called by him Kuchi from the name of the locality, where it had its provenance, but generally labelled "Tokharien B." He was a constant and assiduous worker, and we are indebted to him for many works of the first importance. The Doctrine of Sacrifices in the Brahmanas appeared in 1896. His great work on Nepal came about in 1904. Mahayānasūtrālamkāra was published in 1907 and Vasubandhu's Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi in 1926. These are only a few; but they are enough to give evidence of the depth of his scholarship, and the width of his sympathies. He was invited to visit India by the Calcutta University in 1914, but he could not accept the invitation owing to the outbreak of war. He was in Calcutta and in the Viśva-bhārati during the years 1920-21. He was one among the 20 on whom the Calcutta University conferred honorary degrees on the occasion of the conferment of a degree by the Calcutta University on the Prince of Wales (now King Edward VIII), who visited Calcutta in 1921. He paid three visits to India, the last when he returned from Japan in 1929. He was responsible not merely for widening the scope of Indian studies, but even for creating the machinery for the efficient prosecution of those studies. He had a great share in the foundation of the L'Ecole Française D'Extreme-Orient at Hanoi. He assisted in the foundation of a research Institute in Japan, called the Jaison Franco-Japonaise, the most important work of which planned by him being an Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Buddhism, of which a few parts have already been published.

Apart from these publications which number many, he was a living institution himself in Paris for Indian studies, and was of great assistance to Indian students going there. He took so much trouble for the Indians who went to Paris that he put himself to great personal trouble even to secure lodgings for them, threw open his library for their use, and was always assiduous in rendering them all assistance in their work. We can testify to this general opinion regarding him from the assistance that he rendered to a

young man whom we had the pleasure of sending to Paris with an introduction to him. We had the honour of meeting him at the Convocation of the Calcutta University in 1921 and had been much with him during the Second Oriental Conference at Calcutta, over which he presided; and we saw him passing through Madras after his last visit to the East. He carried forward with great success the traditions of the French School of Indology created by the great scholars, Eugene Burnouf and Abel Bergaigne.

Reviews

THE VOYAGE OF THOMAS BEST TO THE EAST INDIES, 1612—1614

By SIR WILLIAM FOSTER, C.I.E., pp. LVI & 316

The Hakluyt Society, Second Series No. LXXV, issued for 1934.

The tenth voyage of the East India Company with two ships, the *Hosiander* and the *Dragon*, was commanded by Thomas Best who had acquired the reputation of a careful navigator and a capable commander and who was assisted by Aldworth and by Canning, a brother of the latter, being the ancestor of George Canning, the statesman and Earl Canning, the Governor-General of India. It concluded an inconsequential agreement with the Diwan of Ahmadabad which was quickly declared to be of no value and fought a few engagements with the Portuguese who had been aiming at the driving of the English merchants out of Surat. Best tried hard to conclude a definite treaty with the ruler of Achin which would confirm the privileges secured by the first treaty of Lancaster. The voyage was extended to Tiku and Bantam where he got permission to build a suitable factory and arranged to amalgamate the various factories set up on account of the different voyages. He then returned to England with a cargo that enabled the earnings of a good dividend. Best's fight with the Portuguese raised English prestige and enabled the settlement of a small English colony at Surat under Aldworth, while Paul Canning, and Thomas Kerridge after him, went over to the Emperor's court with presents and letters.

Best's subsequent relations with the Company were neither cordial nor continuous; he was flatly told that "his service at Suratt was nothing extraordinary; at Achen costlie and nothing beneficiall; at Bantam much performed to the prejudice and wrong of the Company: his shipp (the *Hosiander*) left behind; his voyage very poore, and one of the meanest that hath bene made for the Companye . . . his commission neglected which directed him to the Moluccas." Best was, however, able to enter the service of the Crown and distinguished himself in an action against the Dutch in 1623.

Best's log of his voyage had been printed in part by Purchas. It has been now supplemented with a journal kept by Standish, the

Surgeon of the *Hosiander* and continued by its Purser; two other journals kept by the Masters of the *Hosiander* and the *Dragon*, extracts from the narratives of the Chaplain and of Nicholas Withington, who came out as an attendant upon Captain Best and whose original was available to Purchas and a Portuguese account of the fighting in the Gulf of Cambay (of Bocarro) have also been given in the book. Best's narrative is reproduced in full, having been taken from the India office Marine Records; and it is presumed by the editor that this was the copy used by Purchas. The journal of Standish, the Surgeon of the *Hosiander*, was continued after his death by Croft, the Purser for a few weeks. The third journal is assumed to be that of Nathaniel Salmon, Master of the *Hosiander*; it seems to have been consulted by Purchas and provides a useful supplement to Best's account of the voyage. The next, by Bonner, Master of the *Dragon*, has been taken out of Purchas. The Narratives of Copland, the Chaplain, and of Withington, a complete account of whose adventures has been given by our Editor in his *Early Travels in India* (1921—pp. 188—233) and letters written by Best, Croft, Aldworth, Kerridge, etc., supplemented by extracts from the Court Minutes,—though the relevant volume of them running on from January 1610 to December 1613 has been missing for long and thus "depriving us of our fullest and most authoritative source of information"—these constitute the remaining matter of the book.

Best's journal grows very thin for the doings at Bantam, where, however, some welcome light is afforded by the journal of John Jourdain. Copland's narrative was available to Purchas in a fuller form; he made a good impression of his work and his benefactions are still in evidence in the University of Aberdeen. Bocarro's narrative of the struggle of DaCunha with Best's fleet, near Surat concludes with the idea that he had well discharged the duty entrusted to him and had not disappointed expectations, as he had compelled the Englishman to leave the harbour, flee and go away without cargo. The Portuguese seemed then to have been at war with Malik Amber also. When Best reached Surat in September, 1612, all unaware of Middleton's proceedings regarding Gujarat ships which he met in the Red Sea, he was received with a show of cordiality by the Mughal officials who thought that conciliation was the only safe course. His negotiations included the provision for the residence at the imperial court of an English ambassador, if only for the redress of grievances. The Portuguese had to be reckoned with; and DaCunha who was then refitting in the neighbourhood, resolved to crush the intruders and intimidate the Mug-

hal officials by a sudden attack on Best's fleet. The latter's achievement at Surat is best seen in this setting; his doings at Achin and Bantam form a page of an important book of the Company's transactions in those days. The Editor's usual acumen, wealth of material quoted and learned notes are all evident in every page of this book which is one of the best of this remarkably good series.

C. S. S.

ISLAM AND MODERNISM IN EGYPT

A study of the Modern Reform Movement inaugurated by
Muhammad Abduh

By CHARLES C. ADAMS

American Mission, Egypt.

Oxford University Press, 1933. Price 7/6 net, pp. IX & 283

Shaikh Muhammad Abdu was teacher and journalist in Cairo and later developed into reformer and public servant; he reorganised the El Azhar and as the Mufti of Egypt laboured hard to render Islam entirely adaptable to the requirements of modern civilisation, besides endeavouring to bring about a literary revival in Arabic. He was himself a follower in the foot steps of Jamal 'ad-din Afghani, the well-known leader and founder of Liberal Pan-Islamism, a great patriot according to his admirers, a dangerous agitator according to his antagonists, an account of whom was included by W. S. Blunt in his *Secret History of the British Occupation of Egypt* (1907). He was closely identified with the young Egyptian movement which culminated in the Arabi revolt and in the subsequent British occupation of Egypt. Abdu was exiled from Egypt for complicity in the Arabi rising and joined Jamal 'ad-din in Paris for a time. Mr. Adams would find in Abdu more a reformer and an educationist than a revolutionist. The Modernists in Egypt have always looked upon Abdu as their leader, while the conservatives have respected his learning and beheld in him the apologist of Islam. He left his mark upon his age; and even Lord Cromer recognised that he and his party fell between the two extremes; not able to carry along with them either the conservatives or "the mimics of European ways."

Abdu's position among the great leaders and reformers of Islam is firmly rooted. Mr. Adams who devotes three chapters to his bio-

graphy, deals at equal length with his principles and doctrines. He felt that philosophy and the secular sciences should not be mixed up with questions of religion; partly because of the fear that religious intolerance and sectarian bias might throttle the spirit of independent investigation as the history of Islam has shown. He devoted his main attention to the task of a religious revival; but trenchantly criticised any blind acceptance of beliefs. It was his firm conviction that the spirit of Islam, as truly conceived, was tolerant of all scientific investigation and has been more tolerant in the past than Christianity. (p. 142). He is sanguine that the intolerant spirit of present day Islam would be passing away quickly before the incoming tide of good and fresh ideas. Abdu follows two separate lines of necessity for prophecy, the one being psychological and the other being sociological. He developed the theory of corporate unity and the corporate morality of the Muslim community as a whole, based on the principle of Mutual Co-operation and encouragement. A basis can be found for the union of all Muslims in the return to the simplest and most essential form of Islam, of which the social regulations are merely temporal ones, subject to modification according to circumstances. Abdu believed in the capacity of Islam to combine the essentials of all religions and to "unite all men in the bonds of one true religion" (p. 176).

The mantle of leadership passed on from Abdu to Muhammad Rashid Rida, his biographer, pupil and follower, who had been all along labouring to rouse the Muslim nations into striving for effective competition with the other nations and to realise a common Islamic brotherhood that would ignore national lines. He had no sympathy with the merely secular Nationalists of Egypt and Turkey; and the Manar party, so named after his paper, *Al Manar*, has come to be applied to all who have been following his and Abdu's ideals and principles. The party has had greater support from the Effendi (Europeanised) section than from the Azhar (Conservative) group. Journalistic advocacy of political nationalism and social reform programmes have been the main elements of the activity of the party. Mr. Davis devotes some attention to the younger modernists of Egypt. It is an interesting task for the student of modern history and politics to trace points of similarity and contrast between the evolution of Egyptian Modernism and Indian Mussulman idealistic, social and political advance and leadership.

C. S. S.

MAURYAN PUBLIC FINANCE

By DR. M. H. GOPAL, M.A., PH.D.,
University of Mysore.

Published by George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London.
Price 12s. 6d.

THE history of the Great Mauryan Empire has been enriched by the discovery of the Kaṭṭaliya Arthaśāstra which has been generally accepted as the work of the Chancellor of the first Maurya monarch Chandragupta. A number of fruitful studies has been the result of this momentous discovery by specialists in ancient Indian polity. Among such studies the volume under notice takes a legitimate place. In this very interesting study of an intricate subject and of a technical character Dr. Gopal has utilised the material in the Arthaśāstra of Kaṭṭaliya, and has drawn comparisons from other parts of the ancient world, especially Athens. One chief feature of this study is to present the Mauryan Public Finance in the light of modern economics. Though the author has succeeded in his endeavour to show that the public finance of the Mauryan period anticipates modern financial systems and economic institutions, several critics may take objection to the author's instituting a comparison of institutions separated by more than 2,000 years. But it is an undisputed fact, that one branch of study in ancient India was *varta* or the science of Economics and it is therefore no wonder if the Mauryan financier drew revenues from land, mines, duties, taxes, etc., and expended money for civil and military establishments, for irrigation, poor relief, famines, etc.

The book is divided into two parts. Part I deals with revenue in ten chapters. The first two chapters are devoted to a classification of Mauryan items of revenue under modern heads. Revenue from land and irrigation is treated in chapter III. Mauryan octroi duties are compared with British Indian customs duties. After examining various kinds of tolls, a chapter is devoted to items of excise and salt revenues, duty on prostitutes, actors etc., is brought under the excise revenue, and is again referred to under income-tax. Other sources of revenue were from Government undertakings such as forests, and mines and miscellaneous taxes such as poll-tax and income-tax. The last two chapters of this part deal with possible sources of revenue in financial difficulties, and exemptions from taxation whenever there was a need for it.

Part II is on expenditure, and has six chapters. After studying the principles guiding expenditure the author proceeds to examine the expenses under different heads—civil, Royal household and ecclesiastical. Other items of expenditure were medicine, poor relief

famines and education. But the major portion of the expenses was covered by irrigational and other state undertakings as well as by the military department. The last chapter is a study of the financial administration and is concerned with the accountants, heads of departments, retrenchment and punishment for defaults. One would wish that more space is devoted to this study which is of absorbing interest to students of ancient and Modern Indian administration. There is a bibliography and index. Thus the study is a useful one and we congratulate Dr. Gopal on his excellent book.

V. R. R. Dikshitar.

THE UNIVERSITY OF NĀLANDĀ

By H. D. SANKALIA, M.A.,

With a preface by Rev. Fr. Henry Heras, S.J.,

Published by B. G. Paul & Co., Madras,

Price Rs. 5 or 7s. 6d. (1934).

The great temple of learning, the University of Nālandā, was the most magnificent institution of the medieval period of Indian History. Though there is a dearth of material to reconstruct the history of this once internationally famous institution, still Mr. Sankalia has done his best to give us a connected account from its earliest mention in the Buddhist books. The author takes the history of Nālandā to the time of the Buddha and Mahāvīra who spent their *cāturmāsya* or rain-retreat in that place. The main study rests on the accounts left by the Chinese pilgrims who visited India and especially Nālandā in the heyday of its prosperity. Relying then upon the Chinese and Tibetan documents and also upon the archaeological finds, Sankalia has succeeded in producing a book of much value to students of Indian culture.

Nālandā is made out to be a Buddhist institution from the beginning to the end. But this is doubtful. At least we want more facts to confirm the position taken by the author. That it was a University as we understand the term to-day no one can dispute. There were other institutions equally in a flourishing condition and spreading far the torch-light of wisdom—Valabhi, Vikramaśīla and Kāñchī of South India. Among the celebrated University teachers who built up the glory of the institution were from Nagarjuna and Aryadeva to Dharmakīrti and Śāntarakṣita. There is evidence of the esteem which king Harṣa had for these Paṇḍitas, though Bāṇa is silent with regard to Nālandā.

It is evident that Nālandā was a teaching University. Mr. Sankalia tells us that there were different schools of learning. Logic

and Theology, Astronomy and technical sciences, arts and crafts, were all studied in that institution. *Tantra* which is regarded indigenous to Buddhism, though not quite convincingly proved was an important item of the curriculum. But it must be remarked in this connection that the Hindu deities were found side by side with the representations of the Buddhist hierarchy, and therefore the form of worship was not exclusively Buddhist. Besides there is no reference to the *Tantric* culture by the Chinese travellers on whose accounts the whole thesis is built up.

Interesting indeed is the chapter on the student life in the University (Ch. VII). The age limit to become a University student, the examination, the practice of discipline, dress, meals and amusements of the students are all vividly presented. Chapter IX sets out the claim of Nālandā as an international University. The next chapter deals with the end of Nālandā due to its destruction by the Mohammedans. Founded by Kumarāgupta I and patronised by the Pālas the University ran a long course in a flourishing condition. It was a temple of learning not exclusively Buddhist or Hindu, but represented all schools of thought in the country.

The book forms Vol. XII of the Indian Historical Research Institute, Bombay, under the guidance of the veteran Indologist, Rev. Fr. Heras, who also contributes a short but interesting foreword to the volume under notice.

V. R. R. Dikshitar.

THE MAUKHARIS

By MR. E. A. PIRES, M.A.,

Published by B. G. Paul & Co., Madras, Rs. 6.

This book forms No. 10 of the useful series of publications of the Indian Historical Research Institute, Bombay, Rev. Fr. Heras S.J., the Director has introduced the young author to the public, the work being a thesis submitted to the Bombay University for the M.A. Degree.

Until very recently the existence of the ancient ruling Indian dynasty of the Maukharis was not quite known, and it is only the patient researches of scholars that have enabled us to reconstruct the history of this important ruling family. One such recent attempt is that of Edward A. Pires. The Maukharis were Kṣatriya princes who ruled from the third to the eighth century A.D. They were 'the political successors' of the Mauryas over the kingdom of Magadha but they lost their independence and empire under the

Guptas. Mr. Pires has based his history of this ruling house which Bāṇa stated to be 'at the head of all royal houses' of Aryavarta, on a few inscriptions and literary tradition as embedded in the *Kaumudi Mahotsava* and the *Harsha Carita*.

The chief contribution of Mr. Pires consists in his identification of the Magadha-kula of the *Kaumudimahotsava* with the Maukhari family, and tracing thereby the relations between the Maukhari kings and the first Gupta emperor. The book is divided into six parts of which the first part is devoted to an examination of pre-Maukhari history, and the origin of the *Maukharis*. It is held that they were the descendants of one Mukhara and belonged to the lunar race. In this connection the author's argument on p. 12 (lines 8—15) is not clear. Nor is he clear when he refers in the next page to gotrāvayavas as mentioned by the scholiasts.

Part II sets out the Magadha-kula, and the next two parts treat of the line of Yagñavarman and Harivarman's dynasty. The last chapter in Part IV deals with the Maukhari Kingdom under Harṣavardhana. The later Maukharis are treated in a separate part. Mention must be made of the history or relations between the Maukharis and the Chola kings of Southern India, as given by Pires who acknowledges in this connection the contribution made by T. G. Aravamuthan in his monograph. *The Kāveri, the Maukharis and the Sangam Age*.

Most interesting is the last part which is arranged under the following heads: the capital of the Maukharis, coinage, administration, warfare, religion, social life, literature and archæology. The book is richly illustrated and provided with a bibliography and index. Before we close we may point out a mistake that occurs on p. 7, where the Ājivikas are mentioned as one of the Vaiṣṇava sects. To conclude Mr. Pires has produced a good book which is a contribution to the general history of India.

V. R. R. Dikshitar.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL REMAINS IN KASHMIR

By PANDIT ANAND KOUL,

With a foreword by the Rt. Hon. Sir T. B. Sapru and an introduction by V. N. Mehta, I.C.S. Published by the author, Srinagar, Kashmir (1935).

Pandit Anand Koul has produced a useful and valuable guide book to antiquarians and visitors to Kashmir. This helpful guide is divided into two parts of which Part I sets out the archæological remains. As many as fifty-three monuments are sketched

briefly. The most interesting of all the monuments is the temple of Mārtāṇḍa. In this one finds eighty-four columns 'a singularly appropriate number in a temple of the Sun, if, as is supposed, the number 84 is accounted sacred by the Hindus in consequence of its being the product of the number of days in the week and the number of signs in the Zodiac' p. 56.

Part II is a study on the Mughal Gardens. More than twenty-eight gardens are described. Students of Mughal India need not be told how the Mughal emperors made Kashmir a health resort and laid out pleasure gardens, thus giving a new urge to the finest traditions of a branch of Hindu culture in the words of L. B. Havell. The value of this little book has been enhanced by a learned introduction of Mr. V. N. Mehta who points out artistic achievements of the ancient Hindus in the shape of beautiful tanks, lawns, artificial forests and pleasure gardens which were the chief features of ancient capitals.

V. R. R. Dikshitar.

INDIGENOUS BANKING IN ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL INDIA

By BRIJKISHORE BHARGAVA,

Published by D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay.

Following Mr. Gubbay's *Indian Indigenous Banking* which largely deals with the Joint Stock Banks in India, Mr. Bhargava's elaborate and critical study of the subject will be welcomed by every student of Indian Indigenous Banking. The study of Mr. Bhargava is historical and analytical. He has a full grasp of the material, though complex in character, and has utilised that material to the fullest possible extent. He has approached the subject as an earnest student, and we have no hesitation in saying that he has succeeded quite in his endeavour.

The book under review is divided into fifteen chapters. The first chapter explains the historical development of the institution of banking from the Vedic times down into the historical period. In the second chapter he demonstrates the important status held by the moneyed class in the Epic and Purāṇic periods and even much beyond. The recognition of the value of thrift and money from early Vedic times is traced in the next chapter, and it is pointed out how the same system was practically followed during the Muhammedan period. How the banker served the community is

brought out by furnishing a list of professions as given in the *Yajur Veda*, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and *Mānavadharmā Sāstra*. Chapter V sets out money-lending in all its aspects including transactions with the customers. Four kinds of loans, three of which were secured respectively by a mortgage, a pledge and a personal security of a surety are also referred to. In his discussion on interest, the author rightly states that the law respecting the check on usury was a marvellous piece of legislation by the Indians (p. 101). After examining the nature of deposits, safe-custody, etc., the author passes on to the Instruments of credit and gives evidence of two kinds of credit in documents—promissory notes and bills of exchange (*ṛṇapatra* and *hundī*).

Chapter IX explains that three classes of coins, gold, silver, and copper were in circulation in ancient India. There was always an expert—a servant of the State,—for the purpose of testing valuables. Details of the work of such an officer are furnished by Tavernier for the Mohammedan period. The next chapter deals with the systems of maintaining accounts. Lapses were always punishable and there were Civil Courts which dealt with such offences. Chapter XII shows the various restrictions placed by the State on the bankers lest they should abuse their rights. Most interesting is the chapter on guilds and associations of Bankers. The last and equally interesting section is on money and currency.

It is unfortunate that a good book of this kind suffers from printer's errors and want of diacritical marks.

V. R. R. Dikshitar.

DHARMA AND SOCIETY

By DR. G. H. MEES,

Luzac & Co., London.

This work is a sober and serious study of the basic principles of social organisation in India and the West. The object of the enquiry is to find whether there is a common basis, failing which whether there is anything that one can learn from the other by way of helpful knowledge or suggestion. At the outset of the enquiry it becomes quite clear that Kipling's statement that East and West can never meet, has no basis to stand upon, while fundamentally, there is a common humanity at bottom between the two, there is as well common ground in the actual realisation of truth and in the aspirations towards the divine. The investigation shows, however, that there is much that the one can learn from the other, and, perhaps, the real ideal would be in a combination of the two. To a

careful student it seems clear, even at the very outset of the study, that the aim of Hindu social organisation is the attainment of a harmony between races of widely differing culture, an idea that has been well expressed by the Rt. Hon. Mr. Ramsay Macdonald in his opening speech to the Minorities Committee of the Round Table Conference :—"If one were to turn to any great philosophy or any great system of thought upon which could be built up a harmony between races, a harmony between conflicting thoughts, where could one go to find it more readily than to the great philosophies of India itself? Those philosophies where brotherhood is inculcated, where peace and harmony and co-operation are enjoined; these philosophies which look at the world not in a mere abstract way but as something essentially composed of differences, and yet essentially calling for a harmony of differences rather than a mere uniformity of thought or of action." That actually is the philosophical principle underlying Hindu sociology.

The basic principle of Hindu society is the maintenance of what is called *dharma*. The first part of the work is devoted to finding a definition, much rather an explanation, of the actual significance of this almost undefinable term. After a careful and elaborate study noting as many as 16 different connotations of the term the conclusion arrived at, as the result of this investigation, is that ultimately all things are of the same essence and it is ignorance that is unable to appreciate this unity lying underneath the great variety in appearance. It is ultimately the knowledge of the nature of things, and the ordering of the affairs of society on the basis of that knowledge for purposes of social organisation, which constitutes the idea of *dharma*.

The next section of Part I examines carefully the distinction underlying the two terms *varṇa* and *caste*, which, in modern discussions is more often than not, ill-understood if understood at all. The distinction of *varṇa* is more or less a distinction of quality, while the distinction of *caste* is a difference of artificial organisation or classification, of which the most visible expression is in the recognition of heredity. The distinction is well stated in the Sanskrit mot that 'by birth everyone is a *Śūdra*, by conduct or by acts one becomes a *dvija* (the twice-born higher castes.)' That is the notion underlying *varṇa*. Of course *varṇa* passes imperceptibly into *caste* owing to the imperfect understanding of its nature for one thing, but more often due to the adventitious fresh accretions of history. The whole of the investigation shows clearly that the so-called *Varṇāśramadharmā* of human life as laid down for the conduct of the four classes of people, *Brāhman*, *Kṣatriya*, *Vaiśya*, all three so-

called twice-born, and the Śūdra, and the four *āśramas* or stages of life, such as that of the student, householder, the man of age devoted to contemplation, and the Sanyāsin, who has renounced life, is an institution intended primarily for the small compact community such as the Aryans of India constituted early in their history. As this community spread out and came into contact with other communities, each with its own particular organisation, this order had to accommodate itself to the new circumstances, and then came in the notion of caste, each separate community standing by itself alone and following its own principles of life, but still hung on to the Aryan social system as is made clear to us in the reply that Viṣṇu-Indra gave to Māndhātā as further and further the Aryanisation of the country spread, the more numerous were the communities which had to be brought into the fold, or that came into the fold more or less imperceptibly, and went to the make-up of a baffling variety of castes that prevail in the country now. The wonder is not that there are such large numbers of communities, taking all historical circumstances into consideration, but that, among this multitudinous variety of communities, there has come about a certain unity of feeling, a unity of culture that nobody who looks beneath the surface will ever fail to notice. That is the remarkable feature that is sought to be pointed out.

Further enquiry goes to show the various influences which went to give shape to this complex, and the discovery is made that the system is based on the fundamental principle of inequality. Comparatively with this, the basis of a system of equality is studied and it is demonstrated that the theory of equality has no actual historical basis but it is purely a hypothesis based on imagination.

In Part II this is investigated in its various aspects, and useful and informing comparisons are made between the eastern influences and the corresponding Western influences, each in its own particular historical basis. The conclusion is arrived at ultimately that, on the whole, there is more justification for a social organisation which recognised the principle of inequality, or the principle of variety, rather than that of equality. This involves, as a consequence, organisation of society based upon this inequality without actually letting the principle of inequality harden into the divisions of a distinct character, which go to the make-up of caste. While the investigation shows a thorough examination of the whole literature bearing on the subject, it shows at the same time that it bases itself, so far as the Indian side of it is concerned, on the historical development of Northern India alone. The great influence of the South in the bringing about of a compromise which has led ultimately to the

present organisation of society has been omitted altogether. Along with that the contributions made by various foreign influences upon the development of the social organisation even for the north is not as fully investigated as perhaps would be called for in an enquiry of this kind. None the less, we have no hesitation in regarding the work as a contribution of the highest importance to the study of a current problem, which is occupying the minds of all thinking people both in India and elsewhere. It is just as well that those who are anxious to reform society and give it a shape after their own heart should read and ponder over this thesis on perhaps a most important topic of the hour by one who is a disinterested outsider thoroughly well equipped for the work. We commend the work to all serious-minded people interested in the subject, as an exhaustive and satisfactory study of the problem.

EDITOR.

POPULAR HINDUISM: THE RELIGION OF THE MASSES.

By L. S. S. O'MALLEY,

Cambridge University Press.

This little book of less than 250 pages essays the great problem of giving a clear, intelligible, and, what is perhaps more difficult, a sympathetic account of that complicated religion of the vast mass of people called Hindus in India. We might say at the outset that the author, with his vast experience and study extending over years, has achieved the great task with perhaps the maximum amount of success. He has discussed the problem in eight sections or chapters. The first two of these are devoted to a general definition of beliefs in the first chapter and of ideals in the second. The third is similarly a general topic devoted to describing the moreal influences that carry weight in the Hindu system. The author then proceeds to details, and describes in the fourth chapter the worship and ceremonies in sufficient detail for a clear understanding. The next chapter gives a description of the godlings and other evil spirits, which play a considerable part in the religion of the masses. The next chapter is devoted to recent introductions of new gods generally the result of deifications of various kinds, anthropomorphic and other. Chapter VII is devoted to Brahmans, priests and holy men. The work closes with chapter VIII on sectarianism and toleration.

In this small compass Mr. O'Malley has succeeded in giving quite a satisfactory account of the complicated system of religion which goes by the name Hinduism. While exhibiting a remarkable

amount of sympathy in the description of the many features which must be foreign to the author's own notions, there is off and on what might strike one as failure to comprehend fully the significance of certain features. For instance describing the belief in the expiation for sinful acts, what the author says regarding the performance of bathing and expiatory ceremonies and even the offering of, what is generally called in English, feast to the priests, the underlying idea is that these are penances performed by way of repentance with a view to gaining grace for the remissness or error that led into the evil attempted to be expiated, is not brought out clearly on page 13. The idea underlying payment of fees to a Brahman of priest is not bribing him or merely making a payment as the price of sin; but it is fees or remuneration paid to the Brahman to do in the proper form the penance that has to be performed by way of amends for what has been done. The Brahman undertakes to do it in due form, and he is paid the fee for the pains. The underlying notion is just that and nothing similar to the mere paying off of a fee and getting rid of sin by that act of payment. Similarly on pages 40-41 the worship of the anthill is certainly and acknowledgedly in worship of the snake, cobra-snake. We have not come across anything that would justify the remark that the worship is, in some measure at any rate, due to the resemblance of the anthill to the Linga or the phallic emblem of Siva. The general participation of Hindus in the Muhammadan festival of Muharam is much more common even in South India in places where there is little Muhammadan population worth the name than is perhaps indicated on page 44, as South India could lay claim to Muhammadan populations perhaps long before the Muhammadan invasions. On pages 45-47 where the work discusses the relation between religion and caste, though really caste may be regarded in its origin as extraneous to religion, the fact that the organisation of society is based on the principle called Dharma brings even secular organisation of belief under the influences of that general notion called dharma as the dominating principle, and it is this that makes it seem as if religion plays an important part in every act of life, and rightly too once the principle is conceded. "All religions prescribed conduct, (*Āchāra*), the first to be observed. Conduct is under the guidance of *dharma* (rule of life) and *dharma* is in its turn laid down and guided by Vishnu" is a statement of the Mahabharatam and is the basal principle of the modern form of Brahmanical Hinduism. Here and elsewhere the book uniformly writes the name of the Hindu religious classic, Bhagavatagita. We do not think there is authority for making the Bhagavat into the Bhagavata in this form. A few more instances of subtle points,

where there is a slight misunderstanding, it is hardly worthwhile pointing them out in detail. On the whole these are so few in the book, and the sympathetic understanding is so good that one need hardly hesitate to recommend the work as a thoroughly satisfactory exposition of Hinduism.

One more remark before closing. In the concluding chapter of the work discussing sectarianism and toleration, Mr. O'Malley seems to complain that the toleration of the Hindu falls short of what it should be, and points out that, while tolerating the Muhammadan and the Christian in respect of his own faith and his practices, the Hindu declines to partake of food and enter into marriage relations with those whom he would tolerate. We fear that, in these particulars, the author really makes too much of a demand on toleration. Toleration cannot be held to go to the extent of the complete approval of the beliefs and practices of another which alone would justify the entry into the intimate relations that commensal and connubial practices demand. As a matter of fact inter-dining and inter-marriage are the two cardinal pillars of the Hindu social organisation, and something more than the most extensive tolerance would be required to justify inter-marriage and inter-dining, which after all are the result of the habit of centuries and have become so much part of one's being that it even proves to be very difficult to overcome even where there is the will. It could form no part, however, of toleration to break through that prejudice. As we already more than once mentioned before, we have no hesitation in commending the book to those who would care to have a correct idea of what exactly popular Hinduism is.

EDITOR.

THE GREAT TEMPLE AT TANJORE

By MR. J. M. SOMASUNDARAM, B.A., B.L.,

This monograph on the great temple at Tanjore, one of the greatest in South India, is a welcome publication in many respects, and, unlike so many other temples, the temple of Rājarājēśvaram happens to be the foundation of the great monarch of Tanjore, who has had the good fortune to leave his impress upon many another feature of civilization characteristic of South India. It is a work of Rājarāja, the great Chola, who came to the throne in A.D. 985 and ruled at least till A.D. 1016. The temple must have been built in the late years of his reign, and had so far attained to completion that in 1921 he found it possible to have recorded, on the walls of the central shrine itself and the compound walls facing these,

the various gifts and grants made to the temple by himself, by his venerable sister and by his queens and others. These records are dated the 29th year of his reign. These must have been recorded therefore in the year A.D. 1014. The temple may have been actually completed that year or the previous year. The peculiar feature of this temple is the tower, Vimāna as it is called in the language of the country, which is built over the sanctum. In all South of the country, which is built over the sanctum. In all South Indian temples which do have beautiful, and sometimes even great, Vimānas these are usually obscured by the lofty entrance-towers of which they generally show four. This is perhaps the only temple in South India in which the Vimāna still towers aloft, and the entrance gates are to a great extent subordinated to this dominating feature. The book describes the temple at Tanjore in great detail, taking the main building part by part and indicating when each particular feature was added, so that one has an idea almost correctly of what the original structure was and what additions have subsequently been made to it. Apart from the great vimāna, the Great Bull, Nandi, in front of the temple is another feature of this temple. The temple has been built on the model of the great temple at Chidambaram and perhaps incorporating in it the features of the other great shrine, the temple of Tyāgarāja in Tiruvārūr, which has associations of a peculiar character with the dynasty of the Cholas. It is quite a readable account of the temple and gives all the details that one interested in a matter like this would require. The work also provides for the more serious student material of great value in the shape of a number of appendices. Dr. Gravely, the Superintendent of the Govt. Museum, contributes a foreword in which he makes the remark "South Indian temples deserve to be better known and more widely understood than they are, and to appreciate them adequately some knowledge of their history, etc., is necessary." The little book before us provides a good illustration of the need pointed out by the learned Doctor. We congratulate the author on having brought out a neat little volume fully illustrated, there being as many as 25 illustrations.

EDITOR.

Select Contents from Oriental Journals.

The New Review, April 1936.

The Riddle of Mohenjodaro by G. R. Hunter—inferring that the Brahui or their ancestors under some other name were present in Mohenjodaro and the texts were written in their language, though in a script probably borrowed from Austric predecessors; and not only Brahmi, but also Sabæan (Minæan—South Semitic script) is derived from the Mohenjodaro syllabary.

Journal Asiatique, Tane CC. XXVII No. 1, July—Sept. 1935.

Punyodaya (Na-t'i)—Un propagateur du Tantrisme en Chine et au Cambodge. A l'époque de Hiuan Tsang par Lin Li-Kouang.

The Journal of Hellenic Studies. Vol. LV—Part II—1935.

Dates in Early Greek History by A. R. Burn—suggesting the thesis, already propounded by the writer that the majority of the dates, earlier than the period of the Persian wars, which pass current, are wrong, and should be scaled down by a certain proportion of their distance from 500 B.C. which can serve as a base-line, falling in the middle of the generation of Hekataios of Miletus.

Archæology in Greece, 1934—35. By H. G. G. Payne.

Progress in Greek Epigraphy, 1933—34. By Marcus N. Tod.

The British Museum Quarterly. Vol. X: No. 3, 1936.

Letters of Lord Clive—noting the addition of three long letters from Clive to Robert Orme, two of them being wholly in his autograph. The first contains replies by Clive to a questionnaire concerning French attacks on Fort St. David in 1747. It is followed by a detailed account running to 13 pages, of the siege of Pondicherry in 1748; and in Orme's first account this is perhaps padded out; though in the second edition, he summarises it in a few lines. The third is the copy of a letter from Clive to Orme, 5th February, 1766, (the original of which is in the India Office) concerning his efforts to reform the administration in Bengal.

Epigraphia Indica. Vol. XXII, part III.

(1) A Sarada Inscription from Hund (Udabhānda), by Rai Bahadur Dayaram Sahni. The inscription dates from about

the 8th century and records the construction of a *dēvakula* (statue-shrine).

- (2) Jethwai Plates of the Rashtrakuta queen Silamahadevi (Saka-Samvat 708), by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar. The queen is the wife of Dhruva and the daughter of the eastern Chalukya king, Vishnuvardhana IV.
- (3) Kudilikki Inscription of Vijaya Nandisvara Varman, by V. Venkatasubba Aiyar. The king is identified with Nandivarman Pallavamalla.
- (4) (a) The Jesar Plates of Siladitya III (Vallabhi Samvat, 357).
(b) The Bayana Inscription of Chittralekha, V.S. 1012.
(c) The Gurji Inscription of Prabodhasiva (containing an account of the rulers of the Haihaya dynasty), by Prof. R. D. Bannerji.
- (5) The Mahakosala Historical Society's Plates of Mahabhava Guptarajadeva, by Pandit L. P. Pandeya.
- (6) Draksharama Inscription of Kulottunga I (33rd year), by K. V. Subrahmanya Iyer—it records the achievements of a general.

Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies—Vol. VIII—parts 2 and 3, 1936. Indian and Iranian Studies presented to Sir George Grierson, on his 85th birthday, 7th January, 1936. Edited by H. W. Bailey and R. L. Turner and containing a Bibliography of the published writing of Sir George Grierson, compiled by Edith M. White.

Antiquity. Vol. X, No. 37, March 1936.

The Coming of Iron by G. A. Wainwright, showing that Mesopotamia had known meteoric iron from before 3000 B.C. and smelted iron as early as sometime before 2800 B.C., though iron was rare there until 1100 B.C. From the 20th century B.C., Asia Minor had used iron regularly; from the 15th century, Asia Minor, North Syria and North-west Mesopotamia had exported iron objects. By 1100 B.C. Assyria, Carchemish, Cyprus, Greece and the Ægean were entering the iron age.

Easter Island, Polynesia, by H. Lavachery, of the Royal Museum of Arts and History, Brussels, showing that it was colonised by the Polynesians at the end of their migrations between the 11th and the 13th centuries.

Some Recent Excavations in Egypt, by S. R. K. Glanvill, chiefly dealing with the city of Akhenaten.

A Note on Syria in the 3rd and 4th Millennia.

The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society—Vol. XXI, part IV. Report of Anthropological work in 1934—35, by Sarat Chandra Ray.

Ethnological Investigations in Official Records by Sarat Chandra Ray.

Appendix Dharmakirti's *Vādanyāya* with the commentary of Sāntarakṣita. Edited by Rev. Rahula Śāṅkrtyāyana.

The Journal of Oriental Research, Madras—Vol. IX, part IV, 1935.

The Advaitavidyamukura, by S. S. Suryanarayana Sastriar.

The Origin of the Sāma Veda by K. A. Nilakanta Sastriar, translated from the German of W. Caland.

Accentual Variation in relation to Semantic variation, by C. R. Sankaran.

Pūrvamīmāṃsa Visaya Sangraha Dipika, by T. R. Chintamani and T. V. Ramachandra Dikshitar.

Guṇaviṣṇu and Sāyana, by A. Venkatasubbiah, holding it untenable that Sāyana borrowed his explanation from Guṇaviṣṇu.

A note on the dating of the Frescoes in the Brihadisvara Temple at Tanjore, by S. Paramasivan—holding that the earlier Chola paintings date from the 12th century A.D. at the latest; and the later Nayak paintings from the 17th century.

The Indian Historical Quarterly—Vol. XII, No. 1, March 1936.

Pre-Canonical Buddhism by Prof. A. B. Keith.

Religious Policy of Shah Jahan by Prof. Sri Ram Sharma—holding that it is not wholly true that the reign was a prelude to that of Aurangzib and the Emperor was never consistently or for long a persecutor.

The Eastern Cālukyas, VII by Dr. D. C. Ganguly—dealing with the rulers from 1000 A.D. to 1061 A.D.

Sanskrit Noun—Inflexion by B. K. Ghosh.

South-East Bengal in Ancient Times, by Pramode Lal Paul. Some unpublished Papers relating to the Mutiny of 1857-59 by K. K. Datta—taken from the unpublished historical records of the District Judge of Patna.

The Maratha Political Ideals of the Eighteenth Century, by B. K. Sarkar—a study of the *Rajñiti* of Ramachandra Pant (1716) mainly a New Uddhavaduta by B. Upadhyaya.

The Buddhist Manuscripts at Gilgit by Nalinaksha Dutt.

Alexander and Alexandria in Indian Literature by Dr. Sylvain Levi.

The Bhāvaśataka, is it an old work ? By M. Winternitz.

The Problem of Ancient India Terracottas, by C. C. Das Gupta.

The Coronation of Harṣa by S. N. Jharkhandi—explaining why Harṣa could not have been crowned emperor *de jure* when the crown was offered to him.

A New Genealogy of the Rathodas by Dasarath Sharma.

The Date of the Fall of Nadia by Adris Banerji.

Huviṣka as Mahasena by H. K. Deb.

Historical Information in the Prakṛta Paingola by V. Raghavan.

Candragupta Maurya by Dr. V. N. Ghoshal, M.A., Ph.D.

The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society—Vol. XXII, part I.

(1) Dantapura and Paluru in Northern Gangam. by C. E. A. W. Oldham, C.S.I.

(2) An Approach to the Sirat-i-Firoz Shahi, by K. K. Basu, M.A., T.N.J. College, Bhagalpur.

Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal—Vol. I, 1935, No. 3.

(1) The Kalabhra Interregnum: what it means in South Indian History ? By S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar.

(2) History of Indian Social Organisation by K. P. Chattopadhyaya.

(3) Location of the land granted by the Nidhanpur Grant of Bhaskaravarman of Kamarupa (early 7th century A.D.) by N. K. Bhattasali.

The Journal of the Greater India Society.

(1) Sylvain Levi and the Science of Indology, by Dr. Kalidas Nag, D.Litt.

(2) Greater India and the work of Sylvain Levi by Dr. J. Pizyluski, D.Litt.

(3) Archaeological Explorations of the Neck of the Khair Khanah (near Kabul) by Dr. J. Hackin.

(4) Non-Aryan Elements in Indo-Aryan by Pro. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, D. Litt.

(5) Sources of the Art of Sri Vijaya by Deprasad Ghosh, M.A., P.R.S.

(6) The Kalinga Dynasty of Ceylon by S. Paranavitana.

(7) A Date of Isanavarman II: The Inscription of Tuol Kul (Province of Mong, Cambodia) by Dr. George Ceodes, Ph.D.

(8) The Malay by Dr. R. C. Majumdar, M.A., Ph.D.

(9) On Some Hindu Relics in Borneo by O. C. Gangoly.

Indian Culture.—Vol. II, No. 3.

(1) The Silaharas of Western India.—Dr. A. S. Altekar, M.A., LL.B., D.Litt.

(2) The Sufi Movement in India.—Dr. Md. Enamul Haq, M.A., Ph.D.

(3) New Light on Bengal History.—Mr. Adris Banerji, M.A.

(4) The Inscription of Trawulan.—Mr. Himansu Bhusan Sarkar, M.A.

(5) A Historical Aspect of Nirvana.—Mrs. C. A. F. Rhys Davids, M.A., D.Litt.

(6) The Satiyaputras, Satakarnis, Satvatas and Nasatyas.—Mr. V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar.

(7) Some Problems of Early Maurya History and Chronology.—Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri, M.A., Ph.D.

Acta Orientalia, Vol. XIV, Part iii.

(1) The Basis of Caste.—A. M. Hocart.

(2) Notes on Khotani Saka and the Central Asian Prakrit.—Sten Konow.

The Journal of the Assam Research Society, Vol. III, No. 4.

(1) Mohenjo-Daro and Mithraic Influence on Nathism.—R. M. Nath, B.E.

(2) A Kamarupa Brahman in Kalinga in 700 A.D.—Jogendra Chandra Ghosh.

(3) Vaishnavism in Kamarupa.—Mohan Chandra Mahanta, B.L.

(4) Amherst Collection of Assam Coins.—K. L. Barua.

The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society—January, 1936.

(1) Turkish Instruments of Music in the Seventeenth Century

by H. G. Farmer.—based on the works of Euliyā Chelebī (1611—cir. 1669).

- (2) The Cas-chrom v. the Lei-ssū ; A Study of the primitive forms of Plough in Scotland and Ancient China (Part II) by L. C. Hopkins.—This paper throws out a suggestion that the early forms of Chinese money were miniature copies of agricultural implements and the use of metal in making implements of tillage came later than its employment for weapons of warfare.
- (3) The Ms. Bodl. Marsh 384 by A. Ahmedali.—One of the earliest works on the *nasab* of Quraish, copied by a great *faqih* after great collation of previous Mss.
- (4) The Forerunner of al-Ghazālī by Margaret Smith.—This paper shows that much of al-Ghazālī's original ideas is based on the earlier teaching of al-Muhāsibī and frequently borrowed from him. Islamic Mysticism which al-Ghazālī brought to completion, had been already fairly rooted and developed before his time.
- (5) Cattle-Theft in the *Artha-Sastra* by E. H. Johnston.—In the chapter on *go'dhyakṣa*, there are provisions outside the ordinary range of criminal law. The fact that the custom and the word *panahā*, even now in use in Bihar, help in the elucidation of the meaning of *paṇita rūpa* (perhaps previously stipulated proportion of the herd to be given as reward for the recovery of stolen cattle) may suggest a piece of evidence that the *Artha-Sastra* was written by someone familiar with the conditions of Bihar.
- (6) *A Brāhmī Akṣara* by H. W. Bailey—based on the Maral-bashi Saka Texts published by Prof. Sten Konow.

OUR EXCHANGES

1. *The Annals of the Bhandarkar Research Institute*, Deccan Gymkhana P.O., Poona.
2. *Bharat Itihasa Samshodaka Mandala*, Poona City.
3. *Bulletin de l' Ecole Francaise D'Extreme-Orient*, Hanoi.
4. *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, London University, London, Longmans, Green & Co., London.
5. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, London Institution, Finsbury Circus, London.
6. *Calcutta Review*, 3, Senate House, Calcutta.
7. *Hindustan Review*, Patna Junction, E. I. Ry.
8. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 96, Amherst Street, Calcutta.
9. *Journal Asiatique*, Librairie Orientaliste, Paul Geuthner, Paris.
10. *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Patna.
11. *Journal of Oriental Research*, Managing Editor, "The Ashrama", Luz, Mylapore.
12. *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Bombay.
13. *Journal of the Kern Institute*, Leiden, Holland.
14. *Journal of the Bombay Historical Society*, Exchange Building, Sprott Road, Bombay.
15. *Le Monde Oriental*, Kungl : Universitetets Bibliotek, Uppsala.
16. *Nagari Pracharini Sabha*, Benares.
17. *The Political Science Quarterly*, Columbia University, New York.
18. *Quarterly Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Andhra Historical Society, Rajahmundry.
19. *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Daly Hall, Cenotaph Road, Bangalore
20. *The Yale Review*, Washington, U. S. A.
21. *Yoga-Mimansa*, Kun'javana, Lonavla, Bombay.
22. *The Modern Review*, 91, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.
23. *The Vedic Magazine and Gurukula Samachar*, Gurudatta Bhavana, Lahore.
24. *The Ceylon Journal of Science*, Office of the Archaeological Survey, Anuradhapura (Ceylon).

25. *The Historical Studies*, Accession Department, University Library, University of California, Berkeley, California.
26. *The Indian Review*, Esplanade, Madras.
27. *The Servant of India*, Servant of India Society, Poona City.
28. *The Shrine of Wisdom*, Ahlu, 6, Hermon Hill, London, E. 11.
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31. *The People*, 2, Court Street, Post Box 116, Lahore.
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33. *The Gaekwad's Oriental Series*, Oriental Institute, Baroda.
34. The Superintendent, Government Museum, Madras.
35. *The Federated India*, Madras.
36. 'Tarikh' Kotlah Akbar Jah, Hyderabad (Deccan).
37. The Superintendent of Archaeology, Gwalior State, Gwalior.
38. Verlag Der Asia Major, Leipzig C1, Scherlstr, 2.
39. *The Indian Literary Review*, D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., 210, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay.
40. *Triveni*, Editor, Y. M. I. A. Buildings, 9, Armenian Street, Madras.
41. *Journal of the Madras Geographical Association*, Cathedral P. O., Madras.
42. *Journal of the Bombay University*, Senate House, Bombay.
43. *Muslim University Journal*, Muslim University, Aligarh.
44. *Tirumalai Sri Venkatesvara*, Tirupati Sri Mahan't Press, 21, Anderson Street, G. T., Madras.
45. The Karnatak Historical Research Society, Dharwar.
46. *The Punjab University Journal*, Lahore.
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Contributors of articles to this journal will greatly oblige the editor if they will leave the upper half of the first sheet of manuscript blank, for the convenience of the editor, in entering instructions to the press regarding titling, style of printing, submission of proof, etc. Such instructions, when sent separately, are liable to result in confusion and delay.

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

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

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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 Vikramaśōladēva from Gangaikonḍaśōlapuram. 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 litteral 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, Tirucchiṟṟambalam Uḍaiyān Perumān Nambi alias Pallavarāya thought of leaving the fort Āyirattali 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 Neṟiyudaipperumāḷ 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 Āyirattali, 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 Neṟiyudaipperumāḷ, 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 *udankūṭṭam* 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 கைக்குளத்துர்க் குளத்துழான் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையான் பெருமானம்பியாரான பல்லவ

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

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

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

9. [ரா]ஜ[பு]ர[த்]திலே இருந்த இடத்துக்குச் சூழ்ந் யிடம்..... யருமிகுதிப்ப.....ரத்து உடன் கூட்டத்தார்.....[ர]லும் 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 கங்கைகொண்ட சோழபுரத்திலே எழுந்தருளி இருக்கிற பிள்ளைகளை [பிர]யாணம் பண்ணு.....[உ]டையார் விக்கிரம சோழதேவர் போனார்

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

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

14. கச் செப்பவொரு 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-arūḷi-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 ‘eḷundarūḷi’. 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

எதிரிலிபெருமானை பெரியதேவர் துஞ்சி அருளின நாளிலே மண்டை
கலிப்பித்து 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 Gangaikondaśōlapuram 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 Vikramachōladēva by his daughter. This is only a surmise.

In a poem called *Śankaraśōḷan-ulā* it is stated that after Rājarāja II, Nallaman son of Śangaman ascended the throne. Kumāra Mahīdhara followed Nallaman, and they were ably assisted by his brother Śankaran the hero of the poem. It is a well known fact that Kumāra Mahīdhara 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-śōḷan-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 Śōḷan 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 Kavi-rayar of Tirupparankunram, Madura Dt. Price annas 12.

செம்பதத்துக் கூடிய 'சீர்தந்த' வென்றெடுத்த கூத்தனு லாச்
 சூடிய விக்கிரம சோழனும்—பாடிய
 வெள்ளைக் கலியுலா மாலையொடு மீண்டுமவன்
 பிள்ளைத் தமிழ்மலை பெற்றோனுந்—தெள்ளித்தம்
 முன்னு யகரிலவன் மூலாலாக் கண்ணிதொறும்
 பொன்னு யிரஞ்சொரிந்த பூபதியுட்—என்னுமிவர்
 மாசக்ர மேரு வலஞ்சென் மகரசல
 பூசக்ர மேழும் புரந்ததற்பின்—தேசம்
 பணியு மனுகுலப் பாற்கட லீன்ற
 மணியு மமுதழு மானக்—குணபா
 லுவந்த வனவர் குலவசலத் துச்சி
 நிவந்த பருதி நிகர்ப்ப—அவந்திமன்
 வங்கமன் கங்கம னாதித்தன் வந்தித்த
 சங்கமன் றொல்லைத் தவம்போலப்—பங்கா
 யெழுந்தகரி வெற்பை யெனத்திகரி யுந்தன்
 செழுந்திகரி யின் நிமிரத் தீர்ப்ப—மொழிந்தனைத்தும்
 வல்லம னாதி மனுவினு மேதக்க
 நல்லம னென்கின்ற நாயகற்கும்—தொல்லை
 மலைக்குங் கடற்குநடு மண்முழுதுங் காத்துச்
 சிலைக்குங் பாதாளத்தைச் சிறித்—தொலைத்துப்
 பருந்து நிற்ப்பதர்ப் பல்லா யிரம்பேய்
 விருந்து களிப்ப விடுத்திக்—கருந்தலையின்
 கொன்று குவித்திக் குவித்த பிணக்குவடு
 சென்று குருதித் திரைமிதிப்ப—வென்றதற்பின்
 பூசற் குடகடற்கை போர்வாட் கறைகழுவித்
 தேசத் தொழியாத் திறைகொண்டு—காசினிக்கை
 பைத்த பொருபுலையைப் பஸ்கோடி. 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 irukkīra piḷlaigalāi pirayānam paṇṇuvittu*. The word *piḷlaigalāi* in this line shows that more than one was brought from Gangaikondāśōlapuram. It strengthens the above fact mentioned in the literature that Rājādhirāja and Kulōttunga were brothers. Though we cannot positively say that Rājādhirājā 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-Kulattūr (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 Śambavarāyan. The latter was a chief of the Śambavarāyan family looking after Tonḍaimaṇḍalam with headquarters at Kāñchi. Pallavarāyar is also called Nambipiḷḷai according to *Takkayāga Paraṇi*. He is a *Veḷḷālā* by caste of the Kuḷatūlān family. Śēkkilān, Kuḷatūlān, Kūḍal Kiḷān, Puriśai kiḷān⁵ are some of the families that were transferred from Cholamaṇḍalam when Tonḍaimaṇḍalam was conquered. He is in no way connected with the Śambavarāyans. 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 kuḷatuḷān family distributed all over Tonḍa-maṇḍalam. Mention is made of one Tiruvīthi Munivan of Kārikai-kuḷatuḷān in No. 182 of 94 who attests a document at Tirukkaḷuk-kuṇṇam in the 37th year of Kulōttunga III.¹ Vēdavanamuḍaiyān alias Anṇan Pallavarāyan who distributed the lands to the relations of Pallavarāyan and Rājārāja 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 Mēnmalai-Pāḷayanūr, or Tiruvālangādu 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 Sīnganallūr very near to these places.

Ballappa Dannāyaka¹

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-dannāyaka, 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-dannāyaka 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-dannāyaka² was not the son, but the nephew of Ballāla III, and the second son of Dāḍi Sōmaya-dannāyaka 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-dannāyaka's elder brother Sīngeya-dannāyaka and not to Ballappa-dannāyaka himself : it was their father Sōmaya-dannāyaka who was the son of Ballāla III, and hence Ballappa-dannāyaka 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 Vallappa in Tamil inscriptions, and as Ballappa also, the name Sīnge-dannāyaka as Sīngaya-, Sīngeya-, Sīnga-, Sīngana-, Sīngappa-dannāyaka, etc., and the name Sōmaya-dannāyaka as Sōmeya-, Sōmana-, Sōma-dannāyaka, etc., also. In this paper, I have mostly made use of the forms Ballappa-dannāyaka, Sīngeya-dannāyaka and Sōmaya-dannāyaka respectively.

Both scholars agree however with Rice in thinking that this Ballappa-dannāyaka is identical with the Ballappa-dannāyaka mentioned in Sg. 1 as the 'son-in-law' of Harihara I; and further, both agree in saying that Dāḍi Sōmaya-dannāyaka belonged to the Hoysala family. According to Dr. Saletore, the epithet *rājānvaya-pradhānam* that is applied to Sōmaya-dannāyaka 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 *dannāyaka* belonged to the Sōma-vaṃśa or lunar line [of Kṣatriyas], the office of *dannāyaka* and his other titles (*mahāmandaleśvara*, 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-dannāyaka was a descendant of the Keśirāja mentioned on p. 75 *op. cit.*

These Statements are all Incorrect.

1. The Ballappa-dannāyaka 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 kumārargalil Śiṅge-dannāyakka-tambiyār Vallappa-dannāyakkar* and thus says that he was a *kumāra* of Ballāla III and younger brother of Śiṅgeya-dannāyaka; and four others (X, Mr. 10, 12, 13, 18) describe him as *Vīra-Vallāla-dēvar kumārar Dāḍi Śiṅge-dannāyakkar tambiyār Vallappa-dannāyakkar* which has been interpreted differently as 'Vallappa-dannāyaka, younger brother of Śiṅge-dannāyaka, who was the son of Vīra-Ballāla-dēva' and as 'Vallappa-dannāyaka, younger brother of Śiṅge-dannāyaka, 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-dannāyaka, 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-dannāyaka. One inscription (IX, Ht. 90, p. 120) speaks of him as the son of Dāḍi Sōmaya-dannāyaka and younger brother of Śiṅge-dannāyaka.

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 ṇa Sāhani as a *kumāra* of this Ballappa-dannāyaka. Fr. Heras (*op. cit.* p. 92) and Dr. Saletore (l. c., p. 3, n) believe that Ballappa-dannāyaka 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-dannāyakkar's son' in MAR for 1913-14, p. 45.

Besides this Ballappa-dannāyaka, 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-dannāyaka and his younger brother Śiṅgeya-dannāyaka, who were the sons of the *mahā-pradhāna* Bēba-dannāyaka.

(ii) XI, Cd. 6 (p. 6) of 1338 mentions a 'senior' (*hiriya*) Ballappa-dannāyaka, son of Rāmeya-dannāyaka, who held the office of *mahā-pradhāna* and whose sign manual was *Śrī-mahālakṣmī-nātha*. This Ballappa is perhaps identical with the *hiriya*-Ballappa-dannāyaka who, with his elder brother Sōme-dannāyaka, 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-dannāyaka 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-dannāyaka, i.e., a Vallappa-dannāyaka of Teṅgal (Tēkal?). We do not know if he is identical with Dāḍi Vallappa-dannāyaka 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 ; Kannada text p. 351) of 1341 mentions a Ballappa-danṇāyaka about whose identity nothing can be said.

(vi) X, Kl. 102 (p. 31) of 1293 refers to a Vallappa-danṇāyaka as *vīra-Vallāḷa-dēvar kumārara Narasiṅgappa-danṇāyakar kummarar Vallappa-danṇāyakkar*. This expression can signify either 'Vallappa-danṇāyaka, son of Narasiṅgappa-danṇāyaka who was the son of Vira-Ballāḷa-dēva or 'Vira-Ballāḷa-dēva's son Narasiṅgappa-danṇāyaka, (and, Vira-Ballāḷa-dēva's) son Vallappa-danṇāyaka'. 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-danṇāyaka and a Vallappa-danṇāyaka who were both kumāras of Ballāḷa III. Whether these two officers were identical with Dāḍi Siṅgeya-danṇāyaka 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-danṇāyaka, Dāḍi Siṅgeya-danṇāyaka 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-danṇāyaka, elder brother of Ballappa-danṇāyaka, 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-danṇāyaka (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 Jayadeva was in reality the subordinate of Dāḍi Sōmeya-danṇāyaka, and of his son Siṅgeya-danṇāyaka.

Besides this Siṅgeya-danṇāyaka, 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-danṇāyaka who was the son of Bēbe-danṇāyaka.

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

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

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

(iv) IX, Cp. 12 (p. 171) of 1319 mentions a Siṅgeya-danṇāyaka 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-danṇāyaka who was the son of vīra-Sōmaya-danṇāyaka.

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

(vii) X, Kl. 70 (p. 19) of 1330 mentions a Siṅgeya-danṇāyaka who was a *pradhāna* of Ballāḷa III ; we do not know if he is identical with any of the Siṅgeya-danṇāyakas 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-danṇāyakkar kummarar Vallappa-danṇāyakkar*. This Narasiṅgappa-danṇāyaka is probably different from the Siṅgeya-danṇāyakas mentioned above and from Dāḍi Siṅgeya-danṇāyaka also.

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

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

(xi) XII, Tp. 84 (p. 74) of 1304 mentions a Siṅgeya-danṇāyaka who with his elder brother Baicheya-danṇāyaka⁴ was the *mahā-pradhāna* of Ballāḷa III.

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

4. This Baicheya-danṇāyaka is perhaps identical with the Vayichappa-danḍanāyaka who is mentioned in an inscription of Ballāḷa III at Mūdākēri 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-daṇṇāyaka or Ballappa-daṇṇāyaka, 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-daṇṇāyaka'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-daṇṇāyaka, it follows that Sōmeya-daṇṇāyaka must have died in that year.⁵

(a) Dāḍi Sōmeya-daṇṇāyaka is different from mayduna-Sōmeya-daṇṇāyaka 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-daṇṇāyaka mentioned in V, Bl. 24 (p. 119) of 1299 as a *mahā-pradhāna*, from Sōmeya-daṇṇāyaka mentioned in XI, Hk. 2 (p. 191) of the time of Ballāla III, and from the vīra-Sōmapa-daṇṇāyaka who is mentioned in IX, Kn. 104 (p. 167) of 1316 as a *kumāra* of Ballāla III. This vīra-Sōmapa-daṇṇāyaka is perhaps identical with the *mahā-pradhāna* vīra-Sōmapa-daṇṇāyaka who, with his son Śiṅgeya-daṇṇāyaka, is mentioned in IX, Cp. 10 (p. 171) of 1318.

(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-daṇṇāyaka; but this

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

Dr. Saletore has referred (*l.c.*, p. 2, n. 11) to IX, Ht. 43 (p. 114) of 1316 as showing that Sōmeya-daṇṇāyaka was living in that year. The inscription however reads *Dāḍiya Sōmaya . . . saravara putranu . . .* and thus refers to a son of Sōmeya-daṇṇāyaka. It thus belongs to the time of Sōmeya-daṇṇāyaka's son, and not necessarily to the time of Sōmeya-daṇṇāyaka himself.

6. A *mahā-pradhāna* Sōmeya-daṇṇāyaka, about whom nothing more 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-daṇḍanāyaka in IX, Kn. 75 (p. 154) of 1313. It is probable that the latter is identical with Dāḍi Sōmeya-daṇṇāyaka.

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 *daṇḍanāyaka* 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-daṇṇāyaka.

It is the opinion of Dr. Saletore too (*l.c.*, p. 2, n. 11) that the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Sōmarasa was different from Dāḍi Sōmeya-daṇṇāyaka. 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 Aṭṭūr (EC. IX, Ht. 90) begins with the words *svasti śrī Poysaḷa-śrī-vīra-Vallāla-dēvar aramanaiyil śrīmanu-mahā-pradhānan Dāṭi Sōmaya-deṇṇāyakkar varaputtiran Śiṅgeya-deṇṇāyakkar tambi Vallappa-deṇṇāyakkar manaiyil śrīmanu-mahā-prasāyittan*, and says explicitly that Vallappa-daṇṇāyaka, son of Dāḍi Sōmeya-daṇṇāyaka, 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 *mantri tasya mahānubhāva-matibhāmatyo guṇānām kulaiḥ satyācāra-samasta . . . turas saṃpūrṇa-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-daṇṇāyaka 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-daṇṇāyaka was the hereditary *pradhāna* of that king, that is, that Sōmeya-daṇṇāyaka's ancestors too had served Ballāla III's ancestors as *pradhānas*. Compare in this connection the epithets *ā-pratāpa-cakravartig anvaṃyā-gata-pradhānam pradhāna-cūḍā-ratnam niyōga—Yōgaṃdharan*

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-daṇṇāyaka 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, B1 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 *daṇḍanāyakas* Mariyāne and Bharata, *mahā-pradhānas* 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 Bommanna-daṇḍāyaka, and had the birudas 'adamantine cage to the refugees' (*Śaranāgata-vajra-pañjara*) 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-kalaśais 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-gōvāḷa*, *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-bhyam abhy-asyati || vaṃśas tat-pāda-janmā jagati vijayate* and *śrī-Lakṣmī-nātha-nābhī-naḷinaja-nija-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 *daṇḍanāyakas* 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 *daṇḍanāyakas* were descended from Agastya (*agastya-pravara-prakhyātar*), that is, were Brāhmaṇas 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 *daṇḍanāyakas* were born in the Karṇāṭaka-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-māṇikyam nīti-Cānakyam niyōga-Yōgandharam pati-kārya-dhuramdharam ativiśama-hayārūḍha-prauḍha-rēkhā-Rēvantam para-bala-krtāntam svikāra-sārōdayam annadānasvarṇadāna-kanyādāna-bhūdāna-gōdānādi-sakala-dānavinōdanuṃ gōtra-pavitram maṇḍalika-jūbu gāyi-gōvāḷa gaṇḍa-peṇḍāra svāmi-vañcakara-gaṇḍa*. Almost the same birudas are applied to him in TN.97 and 101 while an inscription at Halēbīḍ (noticed in MAR for 1911, p.49) of 1265 applies to him the birudas *gāyi-gōvāḷa*, *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-gōvāḷa*, *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 Karṇāṭakas.⁹ Compare in this connection the epithet *Karṇāṭaka-vamśārṇavōdirṇa-sudhāsūti* 'the moon born from the ocean of the Karṇāṭa race,' and the sentence *karṇāṭānvayakk eyde Bhāskaran ādam* 'he became a sun to the Karṇāṭa 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-daṇṇāyaka, 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-daṇṇāyaka mentioned in EC. VI, Sg. 1 is identical with

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

10. It is true that Rice has translated the expression *Yadu-vamśōdbhava-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-vamśa.' 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-daṇṇāyaka is unfounded. As we have seen above, there were at least four persons who bore the name Ballappa-daṇṇāyaka and held office under Ballāla III, and there is nothing in the Śrīngēri inscription referred to above to show that the Ballappa-daṇṇāyaka mentioned therein was identical with one of these four. On the contrary, the bald mention of 'aḷiya-Ballappa-daṇṇāyaka' 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-rājyakk 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, Sāgaranandi, on behalf of the god. This inscription has mentioned that this Rēcharasa had been the minister of the Kaḷachurya kings (*Kaḷa-churya-kula-sachivōttamaṇ*).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-daṇṇāyaka'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-daṇṇāyaka 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-daññāyaka and younger brother of Śiṅgeya-daññāyaka, 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-daññāyaka and Dāḍi Śiṅgeya-daññāyaka 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

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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 ~~set~~ ^{put} 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

is this point better illustrated than in the Khadvada inscription¹ where one Bahāri has been called both a Śaka and a Pārasika (Persian), and where about a Hindu it has been said that by conversion to Islam he became a Pārasika. Thus, to the Hindus there was no difference between a Śaka, Yavana, Pārasika and Muḥammadan.

1. The earliest reference to the Muḥammadans is found in the Nausari grant of Pulakeśin of the Gujrat branch of the Chālukya dynasty, dated A.D. 738,² where it is stated that the Tājika³ (Arabian) army had already defeated many northern kings, and with a view to entering the Deccan came first to reduce the Navasārikā country (Nausari, Baroda State), but the inroad was checked by Pulakeśin of Gujrat. The description is merely conventional and only an extract may be quoted:

परममाहेश्वरः परमभट्टारकः शरज्ञः सीरमुद्रोद्धारिणि तरलतर-तारतर-वारि-
दारितोदित-सैन्धवकच्छेल-सौराष्ट्र-चावोटक-मौर्य-गूर्जरादिराजे निःशेष-दाक्षिणात्य-
क्षितिपतिजिगीषया दाक्षिणात्यप्रवेशा [भिलाषि]णि (?) प्रथममेव नवसारिकाविषय-
प्रसाधनायागते... समरशिरसि विजिते ताजिकानीके शौर्यानुरागिणा श्रीवल्लभनरेन्द्रेण
प्रसादीकृतापरनामचतुष्टयस्तद्यथा दक्षिणापथसाधारं चतुर्भुजकुलालंकार-प्रि (पृ)
थिवीवल्लभानिवर्तकनिवर्तयित्रवनिजनाश्रय-श्रीपुलकेशिराजः...

'The illustrious king Avānijanāśraya Pulakeśin Śarajha, the great lord and the great devotee of Mahēśvara, whom the illustrious king Vallabha, appreciating his valour, favoured with the four following titles, "the solid pillar of the Deccan (?)," "the ornament of the Chālukika (Chālukya) dynasty," "the lord of the earth," and "the repeller of the unrepelled (Arabs)," when the Tājika army, which vomitted forth arrows and maces, which destroyed by its brightly glittering sharp swords the prosperous Saindhava (Sind), Kacchēla (Cutch), Saurāṣṭra (Gujrat), Chāvoṭaka,⁵ Maurya⁶ and

1. JBBRAS, 23, 12 f.

2. *Verhandlungen des VII internationalen orientalisten-Congresses*, Vienna, 1888, arische Section, 231 f.

3. For the significance of the term see *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, London Institution, 7, ii, 326 n.

4. D. R. Bhandarkar corrects to स्वाधारण ABORI, 10, 30.

5. Probably the Chāpotkāta princes of Rājputana, Burgess and Cousens, *Architectural Antiquities of Northern Gujrat*, ASI., 4.

6. Kings of a portion of Rājputana.

Gūjara⁷ kings and others,—and which wishing to enter the Deccan with a view to conquering all the southern kings, came in the first instance to reduce the Navasārikā country.'

According to the Balsar plates,⁸ the elder brother of Pulakeśin was alive in 731; the defeat of the Arabs by Pulakeśin must have therefore taken place between 731 and 738, the date of the present inscription.

The Muslim accounts are in substantial agreement with the above. Al-Bilādūrī (Arabic text, p. 448) says that during the caliphate of Hishām (724-743) Junaid was the governor of Sind, when he sent his army to Marmad (or Mirmad), Mandal, Dahnaj and Barus (or Barwas). He sent a force against Uzain and despatched Habib with an army against the country of Maliba (Malwa). The force made incursions into Ujjain and attacked Baharimad and burnt its suburbs. Junaid conquered Al-Bailman and Jurz.⁹

2. The Gwalior inscription of Bhoja¹⁰ says about Nāgabhaṭa of the Pratihāra dynasty:

येनासौ सुकृतप्रमाथिवलच¹¹ म्लेच्छाधिपाक्षौहिणीः ।
क्षुन्दान[.] स्फुरदुग्रहेतिरुचिरे(रैः)दोभिश्चतुर्भिर्व(र्ब)भौ ॥

'He shone with four arms brilliant with glittering and terrible weapons as he crushed the army of the Valaca (?) (Baloch) mlēccha lord, the destroyer of virtue.'

Vatsarāja, the grandson of Nāgabhaṭa's brother, was ruling in Malwa in 783.¹² Nāgabhaṭa must be placed about fifty years earlier,

7. The Gūjaras held a portion of western Rājputana, *IHQ.*, 10, 613 f. For identification of the princes and localities mentioned, see *ABORI*, 10, 30 f; *J.I.H.*, 10, Dacca University Supplement, 41; *JBBRAS.*, 21, 414.

8. *JBBRAS.*, 16, 5.

9. For identification of the places see the articles of D. R. Bhandarkar and R. C. Majumdar referred to above.

10. *EI.*, 18, 107.

11. Hirananda Sastri reads the word as *valana*, *ASI-AR.*, 1903-04, 280, and R. C. Majumdar as *v(b)alava[n*]*, 'powerful' *EI.*, 18, 107; D. R. Bhandarkar has *valaca*, 'Baloch', *IA.*, 40, 240 and is supported by Sten Konow, *EI.*, 12, 200.

12. We have this date from the much discussed verse in the Jaina *Harivamśa Purāṇa*.

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 Anarta, Mālava, Kīrāta, 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.

चर्मन्व (र्मण्व)तीतद्वयसंस्थित(स्थ)म्लेच्छाधिपाः प्रवरसू(शू)राः।
इ(ई)प्सितणा (?) प्रनता (गताः) सेवां कुर्वन्ति यस्यानु ॥

‘Whom the brave *Mlēccha* lords living on both banks of the river Carmanvati (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 Prthivideva I of the Kalachuri dynasty of Ratnapura¹⁷ says of Kokalla, the founder of the Kalachuri line of Tripuri :

कार्ण(कर्णा)टलाटपति-गूर्जरकोङ्कणेश-
साकंभरीपति-तु[रुष्क-र]घुद्ववानाम् ।
आदाय को[श]हरिदन्त(न्ति)चयं हठेन
स्तंभो जयस्य विहितो भुवि येन राज्ञा ॥

‘He forcibly snatched away the treasures, horses and elephants of the Kārṇāṭa, Vaṅga, Gurjara, Koṅkaṇa, 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 Aṣaṭadeva¹⁸ 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 हंवीरमप्यतिबलं 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 Muhammadans. Dhaṅga died some time between 998 and 1002; the verse may therefore be taken to refer to Subuktigīn'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 :

चेदीश्वरेंद्रथ-[तोम]ल-भीममुख्यान्कर्णाटलाटपति-गूर्जराट्-तुरुष्कान् ।
यद्भृत्यमात्रविजितानवलोक्य मौला दोष्ण व(व)लानि कलयन्ति न
[योद्ध]लो[कान्] ॥

'Seeing the lords of Karṇāṭa, 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. *El.*, 1, 221.

20. *Hamvira* or *Hamira* 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. *El.*, 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 Anandapāla.

The *Zainu'l Akhbār* 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 *Firishṭa*²⁵ and Nizām-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. Anahilla, a member of the Chāhamāna family of Naddūla (Nāḍol), is said to have defeated a Turuṣka in the Sundha Hill inscription.²⁸ Though we have no direct date for Anahilla, 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 Anahilla probably confronted the Sultān somewhere near the Aravalli Hills.

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

...वा(बा)हिकताइकान्त(त)क्कारिणा....

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

23. *Zainu'l Akhbār*, 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-Akbārī*, Text, Calcutta, 17.

27. Tr. Raverty, 155.

28. *El.*, 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 Bāna'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 :

यत्पौरुषात्मवरतः 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) :

खेलोत्खाततुरुष्कदर्त्तविलसद्वाहोवलीवेल्लन-
क्लाम्यत्कुङ्कुमकेसराधिकमृदौ वक्षूपकण्ठस्थले ।
येनावास्य सरस्वतीसविधतासाधिव्यवाक्पाटव-
श्चाद्वनुत्कट[प]त्रिपञ्जरगतः कीराधिपोध्याप्यत ॥

‘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 :

हम्मीरंन्यस्तवैरं 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.’

33. *EI.*, 1, 64.

34. *EI.*, 2, 188.

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

36. *Elliot*, 4, 524.

37. *IA.*, 18, 16.

38. *EI.*, 9, 319.

39. Read इति [यः] to suit the metre.

We are told by Minhāj that during the Ṣultānate 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):

भुवनदलनहेलाहर्म्यं हम्मीरनारीनयनजलदधा[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 Hammīra, who was the home of easily crushing the earth.'

No war between the Gāhaḍavālas and the Yāminis 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 Ghūris? 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 कृतवान्म्लेच्छविच्छेदनाभि-
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 Mlēcchas.'

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 Pṛthvirāja I of the Chāhamāna dynasty entrusted to his maternal uncle Kilhaṇa the fort of Āsikā (Hansi), to be protected against the Hammīra:⁵⁰

मत्वा हम्मीरवीरं निखिलवसुमतीशल्यभूतं प्रभूतं
योग्योसौ वीरगोष्ठीनिपुणतरमतिः शत्रुलक्ष्मीभुजंगः ।
प्रादाद्राजन्यचूडामणिकिरणगणासंजनिर्द्धूतपादो
भूपस्तस्मै प्रहृष्टो विशदगुणनिवे⁵¹रासिकादुर्गमुग्रं ॥

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 निघये

The inscription lends support to the conjecture that the Yāminis 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
--- ७७ - ७ - ७७७ --- ७ --- ७ ---
द्विरदो मदोत्कट ७ --- ह ७७ जः
कृतानेकनरेद्रमौलिविगलद्रक्ताभिषिक्तावनिः ।
सोपि प्राप्य पुरस्तुर्गुणनृपतिः शुष्काधरः शंकया
साकं येन कृपाणभीषणभुजस्तंभेन[स्तं]भे जितः ॥
...मर्त्यश्चेन्मनुजैरजेयमज[य]न्मलेच्छाधिनाथः 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. *El.*, 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 ७७७७७७ --- ७ संपिष्टशैलं ।
दलितधरणिचक्रं वीरहंमीरचक्रं बहु तृणमकरोद्यः 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-Nāṣirī*, Text, 115 ; *Firishta*, Text, 52 ; *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak-shāhi*, Text, 68.

57. *El.*, 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 गुर्जरभूभुजा 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:

निर्मिद्योच्चैः प्रबलकलितं यस्तुरुष्कं व्यधत्
श्रीसोमैशापदं मुकुटवत्तोरणं काञ्चनस्य ॥

The known dates of Kilhaṇa range from 1164 to 1194. Firishṭa 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 कासहदे 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 Aṇahila-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 K̄hiljī's invasion of Assam.⁶⁹ The K̄hiljī 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 (*Kāmarūpaśāsanīvalī*, 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]लमूलकख(ष)बाहुलक्ष्मीस्तुरुष्कसैन्यार्णवकुंभयोनिः ।

[अ]स्मिन्सुराधीशसहासनस्थे 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

नागहृदपुरभंगे समं सुरत्राणसैनिकैर्युद्धा ।

भूतालाहटकूटे पमराजः पञ्चतां प्राप ॥

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

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). Firishta 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-
द्वबल्यति धरित्री श्रीप्रतापे क्षितीन्द्रे ।

'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 KHilji (c. 1200).

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

पृथ्वीशो मथुराधिपो रणमुखे काशीपतिः पाति[तो]
येनासावपि यस्य भृत्यबटुना हंमीरवीरो 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. *Firishta*, Text, 66. The Hindu Prince is called Deo-Bal, probably to be corrected to Deo-Mal.

80. *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, Text, 175.

81. *EI.*, 4, 312.

82. *EI.*, 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 Anaṅga-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 Anaṅga-Bhīma also defeated a Tumghāna 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 ।
तुरुष्ककुर्यावु(बु)धिमग्रधात्रीसमुद्धतिं विष्णुरिव प्रतन्वन् ॥

'Then Trailokyavarman ruled the kingdom, a very Creator in

83. *EI.*, 13, 151.

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

85. *Sic.*,

86. *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, Text, p. 163.

87. *EI.*, 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 Kālāñjara, 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 Kālāñjara.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 :

रादावनीन्द्रयवनीनयनांजनाश्रुपूरेण दूरविनिवेशित कालिमश्रीः ।
तद्विप्रलम्भकरणाद्भुतनिस्तरङ्गा गङ्गापि नूतममुना 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. Sultān 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. *EI.*, 12, 46.

appointed Jallāla Ṣōjā⁹³ his representative at Batihādīm (Batiha-gadh) where Jallāla caused a Gomaṭha 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)
Ṣuduvadīna (Qutb-al-Dīn).
Asamasadīna (SHāms-al-Dīn Iltutmish)
Jalāladīna (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 Gharsi 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-
न्ममामुद्धरति स्म गूर्जरमहीमुखैस्तुरुष्कार्णवात् ॥

'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 Chāhumānas 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. *ET.*, 12, 23.

Sāhavadina (SHihāb-al-Dīn Ghūrī)
Kutvudina (Qutb-al-Dīn).
Samasaddina (SHams-al-Dīn Iltutmish)
Perojasāhi (Rukn-al-Dīn Firūz).
Aḷavadina ('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 बंगतिलंगम(गूर्जरलसत्कर्णाटगौडाधिपा[नृ]
[ग]र्ज्जर्जनपार्वतीयनृपीतन् पाड्यान् पयोधिश्रितान् ।
स्थाने स्थापितवान् न [कारितरणान्नागा] दिरत्नप्रदा[नृ]
[की]र्तिस्तेभचयानिव प्रभुर[सौ] अलावदीनो नृपः ।
उच्चैः सो (शौ) व्यैगुणै[स]दारचरितेति (स्ती)ब्रप्रातापेन वा
रत्नैव्वीजिगजादिभिर्वसुवयः [चयैः] पूण [र्णः]स्वराडा (डा)ज्ञाते ॥
श्रीह [स्स्यध]नरे[श्वरो]भुवि [महान]लावदीनोपमः
संजातो नपुरा न चास्तिभविता नाग्रे शक्रेः (शः) क्वचित् ॥
अलावदीनस्य [नृ] पस्य राज्ये पुरापतिर्भूषधनाधिकारी ।
गुणैश्च सर्वोत्तमतमवाप्य साधारणो भूमिवल्लभोभूत् ॥

The inscription correctly says that 'Alā-al-Dīn was the first Sulṭān 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-dhanādhikārin*). 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. *Tārikh-i-Mubārak SHāhī*. Bibl. Ind. 177.

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

तुरुष्कबन्दीकृतविश्वलोकान् 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 KHilji.

51. The Ranpur (Jodhpur) inscription¹⁰⁵ says that Bhuvana-simha defeated 'Alā-al-Dīn (*Allāvadīna-suratrāṇa-jaitra*). Bhuvanasiṃha 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 Bhuvanasimha, the father of Ratnasimha.

104. *EI.*, 11, 65.

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

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

Gunpowder Artillery in the reign of Sultan Eltutmish of Dehli¹

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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* (naptha) 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 Dehli.

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

(24) W., ff 225, 230.

(25) W. fol. 227.

Mechanical Artillery in Medieval India

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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 '*arūs-gān*',²² which means 'small *manjanīqs*'.²³ According to Farhang-i Sharaf-nāmā-i-Ahmed Munyārī '*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 *Maghrib* or West. An attempt has, therefore, been made to prove the superiority of European machines,²⁷ but this claim is open to challenge, for *Maghrib* 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

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(35) Bibliography.

Procedure of Succession to the Sultanate of Delhi*

By

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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. Makhdoomee 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, amīrs, 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. Makhdoomee's article.

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

Ārām 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 Ārām 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

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 Parwāri followers.¹⁵

When Khusrav Khān was defeated and killed by the Muhammadans 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.

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.

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

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

16. *op. cit.*, p. 229.

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, *Tārikh-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

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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 (Abdulla Khan and Hussain Ali Khan) who used them as they liked and then flung them away. Some scholars might think that the epithets 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

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 نفس در کسب انشاء و اختیار کار
گزارید از تاثیر صحبت ایشان شمه از ان بقید تحریر آورده بر شاهنامه تورکام موسوم ساخت. آری
از منشیان عظام والا فرجام امید آن دارد که هر جا و کجا سهوی و خطا که خاصه بشریت است راه یافته
باشد قلم اصلاح بران جاری فرماید و منت بر احقر گزارند.
فرد:— "من نوشتم صرف کردم رزگار من نمانم این بماند پائیدار"

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

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.

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.

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 کردہ شد و در عرصہ یک ماہ مشاغل و جشنائے شاہی
خرچ 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 بسالت دستگاہ و اعتضاد الکبریٰ اعتماد السلطنت العظمیٰ زبدہ مخلصان
و فاکیش خلاصہ دوستان دوراندیش بغایت و انتفات پادشاہی امیدوار بودہ بداند۔

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 جلالت نشان زبدہ فواتین بلند مکان مخلص خاص محب و اختصا ص خان والاشان
سر بلند خان بہادر بغایت پادشاہی امیدوار بودہ بداند۔

3. Page 7: Ms: Shahnama Munnawar Kalam.

4. Shahnama Munnawar Kalam. Page 20 -A.

5. Shahnama Munnawar Kalam. Page 20-B.

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

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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

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

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.

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

15. Committee's Report.

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

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

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 officeseekers.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

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.

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.

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

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

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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. Cambay, 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 large 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. Parasnis 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

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

SATARA, 22ND JUNE, 1825.

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 Cleiland, 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 Ranee 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 Konkhan 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 Beejapoor, 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 nation

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 Vidyalyaya 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 Kavikāṇkaṇa! 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.³⁸ 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

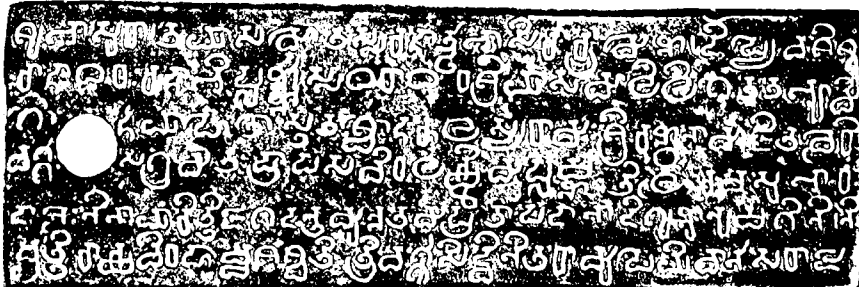
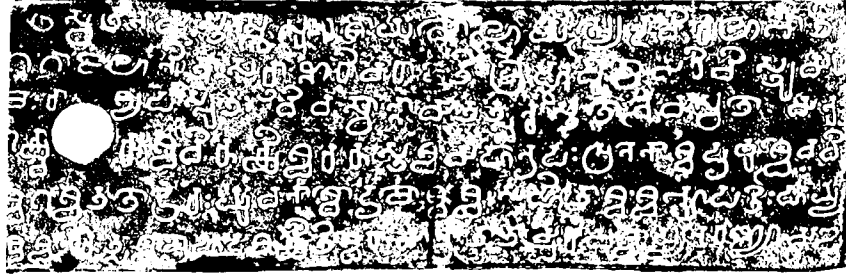
38. Sir J. N. Sarkar—India through the Ages—Chap. IV.

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. Gravelly 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 nārīva rājati³ [“ 1 ”]
Brahma-putrō Marīchis=tu Marī-
chēḥ Kāśyapas=sutaḥ[1] Vivasvān=nāma tat-
sūnus=tatō Vaivasvatō Manuḥ [“ 2 ”]
Ikshvākus = cha Vikukshis=cha Kakus⁴tas'=cha mahā-
nṛpaḥ[1] Anēnās=cha Prthuś=chaiva Vi-
'svaga's = cha tat = Ō⁵drēkaḥ[“ 3 ”] Yuvanāśvō
Drsh⁶ō'sva's=cha Sahi⁷tā'sva's=cha bhūpatiḥ [1] Harya-
'sva's=cha Niku⁸staś=cha Brhada'sva-kshiti'svaraḥ [“ 4 ”]
Māndhātā t⁹=Āmbarīśaś=chāpy=Anaraṇyō mahī-¹⁰

Second Plate : First side

patiḥ[1] Ililī¹¹ō maprā¹²-tējā Sagaraś=ch=Āmśumānata¹³
[“ 5 ”] Asamañjasō Dilipa
s=cha rājā ch=āta¹⁴ Bhagīrataḥ[1] Dilīpaś=cha=Raghuś=
ch=aiva Ajō Da'sarata¹⁵ punaḥ[“ 6 ”] Vāma-¹⁶

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 ślōka is not clear.

4. Read Kakutsthaś= 6. Ibid Drdhāśvaś= 8. Ibid Nikumbhaś=

5. Ibid Ādrakah 7. Ibid Samhatāśvaś= 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 Daśarataḥ 16. Ibid Vāmānkuśaś=

kuśaś=cha sambrāsha¹⁷ ar(d) dha-sambrāsh¹⁷a-bhūbhṛtaḥ
 [1]pāda-sambrāsha-Chōḷaś=cha ma-
 hāntaḥ parikīrtitaḥ¹⁸[" 7 "] Asmin=vas¹⁹ē viśuddhōjā
 sad-vṛttō guṇa-sa²⁰śrayaḥ[1]
 Karikāla iti khyātō mukta²¹-maṇir=iv=ābhavat[" 8 "] •
 Pravarta[ta]²² tatas=suddhā rājñē²³ vaṁśa-
 kram-āgatā[1] pravāha=iva Gaṁgāyam=punaś=
 chandra-maṇḍalāḥ²⁴[" 9 "] Ishtadas=Susu

Second Plate : Second side

gaṇdhiś=cha Suchchhāy²⁵a priyadaḥ śubhaḥ[1] āsit=
 Sundaranandākhyāḥ kalpa-vrksha i-
 vāparaḥ[" 10 "] Tat-guṇa-grāma-bijasya
 navāmkura ivāma²⁶aḥ[1] Navarāma iti khyātō
 rājābhūt=tadanantaraḥ[" 11 "] T²⁷ataḥ Eṛeyammaḥ
 [1] Tatō Vijayakāmaḥ[1] Tatō Virā-
 r(j)junaḥ[1] Tataḥ Agraṇipidugu[1] Tataḥ Kōkili[1] Tataḥ
 Mahēndravarm(m) aḥ²⁸[1] Tataḥ E-
 lamjōlaḥ[1] Tatō Nṛpakāmaḥ²⁹[1]Asūta³⁰ sūnur(n) Nṛpakāma-
 bhūpat³¹iḥ kulasya lōka-
 sya yat³²=āvabhāsakaḥ[1] Divākaraś=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 ślōka 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.

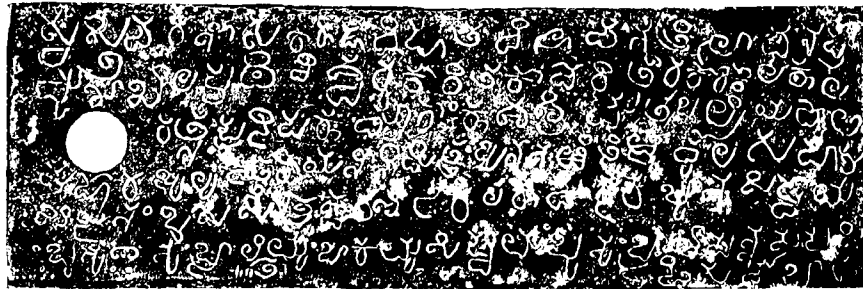
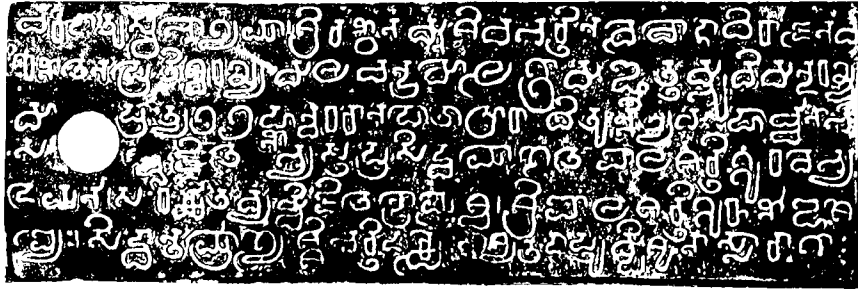
29. Prose ends here.

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
kāḷā³⁷-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] samgrāmataḥ prāpa sa vira-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-a⁴⁹khyā-
m (ā) pratyagrāghṇan=varakānapōtā⁵⁰[1]ārādhitunnitya-
mahārchanābhi[h]
sampūjitēbhyasta-prasiddha-yōgai[h “ 17 ”] Tē
Bāla’sakti-(g) guravēbhya-

33. *Ibid* Kaḷasu34. *Ibid* °bhāsikaḥ35. *Ibid* dīptyēva36. *Ibid* Śiśuḥ. The word is not appropriate.37. *Ibid* kalādharaḥ38. *Ibid* Jātas

39. Read pushnāti. Pupōsha is grammatically more appropriate.

40. *Ibid* lōkam43. *Ibid* guṇānushaṅgini.41. *Ibid* Nināya.44. *Ibid* nivṛttikāmkshā42. *Ibid* °unnatām45. *Ibid* Sāsvatīm.

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 Saṁrakshitavyam=vijit-ēndr⁵¹ōyaiś=cha[1]’sri
 Bālaśakti[m] (g) guruṇāñ=cha śē⁵²
 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] shashṭi-varsha-sahasrāṇi
 vishṭhāyām jāyat krimi[h “ 21 ”]
 Pūr(v)va-brahma-dēya-dēva-bhōgam var(j)jayitvā
 sar(v)va pā⁵⁶dhā-parihāram[1] ’Sri

[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-dhārāya kā viḍichiri[1] Dīniki
 vakrambu vachchina
 vāru Vāraṇāsi Srīparvatāmbunu vḷachchina-vāru
 [1] Vēvuru
 brāhmaṇulanu vēyu gavilalanāḷisina-vāru[1]
 Maṁgaḷa[1]

INSCRIPTION B.

Fourth Plate : Second side

Svasti[1] charaṇa-sarōruha-vihata-vilōchana Trilōchana
 pra-
 mukh-ākhila-prthiviśvara-kārīta-kāvērī-tira
 Karikāla-kula-
 ratna-pradīpa-kumār-āṁkuśa śrīmat Balliya-
 Chōla-

51. Read vijitēndriyai’s=

52. Ibid sēvyaiḥ

55. It ought to be sakāśam obviously.

56. Read °bādha°

53. Ibid Nānyaiḥ

54. Ibid piśunaiḥ

Mahār⁵⁷ajulu uttarāyaṇa-nimittāmbuna Naṭitirēvula
 Sahaś⁵⁸u
 bhajanāmbu sēsi Svē⁵⁹tēśvara bhaṭāralaku
 Mandarambuna siddhāya-
 mbunu Inuṁbrōliyum-Bākayu siddhāyambunum
 Brōli pannasa-pasiṁ
 qī⁶⁰sarva-bhādha

57. Ibid °rājulu

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

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 Sankīsa and Kaṇauj in the Farrukhābād district. The late Mr. W. E. M. Campbell also obtained some close to Cawnpore. Jānkhat 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 Vākāṭaka 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 *Prāpanchahrdayam*. 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 *Prāpanchahrdayam* 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 Sūtras 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 Perumāḷ. 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 Tiruttani. 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 Vimśhad Adyāyamum," that is, Mīmāṃsa in its 20 chapters. The second time it comes under reference, it is repeated in the same terms "Mīmāṃsey Vimśhad 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 *Vimśhad 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 uptodate 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.,

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AND

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(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 (Solamkis) of Anahilapāṭaka (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 Vākātakas, 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 Bāngaḍ 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 *rājya-aikavimśe* of the passage *ras-aikavimśe* in the celebrated colophon of the *Saduktikarnāmṛta* (p. 367, note). The correction however does not suit the metre. *Ras-aikavimśe* possibly signifies, by *lakṣaṇā*, *rasā-bhog-aikavimśe*, 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 Varṣa 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 Karṇa, 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 senāpatim mātābhiḥ saha* (whom Ṣaḍāṇana, with the Mothers, favoured and installed general) of the Tālguṇḍa 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 Karṇa 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. Zimmern 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.

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 Tirukalikūṇram 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 Uttaramēṛūr 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. Śēkkiḷār, the author of the Periapurāṇam, 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 *Tirutondattohai*. As everybody knows Nambi Āṇḍār Nambi's *Tirutondattohai* 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 *Porunarāṟruppaḍi* 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 Rājarāja, 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 Rājarāja'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 Saivism. 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 inscripational 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 Rishīputra 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 Śābara. 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 Sankarṣaṇakāṇḍa 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 Madē 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 Srauta 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-Bāriqi—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 Vīrakūrcha, 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.

Christianity at the Courts of Akbar and Jahangir by Mr. Ernest F. Allnutt.

The Development of the Bengali Script by Pramode Lal Paul, M.A.

Iconism in India by Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, M.A., D.Phil.

Two Traditions about the Ancestry of Yusuf Adil Shah of Bijapur by Professor K. K. Basu, M.A.

The Ghoraghat Inscription of Raja Prananatha by Sarasi Kumar Saraswati, M.A.

Journal of the University of Bombay, Vol. IV, Part 4.

Origin of the Pallavas by the Rev. Father H. Heras, S.J., M.A.

Rise of Municipal Government in the City of Ahmedabad by B. K. Bomanbham.

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.

An Account of Firoz Shah Tughluq (from Sirat-i-Firozshahi) by Prof. K. K. Basu, M.A.

Nepal Chronicles on the Caste of the Guptas by K. P. Jayaswal.

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.

Anandabodha's Authorship of Nyayadipika and Limits for His Date by P. K. Gode, M.A.

Foundation of the Vijayanagara Empire and Vidyananya's Part Therein by S. Srikantaya, B.A., B.L.

An Image at Hampi by S. Srikantaya, B.A., B.L.

Anthropological Research in India by Rajacharitavisarada Rao Sahib C. Hayavadana Rao, B.A., B.L.

The Gangas of Talakkad and their Kongu Origin by S. V. Viswanatha, M.A.

Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. 12, 1936.

The Sect of Imam Shah in Gujarat by W. Ivanow.

The Origin of the so-called Greco-Buddhist School of Sculpture by Rev. Father H. Heras.

Indian "Eras" and their significance by S. V. Viswanath.

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.

The Dacca University Studies, Vol. I, No. 11.

Political Condition of India during c. 220-320 A.D. by Miss Karuna Kana Gupta, M.A.

The Revolt of Divvoka against Mahipala II, and other Revolts in Bengal by Prof. R. C. Majumdar, M.A., Ph.D.

Origin of the Bahmani Sultans of the Deccan by Dr. K. R. Qanungo, Ph.D.

Acta Orientalia, Vol. XV, Part 1.

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

The Journal of the Assam Research Society, Vol. IV, No. 1.

A Sumerian Custom and its Historic Indian Parallels. By Dr. B. A. Saletore, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.).

Maharaja Prthu. By Jogendra Chandra Ghosh.

Ruins in Laur. By Pandit Padmanath Bhattacharya Vidyanod, M.A.

An Assamese Source of Moghul History. By the Editor, Rai Bahadur, K. L. Barua, B.L.

The Muslim University Journal, Vol. III, No. 1.

An Exposition of Al. Ghazzali's Views on the Problem of the Freedom of the Will.

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.

Prehistoric and Protohistoric Finds of the Raichur and Shorapur Districts of H. E. H. The Nizam's State. By the Late Capt. Leonard Munn, O.B.E., M.E., F.R.A.I.

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Kadamba Kṛṣṇavarman I and his Successors

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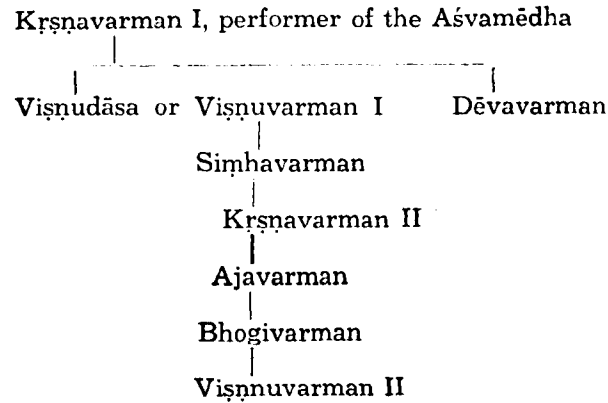
(P. O. Ghoserkuti, Faridpur District)

I. KṚṢṆAVARMAN I

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

II. VIṢṆUVARMAN I

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

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

6. *Jayaty=arhams=trilokeśaḥ sarva-bhūta-hitaṅkaraḥ, Rāg-ādy-ari-haro=nanto=nanta-jñāna-drg=Iśvaraḥ.*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

III. KṚṢṆAVARMAN II

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

11. *Daśabandha* has sometimes been called the king's share in books on law, e.g., Manu, VIII, 107. Kullūka in his gloss on this verse says, *avyādhitaḥ sākṣi ṛṇa-dānādi-vyāpārēṣu tri-pakṣa-paryantaṃ yadi sākṣyaṃ na vadēt tadā tad-vivād-āspaḍaṃ sarvaṃ=ṛṇam=uttamaṇṇasya dadyāt, tasya cha ṛṇasya daśamaṃ bhāgaṃ rājñe daṇḍaṃ dadyāt*.

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

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

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

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

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

12. *Jayaty=udrikta-daity-ēndra-bala-vīrya-vimardandh, Jagat-pravṛtti-saṁhāra-sṛṣṭi-māyā-dharo hariḥ.*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

IV. BHOGIVARMAN

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mandana and Bhavadvaita

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

7. *Brahmasiddhi*, p. 157.

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

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

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

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

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

11. *Brahmasiddhi*, p. 122.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Sultan Ghias-ud-din Balban

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INTRODUCTORY

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

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

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

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

A BUREAUCRACY OF SLAVES

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

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

2. *Ibid.*, p. 140.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 170.

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

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

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

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

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

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

EARLY LIFE

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

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

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

10. *Ibid.*, p. 37.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CHARACTER

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

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

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

36. *Ibid.*, p. 323.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

43. *Ibid.*, p. 47.

44. *Ibid.*, p. 26.

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

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

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

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

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

47. *Firishta*, p. 76.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

58. Ibid., p. 54.

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

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

BALBAN'S COURT

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

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

61. *Ibid.*, p. 61.

62. As quoted by *Firishta*, p. 75.

63. *Ibid.*, p. 75.

64. *Firishta*, p. 75.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

70. *Ibid.*, p. 115.

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

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

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

BALBAN'S THEORY OF KINGSHIP AND GOVERNMENT

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

71. Ibid., 117.

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

73. Ibid., p. 119.

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

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

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

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

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

75. Ibid., p. 70.

76. Ibid., p. 71.

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

78. Ibid., p. 71.

79. Ibid., p. 79.

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

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

The three essentials of kingship are the army, treasury and nobles. The means of success are justice, beneficence, pomp and show.⁸⁵ The stability and permanence of the government rests upon the establishment and maintenance of a well-disciplined and a well-equipped army. The ruler should not hesitate to allot a larger portion of the revenue for the upkeep of the army: he may appropriate half of it, but the other half must go to the treasury.⁸⁶

81. Ibid., p. 42.

82. Ibid., p. 43.

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

84. Ibid., p. 97.

85. Ibid., p. 78.

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

87. Ibid., p. 79.

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

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

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

88. Ibid., p. 97.

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

90-91. Ibid., p. 30.

92. Ibid., p. 31.

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

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

CONDITION OF THE STATE AND BALBAN'S REFORMS

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

94. Ibid., p. 43.

95. Ibid., p. 100.

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

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

98. Ibid., p. 27.

99. Ibid., p. 28.

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

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

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

PACIFICATION OF HINDUSTAN

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

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

101. Ibid., p. 26.

102. Ibid., p. 28.

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

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

105. Ibid., p. 53.

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

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

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

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

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

108. Ibid., p. 54

109. Ibid., p. 55.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

121. Ibid., pp. 63 and 64.

THE FRONTIER AND THE MONGOLS

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

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

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

123. *Ibid.*, p. 50.

124. *Ibid.*, p. 51.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

131. *Ibid.*, p. 69.

132. *Ibid.*, p. 80.

133. *Ibid.*, p. 81.

134. *Ibid.*, p. 81.

THE REBELLION OF TUGHRIL

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

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

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

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

137. Ibid., p. 82.

138. Ibid., p. 83.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

159. *Firishta*, p. 81, asserts that the Sultan ordered that "Tughril may henceforth be called 'Tughril-i-Namak-Haram.'"

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE DEATH OF SULTAN MAHMUD AND LAST DAYS OF SULTAN BALBAN

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

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

167. Zia Barni, p. 108.

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

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

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

• 171. Badauni, pp. 133 and 134.

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

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

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

172. Ibid., pp. 135 and 136.

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

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

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

176. Ibid., p. 121.

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

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

ESTIMATE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

By

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

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

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

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

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

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

3. *Ibid.*, p. 377.

EVIDENCE REGARDING ASVAMEDHA SACRIFICE 365

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

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

“अज्ञातः श्रीसवाईश्वरधरणिपतेः शसभूरिप्रमोदः
संप्राप्तोन्साहकश्रीहरिहरसुकवे संशयं संशयघ्नं ।
काव्यं नव्यं सुभवं भुवि रचयति यः प्रीतये पंडितानां
सोऽयं श्री कृष्णशर्मा कृतमति नमति श्री गुरोरंघ्रिपद्मा ॥ १३ ॥

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

“ तत्र धौततमे सूक्ष्मे वाससी विमले वहन् ।
कृष्णाजिनधरः स्कंधे मृगशृंगं करे दधत् ॥ ३७ ॥
अश्वमेधमखे दीक्षां बिभ्रत्परमदुर्लभां ।
महामाग्यवतामीशो पारपौरुषसारभृत् ॥ ३८ ॥
शिखासूत्रधरोदारं दीप्तिराजर्षिसंस्तुतः ।
साक्षाद्धर्मावितारोऽसौ यजमानोव्यराजत ॥ ३९ ॥

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

“ नानातीर्थशतानीता नीरनिक्षेपभासुरे ।
मानसागरतोयेषु चकारावभृथं नृपः ॥ ५१ ॥ ”

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

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

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

“ वर्षे सोष्टादशशततमे विक्रमार्कस्य शाके
मासे चैवाश्विननिगदिते शुक्लभूतादिने च ।
प्रातःकाले हृदयकमलानीतगोर्ध्निदेवा
देवो देवोपमगतिरसूत्रांगयतस्मिन्विलिल्ये ॥ २१ ॥

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

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

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

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

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

By

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

(8)

SATARA, 1ST JUNE, 1830.

To

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

³ 3. A suburb to the west of Satara.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(1) The present Pruthee Nidhee is the same person whom you know.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

EDINBURGH, JULY 1, 1830.

(9)

My dear Maharaj,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

My Dear Maharaj—always

Your sincere and affectionate friend,

J. GRANT DUFF.

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

(10)

SATARA, 28TH OCTOBER, 1831

To

CAPTAIN JAMES GRANT DUFF. ETC., ETC.¹

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(Incomplete.)

(11)

EDEN BY BANFF, SCOTLAND.

DECEMBER 9TH 1831.

My Dear Maharaj,

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

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

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

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

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

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

J. GRANT DUFF.

(12)

11TH JANUARY, 1833.

To

HIS HIGHNESS,

MAHARAJA CHUTRAPUTTEE, ETC.

SATARA,

My Dear Maharaj,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Believe me your most sincere and
affectionate friend,

J. GRANT DUFF.

(13)

EDEN, DECEMBER 29TH, 1833.

My Dear Maharaj,¹

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

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

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

The cover of this letter contains the following :—

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

I remain your old and faithful friend,

J. GRANT DUFF.

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

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

APPENDIX A

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

LONDON, 20TH AUGUST, 1827.

To

HIGHNESS MAHAJAH CHUTRPUTTY SHREEMUNT PRUTAB SHEWN BAHADUR.

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

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

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

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

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

BRIGGS.

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

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

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

4. i.e., relatives.

5. i.e., wife.

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

J. B.

APPENDIX B

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

ALLANY, AUGUST 12TH, 1833.

To

HIS HIGHNESS THE RAJA OF SATARA.
etc. etc.

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

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

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

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

M. ELPHINSTONE.

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

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

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

The Marathas in Bengal after 1751

By

MR. KALI KINKAR DATTA, M.A., P.R.S.,
(Lecturer in History, Patna College, Patna)

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

THE MARATHA MENACE AFTER 1751

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

INTRIGUES OF MIRZA SALEH WITH THE MARATHAS IN 1756

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

1. Seir, Vol. II, P. 113.

2. Correspondence du Conseil de Chandernagore avec divers, Ze partie p. 435.

3. Consultations, February 1, 1753 A.D.

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

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

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

8. Consultations, 10th April, 1759.

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

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

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

12. Long's *Selections*, p. 206.

13. *Ibid.*

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

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

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

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

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

14. Proceedings, 21st February, 1760.

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

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

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

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

19. *Indian Tracts*, p. 27.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE MARATHA DANGER IN THE TIME OF MIR KASIM.

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

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

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

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

24. *Ibid*.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

30. *Ibid*.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

35. *Ibid*, p. 59.

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

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

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

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

40. *Ibid*, p. 76.

41. *Ibid*, p. 73.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

42. *Ibid*, p. 74.

43. *Ibid*, p. 76.

44. *Ibid*, p. 78.

45. *Ibid*.

46. *Ibid*, p. 79.

47. *Ibid*, p. 85.

48. *Ibid*, p. 258.

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

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

51. *Ibid*.

52. *Ibid*, p. 90.

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

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

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

53. *Ibid.*, p. 94.

54. *Ibid.*, p. 102.

55. *Ibid.*, p. 99.

56. *Ibid.*, p. 102.

57. *Ibid.*

58. *Ibid.*, p. 112.

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

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

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

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

60. *Ibid.*

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

62. *Ibid.*

63. *Ibid.*, p. 130.

64. *Ibid.*, p. 131.

65. *Ibid.*, p. 135.

66. *Ibid.*, p. 135.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

69. *Ibid.*

that the “money collected at Shahbander⁷⁰ and Pataspur and the goods which were plundered and which his troops now demand from the Zamindars under the jurisdiction of Midnapur, may be returned, and that the Raja of Burdwan may be directed to pay him three lakhs of rupees.” To this the Company replied in plain terms on the 16th of February, 1762, that he could not expect any dues whatsoever until the papers had been examined to determine the nature and amount of loss incurred by the Company and Zamindars on account of the ravages of his troops, and that Burdwan had been granted to the Company by Nawab Mir Kasim for the expenses of their troops.⁷¹

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

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

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

72. *Ibid.*, p. 146.

73. *Ibid.*, p. 150.

74. *Ibid.*

75. *Ibid.*

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

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

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

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

78. *Ibid.*, p. 160.

79. *Ibid.*, p. 164.

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

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

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

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

84. *Ibid.*, p. 239.

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

85. *Ibid.*

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

87. *Ibid.*, p. 391.

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

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

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

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

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

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

92. *Ibid.*

93. *Ibid.*, p. 345.

94. *Ibid.*

95. *Ibid.*, p. 360.

96. *Ibid.*, p. 349.

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

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

98. *Ibid.*, p. 362.

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

100. *Ibid.*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

104. Sterling, Orissa, p. 92.

105. Midnapur District Records, p. 31.

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

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

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

107. *Ibid.*

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

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

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

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

109. *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 454.

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

111. *Ibid*, p. 311.

112. *Ibid*.

113. *Ibid*.

114. Long, p. 485.

Zat Rank in the Mogul Empire

By

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Editorial

OBITUARY

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

RIG-VEDA SAMHITA WITH THE COMMENTARY OF SAYANACHARYA

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

MAHABHARATA

(Southern Recension)

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

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

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

VIJAYANAGARA SEXCENTENARY COMMEMORATION VOLUME

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

C. S. S.

Reviews

CHERA KINGS OF THE SANGAM PERIOD

By

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

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

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

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

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

ORIGIN AND EARLY HISTORY OF SAIVISM IN SOUTH INDIA.

By

MR. C. V. NARAYANA Aiyar,

Madras University Historical Series No. 6.

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

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

PRAVACHANASARA OF SRI KUNDAKUNDACHARYA

By

A. N. UPADHYE,

Professor, Rajaram College, Kolhapur.

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

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

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

AURANGZEB AND HIS TIMES

By

ZAHIRUDDIN FARUKI, B.A.,

Bar-at-Law,

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

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

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

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

SHIVAJI THE GREAT

By

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

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

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

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

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

A SHORT HISTORY OF INDIA

By

W. H. MORELAND

AND

ATUL CHANDRA CHATTERJEE,

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

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

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

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

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

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

VOLUME I:

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC

By

KALIKINKAR DATTA, M.A.,

Lecturer in History, Patna College,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

C. S. S.

NIZAMU'L-MULK ASAF JAH I.

(Founder of the Haiderabad State.)

By

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

Reader in History, Osmania University, Haiderabad.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

C. S. S.

ANCIENT KARNATAKA—VOL. I. HISTORY OF TULUVA

By

DR. B. A. SALETORÉ, Poona.

Published by Oriental Book Agency, Poona, 1936.

pp. x, 659. Crown, cloth bound.

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

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

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

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

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

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

V. R. R. DIKSHITAR.

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

No. 36—Notes on the Sailendra Kings mentioned in the Leiden Plates by R. C. Majumdar—showing that the Sailendras were originally rulers of Kataha and then extended their suzerainty over Srivijaya. King Chūdāmaṇivarman died sometime between A.D. 1005 and 1008. It is likely that the Sailendras originated from India and Rajendra Chola conquered the Sailendra empire in or before his 13th regnal year; that hostilities continued during the reigns of Virarajendra and Kulottunga; and amity was restored by A.D. 1089-90.

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This is an important work on medicine. Dr. Sharma discusses the date, authorship and contents of this work.

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

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