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Journal of Indian History

The Longest Mohenjo Daro Epigraph

By

REV. H. HERAS, S.J.,
St. Xavier's College, Bombay.

IN THE course of an article I contributed to the *Journal of Indian History* on *Mohenjo Daro, the Most Important Archaeological Site in India*, I brought forward an inscription in two lines to show how the construction of the phrase is purely Dravidian. The inscription is No. 23 in pl. CXVI of Sir John Marshall's work¹ and while explaining the inscription, I said the following:

"The lines are not placed in the proper order: the second line reads first and the first line continues the reading of the second. This inverted order of the lines is not strange, for neither the authors nor the editor were able to read the script. But what is most extraordinary is that the reading of the second line (actually the first) is from left to right, while the first line (actually the second) reads from right to left. This makes one suspect that perhaps there was another really first line, reading from right to left; thus the actual first line of the inscription would be in reality the second line of the full inscription."²

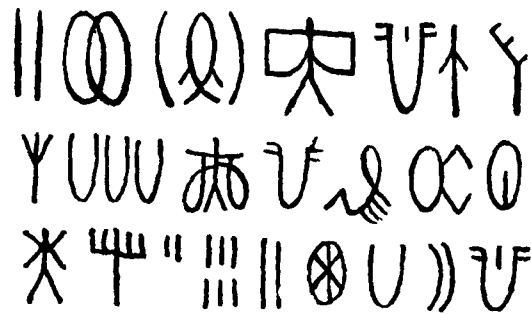
Later on, while examining the specimens from Mohenjo Daro presented to the Prince of Wales' Museum, Bombay, by the Director General of Archaeology, I was agreeably surprised to find amongst them the object containing the inscription referred to above. It is a very small prism. In the photograph published by Sir John Mar-

1. Marshall, *Mohenjo Daro and the Indus Civilization*, III, pl. CXVI, No. 23.

2. *Journal of Indian History*, XVI, Part I, p. 6.

shall, two faces of the prism only are seen. Consequently the inscription on the third face could not be traced. Now while examining the object, I found the missing line which, as expected, is the first line of the inscription. Accordingly this inscription has 25 signs, thus becoming the longest inscription of Mohenjo Daro. The longest inscription, if this is excepted, has 18 signs only.³

The inscription runs as follows :



This inscription reads as follows :

Taral oril ēḍu pei mīnāḍ kalakūrir
Nan rururu tūk adu karumugil ūrveḷi orūr
Ēḍu eṭ ru uyarel ir ār ire per kaḍavul

which means :

"The Great God who has the two sides of the high sun of the eight (parts) of the year, of Orūr outside the country of the rain clouds of the approaching thunder-sounding scale, of the united countries of Mināḍ (is) the rain of the year of one house of bushes."

The inscription requires some explanation. It is a good example of the intricate construction of Dravidian languages, especially when the language is poetic, as in the present case.

The great god is said to have the two sides of the high sun. The word side stands for "form" as is evident from many inscriptions :

1. *Ūrīl ire oriḍa kaḍavul adu*

"That (is) the good of one side (form) who is in the country."⁴

3. Marshall, *op. cit.*, III, M.D., No. 400.

4. *Ibid.*, H., No. 87.

2. *Adu tali per mīn oriḍa eṭ kaḍavul*

"That (is) the eight (-formed) god, whose one side (form) is the sprinkled great fish."⁵

The sides or forms of god are the eight constellations of the Zodiac : the Ram, the Harp, the Crab, the Mother, the Scale, the Arrow, the Jar and the Fish.⁶ Since Āṇ is identified with the sun⁷ while the sun was in the house of any of these constellations, Āṇ was supposed to take the respective form. Thus for instance, the second of the above inscriptions speaks of the Fish form of God. Such forms of God apparently had their respective icons and even two forms of God were actually being represented in an image. One of the seals of Mohenjo Daro has the representation of a Ram with the head of a Fish and the inscription above it reads as follows :

Nīla naṇḍūr ēḍu mīn adu Āṇ val

"May the Supreme Being of the Ram and the Fish of Naṇḍūr that has lands be prosperous."⁸

The God of Naṇḍūr evidently was a double form of Āṇ, the Ram and the Fish.

Similar seems to be the case commemorated in our inscription. The sun—which is identified with Āṇ—has two sides or forms ; and in order to avoid all misunderstanding these forms are said to be of "the eight parts of the year," viz. eight divisions (or constellations of the year). These eight parts of the year are already mentioned in another inscription.^{8a} What are these two forms of the Sun ? Nothing is said about them in the inscription specially.

The proto-Dravidian words of this expression require some comment. *Ēḍu eṭru* : *Ēḍu* properly is the name of the Ram (Sumerian *elim*), the first constellation of the year. On account of this the year itself was named *eḍu*, which name has become *āḍu* at present in Tamil. *Eṭru* is the numeral with plural termination. This ter-

5. Marshall, *op. cit.*, III, M.D., No. 419.

6. Cf. Heras, *The Religion of the Mohenjo-Daro People according to the Inscriptions*, *Journal of the University of Bombay*, V, (History and Economics), pp. 8-10.

7. Marshall, *op. cit.*, M.D., No. 37. Cf. Heras, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

8. *Ibid.*, I., pl. XII, No. 18.

8a. *Ibid.*, III, H., No. 129.

mination -ru which is found quite often in the inscriptions is of extraordinary importance, for it seems to be an early dialectal form, which has been kept in Kannaḍa.⁹ Such plural termination with the numerals is only used when referring to persons. Apparently, therefore, the eight parts or constellations of the year are personified here, which form of speech is often allowed in poetical writing as in the inscription under study.

The following word Orūr is a qualificative of the "great god". "The great God who has the two forms of the high sun of the eight parts of the year" is the god of Orūr. Orūr was a city belonging to the Kāvāls,¹⁰ a tribe that seems to be of Austric origin.¹¹ Later after a war between the Kāvāls and the Mīnas, Orūr became a portion of Mīnāḍ, "in the year of the hoisting of the flag of the horn-fish".¹² The inscription under study was composed after this event for it says in its first line that Orūr belongs to the united countries of Mīnāḍ. These united countries referred to are commemorated in a number of inscriptions when the Kāval-Kalakila union recognised the supremacy of Mīnāḍ.¹³

Our inscription, besides, gives another detail that will permit us to attempt in locating this city. It is "out of the country of the rain clouds of the approaching thundering scale". These words contain two details: one as regards the place and the other in reference to the time. Orūr is out of the country of the rain clouds, i.e. out of the country where the rain is abundant. On the other hand, other countries are mentioned in connection with the rain clouds, for instance in the following epigraph:



It reads:

Karumugil malayalam adu

9. Cf. Heras, *Karnāṭaka and Mohenjo-Daro, The Karnāṭaka Historical Review*, IV, pp. 4-5.

10. Photo, M.D., 1928-29, No. 7462; No. 5641.

11. Cf. Heras, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

12. Photo, M.D., 1929-30, Dk., No. 8984.

13. Marshall, *op. cit.*, M.D., No. 531; Photo, M.D., 1930-31, Dk. No. 16359; Photo, M.D., 1928-29, No. 6886; Photo, M.D., 1930-31, No. 3589; *Ibid.*, Dk. No. 10222.

14. Photo, M.D., 1928-29, No. 2795.

which means:

"That is Malabar of the rain clouds".

The rain fallen on Malabar is still extraordinary at present.

The time referred to is the second half of the period of the Mother when the period of the Scale is approaching. This latter period is described in the inscription by saying that it is a "thunder-sounding" period. The inscription evidently refers to the breaking of the monsoon on the western coast of India, which breaking is always accompanied by peals of thunder. During the monsoon itself, there are no thunder storms. In Ceylon, the monsoon breaks roughly in the beginning of June. A fortnight afterwards, more or less, it reaches Bombay. Eight days later it reaches the Kathiawar coast. Sind is not affected by the monsoon at present. But the geographical conditions of Sind were then quite different from the present conditions.¹⁵ The monsoon would reach Sind six or eight days after. This takes us to the beginning of July, which corresponded then with the beginning of the Scale. It is worth noticing that the approaching of the monsoon is very well described in this line. For first rain clouds appear as heralding the approach of the monsoon. Occasionally heavy downpours cool down the heated atmosphere of spring, but this is not the monsoon as yet. Finally strong wind and thunder storms announce its arrival. Quite properly, therefore, rain clouds are mentioned in the inscription when the thundering monsoon is still approaching.

Other inscriptions also connect the Scale with rain clouds. One for instance is given below:



This inscription reads as follows:

Mūn ire perper mīn kaṇi karumukil tūkōḍu

15. Amongst the many animals carved on the seals of the Indus Valley, or modelled in clay, there is not a single camel, the animal of the desert, which is all over Sind at present. On the contrary, elephants and monkeys, forest animals, were well known to the Mohenjo-Daro artist. The land was evidently covered with forest, and forests always attract rain.

16. Photo, H. Neg, 4782, No. 1; Neg, 4391, No. 3.

Now, this line being independent should be read from right to left, while in the above inscription it reads from left to right. Thus it will read as follows :

Orūr ūrveḷi karumukil adu tūk rururu naṇ

which means :

“The approach of the thunders of the Scale of the rain clouds outside the country of Orūr.”

Strange to say, the meaning of this verse read from right to left is also perfect and in accordance with the meaning of the total inscription, a thing which occurs very rarely.

This fact also shows that many of these inscriptions on seals and amulets seem to be fragments or quotations from longer pieces of literature either in prose or poetry. This fact has been observed in many cases.

Five Thousand Years Ago—The Mahabharata War

By

MR. D. S. TRIVEDA,

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Saraswati Bhavanam, Benares Cantt.*

“Truth crushed to earth shall rise again.”

BRYANT.

MUCH water has flown in the Ganges during the last 60 years when the scholars much disputed on the ‘date of the Mahabharata War’. Some of the scholars tried to erase out the very name of the Great Bharata War. Principal N. V. Thadani of Delhi is one of those distinguished orientalists who deny the war. He, in his ‘Mahabharata—a Mystery’, propounds that the book Mahabharata is nothing but the disputations of the six systems of the Indian philosophy with the final triumph of the Vedanta. But a fact which is hard seated on the heart of the populace, and that even not from to-day or yesterday but from thousands of years, cannot be easily put off as a rumour. The old traditions of the Hindus are not simply traditions, but being corroborated by inscriptions and literary evidences, are of great importance even from the historical point of view. Even occidental scholars have to bend their heads down before the Indian traditions and they are forced to remark as follows :—

“The Hindu statements have almost universally been regarded as very different from the fictions of an improved and credulous people and entitled to a very serious and profound investigation.”¹

According to the Indian tradition, the Bharata War was fought before the Kaliyuga whose 5038 years have already elapsed. We can impeach this tradition only when we take for granted that the Indians held fantastical theories about their antiquity from the very beginning. The minds of our school children are poisoned in their very infancy by teaching them such things

1. Historians' History of the World, Vol. II, p. 495.

which may make them thorns on the way to Nationalism² by considering their forefathers simply fools.³ But history⁴ in its proper sense is a very important study and it cannot be ignored.⁵ Mr. Wheeler placed the Bharata War on astronomic grounds in 6000 B.C.; but Mr. Bentley dragged it down to 575 B.C. on the same grounds, whereas Pt. G. D. Shastri Chulait places it in 1800-10 B.C. Dr. Sitanath Pradhan, on the basis of Magadhan chronology fixes it in 1250 B.C. Dr. Pargiter places in 1810 B.C., whereas the late lamentable M. M. Satischandra Vidyabhushana, the Principal of Sanskrit College, Calcutta, placed it in 1922 B.C. The late Balakrishna Dixit, the astronomer and the distinguished orientalist, Rao Bahadur C. V. Vaidya place the war on astronomic grounds in c. 3000 B.C. The western Antiquarians do not even heed the astronomic proofs, not to say of criticising them. Dr. Radhakumuda Mukerji, the late Dr. Kashiprasad Jaiswal and Mr. Jayachandra Vidyalkankara, etc., all place the war in c. 1450 B.C. They consider it a sin to go beyond this date. Mr. Velandi Aiyar calculated 14 October 1194 to be the date of the Bharata War.

Thus it can be seen how conflicting opinions have been advanced by the eminent scholars to determine the event of this landmark in the annals of the Indian history and it can in no way be ignored simply as a tradition.

"There is no myth without its background of facts."⁶ "There is no smoke without some fire" is a maxim which the historians should never overlook."⁷ Mr. Michael Temple also says, "But we are getting to understand now that whenever we have an ancient legend, there is always some sort of truth behind it. Legends do not grow from nothing any more than any thing else; there must

2. My own article: *Bhāratiya Itihāsa aur Rāstrīyāta*, Panditapatra, Benares, 13th April 1936; and *Ibid.*, Kshatriya Mitra, Benares, March 1937.

3. My article: *Bhāratiya Itihāsa ke Prati Logon ka Drigkoṇa*, Aja, Benares, 25th June 1936; and *Apane Itihāsa ki upekshā*, Lokamānya, Calcutta, 7th July 1936.

4. My article: *Itihāsa*, Viswabandhu, Lahore; 8 and 15th Feb. 1936; and *Itihāsa ka Sacchā Swarupa*, Ārya Mahilā, Benares, November 1936.

5. My article: *Itihāsa kyou pardhanā chahiye*, Sūrya, Benares, 6th June 1937; *Ibid.*, Ārya Mahilā, Benares, July 1937.

6. *Historians' History of the World*, Vol. II,

7. *Ibid.*

be a seed, though the plant, which has sprung from it, may have taken a strange and almost unrecognisable form."⁸

But shall we depend upon mere tradition? No, we have got convincing proofs⁹ that the war was fought in the 32nd century B.C.

From the Aihole Inscription of Pulakesin II we learn that the inscription was inscribed when 3735 years in Kali from the time of the Bharata War and 556 years of the Shaka king had already passed away.¹⁰ This Pulakesin humbled to dust the pride of the great ruler of Kanyakubja, Harshavardhana who accorded an enthusiastic reception to the Chinese pilgrim Yun Chwung in 629 A.D. Immediately after that Harsha marched on a war of conquest but was defeated by Pulakesin on the banks of the river Reva. Pulakesin caused his victory-pillar to be erected shortly in $(556 + 78) = 634$ A.D. Hence we may calculate that the Kaliyuga began in $(3735 - 634) = 3101$ B.C. and $(3101 + 1937) = 5038$ years of Kali have passed till now.

Hence we can easily calculate that the Kaliyuga began in $(3735 - 556) = 3179$ B.S. (Before Shake). This is supported by the statements of Siddhantashiromani¹¹ and Brahmasphutasiddhanta¹² also. Thus we can calculate that $(3179 + 1859) = 5038$ years of Kali have passed away. From the above inscription we also learn that the Mahabharata War and the Kaliyuga **भारतादाहव** and **कलौकाले** are almost contemporaneous. This fact is supported

8. Englishman, Calcutta, 7th Feb. 1927.

9. My articles: (a) *The Date of the Mahābhārata War 3137 B.C.*, Tribune, Lahore, 14th Jan. 36; (b) *Mahābhārata Yuddha-kāla*, Samskritam, Ayodhya, 21st July 36; (c) *Mahābhārata Yuddha ki Tithi*, 3080 B.V., Ārya Mahilā, Benares, August '36; (d) *Aj se pancha hazar varsha pahale Mahābhārata ki larai*, Vijnana, Allahabad, August 1936.

10. See, *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VIII, p. 241 et. seq.

त्रिंशत्सु त्रिसहस्रेषु भारतादाहवादितः ।

सताब्दशतयुक्तेषु गतेष्वब्देषु पञ्चसु ॥

$(30 + 3000 + 700 + 5) = 3735$

पञ्चाशत्सु कलौ काले षट्सु पञ्चशतासु च ।

समासु समतीतासु शकानामपि भूभुजाम् ॥

11. **नन्द्राद्रीन्दुगुणास्तथाशकनृपस्यान्ते कलेर्वत्सराः ।**

Siddhantashiromani, Benares, 1917, p. 89.

12. **गीऽनैकगुणाः शकान्तेऽब्दाः । ब्राह्मस्फुटसिद्धान्त** *Madhyamadhikara* अङ्कानां वामतो गतिः hence 3179 years had passed at the beginning of the Shaka.

by other evidence also. But Dr. J. F. Fleet tunes his own flute. He considers the Kaliyuga simply an invention of imagination without the least foundation. He says : ¹³

“The Kaliyuga era is not of historical origin. . . . It is nothing but an artificial reckoning . . . devised by the Hindu astronomers some 35 centuries after the initial point which they assigned to it; that is, roughly, at some time about A.D. 350-400 A.D.”

But the learned doctor is forced to admit that the theories of yugas and kalpas had already been established before the astronomical period. He says : ¹⁴

“The general idea of the ages, with their names, and with a graduated deterioration of religion and morality and shortening of human life with also some conception of a great period known as the कल्प or aeon, which is mentioned in the inscriptions of Asoka, seems to have been well established in India before the astronomical period.”

Apart from these facts, the learned antiquarian gave no special reason to take the Kali era to be a conceit of imagination. He does not suggest the significance for which Indian astronomers started this imaginary era c. 350-400 A.D. and why they calculated it 3500 years backward. In truth, the occidental orientlists feel shy to place the Indian events early for in that case the whole credit goes to India and the civilisation of Greece appears shallow.

The Kali Samvat is inscribed in six inscriptions of northern India and five inscriptions of the south. Undoubtedly, they are later than the 6th century A.D. Kalidasa, the courtier of Vikramaditya of Ujjayini, the author of the three dramas, uses the Kali Samvat in his Jyotividabharana. He says : ¹⁵ ‘This book was completed in the month of April (Vaishakha) when 3068 years of Kali had passed away.’ The Kali Samvat has been also used by Hariswami, the commentator of Shatapatha Brahmana and by Aryabhatta in his Kalakriyapada. Hence the theory of Dr. Fleet must be considered unsound.

13. Epigraphia Indica, Vol. VIII, p. 320.

14. Journal Royal Asiatic Society, 1911, p. 479.

15. वर्षे सिन्धुरदर्शनांवरगुणै र्यतेः कले सम्मि ते ।

मासे माधवसंज्ञितेऽत्र विहितो ग्रन्थक्रियो पक्रमः ।

Jyotirvidabharana, 22/21.

The Mahabharata War and the beginning of Kali are almost contemporaneous. The भारतहव and कलौ काले in the above are quite clear. It is also supported by internal and external evidences. At the juncture of Kali and Dvāpara, the armies of Kurus and Pāṇḍus fought in the Kurukshetra.” ¹⁶ “The Kaliyuga has come, and remember the vow of the Pāṇḍava.” ¹⁷ “This is Kaliyuga which has just begun prevailing.” ¹⁸ According to Kalhana, the chronicler of Kashmir, the Pāṇḍavas flourished 653 years after Kali; but he is forced to remark : ¹⁹ “The Bhārata War happened at the end of Dvāpara, hence some being misled, consider this time-limit false.” I have clearly indicated the true nature of Kalhana’s mistake and the data of the Rajatarangini for the ‘date of the Mahabharata War’ in another article of mine, ²⁰ but it is certain that even in his time, the Bhārata war was taken to have been fought at the end of Dvāpara only.

From the internal sources we also learn that the war was fought 36 years before the beginning of Kali. “Oh Janamejaya ! Yudhishthira saw adverse circumstances after 36 years.” ²¹ “O Madhusudana ! you also, 36 years having passed, devoid of neighbours, councillors, and sons, wandering in the forest will attain death through foul means.” ²² According to the Shrimadbhāgavata, Lord Krishna was wandering in a forest when he sat under a tree for the practice of yoga. The disc of light from his feet spread in directions. A fowler, considering it to be the eyes of a deer, shot his arrow which caused the death of the Lord. The Pāṇḍavas, having heard the news of Krishna’s death through Arjuna, left the

16. अन्तरे चैव संप्राप्ते कलिद्वारपरयोरभूत् ।

समन्तपञ्चके युद्धं कुरुपाण्डवसेनयोः Mahabharata, I, v. 13.

17. प्राप्तं कलियुगं विद्धि प्रतिज्ञा पाण्डवस्य च । Mbh.

18. एतत्कलियुगं नाम अचिराद् यत्प्रवर्तते । Mbh.

19. भारतं द्वापरान्तेऽभूद्भारतयेति विमोहिताः ।

केचिदेतां मृषा तेषां कालसंख्यां प्रचक्रिरे । Rajatarangini, I, 48.

20. Kashmira ki Samsodhita Rājavarṇasāvalī, Vijñāna, Allahabad, Feb. 1937.

21. षट्त्रिंशेत्वथ संप्राप्ते वर्षे कौरवमन्दन

ददश विपरीतानि निमित्तानि युधिष्ठिरः । Mbh. Mushal I. 2.

22. त्वमप्युपस्थिते वर्षे षट्त्रिंशे मधुसूदन ।

हतश्चाति हतामात्यो हतपुत्रो वनेचरः ।

कुत्सितेनाभ्युपायेन निधनं समवाप्स्यसि॥

Mahābhārata Stri parva, XXV, 14.

reckoned from his own accession to the throne and thus in some measure gave relief to mankind. He reigned 135 years.²⁹ In this year 1652 years have since then gone by."

We read the following account³⁰ of the Din Elahi Era. "The era of Hijrah was now abolished and a new era was introduced, of which the first year was the year of the emperor's accession (963 A.H.)³¹ . . . This new era was called Tarikh-i-Ilahi or Divine Era."

Thus we may calculate as follows: 4696 years of Kali had passed away in $(1555 + 40) = \text{A.D. 1595}$. The Elahi year was solar, a modification of the Persian year, and about 11 days longer than the Hijri year. 27/28 Rabī II 963 A.H. (11th March 1556 A.D.) is the beginning of the Elahi era and of 1st regnal or Elahi year (25 days from enthronement counted as part of a year).^{31a} It is, therefore, that 40 has been added to 1555 and not to 1556, although Akbar came to the throne in 1556 A.D. Thus Kaliyuga began in $(1595 - 4696) = 3101 \text{ B.C.}$ In the same way the Vikrama Era was started in $(3101 - 3044) = 57 \text{ B.C.}$ and $(1595 + 57 = 1652 \text{ years of Vikrama Samvat had passed till then. In this way also we came to the conclusion that the war was fought in } (3044 + 36) = 3080 \text{ B.V. or } 3137 \text{ B.C.}$

'According to the astronomical calculations of the Hindus, the present period of the world, Kaliyuga, commenced 3101 years before the birth of Christ on the 20th Feb. at 2 hours 27 minutes 30 seconds. They say that a conjunction of planets then took place, and their tables show this conjunction. Baily states that Jupiter and Mercury were then in the same degree of the ecliptic, Mars at a distance of only eight, and Saturn of seven degrees; whence it

29. Vikramaditya and his Era, Daily Herald, Lahore, 22nd April 1936.

30. Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I, p. 195.

31. Mohammed was driven from Medina and he arrived to Yathreb on Friday, the 2nd of July 622. This is called Hijrat (exile) from which dates the Mohammedan calendar. But the 'Hejira' or the era of the Hijrat was instituted 17 years later by Caliph II. The commencement, however, is not laid at the real time of the departure from Mecca, which happened on the 4th of Rabī I—but on the first day of the first lunar month of the year—viz., Moharram—which day, in the year when the era was established, fell on the 15th of July. See, A Short History of the Sarcens, by Ameer Ali Syed, 1924, p. 10.

31a. Akbar the Great Mogul, by Vincent A. Smith, Oxford, 1919, pp. 448, 449.

follows that at the point of time given by the Brahmins as the commencement of the Kaliyuga, the four planets above-mentioned must have been successively concealed by the rays of the sun (first Saturn, then Mars, afterwards Jupiter, and lastly Mercury). These then showed themselves in conjunction; and although Venus could not then be seen, it was natural to say that a conjunction of the planets then took place. The conclusion of the Brahmins is so exactly confirmed by our own astronomical tables that nothing but an actual observation could have given so correspondent a result.³²

Thus on astronomical grounds also Kali began in 3101 B.C. and the war was fought in 3137 B.C.

We can otherwise find out the date also on which the war commenced. Bhishma, the grandfather, says: ³³

"O Yudhisthira! 58 nights of mine lying on the sharp ends of arrows passed away like hundreds of years. This beautiful month of Magh (January) has arrived. It should be the bright fortnight whose three parts have passed away."

Bhishma, the commander of the Kauravas, retired from the battlefield on the tenth day. Hence $(58 + 10) = 68$ days from the beginning of war had passed away when Bhishma uttered the above words. The word त्रिभागशेषः पक्षः should be taken to mean 'the bright half whose three parts have passed away'. According to the Hodachakra, a fortnight is divided into five parts namely Nanda, Bhadra, Jaya, Rikta and Purna. So $(15/5) \times 3 = 9$ days in the bright half of Magha had passed away. So calculating backward we may say that $(9 + 15 + 30 + 14) = 68$ days are exactly to be found if we take our start on the first day of the bright half of Margashira. This date falls on Tuesday. It is supported by the other evidences also in the Mahabharata.

32. Theogony of the Hindus by Count Bjornstarna, quoted by A. C. Das in his Rgvedic India, Calcutta, 1920.

33. अष्टपञ्चाशतं रात्र्यः शयानस्याद्य मे गताः।
शरेषु निशिताग्रेषु यथा वर्षशतं तथा ॥
माघोऽयं समनुप्राप्तो मासः सौम्यो युधिष्ठिर ।
त्रिभागशेषः पक्षोऽयं शुक्लो भवितुमर्हति ॥

Modern historians say that these inscriptions and literary evidences prove nothing beyond the fact that according to the traditions prevalent in those days the Great Bharata War was supposed to have been fought 5000 years ago to-day. But due to the advancement of critical study these evidences cannot be regarded conclusive for ascertaining the date of such a remote event. But it will not be out of place to point out that the whole Indian history is based on Alexander-Sandracottus synchronism and this is the only starting point to calculate backward and forward. But certainly it is a baseless foundation.³⁴ I have discussed the chronology of Magadhan Kings and the paucity of data between Parikshit's birth and Nanda's coronation for ascertaining the date of the 'Mahabharata War' in another article.³⁵ The evidences of the Rajatarangini and the purāṇas will be discussed later in pages of the Journal of Indian History, for they form the subject of lengthy articles in themselves. Hence it is finally concluded that the war was fought in 3137 B.C. Criticisms are gladly welcomed.

'Pantheism', Indian and Neo-Platonic¹

BY

ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY

THE Shorter Oxford English Dictionary defines pantheism as "The belief or theory that God and the universe are identical (implying a denial of the personality and transcendence of God): the doctrine that God is everything and everything is God". Pantheism must not be confused with the axiomatic truth that the finite must be included in the Infinite; pantheism arises only if this is made a reciprocal relation. The Indian doctrine maintains consistently that God is both immanent (*antah*) and transcendent (*bāhyatas*), e.g. Īśā 5 "That is both within and also without all this" (*tad antah asya sarvasya tad ā sarvasyāsya bāhyatas*); BG. IX. 4-5 "All beings subsist (*sthānī*) in Me, I am not 'situated' in them (*na cāham iṣṭa arasthitaḥ*)" (cf. St. Thomas Aquinas, *Sum. Theol.* I. 8. 3 and 3. "Things are more truly in God than God in them," i.e., more eminently; Hermes, *Lib.* XI.ii. 18-20-a "All things are in God; but things are not situated in God as in a place.....

Please make the following corrections and addition in the article "Pantheism" of Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy.

p. 251, line (ekastou)—*Italics*.

Ibid., 2nd para, l. 4, omit last 2 words and the first 4 words of l. 5 and insert between, the new passage:

case of "Valerius" is almost exactly paralleled by Śaṅkara on *Vedānta Sūtra* II. 3. 46, "Let us consider the case of many men, each of whom possesses sons, friends, etc., sitting together, some of them erroneously imagining that they are connected with their sons, friends, etc., while others do not. If then somebody calls out 'the son has died', 'the friend has died', grief is produced in the minds of those who are under the imagination of being connected with sons and friends, but not in the minds of religious mendicants who have freed themselves from that imagination". The view attributed to Apollonius is, indeed,

p. 252, last line but one, insert after the word *unbounded* (*parimitāparimam*).

Ibid., last line, add (*aṁśaiva*) before of himself.

34. Did Alexander invade India in the time of the Mauryas, *Hindustan Times*, Delhi, 29th June 1936.

35. *Magadha Rajaon ki Nayi Vamsavali*, *Nagari Pracharini Patrika*, Benares, 1994 V.S. (in press).

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THE Shorter Oxford English Dictionary defines pantheism as “The belief or theory that God and the universe are identical (implying a denial of the personality and transcendence of God): the doctrine that God is everything and everything is God”. Pantheism must not be confused with the axiomatic truth that the finite must be included in the Infinite ; pantheism arises only if this is made a reciprocal relation. The Indian doctrine maintains consistently that God is both immanent (*antas*) and transcendent (*bāhyatas*), e.g. Īśā 5 “That is both within and also without all this” (*tad antaḥ asya sarvasya tad u sarvasyāśya bāhyatas*) ; BG. IX. 4-5 “All beings subsist (*sthāni*) in Me, I am not ‘situated’ in them (*na cāhaṁ teṣu avasthitaḥ*)” (cf. St. Thomas Aquinas, *Sum. Theol.* I. 8. 3 and 3. “Things are more truly in God than God in them,” i.e., more eminently ; Hermes, *Lib.* XI.ii. 18-20-a “All things are in God ; but things are not situated in God as in a place.

1. See my previous article, “Vedic ‘Monotheism’”, J.I.H. XV, p. 84 f. In that article note the following corrigenda :
 - P. 84 for *Essence* read : *Spirit*.
 - P. 84 line. 18 for *of their* read : *is their*
 - P. 87, l.3., for *Harward* read *Harvard*
 - P. 87, line 14 for “*late*” read : “*late*”
 - P. 87, l.15, for *bahudha* read : *bahudhā*
 - P. 88, l.5, for *bux* read : *lux*
 - P. 88, l.11, for *stair* read : *starīr*
 - P. 90, l.10 for *Anupanisada* read : *Anupanisada*
 - P. 90, l.15, for ‘inveterated’ read : (inveterated)
 - P. 90, l.16 for *whose* read : *where*
 - P. 90, l.18 for *Indra’s* read : *Indra’s*”
 - P. 90, l.22 for *gamemamahī* read : *gamemahi*
 - P. 91, l.6 for *a* read : *or*
 - P. 91, l.27 for *reduction*.seems read : *redaction*.seems
 - P. 91, last line, for *Vādic* read : *Vēdic*
 - P. 91, l.35 for *satasat* read : *sadasat*
 - P. 91, l.5 from bottom, after *many*, add : *hymns, and by such Brahmanas*
as that one who in RV. X. 71.11
 - P. 92, l.27, for *written*, read : *written*

It is as thoughts which God thinks, that all things are contained in him"). Nor are they 'placed' (*sthāni*) in Me: behold my sovereign conjunction (*yogam = samyogam* in BG. XIII. 26; cf. *yujyate* in Śvet. V. 10, and note that *sthā* can have also the connotation "to be born", see Sāyana on RV. V. 19.1). It is as the support of being (*bhūtabhṛt*) and not as 'placed' in beings (*bhūtabhṛt*) that my Spirit is the cause of their becoming" (*mamātmā bhūtabhāvanah = sarvasya prabhū* in *Māṇḍūkya*, II.), ib. XIII. 33 "Seated selfsame in all beings (*samam sarveṣu bhūteṣu tiṣṭhantam*); the Supreme Ruler, imperishable in the perishable", and XIII. 15-16 "Within and without all beings, both motionless and moving, indiscernible because of its subtlety, afar and also within you; impartite in beings, and as it were seated divisively in beings (*avibhaktam ca bhūteṣu sthitam* to be known as the 'support of beings' (*bhūtabhṛt*), both devouring and giving being".² Older texts such as RV. VIII. 88. 5 "Thou extendest beyond the ends of heaven with thy might, nor does earth contain thee", I. 32. 15 "He encompasses the manifold as a felly the spokes" could be cited at length. If it cannot be said that Indian scripture anywhere confuses the totality of all things with their source and support, it is high time to eliminate such expressions as "Indian pantheism" from all scholarly writings.

We must protest equally against such expressions as "neo-Platonic pantheism" or "Stoic pantheism". Let us take Scott's interpretation of Apollonius of Tyana, *Ep.* 58 (Scott, *Hermetica*, II. p. 193, Notes 2-3) "Valerius thinks 'I have begotten a son' (and consequently mourns when he loses his son). But that is a mistake; the begetting of his son, like all else that takes place, is an act of God (immanent in the universe and identical with *phūsis*)³—or in other words, an operation of the all-permeating *pūr noeron*;⁴ and Valerius (who is himself merely a temporarily

2. Joshua Sylvester, "Within All things, not there included;

Without All things, not thence excluded.

Th'unstable, Thou, still stable, rankest".

3. Skr. *prakṛti*, *śakti* etc. It is good Thomist doctrine to say that "essence and nature are one in God."

4. "Intellectual Fire", Skr. *tejas*, "Fiery-energy", the pervasive aspect of the universal Fire, Agni Vaiśvānara; cf. KU. V. 9:

"As the One Fire that indwells the World assumes the form of every form (*rūpaṁ rūpam pratirūpo babhūva* repeated from RV. VI. 47.18, cf. *viśvasya pratihānam*, II. 12.9), so the One In-spirit (*antarātman*) of all

marked off portion of God) is in this, as in all else that he does (or rather, thinks that he does), a passive instrument" of God, who does all. "Nothing that takes place in the visible world is a thing that befalls an individual; every incident in the life of an individual (*ekastou*) is rather a thing that befalls the One (*peri (to?) en*)". This must, I think, have been the meaning of the clause; but *peri en ekastou* is obscure, and perhaps corrupt. Valerius thinks 'the death of my son is a disaster that has befallen me'. But he is wrong, it is an event that has to do, not with *him* as an individual, but with the One who is all... This is Stoic pantheism pushed to its extreme".

Now, if we knew that Apollonius had somewhere taught that God is cosmic but does not transcend the cosmos, this might be taken to be a pantheistic statement; taken by itself, it is not necessarily pantheistic at all. Let us first of all remark that the view attributed here to Apollonius is in virtually verbal identity with Indian doctrine: for example, BU. I. 6. 3 "Spirit...thence originate all actions" (*ātmēty . . . ato hi sarvāṇi karmāṇy uttiṣṭhanti*, where *ātmā . . . ato = Pali Buddhist attato = anattā*): BG. III. 27 "One whose self is confounded by the concept of an 'I' imagines that 'I am the doer'" and V. 8 "That 'I am not the doer of anything', so should think a man of harnessed intellect, a knower of the Suchness"; JUB. I. 5 where when the deceased Comprehensor has reached the golden gate, the Sun, on guard, is made to say "By

beings assumes the form of every form and (being within) is yet without (*bahiś ca*)".

5. Not necessarily a passive instrument. This will depend on the nature of Valerius' understanding: if he thinks 'I am the doer', then he is a passive or blind instrument; if he knows that God acts in him, then an active instrument and in the higher sense awake. It is, and is only, in the latter sense that "My service is perfect freedom",—his words, who said of himself that "I do nothing of myself" (John VIII. 28). If Hermes (*Asclepius*, prologue, "through the lips of Hermes the divine Eros began to speak"), Christ (John VIII. 28 "as my father hath taught me, I speak") Paul (I Cor. II. 13-16 concluding "I have the mind,—*nous*,—of Christ"), Dante (*Purgatorio* XXIV. 52-54 "*Io mi son un che, quando amor mi spira, noto, ed a quel modo che ditta dentro, vo significando*") speak from higher than personal levels of reference, were any of these "passive" instruments, as a "medium" or "stenographer" is "passive"? Have the author of the *Cloud of Unknowing*, or Behmen in the *Dialogues* any "passivity" in mind when they say "Look that nought work in thy wit nor in thy will but only God", and "Blessed art thou if thou canst stand still from self-thinking and self-willing"?

what thou hast done ill (*pāpan*) thou shalt not enter, by what thou has done well (*punyam*) thou mayest enter", and the Comprehensor, too wise to be deceived by this absurdity, replies "Thou hast seen what thus 'I' did: thou canst not make 'me' out to have been the doer thereof. Thou art the doer thereof", and then the Sun can no longer repel him, for he has appealed to the Truth, to the Sun as Truth, and as like to like. (For this "like to like" cf. the well-known "That art thou", CU. VI. 8-15, "Whoever resorts to 'another' Godhood thinking 'He is one, and I another', he is not a Comprehensor, but as it were a beast to be sacrificed to the Gods", BU. 1. 4. 10, and "Hermes", *Lib.* XI. ii. 20 b "If then you do not make yourself equal to God, you cannot apprehend God; for like is known by like").

The JUB. text is peculiarly instructive, for whatever could be made of the other passages considered apart from their context, here to know that "'I' am not the doer of anything", but God the doer, is made the condition of passage "through the midst of the Sun" from cosmic to supra-cosmic, finite to infinite being.

To resume, if it be pantheism to assert that God is infinite, and therefore that nothing is external to Him (which otherness would set a limit to infinity,—a contradiction in terms), then we are all pantheists. If we assert that he is "One" or "One and many", *denying* at the same time that he is also "more than the all", then we are really pantheists and monists in the sense that pantheism and monism are properly called "heresies". Far from this, to know that He alone, whose Unity is already a procession, acts through us whose only independence is that of mediate causes, is indispensable to a realisation of his nature as it is both bounded *and* unbounded, and whose cosmic operation involves "only a fragment, as it were" of himself as he is in himself.

The Early Rashtrakutas of the Deccan and the present Mysore State *

BY

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BEFORE the re-establishment of the Rāshtrakūṭa kingdom in the Deccan, the north-eastern part of the present Mysore State was under the Pallavas of Kāñchī, and, as a branch of these Pallavas was called Nōlamba, the modern Chitaldurg district of the Mysore State came to be known as Nōlambavāḍi.

The north-western part or the present Shimoga district of the state was ruled by the Kadambas, whose capital was Bānavāsī.

The rest of the territory of the present Mysore State was governed by the Gaṅgas, and was known as Gaṅgavāḍi. The surname previously used by the rulers of this dynasty was "Kōṅguṇi-varma", but after the victory of Shripurusha over the Pallavas, in the latter half of the eighth century A.D., he (Śrīpurusha) and subsequent rulers bore the title of "Pēramānaḍi" which had been used by the Pallavas.

About A.D. 550 the Chālukya chief Puḷakeśin I established his capital at Vātāpi (modern Bādāmī) and in course of time subdued the Pallavas of Kāñchī. His son Kirtivarman I extending his sway conquered the Kadambas.

About A. D. 615 this Chālukya dynasty was divided into the western and the eastern Chālukyas, and about A. D. 750 the Rāshtrakūṭa chief Dantivarman (Dantidurga II), after defeating the western Chālukya king Kirtivarman II re-established the lost Rāshtrakūṭa kingdom in the Dakhan. The eastern-Chālukyas, whose capital was Vēṅgī remained constantly hostile to it.

* This article was read in the VIII Session of the Oriental Conference held at Mysore in 1935.

The Samangarh plate¹ of Śaka Samvat 675 (A.D. 753) states :

यो बल्लभं सपदि दण्डवलेन जित्वा
 राजधिराजपरमेश्वरतामुपैति [१७]
 कांचीशकेरलनराधिपन्नोलपाण्ड्य-
 श्रीहर्षवज्रट्टविभेदविश्वानन्दक्षम् ।
 कर्णाटकं बलमनन्तमजेयमन्यै-
 र्नयैः कियद्विरपि यः सहसा जिगाय [१८]

i.e. he [Rāshtrakūṭa Dantivarman (Dantidurga II)] after defeating Vallabha (Chālukya Kirtivarman II), subdued the Pallavas of Kāñchī and some other rulers of the Dakṣha. The inscription of the Daśavatāra temple at Ellora also testifies to his victory over the Pallavas of Kāñchī.

The Navasari grant² of Śaka Samvat 836 (A. D. 914) contains:—

काञ्चीपदे पदमकारि करेण भूयः

i.e. Dantidurga II, (on his return from the conquest of the Central Provinces) again marched to Kāñchī (as the Pallava king had made a futile attempt to regain his lost freedom).

Thus a large part of the north-western and the north-eastern districts of the modern Mysore State came under the influence of the Rāshtrakūṭas.

गङ्गानामुपरि विजयस्कन्धावारे मण्णनगरे

of the Talegaon plate³ of Śaka Samvat 690 (A. D. 768) which was issued from Maṇṇe, a town in Gaṅgavāḍī (Mysore) undoubtedly proves that, at that time, the Rāshtrakūṭa king Krishṇarāja I, who was successfully leading an expedition against the Ganga king, (probably Śrīpurusha) was encamped there (at Maṇṇe).

1. Indian Antiquary, Vol. XI, p. 111.
2. Archaeological Survey of India, Vol. V, p. 87.
3. Epigraphia Indica, Vol. IX, p. 21.
4. Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XIII, p. 275.

The Radhanpur grant⁵ of Śaka Samvat 730 (A. D. 808) states:—

येनेह बद्धमवलोक्य चिराय गङ्गम् !
 दूरं स्वनिग्रहभियेव कलिः प्रयातः [६]
 * * * * *
 मातङ्गान्मदवारिनिर्भरमुचः प्राप्यान्तात्पल्लु वाव

i.e., the Rāshtrakūṭa king Dhruvarāja imprisoned the Ganga king (probably Śivamāra) and obtained some elephants from the Pallava king of Kāñchī.

After this Dhruvarāja appointed his son Stambha as the governor of Gaṅgavāḍī.

We learn from the Paṭṭadakal Plate⁶ of Śaka Samvat 726 (A.D. 804) that the Rāshtrakūṭa king Gōvindrāja III defeated Dantiga (Pallava Dantivarman) of Kāñchī.

The Radhanpur grant⁷ mentioned above further states:—

एकीभूय समुद्यतान् वसुमतीसहारमाधिच्छया
 विच्छायान् सहसाप्यधत्तनृपतीनेकीऽपि यो द्वादश
 ख्यातानप्यधिकप्रतापविसरैः संवर्तकोकानिव [१३]
 येनात्यन्तदयालुनाथ निगडक्लेशादपास्यायतात्
 स्वं देशं गमितोपि दर्पविसराद्यः प्रातिकूर्ये स्थितः
 यावन्न भ्रुकुटी ललाटफलके यस्योन्नते लक्ष्यते
 विश्लेषेण विजित्य तावदचिराद्बद्धः संगमः पुनः [१७]
 तत्रस्थः स्वकरस्थितामपि पुनर्निर्देशमाकृष्टवान्
 विश्लेषैरपि चित्रमानतरिपुर्यः पल्लवानां श्रियम् [१८]

i.e., the Rāshtrakūṭa king Gōvindrāja III quelled the revolt of his brother Stambha (Śauchakhambha⁸—the Governor of Gaṅgavāḍī) and his eleven supporters, and also released the Ganga king

5. Epigraphia Indica, Vol. VI, p. 242.
6. Indian Antiquary, Vol. XI, p. 125.
7. Epigraphia Indica, Vol. VI, p. 242.

8. आताभूतस्य शक्तित्रयनमितभुवः शौचखम्माभिधानो
 (the Nelmangal plate of Śaka Samvat 724, (A.D. 802) Epigraphia Carnatica, No. 61, p. 51.

This Śauchakhambha was pardoned by his brother and was reinstated in the governorship of Gaṅgavāḍī.

imprisoned by his father Dhruvarāja. But when he too joined the rebels, Govindarāja reimprisoned him (annexing the Gaṅga-vāḍi) province to the Rāshtrakūṭa kingdom). Govindarāja also defeated the Pallavas.

Records⁹ found in Chittaldrug district of Mysore State show that Chiruponnēra of Nōlambavāḍi also accepted the suzerainty of Govindarāja III.

It is evident from the Kaḍab plate¹⁰ of Śaka Samvat 735 (A.D. 813) that Chakirāja, a feudatory of Rāshtrakūṭa Govindarāja III, was the governor of Gaṅgavāḍi.

We know from the Baroda grant¹¹ of Śaka Samvat 757 (A.D. 835) that Rāshtrakūṭa Karkarāja of Gujrat, suppressing the revolt, installed Rāshtrakūṭa king Amōghavarsha I on his ancestral throne of Mānyakhēta. But owing to this revolt some provinces like Gaṅgavāḍi, etc regained their independence.

The Konnur grant of Śaka Samvat 782 (A.D. 860) contains¹² :

प्रचण्डमण्डलातङ्को वङ्केशः सेलकेतनः । [१९]
मत्प्रसादेन संलब्धवनवासीपुरस्सरान्
ग्रामान् त्रिशत्सहस्राणि भुक्तयविरतोदयः [२०]
महाप्रतापादुच्छेदमुदयच्छन् मदिच्छया
मूलादुच्छेत्तुमुत्तुङ्गा गङ्गावाटीवटाटवीम् [२२]

i.e., Bānkēya, a feudatory of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Amōghavarsha I, and the governor of Bānavāsī, defeated the Gaṅga king

The Sanjan plate¹³ of Śaka Samvat 793 (A.D. 871) states :—
(perhaps Prithvipati II).

अस्यत्केरलपाण्ड्यचोलिकनृपैःसंपल्यं पल्लवम्
निकृतिविकृतगङ्गाशृङ्खलावद्धनिष्ठा

i.e., Amōghavarsha I imprisoned the Gaṅga king and the Pallavas were also afraid of him.

9. Epigraphia Carnatica, Vol. XI, Nos. 33-34.

10. Epigraphia Indica, Vol. IV, p. 340.

11. Indian Antiquary, Vol. XIV, p. 199.

12. Epigraphia Indica, Vol. VI, p. 25.

13. Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XVIII, p. 243-251.

We learn from the records of the Rāshtrakūṭas that Krishnarāja II the son of Amōghavarsha I had also fought against the Gaṅgas and the Nōlambas.

The Deoli grant¹⁴ of Śaka Samvat 862 (A.D. 940) contains :—

श्रीवल्लभेन निहतौ भुवि दन्तिगवपुको दुष्टौ ॥ २२ ॥
रच्छयामल्लविपद्रुममुदस्य निहितेन योऽकनयनाथाम्
भूतार्यपुण्यनरुणा वाटीमिव गङ्गापाटीरे ॥ २३ ॥
परिमलिताष्टिगपल्यं विपत्तिरासीन्न विस्मयस्थानम् ।

i.e., the Rāshtrakūṭa king Krishnarāja III killed Dāntiga and Vappuka, and deposing Rāchamalla installed (his own brother-in-law, Satyavākya Kōṅṇuvarma Pēramānāḍi) Bhūtuga II (of the western Gaṅga dynasty) on the throne of Gaṅgavāḍi. He also defeated the Pallava chief Aṅtiga.

Scholars presume that Dāntiga and Vappuka belonged to the Nōlamba family and were the feudatories of the western-Gaṅga king Rāchamalla.

We learn from the Atkur inscription¹⁵ of Śaka Samvat 872 (A.D. 950) that Krishnarāja III, being pleased with Bhūtuga II, for killing the Chōla prince Rājāditya, bestowed upon him the districts of Bānavāsī, etc. (the north-western part of the Mysore State).

The Gunḍūr inscription¹⁶ of Śaka Samvat 896 (A.D. 974) shows that at that time the districts of Bānavāsī, etc., were ruled by Nōlambāntaka Mārasimha II, who was the son of Bhūtuga II.

Some more names of the feudatories of the Rāshtrakūṭas like Kalaviṭṭarasa and Śankaragaṇḍa can be quoted here who governed the Bānavāsī district.

This Rāshtrakūṭa kingdom of the Dakhan lasted for about 225 years, and was put an end to by the Chāḷukya king Tailapa II, who defeated the Rāshtrakūṭa king Karkarāja II at about 973 A.D.

14. Indian Antiquary, Vol. V, p. 192.

15. Epigraphia Indica, Vol. II, p. 171.

16. Indian Antiquary, Vol. XII, p. 271.

But the inscription¹⁷ of Śaka Samvat 904 (A.D. 982) found at Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa (Hassan District), shows that even at that time Rāshtrakūṭa Gōvindarāja IV, grandson of Rāshtrakūṭa king Krishṇarāja III, held sway over a part of the Rāshtrakūṭa kingdom. This last known ruler of the Dakhan Rāshtrakūṭa family died in Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa in Śaka Samvat 904 (A.D. 982).

This recital of evidence undoubtedly proves that the larger part of the present Mysore State remained, for about 225 years, under the direct or indirect influence of the early Rāshtrakūṭas¹⁸ of the Dakhan.

References to a lost work on the Patiganita of Sridharacarya

By Makkibhatta (1377 A.D.) and by Raghavabhatta (1493 A.D.)

By

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Poona.

MR. S. B. DIKSHIT, in his *History of Indian Astronomy*,¹ observes that a Ms. of work called त्रिशतिका consisting of 300 verses in āryā metre and dealing with पाटीगणित is available in Kashi Rājakiya Pustakālaya² and that the following verse appears at the beginning of this Ms. :—

नत्वा शिवं खविरचितपाटया गणितस्य सारमुद्धृत्य ।
लोकव्यवहाराय प्रवक्ष्यति श्रीधराचार्यः ।

Mr. Dikshit concludes from the above statement of the verse that Śrīdhara must have composed another work on पाटीगणित larger in extent than the त्रिशतिका.

The conclusion arrived at by Mr. Dikshit raises the following questions regarding the bigger work of Śrīdhara on the पाटीगणित:

- (1) Are there any references to this bigger work made since Śrīdhara's time by other subsequent writers ?
- (2) What is the exact title by which the work was known to these writers ?
- (3) Are there any extant Mss. of this work traceable in libraries or elsewhere, since Mr. Dikshit wrote his *History of Indian Astronomy* in 1896 ?

Though I cannot answer all these questions in the present note I am able to answer the first two questions on the strength of the following evidence which is no less than about 450 years old :—

17. Inscriptions at Śravaṇabelgoḷa, No. 57.

18. Though the Rāshtrakūṭas were "Sūryavaṃśī Kshatriyas" yet at that time owing to misrepresentation of the old records and the influence of the Vaiṣṇavism they were considered "Chandravaṃśī Yādavas."

1. Published in Marathi, Poona, 1896, pp. 311-312.

2. Possibly, the Library of Govt. Sanskrit College, Benares.

Rāghavabhaṭṭa who composed his commentary *Padārthādarśa* in A.D. 1493 on the *Śāradātilaka* refers to Śrīdhara's smaller and bigger works in the following manner :—

“श्रीधराचार्येण प्रकारेण क्षेत्रफलमानोत्तं तच्च स्थूलम् । यतो गणितग्रन्थानामियं शैली यत् स्थूलं सूक्ष्ममपि फलानयनमुच्यते । तच्च भगवता श्रीधराचार्येण बृहत्पाटीयां प्रकारद्वयमप्युक्त्या तन्त्रसंग्रहे त्रिशती-ग्रन्थे स्थूला एव प्रकारा दर्शिताः । भास्कराचार्येण तु लीलावत्यां स्थूला इव सूक्ष्मा अपि प्रकारा उक्ताः । तां बृहत्पाटीं चावलोक्य मया सूक्ष्मं फलमिदमानीतम् । तदेव सूक्ष्ममिति मन्यते चेत्तदा मूले अन्यन्तं फलाधिक्यं स्यात् ” etc.

It would be clear from the above extract that Rāghavabhaṭṭa in A.D. 1493 had before him the bigger work of Śrīdhara and that he had used it (तां बृहत्पाटीं च अवलोक्य मया etc.) The name of this bigger work was *बृहत्पाटी* while the smaller work was known to him as *त्रिशती*⁴ which is the same as *त्रिशतिका* mentioned by Mr. Dikshit as stated above. About this work Dr. Eggeling⁵ remarks :—

“*Ganitasāra* also called *Trīṣatī*, a compendium of arithmetic, by Śrīdhara, the precursor of Bhāskara, whose *Līlāvati* seems to have been written in distinct imitation of this work.”

As Bhāskara wrote his *Līlāvati* in imitation of the *Trīṣatī* it must have been very popular among astronomers of his time. Our curiosity, therefore, to know more of the bigger work, viz., the *बृहत्पाटी* of which the *त्रिशती* is an abridged version increases, but as no Mss. of the *बृहत्पाटी* have been recorded so far we must

3. Ed. in *Kashi Sanskrit Series*, 1934, p. 99.

4. Aufrecht records the following Mss. of *Trīṣatī* in *Cata. Catalo.*

Part I, p. 240— *त्रिशती गणितसार* Jy. by Śrīdhara, B. 4. 148.

p. 143— *गणितसार* by Śrīdhara, B. 4. 122, Jac. 696.

Part II, p. 28— *गणितसार* or *त्रिशती* by Śrīdhara Ācārya, 1. 0. 520, 2296, 2409.

Part III, p. 31— *गणितसार* by Śrīdhara, AS, p. 79, Peters, 6,410 = No. 410 of 1895-98 in Govt. Mss. Library, B. O. R. Institute, Poona.

5. *India Office Catalogue*, Part V, 1896, p. 1000.

rest satisfied by trying to record all references to and quotations from this work wherever found. I shall now record a reference to this bigger work of Śrīdhara which is earlier by 100 years than the reference to the work by Rāghavabhaṭṭa in 1493 A.D.

Makkibhaṭṭa who had been assigned to A.D. 1377⁶ by Dr. Bibhūtibhusan Datta mentions a work of Śrīdhara called the *नावशती* and quotes from it as will be seen from the following extract⁷ from his Commentary called the *Gaṇitabhūṣaṇa* on Śrīpati's *Siddhānta-Śekhara* edited by Babuji Miśra :—

“कोटयादिलक्षणं श्रीधराचार्येण नवशत्यामुक्तम् ।
एकं दश शतं तस्मात् सहस्रमयुतं ततः परं लक्षम् ।
अयुतं कोटिरथार्धमयुतं खर्वं निखर्वं च ॥
तस्मान्महासरोजं शङ्खः सरितां पतिस्त्वन्त्यम् ।
मध्यं परार्थमाहुर्ग्रन्थोत्तरं दशगुणाः संज्ञाः ॥ इति ॥”

Pt. Babuji Miśra states in a footnote⁸ to the above extract that Śrīdhara prepared an abridged version of this work of his viz., the *नावशती*, the name of the former being the *त्रिशतिका* and that M.M. Sudhakara Dvivedi has published an edition of the work. The identity of the *नावशती* with the bigger original of Śrīdhara's work on the *पाटीगणित* designated by Rāghavabhaṭṭa as *बृहत्पाटी* seems quite possible as stated by Pt. Babuji Miśra and the following additional information regarding the bigger original is furnished by Makkibhaṭṭa's reference noted above :—

- (1) The original work consisted of 900 verses *नावशती* and hence was termed *नावशती* or a 'Compendium of 900 verses,' in Makkibhaṭṭa's time (A.D. 1377).

6. *Siddhānta-Śekhara* of Śrīpati ed. by Babuji Mishra (Cal. University) 1932, Part I, p. 521. This edition contains commentary of Makkibhaṭṭa on chapters I, II, III and IV (about half) of Śrīpati's text.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 17.

8. “अस्या नवशत्या एव सारस्त्रिशतिकाख्यः श्रीधराचार्येणैव पृथक् कृतः सम्प्रत्यस्मद्ग्रन्थेनैव म. म. सुधाकरद्विवेदिभिः मुद्रायितः उपलभ्यते।”

- (2) As Makkibhaṭṭa quotes from it he had before him a MS. of the work and it is reasonable to suppose that the work was quite popular in the 14th Century. This conclusion is in harmony with the statement of Rāghava-bhaṭṭa in 1493 A.D. that he had used a Ms. of the bigger work of Śrīdhara-cārya on the पाटीगणित ("मया बृहत्पाटी च अवलोक्य" etc.)

Aufrecht records no Mss. of this bigger work of Śrīdhara-cārya either under the title नवशती or बृहत्पाटी. Perhaps a Ms. of this work may still be traced and the foregoing particulars may facilitate proper search for the Mss. of this important work of Śrīdhara-cārya by scholars interested in the history of Indian Mathematics and Astronomy.

Khawaja-i-Jahan Mahmud Gawan's Campaigns in the Maharashtra

By

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INTRODUCTION

Khawāja-i-Jahān Maḥmūd Gāwān is one of the greatest ministers who ever figured in Indian History, and one who eclipses nearly everyone of his contemporaries in the Deccan. Born at Qāwān or Gāwān in the kingdom of Gīlān on the Caspian Sea in 1405, he came to India in 1455, landing at Dābhōl and making his way to Bīdar, then the metropolis of the Bahmani kingdom of the Deccan and one of the most renowned cities of India. This kingdom was then ruled by 'Alāu'd-dīn II (1437-1457), and it redounds to the credit of the monarch that he immediately saw the worth of this āfāqī and gave him an honoured place in his court. Maḥmūd had not long to wait, and had soon to show his mettle both as a general and a tactful politician in the campaign against the rebel brother-in-law of the King, Jalāl Khan, in 1456. He made such an impression on the King that it is said that just before his death he admonished his heir, Humāyūn, to make use of the best qualities of the rising courtier.

1. The inhabitants of the Deccan divided themselves into (1) Dakhnī, including, besides the original inhabitants of the land, those who had been living in the country for some time, as well as the negroes and negroid 'ḥabashis' and (ii) Āfāqī, or 'Cosmopolitans', consisting of fresh immigrants from Persia, Central Asia and Northern India, who came either at the invitation of the King or else as adventurers, and generally ended their lives in the service of their adopted land. Vide Ferishta, account of 'Alau'd-dīn's reign. The word 'Āfāqī should not be translated as 'foreigner' as Sir W. Haig has done in the Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, Ch. 15 and 16, as most of them had made the Deccan their home and were just as much or as little 'foreigners' as the Normans of the time of Henry II and Henry III, the Franks of the time of Hugh Capet or the Turks of the time of Suleiman the Magnificent.

On his accession, Humāyūn, who reigned barely three years (1457-1460), created Maḥmūd Malikū't-tujjār ('Merchants' Prince'), a highly honoured title in the Deccan, and one which shows that at least in the fifteenth century Indians were not ashamed to enter trade and other kindred professions. During Humāyūn's short reign, the Malikū't-tujjār did not have much opportunity of showing his worth as he was all along fighting the rebel Ḥasan Khān, son of Jalāl Khān, in the Tilanganath. It was really during the short reign of Nizām Shāh (1460-1462) and again of Muḥammad Shāh II (1462-1482) that the Malik rose to almost unprecedented heights, extended the kingdom from sea to sea, and at last fell, a victim of party jealousy and royal ungratefulness.

Maḥmūd excelled as a soldier, as a diplomat and as an administrator—in all the three walks of life in only one of which it is generally the fortune of a public man to enter and perhaps to excel. During the reign of Nizām and in the early days of Muḥammad II he was ably supported by that great woman, Āghā Nargis Bēgam, surnamed Maḥdūma-i-jahān, Firūz's² daughter and Humayūn's widow, a woman of great administrative talent and now as nearly forgotten as her *protégé* Maḥmūd Gāwān. Nizām's short reign saw the invasion of Maḥmūd Khilji of Mālwa,³ who swepted on the Bahmanī kingdom, even coming as far as the capital, and it was mainly due to Maḥmūd's diplomacy and a series of alliances that the invaders had to quit the country, leaving it free as before.⁴

On Nizām's sudden death, the dowager queen created Maḥmūd Jumlat'ul-Mulk ("The Totality of the Country") and Wazīr'i Kul ("Minister of All"), and as the king was a minor, she began to rule the kingdom herself as a regent with the help of Maḥmūd and of another minister, KḤwaja-i-Jahān Turk. After the latter's murder in open court, Maḥmūd was himself created KḤwaja-i-Jahān and a host of other honours showered upon him as time passed by. He undertook a three years' campaign and another

short campaign in the King's company in Mahārāshtra, an account of which is given below, and the king was so pleased with his success that he was further honoured by even higher sounding titles.

Except for a punitive expedition in Tilangānah which he undertook along with his master, and the final expedition (also in company with Muḥammad) against the Oriyas, which cost him his head, the last days of Maḥmūd's life were taken up by his great administrative and military reforms, which purported to separate the civil from the military government of the provinces, institute regular pay of the soldiers, and cripple the power of the governors. He was also the founder of the great College and Library at Bīdar, the building of which is still the wonder of the Deccan. In the meantime Maḥmūd's patroness, the dowager queen was dead, and his administrative reforms as well as the height to which he had reached sowed a seed of opposition and jealousy which cost him his life. He was beheaded on the 14th of April 1481 at the age of 76 solar years, and lies buried a few furlongs from the city of his greatness.⁵

OUR PRESENT KNOWLEDGE OF THE CAMPAIGNS IN THE MAHĀRĀSHTRA

Our present knowledge of the KḤwājāh's campaigns in the Mahārāshtra is to a large extent derived from Muḥammad Qāsim Ferishta's monumental History of India, written at Bijāpūr in the time of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shah II (1579—1626) more than a hundred years after these campaigns. He refers to a number of chronicles and histories which were then available, such as Bahman-nāmah, Sirāj'ut-Tawārikh, Tuḥfat'us-Salāṭīn, etc., but most of which have been lost to us. I need not give details of Ferishta's account of the campaigns as they are well-known either through the Persian edition or through its abridged English translation by Briggs or the Urdu translation published by the Osmania University. Briefly what Ferishta says comes to this:—

5. I have considered it necessary to preface this paper by an introduction because, in spite of his greatness, Maḥmūd Gāwān's work and even his name are so little known, and I am not aware of a single book in English which brings out the great man that he was. There are no doubt one or two small brochures on his life in Urdu, but they are at best, devoid of any references and are, generally superficial in their treatment. It is time that a regular monograph be prepared on the subject which might bring out the minister's military and administrative traits to the best advantage.

2. 1397-1422.

3. 1436-1469.

4. Apart from the letters to the kings of Gujrāt and Jaunpūr given in *extenso* in the Burhān'ul-ma'āthir, which has now been published by the Persian Texts Society of Hyderabad, Deccan, we have a number of diplomatic letters to these potentates as well as to the rulers of Turkey, Persia, Hirāt, etc. In the collection of Maḥmūd's letters called the Riādhul-Inshā (Asifah Library, 148 Inshā-i Fārsi), written from his office as well as from the camp.

It was in 874 H. (1469 C.) that Maḥmūd Gāwān started to punish the Rāi of Khēnā (or Khēlnā) with the army of Junair and the surrounding districts, partly in order to punish him for the piratical acts committed by his 300 vessels on Muslim merchants at sea. The Rāi and his confederates closed the Ghats against the royal army, while, on the other hand, Maḥmūd found that a large part of the army sent for his help was useless, and he sent it back, relying mainly on the army of Junair under As'ad KHān Gilānī. He burned the thick woods which lay before him and laid siege to Khēlna which was continued for five months, at the end of which Maḥmūd had to retreat to Kōlhāpūr as the rains had set in. It took him a whole year to subdue this fort as well as other forts in the vicinity, after which (in 1471) he marched to Sangēssar which he conquered comparatively easily. He then moved to Goa and effected its conquest by the co-operation of land and sea forces.

The next year (877) it was reported that Parkētah,⁶ Rāi of Bēlgām, was thinking of marching to Goa and taking possession of it by force of arms. So Maḥmūd, along with the Sultān, marched to Bēlgām, which was finally subdued by the levelling of the moat under cover of special walls and battlements built to shield the workers and soldiers, and then mining the ramparts with gunpowder, thus effecting breaches in the walls. The Sultān was so proud of this venture that he assumed the title of *Lashkarī* or 'soldier', a title by which he was always known thereafter.

So much for Ferishtāh. Then there is the Burhānu'l-ma'āthir, which was compiled in 1009 H/1600 C. (i.e. ten years before Ferishtāh completed his work). Moreover I had an opportunity of reading through the letters of Mahmud Gawan collected by himself and named by him Riādhū'l-Inshā or 'the Garden of Diction', some of which purport to have been written by him from the actual battlefield giving a detailed account of the purpose, strategy, objective and mental repurcussions of the great Bahmani minister', sometimes containing actual dates and months of the capture of various forts. They are thus of great value to every student of history who wishes to reconstruct the events of the history of the Deccan of the fifteenth century.

6. Briggs calls him "Bikrama Rai," Vol. III, p. 491, although the original Persian has Parkētah.

I would first of all, give the account of the campaigns as given in the Burhānu'l-ma'āthir, especially such as fills the gaps left over by Ferishtah :⁷

First campaign—1469 C.:—"When the Sultān expressed the desire that the Konkan should be effectively subdued, Maḥmūd Gāwān begged that if he were given the honour of being deputed, he would get all the ports evacuated by the recalcitrants so that there might be no further fear of any danger from that quarter.

On receiving orders from the King, the KHwāja first went to Kālāpur (Kōlhāpūr) and began to collect forces. He was joined by As'ad Khān from Junair and Chākana and by Kishwar Khan from Dābūl and Karmehir.⁸ When a sufficient force had gathered together he began to march forward. But he found that the rebels had hidden in a thick jungle which lay in front, and the KHwāja lost no time in ordering that it should be cut down and burned. It seems that there was a great unity of purpose among the rebels, as it is said that they gave 'fifty-battles' to the Deccan army, showing that they must have had recourse to guerilla tactics. This warfare went on till the rainy season, when the KHwāja had to retrace his steps to Kōlhāpūr.

At the end of the rains he again marched forward. Evidently the enemy had retreated to the hill-forts which abounded in the vicinity. He first conquered Rainknāh,⁹ thence going to Māchāl¹⁰ which also proved an easy prey. After this he arrived at the great fort of Sangesar,¹¹ "which was only second to Junair", where his predecessor, KHālaf Ḥasan Baṣarī had been martyred (in 1446). The great army which was now encamped outside the walls completely frightened the Rai who now begged for peace. The fort of Khēlnā¹² as well as most of the other forts of the neighbourhood

7. The Burhān has been translated by King ('History of the Bahmani dynasty') and by Haig (Ind. Ant., 1920-25), but unfortunately I have not been able to consult these translations. The translation of the portions of the Burhān given here is not literal, but a free rendering of the purport of the different pieces.

8. Dābhōl, in the Ratnagiri district, and Karhad, in the Satara district.

9. Raingnah, in the Sawantwadi State.

10. Māchāl, in the Rajapur subdivision of the Kolhapur State.

11. Sanghamēshwar, in the Ratnagiri district.

12. Khēlna, modern Vishālgarh, in the Kōlhāpūr State. Vide, Kōlhāpūr State Directory, 1886.

were reduced in the two years which followed, and these included the port of Goa.

Second campaign—1472 C.:—When the King heard from the KHwājah that the accursed Perkētah wanted to raise an insurrection and had invaded the island of Goa and that the latter wanted to be deputed to lead an army against the insurgent, His Majesty decided to command the expedition in his own royal person. He caused such a large army to be collected at Bidar that its soldiers numbered “more than the drops of water in the rainy season and the particles of sand in the desert.” The army went direct to Bēlgām, “a fort which is prominent in the Deccan by its great strength and solidarity and which, from its foundation to its battlement is built of stone, and is surrounded by a deep moat filled with water”. The King ordered that walls of great strength should be built of the same height as those of the fort and that the battlement and the enclosure should be captured by means of cannon, guns, catapults and other instruments of war. Perkētah, seeing the great dread of his people, had recourse to a stratagem. He sent an emissary to some of the leaders of the besieging army and lords of the realm and offered them bribes so that they might prevail upon the Sultān to raise the seige. The lords of the court with one voice interceded in favour of Perkētah. On this the Sultān smiled and asked the reason why Perkētah had raised up arms against the royal authority, and expressed the intention of making his case a lesson for others who intended to raise up arms against him. His Majesty himself rode to the fighting line and encouraged the soldiers in their work. On seeing no further hope, Perkētah sent his own sons to the King and himself stood with a rope round his neck on one of the battlements. The King thereupon took pity on him and forgave him all his faults, while as the KHwājah had been his advisor all along, he gave ‘the fort in his charge. On his way back to Bidar at the end of the campaign, His Majesty stopped for a few days at Bijāpūr (the capital of the Governorate of Maḥmūd Gāwān).

It would not serve our purpose here to copy out or translate any of the KHwājah’s letters. They are couched in the highly ornate style then in vogue among men of learning, full of similes and metaphors, interspersed with poems, qaṣīdahs and ghazals and containing a remarkable amount of quotations and extracts from the Qurān, the Hadith as well as numerous Arabic and Persian poets and writers. They go to show the great command of the KHwājah, himself no mean *litterateur* himself, on the current

literature of the time. We will, however, content ourselves with references to historical facts about the KHwājah’s campaigns in western India couched in these letters, and we will do so in the order in which they are placed in the work.

Leaf 57; Informs ‘a minister’ that he would be at Sangēsar by the 1st of Jemadiu’l-ākhir,¹² and would take with him the ships which are at Jiūl¹³ and Dābūl¹⁴ along with experienced men. (L. 58).

L. 60, b; To ‘Amīdu’l-Mulk—. It should be known that the conquest of Rainknāh is really a prelude to the subjugation of the fort of Khēna (Khēlna) and is really the key to all the Malabar ports. Hopes that the port of Goa will be subdued towards the end of the month and the friends’ hearts will rejoice thereby.

Leaf 61: To Maulana Abu Sa’īd (61 b). The fort of Rainknāh was so strong that it was regarded well nigh impregnable, and evidently recourse was had to tactics and strategy, the fort finally falling on the 20th. of Muḥarram.¹⁵ It is related how the leaders of the army of Jakhūrāi opposed any further struggle and the Rai was forced to sue for peace so that the man who had been so hot-headed and proud had to beg to be pardoned for his crimes. (62) The KHwāja says that he has made up his mind that the fort of Khēlna shall be conquered in the month of Rabī’u’l-awwal.¹⁶

L. 72b: To Maulānā Jāmī. (73b) Says that he is writing this letter from his camp at Sangēshwar,¹⁷ which has not been conquered by the greatest of the Sultāns, but is now going to be subdued, with the result that the travellers by land and sea will be rid of the fear of piratical and other raids on the part of the enemy.

L. 76b: Tells the Sultān of Gilān that Māchāl and Sangēshwar was conquered after Rēnknah on the 1st of Rajab,¹⁸ when the Rai laid down his arms and sent his own son to sue for peace. Hopes that very soon Vijyānagar, which is the real cause of all

12. 24th December, 1470.

13. Chaul, in the Kolabah district.

14. Dābhōl, q. v., *supra*.

15. 19th July, 1470.

16. 27th August—26th September, 1470.

17. Sanghamēshwar.

18. 26th December, 1470.

this mischief, will have to accept the suzerainty of the Sultān. (78b). Says that he sent 108 four-sailed boats by sea and a large army to Goa, which was also annexed on the 20th. of Sharban.¹⁹

L. 79: To Maulānā Jāmī. Says that the enemy had gathered together hoards of men and money in five of his forts which were of great height and strength, and it was well-nigh impossible to take them. Under cover of these forts the Rāi committed all kinds of misdeeds and crimes against the travellers and merchants, sending nearly three thousand²⁰ boats of all descriptions to the ports. This Rāi was overpowered on the 1st of Rajab. Not only that, but the island of Goa, which was a great port belonging to Vijayānagar, one of the greatest ports of the land, full of most beautiful landscapes, fine products, and of the greatest fertility, has also been joined to the realm of Islam, thus becoming the centre of learning and erudition.

L. 83: To Maulana Kamālu'd-dīn Rūmī. Tells him that he came to Sangēshwar in order to rid the country of disturbances and civil disorder and to establish the reign of peace. The enemy were harassing travellers both on sea and on land, and had constructed the strongest defences imaginable. These fortresses the conquest of which was the dream of the rulers of the land, have now been subdued.

L. 86b: To one of the Bahmanī ministers. (87) Tells him that when he heard of the pride of the Rāi, and saw the great height of the hills and the extent of the forests as well as the numbers in the army and the co-operation among the officers, he came to the conclusion that the conquest of the place required the utmost bravery and the greatest organization, and that it was impossible without opening purse strings and gathering together of a large army. "I should also like to tell you that the conquest of the country was dependant on the knowledge of the routes of hills and the plains as well as on the persuasion of the leaders of the opposing army."

About the same time the island of Goa, "which was the envy of the islands of India", and which was well known for its fertility, its copra trees, its canals and springs, its sugar cane, betel-leaf and

betel-nut has been conquered by ever victorious army, and As'ad KHān and Kishwar KHān are waiting there for the main forces". (87b). It was now 14 farsakh from Rēknah to Goa.

L. 88: To a minister. Tells him plainly that it is futile to rely on the help of any of the rulers of the land, and if one does so, it is bound to end only in repentance and regret. Complains of the small help given to him in his campaign and informs him that the fort of Khēlnah will fall soon.

L. 89: To a friend, from the camp at Sangēshwar. Hopes that the army will soon capture the fort of Khēlnah, and although a seige requires patience, it is impossible to take the fort by a straight fight.

L. 91: To someone in Gujrāt, from the camp. Tells him that the fort of Rēknah is the key to the ports of Malabar, and that it was conquered 'last year,' and the royal army has taken possession of the forts of Māchāl, Baiwarah, Mariad and Nagar which are the homes of the allies of our enemy.

L. 104: To Sultān Muhammad Gilanī. Written from the camp "in the Vijyanagar territory" in the beginning of Ramadān.²¹ Tells him that the year before, some of the ports and forts of the enemy had been annexed.

L. 113b: To a friend. Tells him that he is with a part of the army, while the rest of the army has been sent to the Goa country under As'ad KHān. (114) "Moreover, as some ill-wishers have this years enraged the Sultān, it is necessary that I should hurry up and join the army of the Sultān."

These letters are remarkable in that

(1) They attach the correct importance to the forts situated in the vicinity of Goa;

(2) They are evidently written with the feelings of the man who was responsible for the campaign, with his enthusiasm, his discontent with certain arrangements and with all the details, which are so dear to him;

19. 11th February, 1471.

20. Thus in the Riādh. This is evidently 300; Vide Briggs' Ferishtah, III, 484.

21. End of February and beginning of March, 1471.

(3) Most of the facts are repeated to different persons, so that we might be pretty sure of the truth of their contents ;

(4) They sometimes actually give the dates and months of the actions, and as we are aware of the years from other sources, we can reconstruct the story with a certain amount of detail otherwise not attainable.

RECONSTRUCTION OF THE STORY.

With the help of the authorities noted above we will now attempt to draw a faithful picture of the actual campaigns of the KHWājah in the Mahārāshtra.

First campaign ; Khēlna-Sangamēshwar-Goa—1469/1471. : The states in the Konkan had really been made protectorates of the Bahmani kingdom in 840/1436,²² but there had been no effective occupation of the country ; it seems that the Rāi of the district had recourse to robbery and piratical raids, and as the merchants were afraid to take their ware out, there was a very big drop in the commerce of the land.²³

In the beginning of 874/1499 Sultān Muhammad expresses a desire that the Konkan should be effectively subdued, and the KHWājah begs that if he is given the honour of being deputed, he would get all the ports evacuated by the recalcitrant party, so that there should be no further danger from that quarter. On receiving orders from the King, he goes to Kōlhāpūr, and makes that city his headquarters.²⁴ He sends for the forces from Junāir, Chākan, Kōlhar, Dābōl, Choul, Wāi and Mān,²⁵ among them being the army of As 'ad KHān from Junāir and Chākan and of Kishwar Khan from Dābhōl and Karmād.²⁶ When sufficient force has been gathered together, he begins to march forward with Rāinknah as his objective. Jākhūrāi, of Rāinknah (a place 14 Farsakh or 42 miles from Goa), is very hotheaded and proud,²⁷ his army numerous and disciplined, his fort the key to all the forts of Malabar,²⁸

22. Briggs, III, 424.

23. Riādh, 79, 83.

24. Burhān, 86.

25. Briggs, 483. Wāi and Mān are both in the Satara District.

26. Riādh., 61.

27. Briggs calls him 'Shankar Rai,' which is evidently a misreading for 'Sangesar' or Sanghameshwar.

28. Riādh., 60 = 90.

surrounded by the outposts of Māchāl, Raiwarah, Mariad and Nagar.²⁹ The rebels have allied with one another³⁰ to oppose the KHWājah's troops and part of the army has hidden itself in a thick jungle which lies in front.³¹ The KHWājah loses no time in getting the jungle to be cut down and burned.³² The enemy has recourse to guerrilla tactics and 'gives fifty battles' to the Deccan army.³³ The KHWājah is engaged for fully five months in fighting the enemy³⁴ and only retires to Headquarters on the advent of the rainy season, when stationing ten thousand infantry,³⁵ he has to retrace his steps back to his Kōlhāpūr headquarters,³⁶ spending the season in thatched houses, and in the meantime conquering Rāngarh.³⁷

When the rains have subsided, he again marches forward and finds that the enemy has retreated to the hill forts which abound in the neighbourhood.³⁸ Thinking that the cavalry would be useless at such a juncture, he sends it back and in future has to rely mainly on As'ad KHān's infantry, specially as no further help is forth-coming from the capital, of which he sorely complains in his official letters.³⁹ The strength of Rangnah (Rāinknah) as well as the paucity in the number of soldiers at his disposal prevent him from having a straight fight with the enemy, and he has to have recourse to stratagems leading to the persuasion of the commanders of the opposing army to side with him. At last the Rāi is forced to sue for peace, finally laying down his arms on the 20th of Muharram, 875, (July 19, 1470)⁴⁰ followed by the capitulation of the outposts mentioned above.⁴¹

29. Riādh., 91.

30. Briggs, 484.

31. Burhān, 86.

32. *Ibid.*

33. *Ibid.*

34. Briggs 484.

35. *Ibid.*

36. Burhān, 86.

37. Briggs, 484.

38. Burhān, 86.

39. Riādh., 83.

40. *Ibid.*, 62.

41. Riādh., 91. Also, vide letter to the Sultān of Gilān, Riādh., pp. 35 ff., where it is related that Machal was besieged on the 22nd of Rabi I (22nd of September), and p. 76, where its conquest is dated the 1st of Rajab (26th of December, 1470).

After the rainy season (of 1470) the K̲H̲wājah comes face to face with the great fort of Sangameshwar 'second only to Junair,⁴² where his predecessor in service, K̲H̲alaf Hasan Bagri, had been martyred (in 1446). The army, encamps outside the walls of the fort, so thoroughly frighten the Rāi that he sends his own son to make peace with the Commander of the royal army, and Sangamēshwar opens its gates to the K̲H̲wājah on the 1st. of Rajab (24th. December, 1470).⁴³ The fort of Khehna⁴⁴ is also taken about the same time. The K̲H̲wājah has already sent 108 four-sailed vessels and a large army under As'ad K̲H̲an in advance to Goa.⁴⁵ This is a direct incursion into Vijayanagar territory, and is evidently taken up because the *Raya* of Vijayanagar⁴⁶ has been the real cause of the rebellious attitude of the Bahmani protectorate.⁴⁷ Only a feeble resistance is offered at Goa, so that 'the greatest port of the land' and 'the envy of the islands of India' is captured and annexed to the Kingdom on the 20th. of Sha'ban (11th. February, 1471).⁴⁸

*Second campaign; Bēlgām*⁴⁹—1472: The K̲H̲wājah informs the King that Parkētah of Belgam and the Chief of Bankā-pūr⁵⁰ want to raise an insurrection and invade Goa, and offers to lead the expedition himself, but His Majesty decides to command the expedition in person and orders a vast army to be collected at the capital. Immediately when everything is ready, he marches direct to Bēlgām, a fortress of great strength, surrounded by a deep moat full of water. Beseiging the place, he orders that the moat should be filled up with rubble and wood in order to facilitate the entry of the royal army when time comes; but the K̲H̲wājah's work to that end in the day is frustrated by the Rāi's men during the night as they clear the moat of the rubble under cover of darkness. On this the whole strategy is changed, and mines are laid under

the walls of the fort under cover of new wall erected parallel to the former, and as this laying of the mines is entirely a new thing in the Deccan, the Rāi is not aware of the significance of the new walls being erected. Anyhow, three mines, those from the posts of the K̲H̲wājah, Yūsuf 'Ādil K̲H̲an and Faṭ-ḥu'l-lāh 'Imādu'l-mulk burst open the wall and breaches are affected. In the meantime the Rāi has prevailed upon certain leaders of the Royal Court to intercede with the King on his behalf, but the King wants to make this a lesson for others and continues the attack, himself riding to the front line to lead the onslaught and encourage the soldiers in their work. There is a terrible slaughter, but the King drives the enemy before him and gains the ramparts. At last the Rāi sends one of his sons to the king and himself stands with a rope round his neck on one of the battlements.⁵¹ Muhammad takes pity on him, forgives him and admits him to a dignified place at his court, giving over Bēlgām to the K̲H̲wājah who has been his constant adviser. On his way back the whole army is steeped in grief by the death of the Dowager Queen who had accompanied her beloved son on this arduous campaign. Her coffin is sent to be buried at Bidar, while the King breaks his journey for a few days at Bījāpūr, the capital of the K̲H̲wājah's Governorate.

42. Burhān, 86.

43. Riādh., 76-b.

44. Modern Vishalgadh.

45. Riādh., 76. But Briggs has 20 vessels, though this 20, 'bist' might be a misreading for 8 'hesht.'

46. Virupaksha Rāya.

47. Riādh., 76.

48. Riādh., 76, 86.

49. The letters in the Riādhū'l-Inshā do not mention this campaign, and the account is taken from the Burhānu'l-ma'āthir, 90-92, and Ferishtah.

50. At present a taluqa in the Dharwar District.

51. Thus in Burhān, 92; Ferishtah, however, gives a different story, that the Rāi presented himself in disguise with his sons.

The Imperial Treasury of the Greater Mughals

BY

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CHAPTER IV :

THE ACTUAL CONTENTS OF THE JEWEL TREASURY FROM THE INVASION OF BABUR TO THAT OF NADIR SHAH.

Now that we have surveyed the historical notices of precious and semi-precious stones and other valuable substances, we are in a position to try and form an idea of the actual amount of the total treasure ; for while fragments, diarists' entries and anecdotes may be good history, they fail to produce an *impression* unless they are synthesized into a concrete and self-sustaining whole, and visualized as such.

It is as if after witnessing the presentations in court and other individual accretions to the Treasury we were now entering the Treasury itself, and trying to take stock of the wealth that has accumulated there.

The Indian Mughals had a great reputation for wealth, which, as far as the Jewel Treasury is concerned, was well deserved. While the contents of the Cash Treasury waxed and waned with the exigencies of the Mughal Empire and with the habits and temperament of the Emperor, the Jewel Treasury grew without abatement, at least from the accession of Akbar down to Nādir SHāh's invasion in 1739.

The impressions of foreign travellers can be gathered from the following excerpts :

'Of these precious stones the Mogul has a quantity inherited from Taimūr-i-lang and the other kings, his predecessors, also those obtained in the conquests of the Bijāpur and Gulkandah kingdoms. In addition there are those he is daily buying. This takes no account of the fact that in these days he has become master of the diamond mines, and there is no stint of stones, the largest and best. For, although King Humāyūn was dethroned and expelled from his

kingdom by Sher Shāh, he did not thereby lose his jewels, for he took them away and brought them back with him.' (*Storia*, II, 343.)

We are not sure about the 'Mogul' inheriting precious stones 'from Taimūr-i-lang'. Nor is any importance to be attached to the last sentence, which stands unsupported by any evidence.¹

The following is more sensible :

'*Chah-Jehan*,' says Bernier, 'who was a great economist, and reigned more than forty years without being involved in any great wars, never amassed six *kourours of roupies*.² But I do not include in this sum a great abundance of gold and silver articles, of various descriptions, curiously wrought, and covered with precious stones ; or a prodigious quantity of pearls and gems of all kinds, of great size and value. I doubt whether any other Monarch possesses more of this species of wealth ; a throne of the great *Mogol*, covered with pearls and diamonds, being alone valued, if my memory be correct, at three *kourours of roupies*.³ But all these precious stones, and valuable articles, are the spoils of ancient princes, *Patans* and *Rajas*, collected during a long course of years, and increasing regularly under every reign, by presents which the *Omrahs* are compelled to make on certain annual festivals' (P. 223).

But this is only by way of introduction.

It is now time we attempted some stock-taking of the Mughal Jewel Treasury. We should love to have before us an authentic report of the contents of the Treasury for each of the major reigns, duly signed and verified by the Treasurer in charge at the time, setting forth, as was the rule, the number and the weight of the stones and pearls with the quality and the value of each clearly indicated. Unfortunately such a report, extremely desirable as it would be, is not available. But we possess a few documents of comparatively minor importance with which we shall have to shift as best we may. But we must begin at the beginning.

BĀBUR.

The swingeing victory of Panipat placed at Bābur's disposal the cumulated 'treasures of five kings.'⁴ We have no doubt that

1. See below, pp. 278-9.

2. A remark already dealt with under "Cash Treasury".

3. For criticism of this see p. 302 below.

4. *Humāyūn Nāma*, 12.

huge quantities of jewels fell into Bābur's hands at Delhi and Agra, but we know also that Bābur showered money and jewels recklessly on his followers—princes, nobles, soldiers and the rest—just as he squandered the cash hoarded for generations by a line of thrifty kings before him. Some idea of the scale of munificence can be gathered from the following, which is only a part of the general distribution, which chances to be recorded:

KHwāja Kalān Beg repeatedly asked for leave to proceed to Kābul, as the climate of India did not suit him.

Bābur reluctantly gave him permission and by his hands sent the following presents for his relations at Kābul, with the instruction that all begums should set up their various tents in the garden of the audience-chamber, celebrate the occasion properly and thank God for the great victory, accepting these presents from the Emperor.

To each begum was to be presented one of Sultān Ibrāhīm's special dancing girls with a gold plate full of jewels—ruby, pearl, cornelian, diamond, emerald, turquoise, topaz and cat's-eye—two small mother-of-pearl trays full of *ashrafīs* and two other trays full of *shāhrukhīs* and all kinds of stuffs in sets of nine—four trays and one plate in all. And to the elder relations were sent a dancing girl, a plate of jewels, and a tray each of *ashrafīs* and *shāhrukhīs*—the dancing girl with the plate to be presented first, and the rest later. Jewels, *ashrafīs*, *shāhrukhīs* and stuffs were to be given to sisters, children, harems, kinsmen, begums, *āghās*, nurses, foster-brothers, *āghāchas* and others.

These instructions were carried out, and there were great doings for three days in the audience-hall garden at Kābul.⁵

HUMĀYŪN

Humāyūn apparently carried about with him in his wanderings as many of the jewels as he could remove from the Jewel Treasury.

We do not hear much of them, however. On his way to Persia, near Bābā Hāji fort (in the south of Afghanistan), Humāyūn offered a ruby, a pearl and a few things to a Balūch chief, who had treated him kindly and shown devotion.⁶

5. *Humāyūn Nāma*, 12-13. I have here freely translated, and slightly condensed, the passage, as a literal translation does not read well in English.

6. *Humāyūn Nāma*, 68 [168].

Abū'l-Faẓl has already told us how after his arrival in Persia Humāyūn offered to SHāh Tahmāsp Bābur's famous diamond with 250 rubies.⁷

Gulbadan Begum has a different story to tell of the presentation of the jewels to the SHāh. She tells us that Humāyūn kept his collection of precious stones in a purse or pocket-book which he carried on his body, and which he left in charge of Hāmida Bānū Begum when he went out. The existence of it was known to none other than those two. One day the Begum went for a bath, and, wrapping up the purse in a handkerchief, put it on the Emperor's bed. Raushan Kūka, finding his opportunity, abstracted five rubies from the purse. He made common cause with KHwāja ghāzī, another traitor, entrusted the rubies to him, and the two together made plans for their disposal. They went to a horse-coper and bought *tipūchāq* horses for themselves, promising them the rubies in consideration.

When the Begum returned from the bath, the Emperor handed her the purse. Finding it too light, she at once suspected foul play and spoke to her husband. They were alarmed. The Begum acted promptly, took her brother KHwāja Mu'azzam, into her confidence and asked him to make inquiry into the matter without making fuss. KHwāja Mu'azzam acted silently and skilfully. He interrogated the horse-merchants and KHwāja ghāzī's servant, with the result that the little plot was discovered and the rubies located. Ultimately the rubies were tactfully recovered from KHwāja ghāzī and restored to the Emperor.

KHwāja ghāzī and Raushan Kūka, thus balked and disgraced, could think of no better plan of avenging themselves than carrying tales to the SHāh, and trying to poison his mind against their master. The Emperor noticed that the SHāh's manner towards him cooled and there were signs of estrangement. Humāyūn at once sent to the SHāh all the rubies and jewels that he possessed,⁸ and explained the whole matter. The SHāh then admitted that KHwāja Ghāzī and Raushan Kūka were entirely responsible for the strained relations. The old cordiality was then restored, and the two mischief mongers were handed over by Humāyūn to the SHāh, who cast them into prison (*Humāyūn Nāma*, 70-73).

7. See above.

8. Mrs. Beveridge's rendering is not sufficiently clear on this point.

As this is the only occasion on which presentation of jewels is mentioned in *Humāyūn Nāma*, this must be the great presentation including 'Bābur's diamond'. So thinks also Mrs. Beveridge (Tr., 173, f.n. 1).

This story is only partially corroborated by Jauhar in the following passages: He writes: Humayūn always carried 'this valuable diamonds and rubies in a purse in his pocket; but when he was performing his ablutions he generally laid them on one side; he had done so this day, and forgot them: it so happened that when the King was gone, and the humble servant Jauhar was about to remount his horse, he saw a green-flowered purse lying on the ground, and a pen-case by the side of it: he immediately took them up, and as soon as he had overtaken the King, presented them'. Humāyūn was much astonished when he saw them, and was delighted (Stewart, 66-67; *Taḏkara*, P.U.L.M.S., f. 56 b). Then he goes on to say that Humāyūn kept these valuables about him because he had formerly entrusted them to Raushan Beg who had been guilty of dishonestly (Stewart, 67; *Taḏkara*, f. 56 b). This last is at variance with the version in *Humāyūn Nāma*. Probably the facts of the matter did not come to Jauhar's knowledge, and when Jauhar heard that Raushan Kūka had stolen the jewels he thought he had been in charge of them.

The fullest account of the presentation of the jewels to the *SHāh* that we possess is found in the following passage in Jauhar:— 'We remained several days encamped on the hunting grounds; during this time his Majesty ordered his diamonds and rubies to be brought to him; and having selected the largest diamond, placed it in a mother-of-pearl box; he then added several other diamonds^{8a} and rubies; and having placed them on a tray, gave them in charge of Byram Beg to present them to the Persian monarch, with a message, "that they were brought from Hindūstan purposely for his Majesty."

When *SHāh* Tahmāsp saw these precious stones he was astonished and sent for his jewellers to value them. The jewellers declared they were above all price; on which the Persian signified his acceptance, and conferred on Byram Beg the title of *KHān*, with permission to use the kettle-drum and standard.⁹ The diploma and

8a. The MS. does not mention diamonds here.

9. No 'standard' in the MS.

insignia were sent the next day; but from that time, for two months, there was no intercourse of any kind between the monarchs' (Stewart, 68; *Taḏkara*, f. 57 a-b). The last statement is cryptic. Probably Jauhar is thinking of the coolness caused by Raushan Kūka's backbiting, and has got mixed up about the time and the occasion.

Jauhar's account also refers to the great presentation. Major Stewart thinks the same (P. 68, f.n.). Excepting the slight discrepancies already noticed, there is nothing really inconsistent in the accounts of Gulbadan Begum and Jauhar. The reader has no doubt noticed that Raushan Kūka's episode occurred some time before Jauhar found the purse, and the presentation followed some days later.

AKBAR

We are emerging into daylight as we approach the reign of Akbar. Thanks to Abū'l-Faḏl's encyclopaedic mind and method, we have some definite information about the contents of the Mughal Treasury, their arrangement and valuation. Akbar's great minister thus outlines the establishment of the Jewel Treasury and the method of classification and storing followed:

A treasurer, a clerk (*bitikchī*), a *dārogha* and a few experienced jewellers constituted the staff of the Treasury. The jewels were classified according to value in an elaborate system. Rubies were put in twelve classes, diamonds, emeralds, and red and blue *yāqūts* also in twelve classes, and pearls in sixteen.

The value of the rubies in each class ran as follows:

Class.	Value.			
1	From	1,000	<i>muhrs</i>	upwards
2	"	999	"	to 500 <i>muhrs</i>
3	"	499	"	300 "
4	"	299	"	200 "
5	"	199	"	100 "
6	"	99	"	60 "
7	"	59	"	40 "
8	"	39	"	30 "
9	"	29	"	10 "
10	"	9 $\frac{3}{4}$	"	5 "
11	"	4 $\frac{3}{4}$	"	1 <i>muh</i> r
12	"	$\frac{3}{4}$ <i>muh</i> r	"	$\frac{1}{4}$ rupee.

The diamonds, emeralds, and red and blue *yāqūts* were likewise classified thus :

Class.	Value.				
1.	From	30	<i>muhrs</i>	upwards	
2.	"	29 $\frac{3}{4}$	"	to 15	<i>muhrs</i>
3.	"	14 $\frac{3}{4}$	"	" 12	"
4.	"	11 $\frac{3}{4}$	"	" 10	"
5.	"	9 $\frac{3}{4}$	"	" 7	"
6.	"	6 $\frac{3}{4}$	"	" 5	"
7.	"	4 $\frac{3}{4}$	"	" 3	"
8.	"	2 $\frac{3}{4}$	"	" 2	"
9.	"	1 $\frac{3}{4}$	"	" 1	<i>muh</i>
10.	"	A quarter	"	" 5	rupees
		rupee less			
		than a			
		<i>muh</i> .			
11.	"	4 $\frac{3}{4}$	rupees	" 2	"
12.	"	1 $\frac{3}{4}$	"	" 1	rupee

We don't know the weight of the stones assigned to the various classes either in this or in the previous list ; but the reader will see that while rubies ranging in price from 30 to 1000 *muhrs* and upwards are classified under eight heads, diamonds, emeralds and *yāqūts* of the same prices are all grouped together in the first class. In other words, rubies of over 30 *muhrs* and diamonds and other stones of under 30 *muhrs* are elaborately classified. From this one would be inclined to think that rubies or at least the high class ones, were, weight for weight, more valuable than other stones. But this is not true, for we learn a little lower down that a diamond worth 1 lakh of rupees weighed less than half as much as a ruby of the same price ; though emeralds were several degrees cheaper than either.¹⁰

Pearls had sixteen classes :

Class.	Value.				
1.	From	30	<i>muhrs</i>	upwards.	
2.	"	29 $\frac{3}{4}$	"	to 15	<i>muhrs</i>
3.	"	14 $\frac{3}{4}$	"	" 12	"
4.	"	11 $\frac{3}{4}$	"	" 10	"
5.	"	9 $\frac{3}{4}$	"	" 7	"
6.	"	6 $\frac{3}{4}$	"	" 5	"
7.	"	4 $\frac{3}{4}$	"	" 3	"
8.	"	2 $\frac{3}{4}$	"	" 2	"
9.	"	1 $\frac{3}{4}$	"	" 1	<i>muh</i>
10.	From under	1	<i>muh</i>	" 5	rupees
11.	"	5	rupees	" 2	"
12.	"	2	"	" 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	"
13.	"	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	"	" 30	dāms
14.	"	30	dāms	" 20	"
15.	"	20	"	" 10	"
16.	"	10	"	" 5	"

The way these pearls were stored and strung is given in detail : Twenty pearls were placed on each of the strings in the first class. The actual number of the strings in this class is not given, since that probably varied from time to time. Next we are told that the total number of strings in each class corresponded to the class itself, i.e., the second class contained two strings, the third class three strings, and the sixteenth class sixteen strings. In this case the number of pearls on each string is not known. Presumably it was kept elastic on purpose. This arrangement apparently did not apply to the first class, where the number of pearls on each string was fixed, and the total number of strings was left undetermined. The reader observes that in both cases room was left for fresh acquisitions and disbursements.

At the end of every string the royal seal was affixed, to guard against replacement or fraud.

Abū'l-Faḍl then goes on to detail the charges for boring pearls, which varied with the class of the pearl bored.

10. See below.

Next follow the prices of jewels of unusual weight and value in Akbar's Treasury :

Kind of Jewel		Weight		Price	
Ruby.	11 <i>tānk</i> ,	20	<i>ratīs</i>	Rs.	100,000
Diamond.	5	16	"	"	100,000
Emerald.	17	21	"	"	52,000
<i>Yāqūt</i> .	4	7 ³	"	"	50,000
Pearl.	5	"	"	"	50,000

(*A'in*, Text, I, 11-12 ; Blochmann, 15-16).

The weight and price of the ruby correspond beautifully to those of (1) a ruby purchased by Mahābat KHān from a European and offered to Jahāngīr (Jahāngīr's Reign, No. 10), and (2) the engraved ruby sent by SHāh 'Abbās to Jahāngīr and ultimately set on the rail of the Peacock Throne (*Ibid.*, No. 16).

As regards the value of diamonds, Nos. 1 and 2 of SHāh Jahān's reign in our list both weigh 100 *ratīs* each, and are priced at Rs. 100,000 and Rs. 150,000 respectively ; while No. 8 of Jahāngīr's reign, which weighed less than 80 *ratīs*, was also valued at Rs. 100,000. It thus appears that the prices of diamonds ruled much higher in the reigns of Jahāngīr and SHāh Jahān than in Akbar's time.

JAHĀNGIR.

As the reader is aware, we possess the De Laët-Manrique inventory of the treasure left by Akbar in 1605, the cash part of which was given and discussed in the chapter on 'Cash Treasury'. The remaining portion of it can now be set forth.

For convenience of treatment the inventory of the Jewel Treasury is given entire, although it comprises besides precious stones and gems, ornaments, furniture, gold and silver plate and utensils, statues, porcelain, books, cloths and woollens, tents and curtains, arms and accoutrements, harness and housings. These items will be severally treated of in the succeeding chapters. But with the details of gems and jewels fresh in the reader's mind, I have considered it worth while to attempt an estimate of the entire contents of the Jewel Treasury at this stage, although it includes a great deal of miscellaneous wealth not usually counted as treasure. This course seems better than breaking up the lists into individual items, and distributing them over the various chapters dealing with those

details. Nor would it then be possible to discuss the value and utility of these lists if their contents were so dissipated. These considerations have led the writer to place this chapter on the 'Actual Contents of the Jewel Treasury' immediately after gems and jewels, the fuller details of many of the articles summarized here being reserved for the chapters to follow. When the reader has gone through those chapters, he may refer back to this summary to form an idea of the total amounts accumulated.

Articles.	Value in rupees.
Diamonds, rubies, emeralds, sapphires, pearls, and similar gems ..	60,520,521
(De Laët, 108 ; Manrique, II, 293 ; Smith, J.R.A.S., 1915, p. 241).	
Wrought gold, including necklaces ..	19,006,745
Golden furniture (<i>supellex</i>) ; all kinds of gold plate ; various images of elephants, horses, camels, and similar animals, made of gold ..	9,507,992
Wrought silver, such as goblets (<i>scyphi</i>), dishes (<i>disci</i>), candlesticks, columns, and other vases and utensils of every kind ..	2,225,838
Brazen (<i>aenea</i>) vessels and furniture of every kind and fashion ..	51,225
Most elegant vessels of every kind in porcelain (Manrique adds 'and also of coloured glass', i.e., crystal) ..	2,507,747
Books written by great men, and adorned with extremely valuable bindings (24,000 volumes) ..	6,463,731
Cloths interwoven with gold and silver, from Persia, Turkey, Gujarāt, and Europe ; also silks of various kinds ; with cotton goods from Bengal and other provinces ..	15,509,979
Woollen cloths, European, Persian, and Tartar ..	503,252
Tents, hangings, umbrellas, <i>canoepa</i> , rugs, and all things needed for the adornment of houses or for camp use ..	9,925,545
Engines of war (<i>tormenta bellica</i>), mortars (<i>bombar-dae</i>), balls, and gunpowder—as well as other military material ..	8,575,971
Weapons—shields, swords, daggers, bows, arrows, and the like ..	7,555,525

Articles.	Value in rupees.
Harness, bits of gold and silver, and everything else pertaining to horse furniture ..	2,525,646
Housings decorated with gold and silver (<i>tunicæ equestres</i>) [Mandelslo: 'covering-clothes for horses and elephants']; cloaks of every kind, and royal arms (<i>arma regalia</i>) ['Various kinds of coats and equestrian ornaments, worked and (417/2) embroidered with gold, silver, and precious stones, including the arms borne and insignia carried before the Imperial person and those of the Royal house.'—Manrique] ..	5,000,000
Total ..	89,359,196

(De Laët, 108-9; Manrique, II, 293-94; Smith, *J.R.A.S.*, 1915, 241-42).¹¹

Adding to this total the value of precious stones and gems we get the grand total:

Brought forward	Rs.	89,359,196
Price of precious stones and pearls.	„	60,520,521
Grand total.	„	149,879,717

It is to be noticed that thrones and chairs are not specifically mentioned in De Laët's list. We must presume them to be included under 'Golden furniture (*supellex*)'.

It is now fairly established that Manrique, who is much over-estimated by V. A. Smith, only copied out De Laët's list, so that his document has no independent—and at best only a corroborative—value. De Laët's *De Imperio Magni Mogolis* was published in 1631, while Manrique's *Itinerario* appeared in 1640. But these dates should not mislead us, as the two documents are only copies of the

11. For facility of reference the price of precious stones and pearls is not included in the total, but is added only afterwards to make the grand total.

identical official record, which represented the state of things at the death of Akbar.

It may be noted in passing that in Mr. Hoyland's translation the amounts have been carelessly transcribed in one or two cases, though the total given by him tallies with the total of the true sums, showing that the former are only clerical errors. For this and other reasons I have considered it safe to adopt Smith's translation, which is made after collation of original texts, not entirely excluding even Mandelslo's, which he considers spurious.

This can be followed up with Hawkins' account of the contents of Jahāngir's Treasury about 1610, when Hawkins was at the Mughal court.

Precious stones and pearls.	Weight or number.
Diamonds of not less than 2½ car., 'rough, of all sorts and sizes, great and small'.	1½ battmans or 82½ lbs.
'Ballace rubies little and great, good and bad.'	2,000 pieces.
Pearls of all sorts.	12 battmans or 660 lbs.
Rubies of all sorts.	2 battmans or 110 lbs.
Emeralds of all sorts.	5 battmans or 275 lbs.
<i>Yashm</i> or jade, which comes from Cathay.	1 battman or 55 lbs.
Stones of Yemen (which is a red stone).	5,000 pieces.
All other sorts, such as corals, topaz, etc.	'An infinite number.'

Ornaments and Jewelled Gold and Silver Ware.	Number or weight.
Chains of pearls and chains of all sorts of precious stones. ..	'An infinite number'.
Rings 'with Jewels of rich Diamants, Ballace Rubies, Rubies and old Emerods' ..	"
'Swords of Almaine Blades, with the Hiltts and Scabberds set with divers sorts of rich stones, of the richest sort'. ..	2,200
Poniards of two sorts. ..	2,000
Saddle drums, used in hawking: very rich ones of gold, set with stones. ..	500
Brooches 'for their heads, where-into their Feathers be put': very rich. ..	2,000
Saddles of gold and silver set with stones. ..	1,000
Teukes (great lances) covered with gold, and the fluke (point) set with stones ('These instead of their colours, are carryed, when the King goeth to the warres'). ..	25
Kittasoles (umbrellas, i.e., the <i>chatr</i>) of state. 'None in his Empire dareth in any sort have any of these carryed for his shadow but himselfe.' ..	20
Chairs of state (De Laët calls these thrones, and probably rightly)	
of silver 3	} 5
of gold 2	
Other chairs of silver and gold. ..	100
Rich glasses (i.e., mirrors). ..	200
Vases for wine, 'very faire and rich, set with jewels.' ..	100
Drinking cups (Fifty of these very rich, being 'made of one piece of Ballace Ruby, and also of Emerods, of Eshim, of Turkish stone, and of other sorts of stones'). ..	500
Plate (dishes, cups, basins, pots and beakers):	
of silver ..	2,000 battmans or 110,000 lbs.
of gold ..	1,000 battmans or 55,000 lbs.

Hawkins (Purchas, III, 32-33).

The thrones and chairs are all expressly included and separately enumerated in this list.

The reader will notice that although these two independent accounts refer to very nearly the same period, the dates being only five years apart, yet it is not possible for us to compare or verify the items; since De Laët gives only the total value of each set of articles in rupees, while Hawkins gives the total number of the articles, and sometimes their total weight.

For comparison or verification we have to fall back upon *Muntakhabu'l-Lubāb*. The reader has already seen that, according to Khāfi Khān, the Emperor's jewels (*jawāhar-i-khāṣṣa*), at Akbar's death, weighed one maund and were worth over three crores of rupees (*M.L.* I, 243). Now De Laët places the total value of diamonds, rubies, emeralds, sapphires, pearls and other gems, at well over six crores, which is just about double Khāfi Khān's estimate. As for the weight, Hawkins gives weights for five gems out of eight in his list: these total $21\frac{1}{2}$ battmans or maunds. Counting in the other gems, at a guess, the total weight of precious and semi-precious stones and pearls would be over 30 maunds—as against one maund of Khāfi Khān. No reconciliation between these authorities is possible even by assuming that Khāfi Khān is counting only precious gems, and ignoring all semi-precious stuff; for diamonds, rubies, pearls and emeralds (in Hawkins' list) alone exceed 20 maunds, even leaving 'ballace rubies' out of account. The result is utter chaos. The present writer has more respect for the two inventories elaborately copied out by the European travellers than for Khāfi Khān's ravings.

SHĀH JAHĀN

Shāh Jahān's reign represents the heyday of material splendour and prosperity, and with his accession the art of collecting, valuing and classifying jewels entered on a new career. The leading spirit of the age, the Emperor himself, was a great connoisseur of pearls and stones.

Let us for a moment step backward to get a true perspective.

Vicissitudes had come to an end with Humāyūn, and the sledgehammer strokes of Akbar's victories gave a rough outline to an empire, which fifty years of wise and tolerant government was gradually to make ship-shape and tolerably homogeneous.

The opportunities offered by the settled government and peace left behind by Akbar were not however used to the best advantage by his son. With all the advantages of a strong and healthy constitution, high education and a mind delicately responsive to the appeal of natural phenomena, he had a fine temperament, a healthy curiosity, highly developed tastes and an extensive range of interests. With all this to his credit, his intemperate habits, specially in the latter half of his reign, reduced him to the condition of a *roi fainéant*, the real power being vested in the hands of Nūr Jahān, who, considering her disabilities, steered the ship of state with remarkable ability and talent.

Against this background SHāh Jahān's accession stands out in conspicuous relief. The increasing resources of a peacefully progressing empire were at once placed at the disposal of a man who understood the true meaning and value of wealth—who did not spend a pice where no return was assured, and who did not scruple to spend millions where to his mind a real need was being satisfied.

SHāh Jahān had a great passion for art and a particularly well-balanced aesthetic judgment. His attachment to precious stones has often been misinterpreted as greed, whereas, in point of fact, that emperor was the most liberal and the most generous in the whole line of Mughal kings, not only with his money but in his ideas and sympathies, his daily dealings and actions. Bernier describes him as a great economist.¹²

On whatever he has left us we see an indelible impress of unapproachable ideals and an unerring eye for effect. Designs and proportions of his buildings and gardens, quality and symmetry of their patterns and decorations, even furnishings of his halls and chambers, and dispositions and arrangements in his durbars, and finally the miracles of the jeweller's art—in all these we find a master mind trying to realize its dreams of beauty and perfection in terms of brick or stone here, of line and colour there, of gold and jewels and precious stuffs, using the costliest material with nonchalant ease and seemingly reckless extravagance. The noble band of designing architects, painters and jewellers played up to his ideas and plans in a way that does credit to all concerned.

We must not forget that both as prince and even after his deposition SHāh Jahān was considered a great connoisseur of pearls

and precious stones. The reader remembers how Jahāngīr was once worried over finding a match for a pearl to put on an armlet, and Prince KHurram rootled out a beautiful one from an old disused *sarpech* of Akbar's, which nobody knew of.¹³ It shows that the Prince from a boy had an eagle's eye for jewels, and did not forget one when he had once seen it.

The reader will also remember the occasion when Aurangzeb and his court jewellers were puzzled by a ruby, and the question of its genuineness or otherwise was referred to SHāh Jahān in prison, as the greatest living authority on the subject, his verdict being accepted as final by all parties.¹⁴

Things being what they are, we approach this reign with high hopes and a whetted curiosity. But as far as the actual figures of treasury totals are concerned these hopes are doomed to be foiled.

Unfortunately we do not possess any reasonably authentic catalogue of the contents of SHāh Jahān's Jewel Treasury.

Mandelslo, who came in 1638, has the following :

'I was credibly informed, that the *Mogul*, who lived in my time, had a Treasure, which amounted to above fifteen hundred Millions of Crowns' (P. 37). This appraisal of the total wealth at the end of the first decade comes to 300 crores of rupees. And this, even if it includes both cash and jewels (which probably it does) is, on the face of it, a gross exaggeration based on unverified rumours.

Again, after giving the inventory of Akbar's treasure, which is the De Laët-Manrique document, he continues : "But this came not any thing near the Treasure which *Scach Choram* was possessed of, at the time of my Travels in those Parts. This Wealth is more and more augmented every day, not so much out of the ordinary Revenue coming in from the great Kingdoms he hath..... as by the Presents which are made him, and the Escheats falling to him at the death of great Lords and Favourites' (P. 38). It is to be noted that this passage does not form part of the earlier German edition (1656) of Mandelslo's work and is adjudged to be spurious by critics. But as Mr. Commissariat remarks, though these 'elaborate additions' 'are not from Mandelslo's pen, they have nevertheless a historical importance of their own, for the information given in

13. p. 296 above.

14. See above.

them is based on the best books on eastern travels available to Olearius or to de Wicquefort in the middle of the seventeenth century.¹⁵

For a more sober estimate we must resort to SHāh Jahān's court historian. Mullā 'Abdu'l-Hamid of Lahore, after speaking (under XVIII R.Y.) of the *surpech* which consisted of five rubies and twenty-four pearls and was valued at 12 lakhs, and of the *tasbīh* comprising five rubies and thirty pearls, valued at 8 lakhs, and of two other *tasbīhs* of pearls and *yāqūts* (total price, 20 lakhs),¹⁶ goes on to say that although most of these gems have come down from Akbar's time, additions continued to be made during the reigns of Jahāngīr and SHāh Jahān, so that in this reign a wealth of gems and jewels has accumulated, to which the treasury of no other monarch in the world can present a parallel. The total value of this wealth, not counting 2 crores' worth of gems presented to princes and others during this reign, is 5 crores. Out of this total gems and jewelled articles to the value of 2 crores of rupees are worn on the Emperor's person, and are kept in charge of trustworthy servants in the *maḥal*; and the remainder worth 3 crores is kept outside in charge of *chelas* (slaves) (B.N., 391-93).¹⁷

After the earlier statement in the superlative these figures seem tame and read almost like an anti-climax. But both statements are accurate, and there is no attempt at creating an impression.

But in a reign like SHāh Jahān's disbursements should also be taken into account. The same writer, when reviewing SHāh Jahān's cash treasure at the end of XX R.Y., remarks that since the beginning of this reign Rs. 9,50,00,000 in cash and kind has been given away as *in'ām*, nearly half in cash, and a little over half in

15. M. S. Commissariat, *Mandelslo's Travels in Western India* (A.D. 1638-9), pp. xv-xvi.

16. See p. 295 above.

17. KHāfi KHān says SHāh Jahān inherited 10 crores' worth of gems and jewelled things. Up to XVIII R. Y. 2 crores' worth had been given away in gifts and presents, and a half crore in charity (*ma'jnuāt*, *ṣadqa* and *niṣār* on weighments and festivals), while the value of 5 crores was present in the Jewel Treasury at this date, the rest, worn on the Emperor's body, being in the *Toshak KHāna* among the royal wardrobe (M.L., I, 605). Where this account agrees, or can be reconciled with, the authentic and explicit statement in B.N., cited above, it is welcome, and where it differs it is to be received with caution.

articles.¹⁸ These articles mean, besides horses, elephants, etc., gems, jewelled arms, housings, stuffs and the like, and came to some 5 crores in value. In view of the remark already quoted we can readily understand that this sum included the two crores' worth of pearls and stones given away to princes etc.

These no doubt include the gems and jewels given away on the following occasions, of which only a passing mention can be made here.

We know that from SHāh Jahān's Coronation (8 *Jumāda* II, 1037) to the end of the first Nauroz (beginning of *Shā'bān*)—in seven weeks odd—jewels, dresses and arms, and horses, elephants and cash to the value of 1,80,00,000 rupees were disbursed.¹⁹ This included 76 lakhs' worth presented to Mumtāzu'z-Zamānī, the empress. Most of this wealth must have reverted to the Treasury on her death. Deducting that amount from the total, we have well over a crore of rupees left. Half of this, we know definitely, was the price of jewellery presented to Jahān Ārā Begum and the Princess. So out of this total we may assume some 60 lakhs to stand for gems and jewels.

Next we may notice the weddings of the first princes of the blood. The amount spent on Dara SHukoh's marriage (1042 A.H.) on the Emperor's side was 22 lakhs of rupees, which included approximately some 10 lakhs' worth of gems and jewels,²⁰ and the expenditure on the occasion of SHāh Shujā's wedding (same year) would be in the neighbourhood of 12 lakhs, half of which we may assume to be the price of jewels.²¹ Similarly on the weddings of Aurangzeb²² (end of 1046) and Murād Bakhsh²³ (1052 A.H.) the Emperor gave them Rs. 10 lakhs and 5 lakhs in cash respectively to make the necessary purchases and arrangements. The total expenses therefore would come to some 20 lakhs for the two weddings, half or nearly half of it being represented by the price of gems.

Another large item we can notice is the ornaments and jewelled articles worth 10 lakhs given away to Jahān Ārā Begum and a

18. *Ibid.*, II, 713.

19. B.N., I, i, 192. Author's *History of SHāh Jahān's Reign*, Ch. iii.

20. B.N., I, i, 454 and 460; A.S., I, 524.

21. B.N., I, i, 462; A.S., I, 540.

22. B.N., I, ii, 267.

23. B.N., II, 304.

similar value bestowed on Princes, Princesses and nobles at the time of the celebration of her recovery (SHawwāl, 1054 A.H.).²⁴ The latter amount included some cash and animals, so that it will be safer to place the jewels at some 7 lakhs out of this sum. The total value of gems disbursed on this occasion would thus come to some 17 lakhs of rupees.

This feast and the weddings thus account for some 40 lakhs, and with the 60 lakhs disbursed at the opening of the reign, would come to just a crore's value in jewels. But these are only a few of the outstanding items. There was, throughout the reign, a stream of costly presents constantly flowing from the Emperor to the Princes and nobles, and back again to the Emperor. The more valuable presents offered or accepted will be dealt with at some length in the next chapter.

It must not be forgotten that we are considering the treasure as it existed at the end of the second decade of this reign. The third decade was perhaps the most prosperous in Mughal Indian history: the reader will find abundant evidence in the following chapters to support the contention that a larger value in gems and jewels changed hands at the court of Delhi during the years 1648-58 than at any period of Indian history before or since.

Some rough indications can be gathered from the following facts: On the first durbar held in the newly-built Delhi palace, which fell on a Nauroz (Monday, 18 Rabi 'I, 1060, and following days) presents worth 15 lakhs were accepted. Again, the total value accepted from princes and nobles in XXVIII R.Y. totalled nearly 15 lakhs²⁵ and of those in XXIX R.Y. came to 20,²⁶ while in R.Y. XXX the maximum of nearly 1 crore was reached.²⁷ Jewels of course only constituted a proportion of these figures, and yet a goodly proportion.

It is a pity that the total of the collection at the end of the reign is not recorded either by Muḥammad Wāriṣ or by Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, the prime contemporary authorities for this period. Nor is there available an estimate of total disbursements either during the third decade or during the whole reign.

24. B.N., II, 397.

25. B.N., III, P.U.L. MS., f. 99a.

26. B.N., III, P.U.L. MS., f. 108a.

27. B.N., III, P.U.L. MS., f. 123b.

All that we can offer the reader is the following: According to Khafi KHan, SHāh Jahān left in the Treasury uncoined gold and silver, and gold and silver vessels and jewels worth 15 or 16 crores.²⁸ The price of bullion is not separately given, but, taking KHāfi KHān's account of Akbar's treasure²⁹ as our guide, and allowing for the higher price of gold at this date and for, acquisitions in SHāh Jahān's reign, we can guess that it would be somewhere near 2 crores.

The items that go to make the remaining 14 crores are not given, but this total of the treasure in 1658 comes so close to the De Laët-Manrique total for 1605 that we are tempted to square off the two and declare that all these documents corroborate each other, and we have at last arrived at a reliable grand total of the Mughal jewel treasury.

But then we are assuming that the prosperity and resources of the Mughal empire were marking time during the palmiest half-century of its history—which is contrary to known facts. One is inclined to look for a great advance on the previous figures towards the latter end of SHāh Jahān's reign. Judging from the wording of KHāfi KHān's statement, one would confine his total to gold and silver vessels and gems and jewelled things, which he actually names, so that the value of such items as porcelain, books, stuffs, tents, weapons and housings, which are included by De Laët-Manrique will have to be added to KHāfi KHān's estimate before we can place the two totals side by side. These latter come to nearly six crores, and should be well over 7 crores at the end of SHāh Jahān's reign. This would bring the total value of SHāh Jahān's wealth (about the year 1658) to a figure in the neighbourhood of 23 crores, besides 24 crores of coined money. To this grand total of 47 crores is to be added some 3 crores, more or less, spent by that emperor on his programme of building operations; and another 5 crores as a rough valuation of animals and birds in the royal stables, menageries, aviaries, etc., and of carts, carriages, boats and similar articles, which were not costly enough to be included in the inventories already given.

This amount of 55 crores, measured in purchasing power, is equivalent to some 250 crores to-day, which compares very

29. *M.L.* I, 243 and Chapter on Cash Treasury above.

favourably with the gold reserve in the issue department of the Bank of England on November 2, 1927, which was 149.7 millions³⁰ or, roughly, just over 200 crores of rupees at £. 1 = Rs. 13-8a.

AURANGZEB

For the actual contents of Aurangzeb's jewel treasury we have no official or non-official record to guide us. Of course we know that the priceless gems and rarities of the age, which *SHāh Jahān's* well-known discrimination and patronage attracted from far and near and which he sedulously gathered and cherished during thirty years of unexampled prosperity—all this and all that had descended to him from the times of Akbar and *Jahāngīr* passed peacefully into Aurangzeb's hands.

To the inherited treasury Aurangzeb must have added considerably during the long reign of nearly fifty years, in which the frontiers of the empire were extended and the revenues increased. It is true that the royal patronage for this class of goods diminished in this period and the efforts for artistic creation missed the incentive they had received during the preceding three reigns; but it is also true that Aurangzeb was thrifty and sound administrator and, although large cash gifts were frequent in his reign, he was not nearly so lavish of jewels as his father; so that we may be sure that the contents of the existing jewel treasury were sedulously guarded, while the customary stream of presents continued unabated to swell the total hoard. In particular, the conquest of Bijāpur and Golconda (in 1686-87) must have meant accession to the treasury.

This monarch inherited the major portion of his father's treasury at the time of his accession. But quite a large number of valuable items remained outside, and came in at subsequent dates.

As the reader will see in the following chapters, many costly jewels, arms and ornaments were bestowed on *Dārā SHukoh* on various occasions during *SHāh Jahān's* reign. The climax was reached when during the latter's fateful illness ornaments and jewelled arms and articles to the value of some 35 lakhs of rupees were bestowed on that prince on a single occasion (1068 A.H.).³¹ The accretion of wealth in the hands of *Dārā SHukoh* by this time must have been immense.

30. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*,¹⁴ III, p. 54.

31. See below, and B.N., III, 141b-142a.

KHāfi KHān states on the authority of an assistant *mushrif* of the Jewel Treasury, whom he describes as a 'reliable witness', that *Dārā SHukoh*, before the battle of Samūgarh, left jewels and pearls worth 27 lakhs of rupees belonging to the ladies of his haram³² in the *maḥal* jewel-house in Agra fort. *SHāh Jahān* was privy to it, but *Dārā SHukoh*, after his defeat, got no time in his precipitate flight to get possession of them. Aurangzeb came to know of it and insisted on the restoration of the valuables to the Treasury. After some unpleasantness between father and son, *SHāh Jahān* had to surrender them; and, what is more, the messenger who carried them to Aurangzeb was also the bearer of the deposed monarch's letter pardoning Aurangzeb for his undutiful conduct. *KHāfi KHān* quotes in full Aurangzeb's letter acknowledging the "pardon" and the gift (*M.L.*, II, 104-6).

At the time of the battle at Deorāi (near Ajmīr) we catch a glimpse of *Dārā SHukoh's* treasure, and gold and silver vessels and other movables loaded on elephants, camels and horses, with ladies of his haram on elephants,³³ all left under a guard of cavalry and infantry on the banks of the Anā Śāgar tank near Ajmīr (*Ālam-gīrnāma*, 409). Much of this was plundered by the guards themselves after the defeat of the unfortunate prince (*Ibid.*, 410).

Most of *Dārā SHukoh's* jewels probably found their way into the state treasury sooner or later. Aurangzeb appropriated them, says Tavernier, 'after he had caused his [*Dārā SHukoh's*] head to be cut off' (I, 317).

SHāh SHujā' also had his collection of valuables, which he carried about with him in his adversity and wanderings. On 7 Muḥarram, 1071, *Ikhlās KHān KHweshgī* brought to court his ladies, cash and jewel treasure, and other goods (*Ālam-gīrnāma*, 573).

Jahān Ārā Begum was *SHāh Jahān's* favourite daughter and had been constantly receiving presents during the thirty years of her father's illustrious reign. She must have built up quite a tidy collection of valuables, which remained with her during her self-imposed incarceration with her father.

32. In an earlier part of the passage the author describes them as belonging to *Dārā SHukoh's* dress (p. 104).

33. See also *M.L.*, II, 72-73 and 80-81.

Towards the end of 1070 Jahān Ārā Begum paid a visit to Aurangzeb and offered a string of pearls and 5 rubies worth Rs. 2,80,000 ('*Ālamgīrnāma*, 568); and again sent some jewels and jewelled articles to him in SHawwal, 1072 (*Ibid.*, 743).

Tavernier, talking apparently of the course of events before Aurangzeb's coronation, remarks nonchalantly that Aurangzeb 'took possession of all the wealth which she [Begum Sāhib] had received from her father's liberality' (I, 274). But only on the next page, where the author is speaking of the happenings immediately after SHāh Jahān's death, we read, 'The Begum Sāhib also had a quantity of precious stones, which he had not taken from her when he placed her in the fortress, as he was then satisfied with securing the gold and silver with which her chests were full' (P. 275). So 'all the wealth' in the first passage does not include the 'quantity of precious stones' in the second. Tavernier's vague and inexact ways of talking do not enable us to feel any confidence even where he makes a perfectly definite and precise statement. The reader doubtless remembers the many occasions, on which this author has been judged and found wanting.³⁴

Bernier's remark is entitled to more respect, though it does not carry us far: He tells us that when, after the death of SHāh Jahān, Aurangzeb visited Agra fort, Jahān Ārā Begum received him with much courtesy and 'presented him with a large golden basin, full of precious stones—her own jewels, and those which belonged to *Chah-Jehan*' (P. 199). This may, and probably does, refer to only a small proportion of the treasure which had been in possession of the late emperor and his daughter.

As for the division of Jahān Ārā Begum's belongings after her death Manucci has the following: 'At the time of her death this princess divided her property and jewels among her nieces, leaving to each a good deal of money and jewels. Nor did she overlook her beloved Jānī Begam, to whom she bequeathed her finest jewels and a greater share of money'. (*Storia*, II, 256).

Now we come to the gems and jewels in SHāh Jahān's possession in Agra fort.

We know that SHāh Jahān sent to Aurangzeb (1 Rajab, 1072) jewels to the value of 16 lakhs by the hands of Fāzil KHān, Mīr

Sāmān, who had been sent to Agra (presumably for the purpose) by Aurangzeb a month earlier ('*Ālamgīrnāma*, 660-62; *M.L.*, II, 129-30). It is possible that these were the precious stones mentioned by Bernier (on p. 166) in the passage quoted below.

KHāfi KHān reports that SHāh Jahān had a rosary of 100 round pearls all of the same colour and weight, which was worth 4 lakhs of rupees. The pearls had been got together after much care and research. Besides there was an *ārsī*³⁵ of diamond which he always wore round his neck. Aurangzeb sent a eunuch with the message asking for these ornaments. The aged monarch was furious: he gave away the *ārsī*, but concerning the rosary sent back the reply that it was used in his devotions, and it could only be surrendered after it had been pounded in a mortar. It was never asked for again (*M.L.*, II, 106-7). This reminds us of the following passage in Bernier, though it refers apparently to a different occasion.

Aurangzeb once asked his father for some precious stones, which he wanted he said, to complete a piece of workmanship that he was adding to the peacock throne. 'The captive Monarch indignantly answered that *Aureng-Zebe* should be careful only to govern the kingdom with more wisdom and equity: he commanded him not to meddle with the throne; and declared that he would be no more plagued about these jewels, for that hammers were provided to beat them into powder the next time he should be importuned upon the subject' (Bernier, 127).

But later, we are informed, the relations between father and son improved. Aurangzeb paid the aged monarch every attention, indulged all his wishes, and afforded him every facility consistent with close confinement. 'Indeed, *Aureng-Zebe*'s behaviour was throughout kind and respectful, and he paid attention to his aged parent in every possible way. He loaded him with presents, consulted him as an oracle, and the frequent letters of the son to the father were expressive of duty and submission. By these means *Chah-Jehan*'s anger and haughtiness were at length subdued, insomuch that he frequently wrote to *Aureng-Zebe* on political affairs, sent *Dara*'s daughter to him, and begged his acceptance of some of those precious stones, which he had threatened to grind to powder if again importuned to resign them' (*Ibid.*, p. 166).

35. An *ārsī*, as we know it today in India, is a ladies' thumb-ring set with a small mirror. We hope there is no misprint in the text.

34. Give all instances.

Tavernier has a different version of this matter: Aurangzeb begged *SHāh Jahān*, 'as he was about to ascend the throne in a few days, to have the kindness to send some of his jewels to be used on that day, so that he might appear before his people with the same magnificence as the other Emperors, his predecessors, had done. *SHāh Jahān* became so enraged at this demand of Aurangzeb, which he regarded as an insult levelled at him in his prison by his son, that for some days he was like a madman, and he even nearly died. In the excess of his passion he frequently called for a pestle and mortar, saying that he would pound up all his precious stones and pearls, so that Aurangzeb might never possess them. But the *Begam Sāhib*, his eldest daughter, who had never left him, threw herself at his feet, and besought him not to proceed to such an extremity, and as she had full power over him in consequence of the intimate relations which existed between them, she appeased him, rather with the object of keeping the precious stones for herself than to give pleasure to her brother, her mortal enemy who might one day become their possessor. Thus, when Aurangzeb ascended the throne he had only one jewel on his cap (*toque*); but if he had desired more he did not lack them, as I have elsewhere said, and he asked for the stones from his father only with the intention of retaining them permanently.' (295-96).

Probably every statement in the latter half of this passage is historically incorrect. From the points common to the two accounts we are disposed to think that the passages already cited from *Bernier* constitute an accurate record of events as they occurred, and *Tavernier* has mistaken the occasion on which the dispute took place, and mixed up things in general. Knowing *Tavernier* as we do, this is not surprising.

Of course we can guess that all valuables which remained with the imprisoned monarch were, on his death, restored to Aurangzeb's Treasury, even if *Tavernier* did not tell us, as he does, that 'as soon as Aurangzeb had news of it [his father's death] he came to Agra and seized all the jewels of the late King, his father, which he had not secured during his life' (I, 275).

Although we possess no inventory of Aurangzeb's Jewel Treasury, we happen to have a somewhat detailed list of the Delhi treasure plundered by *Nādir SHāh*. *Nādir's* invasion came only 32 years after the death of Aurangzeb, and nobody will think that any appreciable addition was made to the store during those years. So the quantity and value of *Nādir's* plunder may be safely taken as the measure of the treasury left by Aurangzeb.

The following passages from James Fraser's *History of Nadir Shah* are extremely interesting:

'*Nadir Shah*, after his Victory, and having established his Power, had demanded of *Nizam al Muluck*, twenty Crore³⁶ of *Rupees* (exclusive of the Jewels, Gold Plate set with precious Stones, and other fine Goods, seized of the King's, and other *Omras*) to be collected in the best Manner he could out of the King's Treasury, his own Effects, and all the other *Omras*, wealthy People and Inhabitants. Such a Sum was not to be raised out of the King's Treasury, or the *Omras* Effects; for, in the King's, the Gold and Silver Coins did not exceed three Crores:³⁷ But, in the inward Vaults (which had been shut up and sealed for many years, nobody knowing by whom they were sealed, or what they contained) there was found of Gold and Silver to a much larger Amount than the Money in the Treasury' (P. 192-93). Later on, summing up the situation, he says: 'Since the Battle of *Karnal*, until *Nadir Shah's* Departure from *Shahjehanabad*, the Loss sustained by the Emperor and the People within and without the City, in Jewels, Treasure, Goods, Effects, and destroying of Fields, setting aside the Loss of the Buildings, amounted to very near one *Arrib*³⁸ of *Rupees*, out of which *Nadir Shah* carried away to the Value of 70 crores³⁹ in Jewels and other Effects; and his Officers and Soldiers 10 Crores.⁴⁰ The Charges of his Army, while he continued there, the Arrears, Pay and Gratuity advanced them, with what Goods were destroyed by Fire, and Fields laid waste, made near 20 Crores more.⁴¹



36. 'Twenty Crores are 25 millions Sterling' (Footnote).

37. '3,750,000 l' (Footnote).

38. '125,000,000 l' (Footnote).

39. '87,500,000 l' (Footnote).

40. '12,500,000 l' (Footnote).

41. '25,000,000 l' (Footnote).

The Particulars of what *Nadir Shah* carried away with him :

	Crore.
Jewels from the Emperor and <i>Omras</i> , valued at ..	25
Untensils and Handles of Weapons set with Jewels, with the Peacock Throne, and nine others set with precious Stones ..	9
Money Coined in Gold and Silver <i>Rupees</i> ..	25
Gold and Silver Plate which he melted down and coin'd ..	5
Fine Cloths and rich Stuffs of all Kinds ..	2
Household Furniture, and other valuable Commodities ..	3
Warlike Weapons, Cannon, etc. ..	1
..	70

(P. 219-21).

Hanway (*Travels*, II, 383) only copies, and slightly condenses, these details, and is therefore no independent authority.

Granting this estimate of *Nādir's* booty to be substantially accurate, while money and bullion (with gold and silver plate) amounted to 30 crores, the jewel treasure was valued at 40 crores and comprised 25 crores' worth of jewels (including the blackmail from the nobles), the rest being jewelled arms, articles, furniture and stuffs. Out of this 70 crores the value of some 5 to 10 crores may be the levy on the nobility, while the balance came from the *khāṣṣa* and the state treasuries.

These details of the treasure and their relative proportions are credible. There is just the advance on *SHāh Jahān's* treasure under all heads that one would expect after *Aurangzeb's* 50 years of careful management and simple habits.

In *Mirzā Mahdī KHān's Tārīkh-i-jahānkushā-i-Nādirī*, however, we read that *Nādir SHāh* obtained the equivalent of 15 crores from the state treasuries and through presents from nobles and governors from far and near (Edn. of 1265 A.H., p. 207). This brief statement claims to give the total value of *Nādir's* booty, including the contributions from the aristocracy. In view of the low total figure and of the fact that no details are attempted we are disposed to attach more credit to *Fraser's* report, which has the air of an original and authoritative record.

While on the subject of *Nādir SHāh's* spoils we may remark that although a historian has no business to deplore transfer of

wealth from one country or nation to another, and in fact may grant that cheerfully 'none but the brave deserve the fair' as well as the spoils of war, yet when a great country's entire artistic output extending over some two centuries of its best period is taken away at one blow, not to find a place in the secure vaults or show-cases of a palace or a museum, but the gold and silver articles of vertu to be melted into ingots, and the thrones, crowns, and jewelled furniture to be broken to pieces and distributed among the wild and hungry hordes of wandering shepherds and their descendants, not to speak of books, pictures, etc., which were probably used to feed the melting furnace or else thrown out on the streets as unworthy of the space they occupied—then the scandalized annalist may perhaps be forgiven if the limit of his patience is reached. Political vicissitudes have their horrors even for the denizens of the sequestered vale of art and letters.

Venkatesa, Viceroy of Rangakrishna Muttuvirappa III

By

PANDIT S. SOMA SUNDARA DESIKAR.

IN the august issue of this Journal (No. 47), a short sketch of Tiruvēṅkaṭanātha was given. I will now relate the life of Venkaṭēsa, the second son of that able Viceroy of Tirumalai and Chokkanātha Nāyaks—Tiruvēṅkaṭanātha.

For a study of this Venkaṭēsa, it would be better to know the state of the Madura Kingdom at that time. Chokkanātha Nāyak reigned as king from 1659 to 1682 A.D. That was a period of trouble and anxiety to the people of the country. It marked the beginning of the decay of the Nāyak kingdom. Chokkanātha failed to control the forces of disintegration, as the political storms were too severe for him. The Mysoreans under Kumarayya besieged Trichinopoly, which was the then Capital of the Kingdom. The Maravas also under Kīlavan Sētupati rebelled against him. The Maharattas under Ekōji marauded the country. Under these circumstances he passed away in 1682.¹ His son Rangakrishna Muttuvirappa ascended the throne. Though young he was a shrewd man and took advantage of the circumstances. The troops of Sambāji, the Mahratta leader, ravaged the Madura Kingdom and held up the Mysoreans who were in possession of Madura at that time. They—the Mahrattas—entered the Mysore territory also and plundered the cities. The King of Mysore could not send reinforcements to his army at Madura, which was besieged by the Maharattas. Thus the Mysoreans were isolated and lost their lives. The Tanjore King Ekōji's attention was drawn towards his own affairs. Some of his possessions were captured by the Maravas under the Sētupatis. The Sētupatis again were rendered harmless by the rebellion of their Dalavoy Kumāra Piḷḷai. Even Sambāji was too busy with his Mysore campaign to be a menace to Ranga Krishṇa. Thus all the changes in the political situation gave the Nāyak facilities to put his kingdom in order and extend it to its former limit.² In these exploits he was ably assisted by his Dalavoy and Venkaṭēsa was one of them.

1. *The Nāyaks of Madura*, 190.

2. *The Nāyaks of Madura*, 195.

Venkaṭēsa was the second son of Tiruvēṅkaṭanātha of Mātai as stated elsewhere.³ He too calls himself as Venkaṭēsa of Mātai,⁴ situated on the banks of the Kaveri.⁵ His elder brother Swarna-kriṣṇa was the Pradhān (Chief Minister) at Madura,⁶ and one of his younger brothers Rājagōpalaiyar was a Viceroy of another portion.⁷ Tradition has it that all the brothers had their Tamil education under the famous author of *Itakavavilakkam*—Vaidyanātha Dēṣikar of Tiruvārūr. They were also taught Sanskrit by able teachers. After finishing his studies, Venkaṭēsa served his apprenticeship of ministerial duties under his father and in the court. Afterwards he was made a minister. During his ministry he was able to control and increase the finances of the State, managed it ably and had it under his grip. He endeared himself to the people of the country by abolishing the tax on houses which was a burden to all. Pilgrims to Rāmēsvaram were attacked by wild beasts and robbers. This is borne out by a reference in John Lockman's, *Travels of the Jesuits*.

It says :—

'These beasts (tigers) have made a surprising havoc on the whole coast this year. Besides the cattle.....above seventy persons have disappeared'.⁸

Venkaṭēsa made arrangements to kill these tigers and root out the robbers and thus made the road safe to all.⁹

3. J. I. H. XV. 135.

4. மாதை வெங்கடேசேந்திரன் - பணவிடுதுது; காப்பு [34-68]

தென்மாதைப்பதியான். மாதை வெங்கடேச மகிபாலன்-பண விடு

5. காவேரியாற்றினான், சோழவளநாட்டினான்-பணவிடு. 32, 33.

6. பெருக்கமுள்ள

தேசப்ரதானமெனுந் தென்மதுரை வீட்டுக்கு

வாசற் ப்ரதானி மகராசன்—ராஜரீகக்

கிம்புரிமால் யானேசொர்ண கிர்ஷ்ணபூ பாலனுக்குத்

தம்பியென வந்த தயாளு-பணவிடு. 57-8.

7. தண்ணளியால்

தேசமோ ராணைகொண்டு செங்கோன்மை செய்யவந்த

ராசகோபால நராதிரபணம்-பணவிடு. 60.

8. P.p. 377 and 378 and also Nāyaks of Madura.

9. மொத்தக்

கணக்கை வகைகண்டு கற்பித்த பொக்ஷிப்

பணக்குறை வாராமற் பாணித்து—வணக்கமிலாக்

கூடலூர்க் கம்பைமுதற் கொண்டு மலையாள

நாடளவு மாணை நடத்துவித்தும்—போடுகின்ற

வீட்டுவரி யெப்பொழுதும் வேண்டா மெனநிறுத்திக்

காட்டுவழிச் செல்வாரைக் காப்பாற்றி-பணவிடு. 44-46.

After sometime he was appointed Viceroy of Tinnevely by the King, Ranga Krishna Muttuvirappa, who invested him with all the paraphernalia of regal authority. He was reigning as Viceroy and holding his court as the King himself. The Tamil poem, *Paṇaviḍutudu*, eulogises his court as follows:—

‘Ho¹⁰ was just in his actions and decisions towards his dependents and strangers, was strong in mind and body, even as the rock; has done immense good to a number of families and was a very good archer resembling Vijaya; he was an able commander, respected by his soldiers. His counsel was sought by other ministers. His court was always crowded with envoys of other kings, ministers, commanders of armies. He was also regular in hearing the news of the kingdom and accounts of the raj. All kinds of traders including Gujjaras, and Maharattas congregated there. He was very shrewd in collecting the revenues of the country and

10.

தடுத்திட்ட பேர்க்கு மயலார்க்கு முன்னம்
நடுத்திட்ட மேயுரைக்கு நாவான்—பழந்தமிழ்
கோங்கலிரு நான்கும் பொருதயுழிப்ப கொண்புவனம்
நாங்க வளர்க்கத் தட்டியுத்தான்—தேவா
இடுப்பைக் கொடுக்கலிதற்கு முன்னணில் பவமேபடி
குடுப்பப் பிரதித்தடை சொந்தகோமான்—அழகம்போரில்
வானே திர்த்த மேரு மலைக் தெளித்ததனும்
தானே திர்த்து வெல்லுத் தனுவிறுபன்—சேனைத்
தளங்கும் பிடக்கனக் தண்டிசையுத் தானும்
விளங்குந் தனிப்புருஷ மேரு—வளம்பெறுமித்
தேச விவகாரஞ் செத்திலுள்ள செத்திலுள்ள
வாசல் விவகார மற்றுறவையும்—பொச்சோசெச்
மத்திரி மாரு மறுமன்ன சேவலரும்
தத்திரி மாருத் தளாப்பரும்—முத்தூத்
தினசரித் காரர் களுஞ்சீமைக் கண்க்கை
கனுதினம்வா சிக்கு மவரும்—கனமுடைய
வந்தக்கருங் குர்ச்சாரு மராதருங் கொலுவில்
தத்தம்வரிசைகொடு தாரித்ப—நித்தொக்கச்
சாணிகை கட்டிவைக்குத் தத்திரமும் பித்திவரும்
பானையக் காரர் பணங்களுக்கை—காளனுப்பும்
வல்லமையுக் கேட்டும் வரியோலைக் குத்தாக்கம்
சொல்லுவதி லேவினை விண் குச்சுமும்—எல்லெகண்டு
கூறப் படாத குளப்பாய்வுங் கற்பாய்வும்
ஏறப் பயிர்கொளுத்து மேற்பாடும்—பேறுதரும்
தேவா லயத்திற் றினப்பூசை தப்பாமல்
வேவா ளனுப்பும் விராரிப்பும்—நேர்வாகக்
காணிக்கைக் காரர் கணக்குக்கேட்ட விலவாத்
தராணிக்குத் தத்திட்டஞ் சொல்லுவும்—பணவிடு. 13-26.

was prompt in sending messengers to collect the dues from the recalcitrant polayagars. His intelligence was apparent in the replies he conveyed to the various reports of his subordinates. He was always prompt in developing agriculture, and demarcating the lines of irrigation from several sources. With all these he was very careful in the supervision of the temple affairs under his charge. His reward for those was such that nobody was dissatisfied and he tried to raise the moral and social welfare of the portion of the country under his charge.’

In order to maintain the dignity of his position, he used to go to his court in pomp. The same poet describes his march to the court at Tinnevely thus:—

‘Heralds were heralding the glory of Venkaṭeśa on all sides, drums mounted on elephants were roaring, *bēri* and the eighteen kinds of musical instruments played to their utmost. Singing and dancing was going on in front, the swords of honour were glittering in their scabbards, white horses were prancing in front, many flambeaux and lights were carried and rockets flew on all sides which made night into day. He was going on the palanquin bestowed by the king which was embroidered with gems and was followed by a number of palanquins and an army and entered the audience hall *Rangavilāsam*.’¹¹

11.

நாலுதிக்கும்

கட்டியங்க ளார்ப்பக் கரடமத யானையின்மேற்
கொட்டிய டமரங்கன் கோவித்ப—எட்டிப்
பேரி முழங்கப் பெரியபதி னெட்டுவாகை
மூரிநெடு வாத்தியங்கண் முன்னதிர—நேரே
நடநாடகசாலை நடடுவன்மார் தாளத்
துடனே சங்கீத மொலிக்கப்—புடையே
அருவிலல்ல யத்திலழுந்து பசுந்தங்கம்
இருபுறமு மின்னிட் டெறிப்பத்—தெருநிறையக்
கொஞ்சுவரு மச்சிக் குதிரைகணித் தம்புரியச்
சஞ்சுப வர்க்கந் தளதளன—மிஞ்சும்
இருளறுதி வாட்டிக் ளெண்ணில முன்செல்ல
மருவுபரி தீவெட்டு வர்க்கம்—பொருவில்
பகல்வர்த்தி யித்தனையும் பக்க நெருங்கி
இகலிட் டிரவுபக லேய்ப்பத்—தருமுபய
சாமரைகள் வீசத் தமனியப் பொற் பாவாடை
காமருபொற் காளாஞ்சி கைக்கொண்டு—கோமளமாச்
செல்வார் வரிசைகொடு செம்பொற் பணியிலங்க

This is no boast or a poet's panegyry. The above statement is supported from another source.

It was brought to the notice of the King, Ranga Krishna Muttuvirappa that the Viceroy of Tinnevely was squandering all his revenues in state processions. As the king was of a jovial and enterprising nature, he wanted to know it first hand. In order to verify it he went to Tinnevely. This is what we read in the *Chronicles* translated by Taylor.

"The charge of the Tinnevelley country had been given to Tiruvēkatanāthaiyya, with the customary banners. And while managing this employ, his own son was accustomed to go out every night in public procession round the town, seated in a lofty howdah on the back of an elephant clothed in rich perfumed dresses, covered with ornaments, with numerous lights, musicians, dancers, and other usual accompaniments of such spectacles. The daily expense on this account was 500 pagodas. While these things were going forward, two or three persons belonging to the principal town went to the presence of the King and said, 'The son of Tiruvēkatanāthaiyya, the Chief of Tinnevely, daily makes an expenditure of the sarkar money (revenues) to the extent of 500 pagodas, and carries himself with more than royal state and splendour in his processions, seated on a howdah. He thus wasted the whole of the revenue.' On their thus reporting the matter in the presence of Sri Ranga Krishna Muttuvirappa Naicker, the king on hearing the account said, 'Well, this must be ascertained', and giving directions to a certain number of troops to follow, he himself set out alone mounted on a fleet horse and taking the road leading to Tinnevely, urged forward his horse at a speedy pace. He proceeded with the whole of the troops to Tinnevely and there took his abode in the splendidly adorned palace. The Chief Tiru-

வில்லாந் பரிசுரமொடு வேண்டினான் — பல்வகையாம்
ஆயுதக் கார நலிலர்முன் சென்ட செந்
தூயபல தண்டுகைகள் அழிந்துவா — காயவாய்ப்பு
தற்கு முத்துக் தளிப்பவை வாகியுமே
எங்கு மொளிலிட் பிடறிப்பதாய் — தங்ககிரீர்வண்ண
முத்துவீ ரேற்றன் முழுவினை தந்தனுபயம்
கொத்துமணித் தண்டுகைமேற் கொண்டேறித் — சித்தம்
விரும்பியா கோன்போல் வீறிவலம் வந்து
திருப்பி யமனைக்குட் சென்று — பெரும்பார்க்
கிதையவெனக் கோமா னிரங்க விலாசத்தே
கிதைகொலுவாய் வீற்றிருக்கு செய். — பணவிடு. 70-84.

vēkatanāthaiyya¹² and others had previously advanced to a considerable distance to meet and escort him. When arrived he directed all disputed accounts to be brought to him and certified, and calling for the son of Tiruvēkatanāthaiyya, he said, 'We hear that thou, every night makest a procession through the town; now, thou will see and do this night just in the same way as thou hast been accustomed to do'. But the young man was so greatly alarmed, that his flesh trembled and his mouth refused utterance. The King perceiving this state of mind said, 'We ask thee gaily and not in anger, do not fear; but carry on thy procession this night also'. Feeling the encouragement that was extended, the young man made his procession that night with more than the ordinary splendour. The King ascended to the top of the house in order to see the spectacle; and being much pleased, said to the Sardars, who were around him, 'This is none other than our own man, while enjoying his health and acquiring fame, the world will only say he is our man; and that ceremony is ours'. Then calling for the son of Tiruvēkatanāthaiyya, he said to him, 'We are well pleased with thee; continue therefore to do as thou hast been accustomed'. He at the same time gave him a sanad for the daily sum of 500 pagodas."¹³

Thus it corroborates the statement found in the poem *Paṇaviḍutūdu*.

His patronage of Men of Letters was very much appreciated. He patronised Tamil and Sanskrit poets. Vaidyanātha Dēśikar was his Tamil Guru. Subramania Aiyar of Sepparai was a famous Sanskrit scholar of his time. Swāminātha Dēśikar *alias* Īśāna Dēśikar of Tiruvāḍaturai Muṭṭ was the disciple of this Sanskrit scholar. Mayilērumperumal Piḷḷai was another Tamil scholar of repute. The author of *Paṇaviḍutūdu*¹⁴ was another. Though his name is not known, he has made known himself to posterity by his immortal poem. *Vaṇṇam*, a kind of stanza was composed by the same author and dedicated to him. Venkaṭēsa suitably rewarded him. Thus the Viceroy of Tinnevely was a proud and worthy son and an able successor to his worthy father.

12. There seems to be a mistake. Tiruvēkatanātha was not the Viceroy of Tinnevely at the time. The story is about his son. Perhaps he might have lived with him in his old age.

13. *Oriental Historical Manuscripts*, ii. 208-213.

14. *Paṇaviḍutūdu* is like *The Cloud Messenger* (Mēgha Sandāśa), a messenger poem in Tamil, sending Money to the Lord as a messenger. In the poem the author quotes a number of Coins that were current at that time.

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

XVI (From March 1757 to October 1757)

(Continued from page 190, Volume XVI, part 2.)

By

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1. THE DIARIST'S ACCOUNT OF THE DOINGS OF THE SUCCESSIVE GOVERNORS OF PONDICHERRY

THE Diarist continued his complaints about the non-settlement of his affair by the Council. He was not in a mind to supply the Governor with the usual paraphernalia when the latter intended to proceed to Gingee. In the entry for Thursday, March 24, the Diarist informs us that Salabat Jang had reached Adoni with 30,000 horse and that the Peishwa himself had crossed the Krishna with double that number of cavalry and halted at Savanur, Bankapur and Gadwal and that both of them were said to be coming to Arcot and the southward. Curiously enough, after this we come across the following piece of information under the caption—"Particulars of the Governors of Pondicherry"—wherein he gives the following interesting account of the various Governors from the time of Martin.

Flacourt, who was the Second in Council under Martin, (1701-06), acted as Governor when Martin became too ill to attend to business and continued to be in charge till the arrival of Dulivier from Bengal, who was Governor on two occasions, first from February 1707 to July 1708 and for the second time, from about September 1713 to about August 1715. Hebert and Dulivier were General and Governor respectively upto the middle of 1718. Nainiya Pillai, the Chief Dubash, was imprisoned by Dulivier without consulting the Councillors. Nainiya Pillai appealed to the Duke of Orleans, the Regent of France, for reinstatement. The Diarist states that Hebert and Dulivier were both of them punished for this act of injustice (1718-19). La Prevostiere who now became Governor (1718-1721), had Kanakaraya Mudali removed from the office of Chief Dubash to which he had been appointed by

Hebert. The Diarist says here that the Company and the Ministers were persuaded to order that no member of Kanakaraya Mudali's family should hereafter be appointed Courtier. It may be remembered that Nainiya Pillai was an uncle of the Diarist and had invited the latter's father, Tiruvengadam Pillai, who was previously trading at Madras, to settle at Pondicherry in 1713. Hebert had disgraced Nainiya Pillai and ill-treated his son, Guruva Pillai. Guruva Pillai had gone to France and personally represented the injustice done to him and his family before the Regent, the Duke of Orleans. Both he and Tiruvengadam Pillai were restored to their previous positions by La Prevostiere who had become the *ad interim* successor to Hebert. The Telugu work entitled "Ananda Ranga-ratchandamu" which is a treatise on prosody and is dedicated to Ananda Ranga Pillai, by its author Kasturi Rangayya Kavi, contains, in its introduction, an account of the genealogy and family of Ranga Pillai. It also tells us how Tiruvengadam Pillai grew to be powerful at Pondicherry and helped in securing justice and honour for his relative, Guruva Pillai, from the French King himself. Ananda Ranga Pillai perhaps utilised the family traditions and the journal maintained by Nainiya Pillai for his information. His account as given here is not very accurate, particularly with reference to the dates of the accession and departure of the Governors and of Nainiya Pillai's disgrace and restoration.

We have read above that Lenoir, who was Governor for the first time in the years 1721-23, had always a high regard for Tiruvengadam Pillai and encouraged the Diarist, who was then an young man, to continue the work on which his father had been engaged. Thus Lenoir is praised as the fittest and cleverest man and as "a very capable, just and intelligent man". During the first Governorship of Lenoir, French credit was built up with native merchants in spite of a lack of steady and continuous supply of goods and bullion from France. During his second Governorship which began in 1726, Ranga Pillai's rise to influence at Pondicherry really began. His uncle, Guruva Pillai, had died in 1724; and his father Tiruvengadam Pillai followed him to the grave two years later. Ranga Pillai himself had already become the chief native merchant of the French trading-house at Porto Novo. Now we read that, during the nine years' governorship of Lenoir, the prosperity and power of Pondicherry grew by leaps and bounds. So also did the influence and wealth of the Diarist.

Thus Lenoir is praised by our Diarist:—"Lenoir was very able and clever, and established a name as bright as the sun by

enquiring justly into all matters. Pondicherry which was but a jungle became a town; huts became storied houses; and walls were built round the town. He sent ships with merchandise to Manilla, Mocha, Achin, Malacca, Quedah, Perak and other distant places whither ships had never before been sent, and carried on trade to the extent of five or six lakhs, thus bringing in large profits for the town and for the Company, so that, during his ten years' rule, people declared that, of all places, Pondicherry was the most just and truthful, that its merchants and inhabitants were the wealthiest, that it could supply all kinds of goods to other parts of the country, and that it could procure the goods from all other places; and the townspeople, the out-villagers, the Company's Directors and others in Europe all prayed that he would continue for ever as Governor. Moreover, by great efforts, he obtained from the Nizam a *parwana* for the coinage of rupees in Pondicherry and 3-swami pagodas for the Yanam factory equal in fineness to the Madras *karukka* pagodas,¹ and thus made the town prosperous. He ruled in such a way that the Nizam and other Muhammadan rulers and the European and Carnatic governments and others, pronounced that God had been pleased to make truth, justice, ability, broadness of mind and all other good qualities dwell in the person of M. Lenoir and that he was fit to occupy the throne of Delhi itself. This great man sailed for Europe by the *Lys* (captain, M. Dordelin) at one o'clock on the night of the 27th *Purattasi, Rakshasa*, corresponding with October 8, 1735, thus causing more grief than the loss of parents or treasure".

Governor Dumas got permission from Nawab Dost Ali Khan to coin rupees and pagodas at the Pondicherry mint which would be current in the country and gave the means of livelihood to many, as well as gain to the Company. For protecting the families of Dost Ali Khan and the Muhammadan nobles of Arcot in the troublous times of the invasion of Fateh Singh and Raghuji Bhonsla, he got from the Emperor of Delhi, a mansab of 4,500 horse with a standard and *naubat*. The Company and the Ministers sent him the Cross of St Michael for having obtained the Nawab's permission to coin rupees at Pondicherry.

Dupleix assumed charge of Governorship on January 14, 1742 with all the Mughal dignities that were enjoyed by his predecessor.

1. Kuruki pagodas had three standing figures strongly marked and a plain granulated reverse. They were coined at Tiruvamur, for Madras which began to mint pagodas as early as 1661.

"He was destined to hear the beating of *naubat* in Pondicherry which no other European in India had been fortunate enough to enjoy, and to have the Padshah's standards borne before him." The Diarist claimed special credit for himself and responsibility for the success of Dupleix in the operations with the English in the years 1746-48. For the subsequent political successes of Dupleix right down to the installation of Salabat Jang on the throne, he got the Order of St. Michael for his victories and also the title of Marquis.

With this, our Diarist's account of the Governors of Pondicherry ends. We do not know the particular reason why he was at so much pains to embody all the details about the French Governors at this point.

He took up this narrative, perhaps as a fond memory of his, in this time of political and financial depression, of the former days of his own prosperity and great influence which were certainly on the wane under Godeheu and De Leyrit.

2. BUSSY AND VIJAYARAMARAJU OF VIJAYANAGARAM

The Diarist at first wrote that Vijayaramaraju was killed in a fight at Chicacole, along with a number of his followers and that Bussy marched to Vijayanagaram and captured and plundered the town. This highly inaccurate account was later rectified in the entry for March 26, in which the Diarist purports to relate the news of Vijayaramaraju's death, as reported by Peer Muhammad Sahib of Bimlipatam. When Bussy quarrelled with Salabat Jang, Sheikh Ibrahim was suspected of treachery against his master. He sought shelter with a Telugu Zamindar, Ranga Rao of Bobbili, and also made friends with Vijayaramaraju. Bussy therefore marched against Ibrahim Khan and was joined by Haidar Jang, son of Jafar Ali Khan, and some other sirdars from Ellore and Rajahmundry. They camped first at Kasimkota. Vijayaramaraju sent word secretly to Ibrahim Ali Khan at Bobbili advising him to depart before trouble should begin. Similar advice was given by Ranga Rao of Bobbili himself to Ibrahim Ali Khan. Thereupon Shaikh Ibrahim left Bobbili and hid himself in a distant place. Vijayaramaraju had a grudge against Ranga Rao as for a long time the latter had not shown him due respect. With this object he persuaded Bussy, after joining him, to seize the Bobbili fort and country and also kill Ranga Rao. Thereupon the combined armies of Bussy and Vijayaramaraju marched by way of Chicacole and encamped at Bobbili which was about 100 miles off. Negotiations were then begun with Ranga Rao; but as he would not come to

an agreement, Bussy advanced with a small body of troops to attack the fort. About 5,000 of Ranga Rao's men came out and fought so boldly that Bussy's men had to retreat. Vijayaramaraju was indignant at this, mounted his elephant and advanced against the fort of Bobbili. He beat off Ranga Rao's people, approached the fort, crossed the ditch by filling it with bundles of straw and scaled the walls, while Bussy's men successfully scaled the walls on the other side, after a very severe fight in which 18 officers, 200 soldiers, 2,000 foot and 1,000 artillery people on Bussy's side and sepoys, guards, Carnatic infantry sirdars, making 5,000 in all on the side of the Raja, had perished and the ditch had become red with blood. When the fort had been captured, Bussy warned Vijayaramaraju that he should not leave even a single child alive in the fort. All the people were slain including even pregnant women and Ranga Rao himself; but his younger brother survived and was recommended by Vijayaramaraju to Bussy to be spared and to be treated for his wounds.

Sometime afterwards, one of Ranga Rao's people who had escaped, went to Vijayaramaraju's tent and asked permission to see him on the plea that the Rao's younger brother had refused to have his wounds dressed. Vijayaramaraju admitted the man into his tent; but the guards who searched him did not find out a folding knife that he had secreted in his dress. Being allowed to approach, he ripped up the Rajah's belly with the knife so tearing to intestines that he immediately died.² Bussy in great grief com-

2. A book entitled 'Account of the Bobbili Zamindary', written by the then Maharajah of Bobbili and published in 1900, tells us that the founder of the house was Peddarayadu. In 1632, he entered the district in the train of Sher Muhammad Khan, the then Faujdar of Chicacole. For services to the Faujdar, Peddarayadu was eventually granted the Razam Hunda (or estate). His son, Lingappa, built the fort and town of Bobbili and called it Peddapuli, (i.e., large tiger), out of compliment to the name, Sher (tiger), of the patron of the founder. The word was corrupted into Pubbuli and Bobbili and at length became Bobbili. A son of Sher Muhammad was rescued from the hands of rebel at Rangavaka near Palasa in Ganjam by Lingappa; and for this service he was granted twelve villages and the hereditary title of Ranga Rao. After three lives, Gopalakrishna succeeded to the estate. In his time, at the end of 1753, the Northern Circars were taken possession of by the French; and the Chicacole and Rajahmundry Circars were leased out to Pedda Vijayaramaraju of Vizianagaram.

Another retainer of Sher Muhammad Khan, was Pusapati Madhavarma, the ancestor of the Vizianagaram family and the rivalry between the houses of Bobbili and Vizianagaram is said to be as old as the time of their settlement in the district.

municated this sad event to Jagapathi Raja, the son of Vijayaramaraju's elder brother, who was his heir and in charge of Vijayanagaram, and promised to give him the Bobbili fort and also territories yielding two lakhs of rupees. For generations the rulers of Vijayanagaram had been *mansabdars* of 7,000 horse and possessed the privilege of the fish standard.

Bussy arrived at Rajahmundry towards the end of 1756 with a large force, for stabilising the French dominion and for recovering arrears of tribute. Vijayaramaraju persuaded Bussy to remove his own powerful rival, the Rajah of Bobbili; consequently Bussy proposed to Bobbili that he should give up his fort, but receive other lands of great extent and value in another part of the Circars; but this proposal was received by Ranga Rao as an insult. Unfortunately, one of Bussy's detachment was cut up in the woods in the neighbourhood of Bobbili; and in his anger, Bussy determined to expel that Chief and all his family. The result was "one of the most ghastly stories which even Indian History has got to record." The historian, Robert Orme, has given a very graphic description of the defences of Bobbili and of the attack of the French on it. The attack commenced on the 24th January, 1757 (O. S.). The garrison fought with the heroism of despair; and at last when Ranga Rao saw that there was no hope of maintaining the resistance, he asked his followers to put their wives and children to death, in order to preserve them from violation by Europeans and the more ignominious ill-treatment at the hands of the retainers of Vijayaramaraju. They set fire to all the habitations in the fort and stabbed without remorse all the women and children who attempted to escape from the flames. Then they resolved to die on the walls; and none of these defenders quitted with life the rampart where they gathered round their chief, who was shot down by a musket ball. None of them would accept quarter but each fell only in the last agony of resistance or suffering. When the victors entered the fort, they found everywhere desolation and fire; but an old man led a boy from a distant recess and told M. Law, the French Commandant, that the child was the son of Ranga Rao, whom he had preserved against his father's will. Bussy was horrified at what he saw before him and would not go into the shambles in the fort,³ but

3. The historic fort which was the site of this slaughter is on the west side of the present town, and is marked by an obelisk bearing inscriptions on stone, commemorating the tragedy. In these inscriptions and also in the popular ballad on the subject of the fight, which is entitled "Rangaraya Charitamu", Vijayaramaraju is said to have been slain by a single individual,

received very kindly the boy and his guardian and straightway appointed the boy lord of the territories which he had previously offered the father (Ranga Rao) in exchange for the domains of Bobbili. On the third night after the massacre, the camp was alarmed by a sudden tumult in the quarters of Vijayaramaraju. Two of the soldiers of Ranga Rao had escaped from the carnage and somehow gained admission into Vijayaramaraju's tent at night when they found him alone and asleep. "Vizarama Razu was extremely corpulent, in so much that he could scarcely raised himself from his seat without assistance: the two men, restraining their very breath, struck in the same instant with their poignards at his heart; the first groan brought in a sentinel, who fired, but missed; more immediately thronged in; but the murderers, heedless of themselves, cried out, pointing to the body, 'Look here! We are satisfied.' They were instantly shot by the crowd, and mangled after they had fallen; but had stabbed Vizarama Razu in thirty-two places. Had they failed, the other two remaining in the forest were bound by the same oath to perform the deed or perish in the attempt."

This tragedy of Bobbili was a momentous historical event in the annals of the Northern Circars. Vijayaramaraju had been easily induced by Jafar Ali Khan, the Nazim of Chicacole to join him in opposing the entry of the French. From the alliance, he was, shortly afterwards seduced by the offer of Bussy to give him a lease of the two Circars of Chicacole and Rajahmundry at a very favourable rate. Jafar Ali then called in the Marathas to his aid. They devastated these two Circars from end to end and returned with an enormous booty. Jafar Ali had courted the alliance of the English at that date; and he did not allow his allies to molest the English factory at Vizagapatam while they were permitted to plunder the Dutch factory at Bimlipatam. Moracin, the French

named Tandrapapiah, a sirdar of the fort at Razam. Two members of the Bobbili family escaped from the massacre; namely Ranga Rao's brother, Vengal Ranga Rao, and his infant son, Venkataranga Rao, who was usually known as Chinna Ranga Rao. They fled to Badrachalam and returned after the French occupation was superseded by British and got possession of the fort at Razam. According to our Diarist, Vijayaramaraju was born in the year, Sarvadhari, and died in Dhatu in his 49th year. His estate extended over 40 killas and many temples; and his full title was Sri Pusappatti Mastamandala Raya Manne Sultan; and he had the right of pearl umbrellas and the fish-standard.

administrator of Masulipatam, not having sufficient troops with him to reduce the united forces of Vijayaramaraju and Jafar Ali, had to seduce the Raja by the very favourable leases for two circars offered. Orme says that this temptation was most effective. When Jafar Ali allowed the Dutch factory of Bimlipatam to be plundered and burnt by the Marathas, Moracin detached all the forces he had, about 150 Europeans and 2,500 sepoys, to join Vijayaramaraju. There was a big battle at Tummampalam, near Anakapalle, between the Marathas and Vijayaramaraju. The fight was maintained irregularly for several hours but at last the Marathas had to give way before the fire of the French artillery. They tarried some days longer in the neighbourhood and then crossed the Godavari at a ford which they had discovered and retreated through the Circars of Ellore and Kondavidu. In July 1754, Bussy came from Hyderabad to Masulipatam and thence went over to Rajahmundry where he settled the details of administration of all the new French acquisitions. Jafar Ali Khan could not expect any further help from the Marathas and, having no other resource left, threw himself upon the mercy of Salabat Jang. During the months of Bussy's troubles caused by the crisis of his rupture with Salabat Jang in the summer of 1756, his orders on the revenues of the Circars were generally dishonoured by the renters and the poligars, to whom it had been publicly notified by the Nizam's *darbar* that the grant of the Circars to the French had been resumed. Even Bussy's own governor of Chicacole, Ibrahim Khan, disavowed his authority. The only leading chief who continued to be faithful to Bussy and assured him of his regular payment of tribute was Vijayaramaraju. "One night, when little expected, and most wanted, a man came to Charmaul, and, being permitted to speak in private with Mr. Bussy, delivered with the message of Vizayaram Raz a sum of gold, as much as he could carry concealed under his garments. It was sufficient for the present want, and the same man afterwards furnished more as necessary." (Orme, Vol. II, p. 103).

Bussy arrived at Rajahmundry in the third week of December 1756, with the object of collecting the balances due in the Circars and providing for the future regularity of the payment of dues. On the approach of the French and dreading punishment for his ingratitude, Ibrahim Khan, the Faujdar of Chicacole, fled away to Aurangabad. Vijayaramaraju, confident in the proofs that he had given of his attachment to Bussy, met him with a large army and with several other loyal chiefs.

After the tragedy of Bobbili, Bussy proceeded through the northernmost part of the Chicacole circar; and at one time he even talked of marching to the aid of Siraju'd Daula in Bengal through Cuttack; but he heard of the continuous successes of the English in Bengal, and of their capture of Chandranagore and therefore abandoned that plan and resolved upon immediate retaliation by attacks on the English factories in the Circars.

3. THE MARATHAS IN THE CARNATIC

The Diarist noted that the Peishwa encamped in the beginning of April, about 4 or 5 leagues from Seringapatam, as the Raja of Mysore had invited him to seize and imprison the Dalavayi and the Sarvadhikari, with the promise of giving him half the kingdom and a daily allowance of Rs. 15,000. The Peishwa seized the fort of Sira, whose Nawab, Dilawar Khan, was given a *jaghir*. Dilawar Khan was the last of the Mughal governors of Sira⁴ who played a prominent part in many of the contests between the rivals of the throne of Deccan.

Subsequently the Diarist heard that the Rajah of Mysore who had adopted Nanja Rajah's son had marched with him to Satyamangalam with 2,000 horse. Nanja Rajah had removed the Brahmin minister whom he had previously imprisoned, to the fort of Seringapatam and declared that if the Peishwa should approach, he would kill the Dorai and even the Brahmin ministers and others.

4. Sira attained its highest prosperity under Dilawar Khan and is said to have contained 50,000 houses. An elegant palace erected by him, now all ruined, was the model on which those of Bangalore and Seringapatam came to be built. A fine garden was also made, called the Khan Bagh, which was kept up by Haidar and may have suggested the Lal Bagh at Bangalore. The ruins of a large quarter, to which tradition assigns the name of Latapura, may yet be seen to the north-west of the fort.

Sira itself was founded by one, Rangappa Nayak, early in the 16th century, "the selection of the site being due, as is commonly related of other forts in the country, to the turning of a hare upon the hounds in pursuit". It was captured by Randulla Khan, the Bijapuri general, whose lieutenant, Malik Husein, was appointed its governor (*cir.* 1638). Malik Husein completed the fort that had been already begun by Rangappa Nayak. Mughal rule was established over it after the conquest of Bijapur in 1687; and Sira became the capital of the new province, composed of the districts south of the Tungabhadra. Kasim Khan, its first Mughal governor, introduced the Mughal revenue system; and his successor, Khadfiyat Khan, was an equally good ruler.

and then kill himself. The news was that about 40,000 of the Peishwa's horse had taken possession of the country as far as Kolar, and that the Peishwa would encamp at Arcot in the course of the year after conquering Mysore.

The Peishwa was later on reported to have concluded peace with Mysore and departed northwards and that the fort of Seringapatam was closed for ten days and nobody was allowed to go by the orders of Nanja Rajah. The Marathas had already conquered Sira. They now demanded *chauth* from the Nawab of Cuddapah and when he resisted them, they attacked his fort, slew him and occupied his country. Balwanta Rao Mehendale is reported by the Diarist in the last days of August as halting in the Kadappanattam⁵ forest near Vellore, with 10 or 15,000 horse and as having sent the major portion of his troops to seize Madanapalle, Gurramkonda, etc., under the Cuddapah man(?). Hearing this, Nawab Abdul Nabi Khan of Cuddapah marched against Balwanta Rao with five or six thousand horse; and the latter had decided to rejoin with his followers the main body of his army, where it lay encamped, after worshipping the God in Tirupati. Balwant Rao was in general charge of the Maratha operations in the country from Cuddapah to Bednur. According to the *Peshwa Daftar Selections No. 28—Peshwa Balajirao Karnatak Affairs, 1740–1761*, Mehendale gave a sum of money to Murari Rao Ghorepade for expenditure on his troops, enforced payments from the dowager Rani of Bednore and tried hard to speed up the work of realizing the tributes due from the Rajah of Mysore, giving him no quarter. Letter No. 198 in that book conveys the congratulations of the Peshwa to Balwant Rao Mehendale at Cuddapah, heartily congratulating him on his victory over Nawab Abdul Majid Khan, who was killed in action with the Marathas on the 24th September 1757, and also congratulating all those who made special exertions in the fight.⁶ This victory of Balwant Rao was gained over the Pathan chiefs.

5. Kadapanattam is about 35 miles, W.S.W. of Chittore and at the head of Talapolla Ghat. It had 2 forts and was formerly the head-quarters of a taluk.

6. A great difficulty is experienced in arriving at an accurate list of the Nawabs of Cuddapah. Mr. J. D. B. Gribble has the following note. (*Manual of Cuddapah District, 1875*).

"At the commencement of the eighteenth century, the then Cuddapah Nabob was a man of considerable influence. This was Abdool Nabbee Khan,

The Diarist notes how Arcot was struck with consternation by the arrival of the Marathas at Cuddapah; and Nawab Muhammad Ali, apprehending the incursions of some of the parties into its neighbourhood, sent the women and children of his family to Madras for safety. According to Orme, Cuddapah surrendered after a struggle, on the 15th of July; while a strong detachment of the Marathas invested Ambur from which they levied contributions and their parties scoured the valley of Vaniyambadi quite upto the gates of Vellore. His agent, Amrit Rao, negotiated with the Nawab, soon reached Arcot, demanded four lakhs as arrears due from the subah, consented to take two lakhs in ready money and the Nawab's rescripts or orders on the killedars of the forts and the poligars for 2½ lakhs more.

Murari Rao had accompanied Balaji Rao in his expedition to Seringapatam. Balwant Rao was opposed, when he attacked and took Hoskote, by all the Pathan Nawabs, who now proposed

who consolidated under his exclusive rule the districts of Sidhout, Gandikota, Cumbum, Gurramkonda, and Punganoor, and even extended his conquest as far as the Baramahal, from which he only retired after levying heavy requisitions from the Seringapatam treasury. The rule of the Cuddapah Nabob appears to have lasted for some time over Baramahal, for when in 1759 Hyder overran that district, we find him, for the first time, coming into collision with the Cuddapah Nabob. This rise of power in Cuddapah was, however, temporary, and, though we find the Cuddapah Nabob playing an important part in the Carnatic affairs in 1750, the superior strength of Hyder soon effectually destroyed his influence. I would wish before leaving this era to give a list of the Cuddapah Nabobs, but the absence of any trustworthy data renders this very difficult. The first Nabob is said to have been Abdool Nabbee Khan, the grand-father of the man of the same name whom I mentioned as conquering Punganoor in 1714. This would probably bring the origin of the family to about 1640 or 1650, but it is clear that there must have been several chiefs previous to that time, for the Mahomedan rule was established soon after the battle of Tellicoottah in 1564. Abdool Nabbee Khan may, however, have been the first of a new family. If this was the case, the second is unknown. The third was Abdool Nabbee Khan before mentioned, who had ceased to rule at all events before 1732, when we find an inscription speaking of his son Mahazid Khan as the Nabob. When this man died he left an infant son, and the Nabobship appears to have been assumed by his brother Mahasim Khan. Elsewhere this Nabob appears to be called Moochee Meer and was killed in 1751, when he was succeeded by his nephew Abdool Alim Khan, the son of the former Nabob. This prince was the last of his race, and was conquered by Hyder Ali in 1780." C. P.

See also Brown—*An Ephemeris etc., from A.D. 1751 to 1851.*—p. VII—under 1747—Abdul Nabikhan Mayana.

that all of them should combine in an alliance with the English, the Nawab of Arcot and the Mysoreans, not only to oppose the Marathas at present, but to prevent future Maratha incursions to the south of the Krishna in the future. In this Murari Rao had taken the lead; and both Murari Rao and the Nawab of Cuddapah had offered to march against Balwant Rao at Kadappanattam if the English troops would join them there. The English Government could spare no troops and was in reality as much afraid of them as they were of the Marathas entering the province. They therefore resolved to procrastinate the negotiations with Amrit Rao who was invited to come to Madras along with the Nawab. Amrit Rao soon saw that the English merely wanted to gain time till supplies of information from Europe should reach them as to the outbreak of war with France and strongly protested against the evasion; and finally it was agreed that 3,000 Maratha horse should immediately join the troops at Conjeevaram and proceed with them to attack the French army. Meanwhile Balwant Rao despatched a contingent to capture the villages in the neighbourhood of Gooty and to collect the revenue. Balwant Rao was later on very much agitated about the arrival of French ships at Pondicherry in September. Even in December we find that Balwant Rao had not yet finished his task at Cuddapah. The Nawab of Cuddapah had taken a very prominent part not only in the events leading to the assassination of Nasir Jang but also in the subsequent tragedy of the murder of Muzaffar Jang.

The Diarist tells us at some length of the reception given to Mir Namatullah Khan, the trooper who brought the presents from Balaji Rao Peishwa to Pondicherry. The accompanying message said that although the Carnatic *chauth* had not yet been paid as promised, no demands had been made out of regard for M. Bussy, but there should be no delay any longer. The Mir Sahib is said to have said that everyone knew that the Muhammadans kept no promise at all, but the Europeans always did and therefore they should see by their conduct that the belief was justified.

Amrit Rao set out in the end of June with about 1,000 horse, left 400 horse in Vellore and thereabouts and approached Arcot with 600 horse; and upon learning this, Muhammad Ali went out to receive him (Entry for July 22nd). A little later we read that Murtaza Ali Khan received Amrit Rao, gave him a feast and was arranging about *chauth* and that the Maratha would

go later to Muhammad Ali at Arcot who was expecting him and had prepared lodgings. Amrit Rao's horse plundered the country as far as Vaniyambadi, Ambur, Tiruppattur and Virinchipuram. At last when Amrit Rao actually reached Arcot, he entered into an agreement with Muhammad Ali for 8 lakhs of rupees, 5 lakhs on the mortgage of the countries and 3 lakhs on mortgages with the killedars. Muhammad Ali promised to send him some money as soon as he should reach Madras by way of Conjeevaram. The Diarist thus remarks on the situation of Muhammad Ali: "I conclude from this agreement of Muhammad Ali Khan and his departure, that he is like betel-nut in a nut-cutter, for about 15,000 of the Nana's horse are at Satghar, Amrit Rao is near at hand with 1,000 more, and the French army is close by, engaging the English. He therefore, thinking that there would be danger in resistance, sent his wife to Madras and Mylapore, and himself entered into this agreement in order to escape. I do not think that he is sincere."

Amrit Rao proceeded along with Muhammad Ali to Madras, where he was encamped at Tiruvottiyur; and the Nawab agreed to pay him something so that he might help him instead of withdrawing his 1,000 horse. The Diarist also heard that the merchants and rich men at Madras were sending their property away to Pulicat and other places for safety and they greatly feared that the disaster of 1746 would befall them again.

In this connection, the Diarist gives us a realistic account of the demolition of the Old Town in Madras. The French who were in occupation of Madras for three years down to August 1749, planned to retain it permanently; and they demolished the Indian houses of Black Town which adjoined the north wall of the fort and formed a glacis with the debris; thus the southern half of the Black Town, along with its walls and the Company's garden-house in Peddanaickenpetta, were demolished by them for the better protection of the fort from the fire of an enemy. The old pagoda in Black Town which now stood by itself and the remaining portion of Old Black Town were pulled down in 1757 and the debris was utilised for the rebuilding of the fort. Thus Old Black Town ceased to exist; and the name was now given to the two suburbs of Muthialpetta and Peddanaickenpetta that had grown up respectively to the north and west of it. The Diarist naturally makes much of the reported destruction of the existing houses in Old Black Town. The Perumal Pagoda must have come down forthwith. The Diarist's note on this is as

follows: "When the French formerly captured Madras and hoisted their flag, the Perumal temple, the Iswaran temple and all the houses up to Sunguvar's house were allowed to stand. Their destruction has now been ordered and the fact was published by beat of tom-tom. So the merchants went to Mr. Pigot (the Governor) and asked him how he could destroy such ancient temples. He replied, 'The town is in danger and it is therefore necessary to demolish them. If you agree quietly, well and good; if not, I shall send men to destroy them'! Thinking that it was no use seeking to bargain with him, they requested him to give them a month within which to remove the idols from the temples before their destruction and to find houses elsewhere. He refused this, but gave them 15 days. When the French captured the town before and hoisted their flag, half the town was destroyed and now the whole will go to ruin, and the name of Madras will be forgotten. At first the town was very prosperous; then it lost half its greatness; and now the very name of the town will disappear; therefore the time has come to destroy the remaining houses".⁷

4. THE FRENCH CAPTURE OF VIZAGAPATAM (1757)

Bussy was said to have been checked by a strong poligar on his way north to Bengal and had returned to Chicacole with great loss. This was the news that the Diarist heard about the middle of May. Early in June the news reported by the Diarist was that Bussy had appointed Law to the governorship of Ellore and Rajahmundry and directed him to take possession of all the English ports, Vizagapatam, Melapalle, Kapulapalayam, Kopagiri and Bandarmalanka at the mouth of the Godavari and ordered the white flag to be hoisted in these places.

"M. Law therefore obtained the assistance of Reddi Polavaram Raja, Mangapati Devu, Nuvugidu Appa Rao, Mugalturru Venkata Raja, Peddavaram Jagapati Raja, etc., zamindars, with their large armies, including Europeans, artillery and munitions of war and commanders, and having halted near Yanam, he sent out detachments which captured Melapalle, Kapulapalaiyam, etc., factories belonging to the English situated east of Yanam and mentioned above, and ordered the French flag to be hoisted there. He then despatched an army to attack Mr. Andrews, captain of

7. (Refer also to H. D. Love—*Vestiges of Old Madras*; Vol. II, Chapter xxxviii. pp. 526-527).

the English troops holding the fortress in the port of Bandamurlanka, situated four leagues south of Yanam.⁸ The English captain fled after fighting for one day, so our troops removed the English flag and hoisted the white flag. As M. Bussy has ordered M. Law to march with his army towards the English port of Vizagapatam, which was to be attacked jointly, M. Law would proceed thither. This is the news which Pir Muhammad has heard from the messengers. By the Hindu science of astrology, it was foretold that in the year Isvara, all the English ports would pass into the hands of the French who would hoist the white flag in them. Accordingly the English forts and ports are falling into French hands, and all may rest assured that all places, from England in Europe to Madras and Fort St. David in India, will pass into French hands. I am sure that this will happen." (Entry for Monday, June 5th).

The French captured the English factory at Vizagapatam on June 26th; and Mr. Smith, its governor, two Councillors, 200 soldiers and some officers were also captured. One Frenchman was killed; and all the councillors, soldiers and others were imprisoned by the French captain. The reduction of Vizagapatam was reserved for himself by Bussy; but being sure of his prize he remained at Chicacole until he had settled the affairs of that circar. On the 24th of June, the van of Bussy's army appeared before Vizagapatam.

According to our Diarist, it was Law that marched with an army from Bussy's camp to attack the fort. He said that Law has hoisted the French flag and captured Smith, the English commander (Entry for July 17 and 18, 1757). Orme says that on the same day that the van of Bussy's army appeared in sight, the English Company's ship, *Marlborough*, anchored in the road; and the Chief Engineer of Madras who was then on board the ship, on his way to Bengal, landed, inspected the fortifications and gave it as his opinion that the extent of the fort could not be defended even with a much greater force; he advised there-

8. The English had attempted (very vainly) to secure concessions on the northern coast in order to protect their trade from the consequences of the French occupation of the Circars, and their expulsion from Masulipatam. But they had neither troops nor fortifications worth the name, even at Vizagapatam. Andrews was the covenanted servant in charge of these temporary factories, not a soldier as Ranga Pillai seems to suppose. (Dodwell).

fore that all the Europeans should be immediately embarked and the sepoy, with two or three officers, should be left to make the best capitulation they could; but all the boats and fishermen had deserted in the night and it was very difficult for people to go out into the sea, the wind being so strong. The next day at noon, the main body of Bussy's army asked the English to surrender and the capitulation of the place was signed in the night. All the Europeans whether troops or inhabitants were to be prisoners of war. The sepoy and natives were free to go where they liked. All the Company's property became the spoils of the victors, but Bussy gave back whatsoever property that anyone claimed as his own. He permitted Mr. Perceval, the chief of the factory, and several other officers to proceed by the *Marlborough* that was then anchored at Bimlipatam, to Bengal. Evidently the Diarist confused Smith, a factor at the place, with Perceval, the chief.

The despatch of the Select Committee at Madras to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, dated July 30, 1757 says that a peon from Vizagapatam reported that Bussy appeared before it on June 24, that the *Marlborough* anchored there on the 25th and that it surrendered on the 26th of June. The *Marlborough* sailed immediately for Bengal with Perceval, the Chief of Vizagapatam and others on board and the French were now able to control all the coast from Bunder to Vizagapatam. There was a great deal of rejoicing at Pondicherry over the capture of Vizagapatam. The Diarist heard on August 3, 1757 that Bussy was at Vizagapatam with a very large body of men and Mr. Perceval had agreed in writing that the custom about the bearing of arms by those taken in war should be observed and that they should be ready to appear when required and then the officers were allowed to depart.

The other English factories in the circars had been seized by this time. Early in May the factory at Madapollam was captured; but its Chief, Andrews contrived to send away all the Company's goods by sea before its capture. He himself retired to the Dutch factory at Palakollu but was obliged to surrender himself to the French. Nellipalli and Bandarmalanka were seized shortly afterwards. The Diarist reporting in one place that "Our people seized Bandamurlanka and another port and sent to Masulipatam those whom they had seized." The capture of Vizagapatam formed the crowning act of the French for the year. From Vizagapatam the French army proceeded to Rajahmundry where it stayed, for some time. Then it moved northwards to

keep under control the refractory poligars who showed a tendency to resist.⁹

5. MILITARY AFFAIRS IN THE CARNATIC COUNTRY— A RESUME OF EVENTS FROM 1755 TO 1757.

We saw that Colonel Heron's expedition to the south was questioned by De Leyrit as a breach of the truce with Godeheu, because the southern districts belonged to the French in virtue of various rights derived from Chanda Sahib and the Dalavayi of Mysore. Heron marched for Madura in February-March 1755. A few days later came the news that the Mysoreans had left Srirangam, perhaps with the aim of assisting the rebellious poligars against the English; and so, early in April, Heron was ordered to return to Trichinopoly without delay. Meanwhile, he had marched without opposition to Tinnevely from which he sent out two detachments to compel the poligars of that district to settle their accounts. Even when Heron had received the orders to return to Trichinopoly, he turned aside at the request of Mahfuz Khan to attack Pulithevar in his fort, as that poligar was the only one who had not submitted. But finding that he could not take the place even with the help of heavy guns, Heron returned to Madura and subsequently to Trichinopoly in June 1755, having lost a part of

9. (Orme. Vol. II, p. 261). "In consequence of his orders the Europeans he had left in garrison at Rajahmundrum, when joined by more from Masulipatam, marched against the factories of Madapollam, Bandermaalanka, and Ingeram, which stand near the sea on three different arms of the Godavari. The natives here weave excellent cloths at cheap rate, and the three factories annually furnished 700 bales for the Company's market in England. Ingeram only had soldiers, and only 20, and all the three factories surrendered on the first requisition. The reduction of Vizagapatam, as being nearer, Mr. Bussy reserved to himself; but being sure of his prize, remained in the city of Chicacole until he had settled the affairs of this government."

(*The Madras Despatches 1754-1765*, p. 102). "The superiority the French in the North has proved fatal to the English settlements. On hearing from Calland of the French approach, Andrews removed most of the Company's effects from Madapollam on his private sloop which proceeded first to Vizagapatam and thence to Bengal. He sent all the military to protect Nallapalle, but they were intercepted. He himself took refuge in the Dutch factory at Palicol, but had to surrender. The fortifications and buildings at Nallapalle were completely destroyed. Madapollam, Ingeram, Bandarmalanka, and Sankarapalaiyam are now in French possession, and it is rumoured that Vizagapatam also surrendered to Bussy on June 26. The Marlborough is reported to have touched at Vizagapatam the day before its surrender."

his baggage in a surprise attack by the Kallars in the Natham Pass. An official inquiry was held on Heron's conduct. He was suspended from his seat on the Council and tried by court martial.

The Nawab, Muhammad Ali, entered Arcot in triumph with English troops as his escort, about the end of August; but as the Arcot poligars were in heavy arrears of tribute to him, he requested the English Government for military assistance and was urged, in return, to transfer the management of certain countries to the Company. The Nawab objected to this course on the ground of the loss of his dignity that would result. The Madras Select Committee finally agreed to accept Ponneri and Pedipattu, where the Company's fine cloths were woven and which were worth about 30,000 pagodas a year, on the same terms as Chingleput, in addition to orders for eight lakhs of rupees on the renters of the Arcot countries payable in two instalments. The Nawab also promised to settle the Company's share of the rent before he gave any cowle to the renters, many of whom were expected to be selected from the principal inhabitants of Madras. The Nawab also promised to give the English half the revenues of Madura and Tinnevely, though nothing could be expected from them immediately on account of the cost of the troops still in the field against the poligars of those regions and also half the amount of the tributes paid by all the poligars under him. An English agent, a member of the Secret Committee, William Percival, was to accompany the Nawab and be present at all his transactions with the poligars or their vakils and to receive the Company's half of the tribute. The Nawab's government was in an unsettled condition. Half the province was in French hands and several prominent killedars pretended independence of the Nawab on one ground or another, the most notable among them being Murtaza Ali Khan of Vellore.

Salabat Jang entered the Mysore country with Bussy in March, and collected 33 lakhs of rupees before he departed from that kingdom. The Mysoreans withdrew from Srirangam in the latter part of March, probably on account of Salabat Jang's incursion into their very state.

The English had to interfere in order to restore some lands seized from the Rajah of Tanjore by the Marava of Ramnad; and there was some likelihood of a war breaking out between the Tanjore Rajah and the Tondaman of Pudukottah on account of two forts made over to the latter by Manoji Appa, the general of Tanjore.

The army that was sent to accompany the Nawab for the collection of arrears of tribute, finished its business with reference to the demands made on Bangaru Yachama Naick and on the zamindar of Bommarajapalayam.

By reason of the threats of De Leyrit, the English captain of the troops with the Nawab was asked to repulse force by force, should the French support the Arcot poligars. Fortunately they did not do so. The English forces were strengthened with additional troops sent from Madras, in order to support the Nawab's demands on Murtaza Ali Khan of Vellore and marched on that fort towards the end of January. Governor Pigot of Madras now got a letter of remonstrance from De Leyrit, disputing the Nawab's claim of suzerainty over Vellore and threatening to oppose the English Company's intervention. The English captain was even informed by the Select Committee that, if the French should march to the help of Murtaza Ali—information having been received that 300 French and 300 sepoy had left Pondicherry in the course of January (1756)—he might summon them to retire and if they refused, might attack them. Murtaza Ali's wakil made overtures with the English at Madras for an accommodation; and Orme was sent to negotiate with him by reason of his knowledge of the Muhammadan language. The Faujdar had agreed to pay one lakh of pagodas if the English troops should retire and the Secret Committee at once ratified and returned the agreement to him. Meanwhile Orme's arrival induced the Faujdar to hope that better terms could be had and he thereupon refused to fulfil his agreement and refused to treat with anyone but Orme. The Faujdar would not listen at all to Orme's remonstrances; and the latter had to return to Madras; and all the while a body of 700 Frenchmen and 1500 sepoy lay threateningly between Gingee and Chetpattu, some 35 miles from Vellore.

In the southern Carnatic, Mahfuz Khan who was the Nawab's deputy, delayed the payment of his balance of over a lakh and a quarter on pretext of very heavy expenses incurred by him in defending the country against his poligars.

Murtaza Ali of Vellore, Nizar Muhammad Khan of Chetpattu and Mir Sahib of Elavanasur were the only chiefs who remained practically independent of Nawab Muhammad Ali. Mir Sahib threatened to call in the French if any troops should be sent against him. The English felt that it was not safe to attempt to reduce these chiefs so long as a French army was in their neigh-

bourhood. They advised the Nawab to make a general defensive alliance offered by the Nawab of Cuddapah. The English claimed that, under the provisional treaty of 1754, they were entitled to assist Muhammad Ali to collect the tributes due from the poligars dependent on the Nizamat of Arcot. The French contended that only the Nizam, Salabat Jang, could say properly who was the Nawab of Arcot. The French correspondence on the subject is contained in the *Military Sundry Books* of the Madras Records. De Leyrit contended further that the truce of Godeheu was confined only to the Carnatic and that while the French were at liberty to help Salabat Jang in the Deccan, the English might not in their turn help Muhammad Ali in the south. The English naturally said that this argument would justify their immediate interference in the Deccan as against Bussy. On this point hung the plans projected by the Madras Council in consultation with the Bombay Committee for an expedition into the Deccan to destroy French influence at Salabat Jang's court.

With regard to the long-disputed rights over certain villages in the Karunguzhi taluk, a personal conference between De Leyrit and Pigot was actually proposed. We get occasional glimpses from the Diarist about these transactions and about the French commissaries purposely dragging on the negotiations regarding the contested places. The French fortified Villianur and Porto Novo upon which De Leyrit was asked to reduce them to their former state.

Muhammad Ali had made over to the English the revenues of Madura and Tinnevely, the collection of which was leased out to Titarappa Mudali for three years on an average of twelve lakhs per year, half of which was to be paid over to the Company, as agreed to by the Nawab. The Madras Government was anxious, as we saw above, in the year 1756, to send an expedition into the Deccan to counteract French influence. They received in the middle of June Salabat Jang's request for help after he had dismissed Bussy. But a few weeks later, came the news of the loss of Kassimbazaar and of the imminent danger to Calcutta from Siraju'd Daula, and Major Killpatrick was immediately sent to Bengal with about 250 troops. But when Salabat Jang made a fresh request for help, the Madras Committee again resolved to continue the Deccan expedition. However, when in the course of August, news came of the loss of Calcutta and all the Company's settlements in Bengal, the Deccan plan had to be completely abandoned. July and August of that year saw also the crisis in Bussy's

relation with Nizam and his ultimate triumph over and reconciliation with the Nizam.

Two Europe ships arrived at Pondicherry in April and a third in June ; and it was feared that more help might come from Europe to Pondicherry after the monsoon. The Madras Government hoped to finish the Bengal affair before news was received of the expected declaration of war with France and to recall Clive and his troops for the defence of Madras after war should have been declared.

The second Madras expedition to Bengal was despatched, consisting of the Company's troops under Clive. The army which was despatched to Vellore continued to remain at Arcot. On complaints from the Nawab that the Tinnevely poligars were still resisting Mahfuz Khan, it was decided to send the sepoy commandant, Yusuf Khan, with 1,000 troops from Trichinopoly to Mahfuz Khan's help. On Yusuf Khan's arrival the rebels dispersed ; but he could not be recalled owing to the suspicious conduct of Mahfuz Khan, who would not deliver the country to the renter Titarappa Mudali, but stayed on at Madura and turned out the Company's sepoys from the fort there. Mahfuz Khan declared, in justification of his attitude, that his discharged troops would not allow them to leave Madura till their arrears had been paid and that it was they and not himself that had turned out the Company's sepoys and he could not control their action. Caillaud, the English commandant at Trichinopoly, was asked to settle this affair.

In the course of 1756, the Nawab did not stir out of Arcot. Murtaza Ali was in ostensible friendship with the English and demanded from them permanent exemption from the tributes to the Nawab. The English also remained nominally friendly with the killedars of Chetpattu and Elavanasur. They established an alliance with Balaji Rao Peishwa who was then engaged in his Karnatak expedition and promised to send a detachment to his camp to be maintained at his expense.

No reply was received from Balaji Rao till September. Then he wrote that as he had settled the affair of Savanur, he did not need British troops at once, but he would visit the Carnatic after the monsoon, when he desired that the British troops should be ready to join him. At the same time, the Madras Council attempted to negotiate a treaty with the King of Mysore for the recovery of the Company's debt. But Mysore had been bled twice by the Marathas and once by Salabat Jang and was moreover torn by civil

war. A correspondence however was kept up with it through Orme. A friendly correspondence was also kept up with the Nawab of Cuddapah.

The disputes between the English and the French over the taluk of Karunguzhi and the neighbourhood continued. De Leyrit, however, suspended the fortifications of Porto Novo and Villianallur on receiving the English complaint, but would not demolish what had already been built.

On November 12, 1756, news was received of the declaration of war with France and it was immediately communicated to all the garrisons in Bengal. The Madras Government when it sent Clive to Bengal, had reserved the power to recall him in the event of war with France. This was necessary in view of the danger of the English situation in the Presidency. At the end of the year 1756, it was felt that the northern settlements were under the grave risk of being lost and the possessions in Arcot were barely defensible. Madura was actually possessed and Tinnevely was threatened by rebels. Towards the end of October, Bussy and Law went to the Northern Circars, but Vizagapatam was then protected by a warship in the roads and it was thought that the French might not attack the northern settlements, lest the English should attempt reprisals and prevent them from collecting their revenues as usual. The Nawab again wanted that the English should attack the killedars of Chetpattu, Eravanasur etc. But nothing was done lest the French might come into the field with equal forces. Mahfuz Khan was again troublesome and Caillaud was ordered to march to Madura to undertake the Sisyphus task of bringing him round ; while Orme's secret negotiation with Mysore did not produce any results. Meanwhile the strengthening of the walls and bastions of Fort St. George went on. Colonel Forde with about 100 Europeans and 300 sepoys went to assist the Nawab's army to expel Najibullah Khan, a brother of the Nawab and renter of Nellore who had refused to pay his rents. News came that D'Auteuil with 200 Frenchmen, was advancing to attack Mir Sahib, the killedar of Elavanasur, on account of his devastation of the French districts. The party was repulsed near the fort, on April 2, by Mir Sahib ; but as the latter died, a few days after this attack, of a wound which he had received, and as D'Auteuil had received reinforcements from Pondicherry, the late killedar's brother abandoned the fort and left the French to occupy it on April 13. Having been warned that the French disputes over Elavanasur, Udaiyarpalaiyam, etc., were only to be utilised as a justification to cover a sudden attack

on Trichinopoly, the Madras Committee, on April 11, ordered a party of 50 men thither from Fort St. David, and warned Caillaud to remain near Madura, so that he might return immediately to Trichinopoly if necessary. D'Auteuil moved from Elavanasur to Vriddhachalam where he was joined by men despatched from all the French garrisons. He marched on May 4, and on May 7 was repulsed in an attack on Udaiyarpalaiyam. Having agreed with the poligar for the payment of a sum of money, on May 11, he moved so rapidly on Trichinopoly that on the next day his advance guard was enabled to pitch camp Srirangam.

The Diarist's note on the capture of Elavanasur is as follows:—As for Elavanasur, the fort was said to have been captured by Aumont who advanced against it from Tirukkivilur. Mir Abdul Rahman, i.e., the Mir Sahib, fled the country. It was even reported that in the first day's fight, a shot struck Mir Sahib and he was expected to die. D'Auteuil was said to have written to the Governor that Mir Sahib had died of his wounds and his younger brother and others departed with their horse and families and goods, while 10 men from the fort of Tyagar (Tyagadrug) in the vicinity hoisted the English flag at Elavanasur, saying that they were for the English. D'Auteuil, Aumont and others marched to the fort, removed the English flag and hoisted the French flag. On hearing of the fall of Elavanasur, the killedar of Chetpattu wrote to Nawab Muhammad Ali and hoisted the white flag, thus making it appear that it had passed into their possession. Mir Sahib's women and others were seized and imprisoned."

To return to the narrative:—D'Auteuil who marched from Elavanasur to Srirangam took his post at Worur, but the English thought that the reinforcements from Fort St. David were quite enough for the defence of the fort of Trichinopoly. D'Auteuil had about 800 Frenchmen and 2,000 sepoys with him. It was rumoured that about 300 of the French troops were planning to join the rebels of Madura. The English determined that they would send as much available reinforcements to Trichinopoly as was possible in the circumstances, especially since the French had drained all their garrisons to supply D'Auteuil with men. Colonel Forde's men from Nellore, Polier's company of Swiss troops and the sepoys and troops from Karunguzhi were to make up the reinforcements. The French abandoned Uttaramallur to Polier, though it was shortly afterwards retaken by them. It was suggested that Forde should, on his way south, retake and demolish Uttaramallur and if possible capture the garrison. It was even planned that if Caillaud

could get into Trichinopoly and engage the French, Adlercorn who was sent with the Madras troops, was to reduce the French strongholds to the south. If the French should return from Trichinopoly to Pondicherry by land, Adlercorn was to engage them if he should feel confident of success.

Caillaud failed to secure Madura by the escalade attempt that he made on it, while Forde, having breached and taken Nellore, joined Adlercorn. Adlercorn was asked subsequently to reduce Wandiwash. It was expected that he would be joined by Nawab's troops and by those of the killedars of Chetpattu. The principal object of Adlercorn's movements was the removal of D'Auteuil; and it was effected by the arrival of the news of the English capture of Chandranagore on receipt of which D'Auteuil was straightway withdrawn to Pondicherry and Adlercorn was directed to return to Madras in order to avoid the expense of keeping up troops in the field.

The Chevalier de Soupire and the Chevalier de Dure, his second, arrived at Pondicherry with the Regiment of Lorraine and a company of artillery on September 9, 1757; and they were received with all honours by De Leyrit and the Council. The Diarist tells us that he heard from Mahe that eight Europe ships were sighted off that place and that they were probably those of Count de Lally's squadron that was expected soon. In reality they were the squadron of Bouvet that brought the troops of Soupire. Bouvet returned from the Bay almost immediately after he landed the troops, on the ground that he was short of shot and that two of his ships were too high in the water even as it was, the shot being used as ballast in them. Mr. Dodwell says that his return was really due to his fear of being caught up by the approaching monsoon. Soupire was definitely instructed not to interfere with the administration and trade of Pondicherry and the country. Ranga Pillai continued to entertain hopes, based on the calculations of his Brahman astrologers, that King Louis XV was bound, according to his stars, to conquer the Muhammadan kingdoms in India and that he himself would share the King's prosperity.

The Diarist tells us that Diwan Sampath Rai who was hated by Muhammad Ali, was seized and imprisoned by the English at Madras and sent to Arcot on the ground of his intrigues with Mahfuz Khan and Najibullah Khan. Orme informs us that the Nawab left the government of Arcot when the French troops approached it in September, in the hands of his brother Abdul

Wahab, assisted by Sampath Rai and Abrar Khan, the Bakshi. The confusion in Arcot was then so great that almost everybody was suspected of treason and even Abdul Wahab was not immune from the Nawab's fears of disloyalty; and a party of sepoy seized Sampat Rai and put him in confinement. It was not until a few days had passed that the English could at all restore to Muhammad Ali his peace of mind; but Abdul Wahab Khan, who had retired in like fear of injury to himself from disloyal chiefs, to Chittore, refused to return, began to enlist troops and correspond with the Marathas.

In September, Pondicherry became stronger by about a thousand men owing to Soupire's arrival. This superiority of the French compelled the English to recall troops from the neighbouring country to Madras and also Caillaud, who had taken possession of Madura, to return to Trichinopoly. Soupire began to prepare on October 2nd, for his campaign, along with De Auteuil. The Diarist gives us the news that Barkatullah, the deputy of Mahfuz Khan delivered the fort of Madura to the English for a sum of Rs. 40,000, on the same day when Soupire arrived at Pondicherry. Caillaud evacuated the fort and marched to Trichinopoly, leaving the sepoy commandant, Yusuf Khan, at Madura; and the Diarist tells us that Mahfuz Khan, the Mysore army and Haidar Ali would soon capture the Madura fort. News was also recorded by him that the French captured Chetpattu on the 13th October, capturing its killedar, Nizar Muhammad. A large number of French soldiers must have fallen in the escalade. The French lost many soldiers before Chetpattu where the killedar continued to fight even in the streets after he had lost the fort; and his family then destroyed themselves. Then they occupied Tiruvannamalai which was abandoned on their approach. Then the French army had to return to Pondicherry for the monsoon. Soupire had encamped part of his troops at Valudavur from the beginning of October, with a view to intercept any body of English troops that might be sent from Fort St. David or to prevent any succour from Madras for the killedar, Nizar Muhammad. The main body of his troops remained at Pondicherry, awaiting the arrival of Lally's armament and thus the year 1757 drew towards its close, with the Diarist hoping that Lally would make the French glory shine once more.

Lord Auckland's Civil Undertakings

By

MR. D. B. DISKALKAR, M.A.,

Satara.

LORD Auckland's career as Governor-General of India from March, 1836 to February, 1842 ended in disgrace to him for his terrible failure in the First Afghan War. He has been very severely criticised by Historians as being responsible to drag the honour of England in the dirt and expose India to the most grievous military disaster and the most shameful humiliation she had ever suffered.¹ But apart from his Afghan policy, Lord Auckland proved himself to be a capable ruler and a laborious legislator and devoted himself specially to the improvement of schools, the cultivation of medical service and the expansion of the commercial industries of the nation committed to his care. His visit to the United Provinces during the terrible famine of 1838 and the successful relief measures he sanctioned there mark an epoch in the annals of India. The letter published below will be seen to throw additional light on his many-sided Civil activities intended for the good and progress of India and into the minutest details of which he did not spare any pains to go. It was written by Auckland to W. B. Bayley, one of the Secretaries of State before he received the reports of the disaster to the British army in Afghanistan. It is all in his handwriting and is preserved in the Historical Museum at Satara.

Private.

Calcutta, Jan. 17th 1841.

My dear Sir,

I have to thank you for your letters of October, 5 and November. 4. The route of Constantinople² has not hitherto been rapid,

1. V. A. Smith's Oxford History of India, 1923, p. 672.

2. This must have been due to the war between Egypt and Turkey. In 1840 Muhammad Ali, the Sultan of Egypt with the ambition of throwing off the Turkish allegiance, seized Syria and marched upon Constantinople. France helped the Sultan. England anxious to maintain the Turkish Empire joined the Emperor and eventually forced the Sultan of Egypt to give back Syria and submit to the Emperor as settled by the Convention of the Straits. See Historians' History of the World, Vol. XXIV, p. 453 ff.

or completely successful. It was only on Christmas day that I received the letters of October, 5 and we may rejoice that the communications by Egypt have not been interrupted. Our last reports from that quarter of Nov. 22nd were highly satisfactory and seemed to promise a rapid settlement of differences. But they still left room for much uneasiness, and the December mail is now due to us, and we are daily looking for further accounts. But I will add a postscript to this letter upon the more important of our political subjects. I have some days yet, before our express for the Bombay Mail will leave Calcutta. You are right in your conjecture that Lt. Loveday had nothing more than a mere personal escort with him at Kelat. The great mistake³ was in the large withdrawal of troops from Quetta to Candahar, but it was done at a time when there were uncertainty and insecurity in many quarters. It is moreover greatly to be lamented that it took place, as no doubt, our weakness in (Thawl?) contributed much to the encouragement of violence, and insurrection amongst the Belooches and our affairs in that quarter have up to this time been in a very unsatisfactory state.

I do not know whether you will yet have received all our correspondence with the Surveyor General and with the Geographical Committee which was appointed some months ago. You will have seen that my opinion of Major Jervis does not materially differ from yours—and I am afraid that Geography and Science will not gain by the substitution of him for Col. Everest.⁴ I am impatient for practical results—and it is not yet explained to me in what manner it is hoped or intended that India shall be mapped for us. Mr. Walker⁵ seems to expect that the Atlas which you are engraving in England will be based on triangulations connected with the meridional lines and spread over the whole continent of India. But this could hardly be accomplished in half a century, and I believe that even Col. Everest limits the operation of his minute survey, to the meridional series, with arms east and west, to the three Presidencies, and to a few other important points. We are inclined here to prefer to a series of meridional lines, one longitudinal, from Delhi (for

3. See my article on some unpublished letters about the First Afghan War published in the *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XII, p. 418.

4. Major James Rennell was the first Surveyor-General of India. He was succeeded by Major Lambton and the latter by Col. Everest in 1823. He continued to work upto 1843. See Markham Clement's *Life of Major James Rennell*, p. 202.

5. He was the author of a six-sheet map of India.

instance) to Assam verified at the point where it may meet a meridional line run north from Calcutta, by a base accurately measured. We conceived that these two lines would give, with the greatest expedition, and at the least expense, sufficient means for verifying and adjusting all the intermediate space. But without insisting upon one course as better than another we are most anxious definitively and specifically to fix the plan on which it is intended to work.

In our works of Lithography, we are far from desirous to appropriate or to detain the original maps and drawings. But we must in all cases keep copies, and but little delay will be caused by transferring them in some instance to stone, or in some cases as in that of various routes taken by officers in Afghanistan in endeavouring to introduce them into a general map. Our most ambitious work was that of the chart of the Bay of Bengal, which did not occupy three months, and of which we have sold nearly 100 copies at 10 Rs. each, much to the advantage of our navigators and the public. I will nevertheless in consequence of what you say, press our Committee carefully to provide that no works which may be begun here, shall interfere with those which may be in progress in England. Your final despatch upon the Local Major Generals has arrived, and will. I trust do much towards putting the question at rest. The question here was for a time discussed in a tone of exaggeration which could not endure. Yet circumstances had occurred, on the other side, which not unnaturally gave alarm to the Company's officers. I am sorry to feel that we have been backward in remittance to you at the same time that you have been most considerably cautious in drawing sparingly upon us—and while the money required up to your demand, has been ready for you in our treasury—but for a time our money market has been in an unsettled state and so long as a war with France has seemed imminent,⁶ the shipment of goods has been in a great measure suspended. I have wished since the receipt of your letter, to lower our rates of exchange, but our accountants have begged us to wait, at least for one other week, before we do so. Your despatch upon Education has not yet arrived, and I could wait no longer for it. I have been glad by your letters to believe that we very nearly agree upon what ought to be done and here the time had arrived, when all, to the very extremes of both parties, Council and Committees of Public

6. See f.n. No. 1. But subsequently France was conciliated by the famous Straits Convention on July 1st 1842.

Instruction Mudrissa and Hindoo College, seemed ready to adopt my plan in good humour and in gratitude—and to exert themselves in giving effect to it. I could not bring myself to incur the hazard of new differences and of new causes of excitement by delay—I hope that, when your despatch arrives, I may find that I have not done wrong—We will immediately act upon your instructions in regard to the gold coin,⁷ and though I should have best liked to indulge the prejudices of this country in favour of pure gold, I have no doubt that the new gold Mohur will, in time, find favour—but our mint would have no custom in gold, if we were to adopt so high a seignorage as two per cent upon gold. Your two assay-masters have arrived. I am sending Mr. Dodd to establish an assay office and depot under the Lieutenant Governor at Agra, and we shall employ Mr. Downes here. You will see that our mint has given us trouble—I have suspended Mr. Curssin and his case will come in some sort, judicially before you, I will say nothing about it and there are doubtful points of management upon which I have called for explanation from Major Forbes, whom I know to be excellent in mechanical science and believe to be most honorably zealous for the public service, but he is slow and wordy in doing business, and often provokes me. I am told however that I shall be satisfied with his report which is nearly ready. I am glad to learn by the last letters from England that Her Majesty's Treasury is not alarmed at our last estimate of the probable expenses of the China expedition,⁸ and that all will be paid. But the account will not easily be settled and you will be obliged to come to some sort of compromise. We have

7 Lord Auckland seems to refer here to proposals about gold coinage which were never given effect to. For we know that no gold coins were struck in the mints of the E. I. Company or of the Government of British India except only for a short time during the great war.

8. On the 5th January 1840 the Emperor of China issued an edict interdicting all trade and intercourse with England for ever. A war ensued. During this war the British took possession of Hongkong on the 26th January 1842. Bogue forts were taken by Sir G. Bremer on the 26th February 1842. Amoy was taken on the 27th August 1842. Subsequently a treaty of peace was signed before Nankin on board the 'Cornwallis' by Sir Henry Pottinger for England and Keying Elepoo and Nen-kien on the part of the Chinese Emperor on the 29th August 1842. Canton, Amoy, Zooshoofoo, Ningpo and Shanghai were thrown open to the British and British Consuls were allowed to reside there. In this connection see Major W. Hough's *Political and Military Events in British India*, Vol. II. p. 183 ff. I have to thank Lt.-Col. M. L. O. Garrett of the Punjab Record Office for this note and some suggestions in my paper.

just been asked whether Indian Batta is payable to all the ships employed on the coast of China. It is, I believe, clearly due to all the officers of the Squadron, but it might be argued that for a portion of the Squadron it will be payable by Her Majesty's Government. We might raise many such questions, but as I have before said, they will probably all be best settled by a liberal compromise. Capt. Tremenhere has arrived here and has brought out the foundation of a Geological Museum. We have obtained room for it at the Asiatic Society, and shall be able I trust at a very small expense greatly to extend his collection, and it will tend to the acquirement of mineralogical information. Our community here however is so fleeting and so occupied that such pursuits cannot be followed with the same consistent efficiency as is found in England. I am sending Capt. Tremenhere to Tenasserim where he will have charge of our public buildings, be Conservator of the Teak forests and give what time he can spare to the prosecution of mineralogical inquiries. You will have received a memorial from Mrs. Helper, widow to Dr. Helper whom we had employed in such researches, and who was murdered in the Andaman Islands. She is personally, as was her husband, well deserving of favour, but her prayer, for the loan of capital, to carry on a speculative enterprise, has been one with which I felt that I could not properly recommend compliance. Yet she bears a high character and is clever and enterprising and I should be glad to give her reasonable encouragement in her project for planting a German Colony at Mergin. Before the death of her husband, she had built houses there, and laid out gardens and imported nutmeg, pepper and other plants. Her brother had joined her from Prussia and a few German families were preparing to come out. She is now in Calcutta and is I believe finding support from some of our married men. I propose so far to encourage her as to give her 4000 acres upon the most favourable terms, of which your orders will admit. Our coal pit, in the hills above Mergui, is producing largely and the coals though not of a superior are said to be of a fair quality; but the part is so little frequented, that freight for their conveyance has only been obtained hitherto at a very high rate. I am printing Dr. Wallich's report upon the Botanical Garden.⁹ He has done much in the interchange of plants between

9. The establishment of a Botanical Garden on the site of the old Fort of Mackwa Tannah at Calcutta was first proposed by Lt. Col. Robert Kyd in his letter to the Supreme Council dated 15th April 1786 as a means towards the prevention of famine and consequent pestilence by the introduction of

India and Europe and other places—though not perhaps quite so much as could be desired, in the application of his position and resources to improvement within India—but this is a province in which our Agricultural and Horticultural Society is labouring most efficiently. I can get nothing yet from Dr. Falconer, but the Lt. Governor has been visiting Saharanpore and has promised me a report upon the garden there. I am told that the nurseries of tea plants in the neighbourhood of Almora are flourishing though I am afraid that sufficient pains have not been taken to distribute them. From Assam I am promised that the plantations of the Government will send home 200 chests of tea this year, and those of the tea Company about 250—and the Directors of the Company assure me, that their quantity will be multiplied twenty fold next year.

I think that I have already thanked you for Dr. Royle's book. It has occurred to me that he should establish a correspondence with Gibraltar and Malta and contrive that parcels of seeds be sent to us by the Autumn Steamers from the south of Spain and of France and Italy. There is a tree bean upon which the cattle are fed in the south of Spain, which would probably succeed in our higher provinces. I forget its Botanical name (*Ceratoia Siliqua*). Col. Taylor could not get it for us from Syria. Dr. Horspila complains that his Museum is not sufficiently cared for, and I am doing something for him, and will do more. He shall have a report upon the subject, which Dr. McLelland is taking up for me with zeal and method, next month—and I have been promised by the Asiatic Society an investigation into all their available stores. I am expecting every day to see here Capt. Bayles and his Armenians—I think that your philosophers are leading us into useless expense on the subject of Lightning Conductors, in consequence of a building, in which gun-powder had been deposited, and which was not a magazine, having been blown up three or four years ago at Dum Dum.

foreign food plants and trees such as Sago and Date palms. See S. C. Hill's *Catalogue of Home Mis. Series of India Office Records*, No. 799 (1). The idea of having a suitable house built for the reception and preservation of the curiosities that were sent from time to time to the Asiatic Society of Bengal from its outset in 1784 was started in 1796 and in 1814 when the Indian Museum, Calcutta regularly founded Dr. Mallick, the Botanist and Superintendent of the Botanical Gardens at Sibpur near Calcutta was appointed its first Curator. See Col. T. H. Hendley's paper on Indian Museums published in the *Journal of Indian Art and Industry* of Jan. 1914 p. 45.

The main argument in favour of saving the expense is that in this country of electric atmosphere, no one of our regularly conducted magazines, has ever been injured by lightning. We have this week had more papers and new projects sent in by Dr. O'shanghnessy, which you shall have next month. In the meantime with a view to ascertain actual cost we may authorise the erection of a good series of conductors, experimentally to some one magazine—I am strongly inclined to ask you to send out no more horses for our studs—For I believe that good horses may be obtained much more cheaply and certainly, by purchase here than by the lottery of importation. The number of fine horses brought to this port from England as well as from Arabia and the Persian Gulf is, every year, greatly increasing—I was not of this opinion three years ago, but our market has greatly improved. We are collecting information upon the effects of sea air and water upon iron vessels, and hope that you are doing the same for us. From all that I can learn, that part of the vessel which is wholly immersed in the water suffers but slowly by rust—and that all which is above it, may be fairly preserved by care, and the frequent application of coal tar, though more likely to suffer in the tropical, than in the other seas.

Mr. Biscoe is retiring from the Sudder Court and I was in hopes that it would not be found necessary to fill up his place, but we have been only able in the last year to reduce the arrears of appeal from about 750 to 650 cases, and I have been induced therefore to postpone the reduction and to put Mr. Barlow into Mr. Biscoe's place. We have schemes before us for some relief to the court, in the preparation of cases, which seems to me to be the easiest method of lightening the business, but nice questions have arisen upon it, upon which you shall hear more presently.

I have but just received the sketch estimates of this year and have had no time to study them in detail but I will write, next month, upon them. They are framed, and properly so, upon the least encouraging view which can be taken of our resources, and our income will, I am confident be better than Mr. Morley has promised. The expenditure is another and far more difficult question, and our facility of bringing it down must depend upon public events which are yet uncertain. Our first opium sale has given us twelve lakhs more than Mr. Morley calculated. Our salt within the last six months has been producing largely and our Customs are most flourishing.

I began this letter on the 17th and it is now the 21st and I have not time to write more upon the miscellaneous subjects and will write tomorrow at length to Sir John Hobhouse¹⁰ upon our political position in all quarters of interest.¹¹ I will only say to you that my last accounts from the Canton river were of December 15. The Admiral¹² had been compelled by illness to resign his command and is on his way to England. Capt. Elliot¹³ was negotiating with the Chinese Commissioner Ke'sheen and was then within two days of receiving an answer to his propositions, which would be decisive of peace or war. Sir Gordon Brenner had a strong naval force near to the Bogue,¹⁴ and 500 Marines and a Madras Native regiment. The last accounts from Chusan¹⁵ report considerable improvement in the health of troops, but the loss by sickness and death had been dreadful and has given me much pain. I need scarcely mention Ava to you, for I am far from apprehending a rupture with that power, but there had been a little disposition to alarm at Moul-meyne, in which I have not shared, on account of reports of unfriendliness on the part of the Burmese Governor of the Martaban and Bileny provinces and of a visit of the king to Rangoon, with a following of 1,00,000 men. Mr. Hodson¹⁶ has carried his points with the Nepalese Durbar, and if dependence can be placed on pen, and paper, we should have peace in that quarter and improved relations. But we have a weak and wayward court to deal with. You will see by the public despatches in what danger the Punjab is of a dissolution of all order and Government. The most natural speculation at present seems to me to be that the Maharaja Sheir Singh,¹⁷ and the Raja Dhian Singh with the Chiefs who are attached to him and the European officers, will combine to crush or set aside Maie's party—and they may yet maintain the state, but there is great danger of extreme disorder. Dost Mahomed Khan¹⁸ crossed the Attock, on his way to Loodiana, on the 28th of last month. He is

10. The President of the Board of Control.

11. This letter if discovered will be found to be of very great importance. It cannot be traced in the India Office Records.

12. Sir William Parker.

13. The British Agent at Canton.

14. A port at the mouth of the Canton river.

15. An island at the mouth of the Yong-tse-kiang occupied by the British.

16. Mr. B. H. Hodgson, Resident of Nepal.

17. Younger brother of Gulab Singh who subsequently became the first Maharaja of Kashmir.

18. See Sir J. H. Kaye's History of Afghanistan, p. 563.

reported to be in good spirits, and it is said that he is anxious to pay me a visit at Calcutta, and I should not be sorry to see him here. Sir Wm. Macnaghton writes with confidence and good spirits upon his and Shah Shooja's prospects. I have nothing new from Khyva or Herat. You will see in our despatches what are my views upon the distribution of our military means throughout Afghanistan for the ensuing year. The affairs of upper Hinde and of the countries towards Beloochistan have given me uneasiness, and I have been impatient upon many points connected with them. I have however as I have been writing, received a satisfactory letter from Mr. Ross Bell, dated January 4, on his second march towards Dadar wither he is advancing with General Brooks. Here is his most important sentence. "The only circumstance which prevents me from laying a plan for the future management of Kelat etc. before Govt. is one over which I have no control, viz., the uncertainty as to whether Nusser Khan will attempt any further struggle. The last affair near Kotrah has made him almost hopeless, and he has written to me to say that he will come in, to Lt. Wallace, who is now waiting for him at that place. Should he do so, as I am in great hopes he will, the settlement of affairs will not be much longer delayed. Should he not come in, it will be necessary to make the best arrangements that we can with the principal Brahovi Chiefs for the pacification of the country."

I can write no more,
very faithfully etc.,

(Sd.) Auckland

W. B. Bayley Esqr.

Editorial

OBTUARY.

We note with the greatest regret the passing away, since the publication of the last issue of the *Journal of Indian History*, of Professor E. J. Rapson of the Cambridge University, who was the Editor of the first two volumes of the Cambridge History of India. He is well-known as a writer on Indian History and subjects connected with it, such as, Indian numismatics and epigraphy. He retired only recently from the University, and was presented with a Commemoration Volume by his friends and admirers. It is a pity that he should not have lived to enjoy the well-earned rest.

Almost about the same time passed away another important figure in Indian History in recent times, Professor A. L. V. Jackson of America. Though his studies lay primarily in Persian, we are indebted to him for a work on Indian History, and his death is no less a loss to Indian scholarship and historical research.

THE INDIAN HISTORICAL RECORDS COMMISSION

The Indian Historical Records Commission, which after the Patna session in December 1930 had suspended its annual meetings owing to the financial stringency, has this year been revived by the Government of India. The meeting was held for the first time since 1930 in December 1937 at Lahore. His Excellency the Governor of the Punjab opened the Session. There was the usual large attendance. As many as 20 papers were read bearing on the various archives and record centres in India. One important question that came before the business meeting was access to the Government records. The meeting rejected the proposal to impose certain fees upon scholars wishing to consult records. The meeting did so, we should think rightly, as in the present state of historical work in the country anything discouraging consultation of Government records is hardly desirable. Rather than that any obstruction should be placed in the way of the free consultation of these records, these ought to be freely accessible and facilities should be provided for their greater use. Now that the annual sessions have begun, let us hope that the Commission will go on meeting in its annual sessions doing much valuable work that there is yet left to be done in making the public records more easily available for purposes of historical research. The time has

come when a serious effort might be made to separate records of permanent value and make suitable arrangements to perpetuate them, and destroy, if need be, other records of no permanent value. The question will require the most serious consideration of the Indian Historical Records Commission as well as of the Government of India, before any actual steps are taken.

THE ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE

The Oriental Conference met for its 9th session in Trivandrum by invitation of the Government of His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore. It was as usual a three days' session, extended this time to four to admit of a certain amount of business being transacted outside the days allotted to the Conference, to give the Conference session itself more time. His Highness's Government, the Reception Committee and all others concerned did not spare any trouble to make the stay of the members of the Conference comfortable and enjoyable during their stay. A large number of members of the Conference had assembled this time, and had a very good time of it during their stay in Trivandrum. Mr. C. V. Chandrasekharam, Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcomed the Conference and pointed out "Kerala in general, and Travancore in particular, have therefore, been able to make a substantial contribution to Sanskrit and Malayalam literature and to Hindu Philosophy and Science." He pointed out further that "under the late Sree Mulam Tirunal Maharaja, Travancore made rapid strides in the march of progress, and amongst his numerous beneficent activities, those which would elicit the special appreciation of this Conference were the founding of the Sanskrit College and the organisation of the Departments of Oriental Manuscripts and Archaeology." He referred in the course of his speech to the epoch-making achievements of the rule of his present Highness and referred to the various measures such as the Temple-entry proclamation, the establishment of a new museum with a Java-Bali annexe, and the establishment of a University. He concluded his welcome address with the following reference to the President elect "We have been singularly fortunate in having secured as the President of the Conference a pre-eminent orientalist who enjoys a wide international reputation and the Reception Committee feel confident that the Conference will have a successful session under his leadership."

The opening session was a brilliant function presided over by His Highness, the Maharaja, who opened the Conference. Her Highness the Maharani, the Political Agent for the South Indian

States, the Dewan and all the elite of Trivandrum were present in the Town Hall. The Maharaja opened the Conference in a short but very sympathetic speech in welcoming the Conference, in the course of which he said "India can never forget its debt of gratitude to those lovers of learning in the West, who, when India was in danger of neglecting its own scholarship and its literature, gave a stimulus to oriental learning. This debt India is repaying in the best possible manner by bringing into existence a line of Indian scholars, who, in the fields of antiquities and history, of Dravidian and Sanskrit philology and literature, of law and economics and polity, in the intensive study of the Art of India and outer-India, are co-operating in the recreation of the mind and soul of our country. A great deal still remains to be accomplished in the collection of Art treasures, of manuscripts and of folklore, and above all, in the welding of the new learning and the old, so as to preserve the unforgettable heritage of the Pandit, and to utilise his hereditary aptitudes and traditions in aid of modern scholarship." "It would, however, be correct to add that the thoughts enshrined in our literatures, both Sanskrit and Dravidian, and the felicities of their setting and diction and the range and comprehensiveness of our philosophies, have not yet been fully appreciated by the Western world; but it is gratifying to see that there is an increasing appreciation of the value and significance of Indian scholarship, and the recent recognition awarded to a thinker like Professor Radhakrishnan is a satisfactory feature. It is a matter of special pride to us that the Syriac, the Catholic, the Protestant and Muslim faiths and philosophies are cultivated in this State with zeal and in mutual peace, and I am glad to see that all aspects of Eastern Art and learning are represented in this gathering."

The President in the course of an interesting and learned address passed in review recent work in all the departments of knowledge that come under the purview of the Oriental Conference and said: "I have now, with the idea that in the vast educated population of India you can within a measurable period find or create a varied army of co-operating societies and committees, trailed before you a long panorama of projects for eliciting and assembling materials, a work which in the main can be done once and for all." He followed it up by saying "I share your conviction that it is the new interpretations and new discoveries that for us are most significant, and I am looking forward to many new inspirations to be obtained from this meeting." He remarked "The

Conference itself stands above all as one of those philosophically important entities, which we may designate 'hypothetical persons: ' it borrows the intellectual activity of its members, but furnishes it with an external focus, as free as possible from the limited perspective and the *ahamkara* of individuals or groups. In this age of infinitely extended horizons, spatial and temporal, of enlarged and greatly complexed apprehensions of events, we need every device of impersonal logical algebra, and every effort of mental reconstruction to save us from 'moving about in worlds not realized'." He pointed out that "what the Conference as a whole has to conceive is, saving any departments pre-empted by other bodies of students, the historical evolution of Indian civilization as a whole," thus pointing out to the Conference the duty that lies before them and the purpose that they could usefully serve.

The Conference had been arranged in 14 sections according to the subjects, and began their work the following day, the 21st of December with the speeches of the Section Presidents, and the meeting of certain sections simultaneously. The number of papers presented though smaller than usual, was still large enough to occupy the two days more or less fully, and this was diversified by social parties in the evening and entertainments of various kinds in the night, so that the four days were very busy days and pleasant withal.

The Conference was invited to assemble for the next session under the auspices of the Osmania University in Hyderabad. Among the important items of business transacted during the business meeting, one at least must be mentioned, namely, the resolution that the Conference be given a permanent constitution and that steps be taken to form a body like the British Academy, and that the effort necessary be made for obtaining, if possible, a royal charter. It is time that steps were taken towards giving the Conference a constitution such as would give it a permanent form and ensure the continuity of its work. That step could not have been taken under better auspices than those that the Trivandrum Conference offered with Professor F. W. Thomas as its President. We wish the movement all success.

Reviews

TOWARDS ANGKOR—IN THE FOOTSTEPS OF THE INDIAN INVADERS.

BY H. G. QUARITCH WALES, George G. Harrap & Co., Ltd.,
London, £0 12 6.

This work gives an account of the explorations recently undertaken in Malay Peninsula and the region adjoining which have been the centre of colonial activity of the Indians from the early centuries of the Christian era onwards down to the era of the Muhammadan conquest of the Archipelago. The author had been an official at the Court of Siam for a number of years and had primed himself by a course of study of the various institutions of the Siamese Court in his *Siamese State Ceremonies and Ancient Siamese Government and Administration*. He has recently become Field Director of the Greater India Research Committee of the India Society, of which Sir Francis Younghusband is the Chairman. As such he was enabled to undertake two expeditions, one through the munificence of His Highness the Gaekwad of Baroda, and the other through the enlightened patronage of a lady member of the India Society, Mrs. C. N. Wrentmore. The account of these explorations given in this work is written in a style which would enable even laymen to read the book with advantage.

The book consists of 15 chapters and recounts the work of exploration beginning with Takuapa on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula midway between the Andaman Islands and Sumatra. The author identifies this with the well-known place Takko-lam of high repute in classical Tamil literature, and known to us even from the inscriptions of Rajendra the Gangaikondachola. As a result of the explorations carried out by this author, it appears that the Indian colonists went on commercial adventure, effected settlements from place to place, following first of all the course of a river reaching the sea at Takopa almost to its source at the water-parting in the middle of the peninsula wherefrom starts another river emptying itself in the Bay of Bandon across on the other side of the peninsula in the Gulf of Siam. This Mr. Wales considers as the way by which the stream of Indian colonists went across, effecting settlements, further up in the peninsula to begin with, and even sailing across the Gulf of Siam to effect settlements in Cambodia. From there another stream of colonists seem to have gone up the river Mekong and struck across westwards to the valley of the Menam making numbers of settlements on the way. Other colonists

went further afield, effected settlements in what is now Annam and made the kingdom of Champa of old. Funam, really part of Siam, Cambodia to the south of it and Champa to the east occupied practically the peninsula on the other side of the Gulf of Siam where Indian influence dominated for about a thousand years, perhaps more. Along with this there was also the outspread of this Indian culture to the islands of Sumatra, Java, Borneo, etc., eastwards, that is, the region of the Archipelago including in it the Malay Peninsula as well.

One of the great problems that presents itself in this new investigation is the origin of the kingdom on the empire of Śailēndras which at one time dominated the whole region where the centre of their region was in the island of Sumatra as hitherto held, or in the Malay Peninsula as Mr. Wales now tries to establish by his investigations. The Śailēndras were a powerful dynasty of rulers who held sway over an extensive part of this region from the 7th century onwards to the 12th, perhaps even to the 13th. They came into political relations with the Cholas and the Pāṇḍyas on the one side and the empire of China on the other. This latter connection has proved more fruitful of historical information by an account that has been kept in the Chinese court of the various embassies that went to that court from the Śailēndras. In regard to the origin of this important family of the Śailēndras Mr. Wales seems to take it that they were the offspring of the Gangas of Mysore, whose position was made difficult in the middle of the 8th century. This connection between the Gangas of Mysore and the Śailēndras has yet to be demonstrated. It seems rather difficult to conceive that the Ganga rulers should have taken part in the overseas enterprise while the possibility is not altogether precluded. The name Śailēndra may after all have been derived from the name of the country over which they established their sway, the Malay Peninsula, as Mr. Wales himself seems inclined to believe from his investigations. The work of exploration however had been carried on along routes which raise a strong presumption in favour of their being regarded as the actual course of the early Indian colonial adventure. The Hindu influences are pointed out in the course of this account at various places where these settlements were effected early in Dvārāvati, Śrīdēva and in Cambodia. A place which goes by the name Chaya across in the Bay of Bandon seems to be regarded by Mr. Wales as the site of Śrī Vijaya of old which till recently had been identified with the town of Palambang in Sumatra.

Another interesting feature of the work is that it traces gradually the evolution of the architecture of this region from the purely

Hindu architecture of the early Pallavas through a course of evolution, subject to local influences as well, till it culminated in the art and architecture of Angkor, where the greatest modification had been effected through Khmer influence. The work, popular as it is, makes a valuable contribution to our understanding of the growth of Greater India.

GORAKHNATH AND MEDIAEVAL HINDU MYSTICISM BY
DR. MOHAN SINGH, M.A., PH.D., D. LITT., published by the
author, Lahore.

This is a work bearing on Hindu mysticism, and Gorakh the saint is one among that class of mystics who are generally known to Indian literature as the *Siddhas*. As Sir Francis Younghusband in his foreword says Dr. Mohan Singh seeks the fountain-source of mediaeval Hindu mysticism in the writings of Gorakhnath and his teacher-contemporary Machhendra, written in the vernacular of Northern India. The author claims for the work the credit of its being the first work on Indian mysticism, although he admits that behind it is Sanskrit culture and literature. He ascribes a double importance to the study of Gorakhnath, the first historical figure in mediaeval Hindu mysticism as of supreme importance both to the Indian vernacularist and to the student of the Yoga. In the course of the work, he points out the indebtedness of the later teachers of northern India, and, even some among those in Maharashtra, to Gorakhnath and would ascribe the whole of the vernacular religious teaching of mediaeval times as almost a derivative from the teachings of Gorakh and his contemporaries. By an elaborate study of the literature bearing upon the subject, Dr. Mohan Singh arrives at the conclusion that Gorakh must have lived in the 9th and 10th century A.D., and that he probably belonged to the Punjab, and that the school of the Yogis began with him, at any rate with his generation, and continued for a number of generations after. Dr. Mohan Singh has given us also a more or less complete summary of the system of Gorakh Nath in the translation of a work called Gorakh Bodh, the teaching of Gorakh, in the form of a conversation between Gorakh and Machhendra, Gorakh being the questioner and Machhendra giving the answers to the questions asked. The text is also given in the vernacular garb for those who might be curious to read it. Dr. Mohan Singh speaks of 84 Siddhas, and while some of them would be legendary figures, a number of them might be historical. He would place the most of them at any rate, after Gorakh, so that from his point of view, the

position of Gorakh at the beginning of this school is sustainable. While he does make mention of the *Ālvārs* and the *Āḍiyārs* of the south and refers to the prevalence of teaching somewhat similar, his notions of the South Indian school of Siddhas seem rather foggy and indefinite. There have been in South India a school of Siddhas, the most remarkable among them being 18, some of whose works have been printed and are available in Tamil, perhaps in pidgin Tamil imitating of course, Dr. Mohan Singh's expression, for the corresponding Sanskrit of the north. The most notable among these names is that of Tirumular, whose work generally called *Tirumandiram*, sometimes also *Mantra Mala*, is considered the most authoritative work of this school of Saivism in South India. Without going into too much detail, it can be said without fear of being in error that the time to which Tirumular belonged is perhaps the 4th to the 6th century A.D., and not much later, and he is one, though perhaps a typical one, of a school of thought, which is not very different from that of the mediaeval Siddhas beginning with Gorakh Nath. How far the one set is actually indebted to the other and what actually the connection between the two is, is matter which would require further study; but in these cultural matters there was far more communication and commonness in the whole of India than perhaps we are inclined to admit. That the Siddha teaching of the South is traceable to Sanskrit literature can perhaps be easily proved from the internal evidence of the works, and Tirumular himself is said to be a much travelled man. His indebtedness to the Saiva Agams is equally clear. These are, however, questions on which different notions are sometimes held and call for closer and a fuller study. We welcome Dr. Mohan Singh's publication on the life and teachings of Gorakh Nath as an important contribution to the solution of this general question.

THE LIBRARY OF A. CHESTER BEATTY: A Catalogue of the Indian Miniatures by SIR THOMAS W. ARNOLD, C.I.E., F.B.A., Litt. D., revised and edited by J. V. S. WILKINSON.—Oriental Manuscripts 1-18. London (The Oxford University Press and Emery Walker, Ltd.) 1936. 18 x 12½ in., 3 vols., XLIII, 87; VIII; VIII pages, 19 plates in colours, 84 plates in monochrome.

During the last few decades historians have adopted a broader view of Indian history. They have realized that history is not limited to political events, but that it comprises every aspect of the life of a period; that economic, social and religious conditions are at the roots of political life, and that the artistic and literary productions are the final self-realization of this national life. Indian

art can, therefore, no more be regarded only as an affair for art connoisseurs and aesthetes; the historian, too, has to study it as a valuable source of information.

It is from this point of view that this splendid catalogue of the Chester Beatty Collection of Indian paintings will be reviewed in this place. For most of the eighteen manuscripts and pictures published in these three volumes are not only of an extraordinary artistic quality, but also of great historical and cultural interest. In the first place Akbar-Nāmah (no. 3) must be mentioned; though it cannot vie with the copy of the same work preserved in the South Kensington Museum, though its drawing lacks the verve, its colour the brightness, its composition the richness of that splendid manuscript, it is nevertheless a fine and delicate masterpiece from the hands of Akbar's best-known court-painters. It would be worth the while to compare the representations of the same events by such different artists with each other in order to learn how reliable these illustrations are, and whether there exists any definite tradition. In any case, all these miniature paintings contain a mass of valuable information. May I at least mention some examples? There is a still unidentified Jaina manuscript of the 16th century in the Lahore Museum; the same unique curious "Afghān" turbans worn by the (Hindu!) persons depicted in this manuscript are to be found in one of the illustrations of our Akbar-Nāmah (pl. 14) representing the surrender of Mānkot to Akbar. In another painting (pl. 23) we see one of the first English merchants in India, John Newberry, attending the imperial court in 1570. A third miniature (pl. 36) shows Akbar disputing with the Jesuit missionaries of Goa, etc. Most of the other illuminated manuscripts are story books and scientific works, and they cannot, of course, give us any direct informations on the contemporary history. But they reflect the literary tendencies and intellectual interests of their time in a very faithful manner. The romantic chivalry of Humāyūn's reign is represented by two leaves of the large size manuscript of the Dastān-i Amīr Hamzah (no. 1) which has become known to the learned world by the publications of the late Viennese professor Glück and of the India Museum in London. The searching, syncretistic spirit of Akbar's rule is evident in the didactic and scientific books, such as the Iyār-i Dānish (no. 4), Abūl Fazl's simplified version of the Anvār-i Suhailī (late 16th century); in a collection of Hindu legends entitled Jōg-Bāshisht (no. 5, dated 1602), a manuscript of the Ajā'ib-al-Makhluqat (no. 6, ca. 1600), with beautiful animal pictures; and finally the Silsilah-al-Dihābah (no. 8) of 1613 A. D. During the heydays of the Mughal Empire

in the 17th century the Persian classics come to the front; Hāfiz (no. 15, early 17th century), Sa'dī (Qulliyāt, no. 13, 1646, A.D.), Nizāmī (no. 14, late 17th century) surpass Firdausī's Shāhnāmah (no. 17, late 16th century) in the favour of the public and keep this place during the next century (Jāmī's Yūsuf-u-Zulaikḥā, no. 18). Since the late years of Aurangzēb they finally find another rival in a new, sentimental novel literature which in this collection is represented by the Nayrang-i 'Ishq (no. 10) written in 1690, and the Dastūr-i Himmat (no. 12), a love story in a pronounced Indian setting, composed by Mahammad Murīd in 1685, but illustrated in the late years of Muhammad Shāh. All these manuscripts are very interesting for the art historian; those of the 16th and 17th centuries are illustrated by paintings of high artistic quality and full of folkloristic materials, especially the Jōg-Bāshisht; the aesthetic merits of the later manuscripts are very inferior, but they show new schemes of composition hitherto unknown. Later Mughal painting is full of still unidentified romance scenes, and someone conversant with the literature of the 18th and early 19th centuries would, no doubt, accomplish a useful and meritorious task by analysing the subject dealt with in these miniatures.

The finest paintings are to be found in two Royal Albums (no. 7) of the time of Jahāngīr and Shāhjahān. The rich set of separate miniatures (no. 11), too, contains so many excellent works of the same period that it will be best to review both as one group. Most of these pictures are portraits or scenes from court life. The style varies from plain but penetrative outlines to bright and vivid paintings and smooth, manneristic, but decorative compositions. Some portraits must be reckoned to be the greatest masterpieces of Mughal Art. Others (pls. 66-68) have wonderful figural borders similar to those of the Jahāngīr-Album in Berlin, a scene from Lailā-Majnūn has in the same way been continued on the margin (pl. 70). The unknown person on pl. 61 (below) must be some Ottoman Turk, or emigrant from that country. "Jahāngīr playing Hōlī in his zanāna" (pl. 56) must have been a part of a very interesting lost manuscript; for another leaf of the same set was exhibited at the Delhi Durbar 1911 (Cp. Archaeological Survey publication) and the "Nūr Jahān entertaining Jahāngīr" in the Wantage Bequest of the India Museum, London, must be considered as a third leaf. A curious scene depicting a prince carousing with drunken women and clergymen will, no doubt, catch the attention of the historian interested in the manners of the period (pl. 84). In quite a number of miniatures foreign influences will be noted. There is a copy by Gōvardhan after a Mongol-Persian book-painting

(pl. 55), another of a page-boy by Farrukh Beg (pl. 64) after a work of the Rizā Abbāsī school, and a "Banquet of Khusrāu Parvīz and the Kaisar-i Rūm" (pl. 88) in the style of the paintings in the Chihil Sūtūn Palace at Isfahān (with two curious Portuguese figures) is perhaps a reminiscence of the embassy of Khān 'Alam to Shāh 'Abbās the Great. The greatest interest must, however, attach to the imitations of Western Christian paintings, from the first clumsy experiments of Sānwlah and Kesō (pls. 81 and 83) to understand the very different expressions of Western life, up to the perfect copies (pl. 77, after a work of the school of Julio Romano) and adaptations of the 17th century. In the miniatures of the reign of Jahāngīr it is but a curious play with Western allegorical composition, e.g., in the portrait of Jahāngīr standing on a European globe and shooting at the cut-off head of Malik 'Ambar of Ahmad-nagar (pl. 62); in the portraits of Shāhjahān (pls. 63, 85), however, the Christian allegorical system for representing God, the heavens and the forces of religion, has been adapted to the glorification of the Grand Mughal; Shāhjahān has stepped into the place of God-Father or of the Holy Virgin, mullas have replaced the angelic hosts, angels bear the emblems of royal power and glory, and in the globe under the emperor's feet the lion and lamb symbolize the age of peace, and the scales that of justice.

Beautiful and interesting as all these Mughal paintings are, they are surpassed by a single manuscript which reveals a hitherto unknown phase of Indian painting, if not of Indian civilisation to our knowledge. It is the "Nujūm-al-'Ulūm" (no. 2) which was first published by L. Binyon in Rūpam, and later on discussed by the reviewer in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*. Painted in A.D. 1570 at Bijapur, and forming part of the library of the art-loving Ibrāhīm II 'Ādilshah (1579-1626), it is the purest and earliest known example of the Bijapur style of painting, not yet touched by the art of the Mughal court under Akbar, like most of the early classic "Deccani" paintings. The style is a still insufficiently amalgamated mixture of a very strong and expressive Hindu tradition, a Southern precursor of the 16th century Rāgmālās from Rājputānā and of the art of Persia under the immediate successors of Timur. The cultural background is the same, a pronounced Hindu life similar to that of the late Vijayanagar Empire side by side with a not less distinct Persian fashion.

The two volumes of excellent plates (a part in colours) produce only a small selection from the mass of interesting paintings described and explained by the late Sir Thomas Arnold in the first volume, and after his death scrupulously edited by J. V. S. Wilkin-

son. The name of the writer is a sufficient guarantee for the quality and diligence of the text though its character of a catalogue excludes a sufficient appreciation of the importance and position of the different manuscripts and albums. There is a historical introduction, but this brief general survey is in no direct connection with the problems offered by the separate manuscripts though it contains some new notices on the painters of the Mughal period and on the vanished wall-paintings of the preceding Pathān time. But this omission of not yet definitely settled problems, no doubt, facilitates the perusal of such a catalogue by research scholars, and it is a pity that no index offers a well-arranged guide through these treasures of artistic and historical information. This little (and so frequent) shortcoming will, however, not diminish the high praise which this splendid publication so well deserves.

H. GOETZ.

THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF INDIA—Volume IV—The Mughul Period. Planned by Lt.-Colonel Sir Wolseley Haig, C.I.E., C.S.I., C.M.G., C.B.E., M.A. Edited by Sir Richard Burn, C.S.I., F.R.A.S.B., M.A. Cambridge. At the University Press, 1937, pp. xxvi & 670.

This volume was planned by Sir Wolseley Haig; but the editorial work had to be done by Sir Richard Burn, as the former fell seriously ill and could not even write up the later three chapters of his, from the notes prepared, to which his name is attached; namely, those dealing with the Deccan and the Maratha power in the 17th century and with Muhammad Shah and his successors down to 1761—these chapters having been rewritten by the present editor from his full notes. Sir Denison Ross writes on the Emperor Babur. Sir Richard Burn deals with the history of Humayun, Jahangir and Shah Jahan; and Professor Sir Jadunath Sarkar has been appropriately entrusted with the period covered by the reign of Aurangzib and the epoch immediately following his demise. He also writes the chapter on the history of the Hyderabad State down to the accession of Nizam Ali when a long period of stability might be said to have begun for it. Prof. H. G. Rawlinson writes the chapter dealing with the Maratha power from the accession of Sahu to the disaster at Panipet. Mr. W. H. Moreland examines the revenue system of the Mughal Empire in a separate chapter; and the history of Burmah is brought down to the end of the Toungoo dynasty, the connection of Burman politics with India proper through the region of Arakan being painted large on the canvas. The numerous plates which are included at the end of the volume were put in at a great

cost, which was met by a generous contribution to the publishers made by Sir Dorabji Tata.

The treatment of Sir Wolseley Haig is dry and monotonous and runs mostly on the lines of dynastic annals based upon a very learned and intensive study of the sources. He examines the various phases of Babur's remarkable career from the standpoint of Central Asian History. Sir Richard Burn tries to interpret the motive of Rajah Maldeo of Marwar, in offering help to Humayun on his flight from Delhi and Lahore. He would also credit Humayun with having entertained a scheme for the efficient rule of India after he recovered the Delhi throne in 1555. The estimate of Sher Shah as the greatest of the Muslim rulers of India is perhaps a little overdrawn. Also, Sher Shah is held to have been entirely free from, and active in the correction of the faults usually inherent in the Afghan race. Sir Wolseley Haig would not commend the frequent transfer of officials from district to district, that was one of the features of Sher Shah's administration. It is illustrative of one phase of the method of interpretation of Sir Wolseley that he does not accept the Rajput legend preserved by Tod, connected with the capture of Ranthambhor by Akbar in 1569, on the ground, among others, that it is mentioned by no Muhammadan historian, though the Muslim annals do not sufficiently explain the surrender and are not inconsistent with the Hindu story. The exposition of Akbar's religious policy and activity is coloured by the idea that his spiritual pride misled him in his pursuit of religious meditations and of the collection of his stock-in-trade as a prophet of a new creed. We also learn that Akbar's decree of religious absolutism was accompanied by a hypocritical and ostentatious respect for the ritual and ceremonial of Islam. The keynote of Sir W. Haig's evaluation of Akbar's character and achievement is different from that of Vincent Smith, but takes in a portion of the temper that animates sympathetic writers like Count Noer. Thus we see that Sir Wolseley would not judge him by the present day moral standards, but by the light thrown by contemporary sources, including his *Happy Sayings* recorded by Abul Fazl. It is also remarked by Haig that in duplicity and mendacity, Akbar was far surpassed by Queen Elizabeth of England. Jesuit pictures of him are also given a special value.

Jahangir's character was simple and straightforward with no depth of insight and no cunning. His tendency was rather to ease comparatively small distresses than to plan great reforms; and his humanitarian changes were of little value. The narrative of Sir Richard Burn lays stress on the cultivation of literature in the reign of Shah Jahan, who was familiar with Hindi and a patron of that

language. Darah Shukoh is condemned by him as inept in character and training; Shah Jahan's intolerance is held to have been dictated rather by the desire to maintain the strict tenets of Islam than to pursue the course of iconoclasm which was adopted by Aurangzib. This seems to us to proceed from a desire on the part of the writer, in support of his statement, to find out a difference in motive, while the practical results were the same. He says that the demolition of new temples was not followed by the erection of mosques in their sites in this reign.

Sir Jadunath Sarkar, writing on Aurangzib, reaffirms the conclusions set forth in his monumental biography of that monarch and follows the same sequence and method of treatment. The history of the great Provinces like Bengal, in the declining days of the Mughal Empire, is more than proportionately full; and Aurangzib's basic blunder is said to have been his lack of consciousness of the truth that there could not be a great empire without a great people. The Sayyid brothers who rose to power and shone, meteor-like, for a short time, are displayed more in their role as the heads of a party at court than as the revivers of Akbar's ideal of rule, though in an incomplete measure. The career of Nizamu'l-Mulk, as sketched by Sir Jadunath, is full and instructive; and his character is delineated as that of the most outstanding personality in the Mughal Empire in those days of decline, "the foremost general of his time and no less eminent in statecraft and diplomacy, while possessed of the true statesman's length of vision and moderation." The military weakness of the Asaf Jahi dynasty and its cultural backwardness are also pointed out by him.

The history of the Maratha power is traced partly by Sir Wolseley Haig and partly by H. G. Rawlinson. As to Shivaji's character, we find a fairly good estimate by the former:—"It is difficult to decide whether to admire more the courage and high resolve which proposed an object so lofty as the restoration of a Hindu empire in India or the singleness of purpose with which that object was pursued. He had to contend with a mighty empire and two kingdoms, but he took the fullest advantage of the narrow and purblind policy of Aurangzib, which divided the Muslims. The emperor learnt too late to appreciate his antagonist. For years he despised 'the Mountain Rat' as the chief of a gang of mere brigands, but after Shivaji's death he conceived a juster opinion of his genius and admitted that he was a great captain. 'My armies', he said, 'were employed against him for nineteen years, but nevertheless his state has always been increasing'. A Muslim historian thus does justice to his memory. 'He persisted in rebelling, plundering cara-

vans, and troubling mankind ; but he was entirely guiltless of baser sins, and was scrupulous of the honour of the women and children of the Muslims when they fell into his hands.' 'This is high praise from one whose religion made matrons, virgins and children taken in war the legitimate prey of their captors.'

The Peshwas established their supremacy in the Maratha states by a process that neither attracted observation nor excited surprise, but their power aggravated the centrifugal tendencies of the Maratha state, widened the gulf between the Brahmin and the Maratha and also intensified the predatory character of Maratha dominion outside its own proper territory.

The evil of assignment of revenue rights was the most distinctive mark of the Mughal system of revenue administration according to Mr. Moreland. Sher Shah himself continued this system of assignment. The historical importance of his methods is because they formed the starting point of the series of experiments that were made by Akbar in the first part of his reign. The regulation system that was finally evolved, worked reasonably well under Akbar, but disappeared under his successor, though definite evidence on this question is wanting as also on the kindred question of the fiscal relations between Akbar and the Chiefs who retained jurisdiction in their dominions. The practice of assessing villages as units became prominent in the reign of Aurangzib, though it must have been long in use. It also served as the line of least resistance.

The chapter on the monuments of the Mughal period is full, particularly from the time of Akbar. The style of building that became popular in the Punjab is held to have constituted a different school from that which marked the principal Mughal seats and to have cultivated an independent architectural tradition and is stated instinctively to have looked to the north-west and beyond for inspiration. The bibliography is not excessive in quantity and is comparatively meagre for some chapters, notably the ninth. The illustrations are both instructive and truly illustrative. The map at the end comprehends both Afghanistan and Transoxian. There is a small mistake on page 258, in the statement that in the course of Shivaji's attack on Surat in 1664, the English, Dutch and French factories successfully defended themselves, the French having come to India at all and established the first factory in Surat only in 1668.

C. S. S.

INDIA OFFICE LIBRARY—Catalogue of Manuscripts in European Languages—Volume II. Part II. Minor Collections and Miscellaneous Mss. Section I. Nos. 1-538. By G. R. Kaye. Printed by His Majesty's Stationery Office for the India Office, London, 1937, pp. xix & 1167.

A catalogue of manuscripts in European Languages belonging to the Library of the India Office was contemplated as early as 1903 ; and a preliminary examination of the collection was begun then and maintained. But it was only in 1911 that specialists were found willing to undertake the work and the sanction of the Secretary of State was obtained. The first volume of the Catalogue dealt with the various Mackenzie collections in its first part ; and the first part of the second volume was devoted to a descriptive account of the Orme Collection by the late Mrs. S. C. Hill. It is now the second part of the second volume that has come out, in its first section. This work was first undertaken by Mr. J. S. Cotton. The minor collections and miscellaneous manuscripts were studied by the late Mr. G. R. Kaye who began his labours in 1922, four years after the death of Mr. J. S. Cotton and were finished down to No. 538 by the time of his own death in 1929. These numbers, 1-538, are now published as section 1 of part 2 of volume 2. We are promised a continuation of this part 2 by Dr. E. H. Johnston, who will furnish an index to both the sections. An alphabetical list of authors and subjects is given in the beginning as a help to the student. The collection contains many interesting items, that are useful alike to the meticulous student of British India History and to the antiquarian. Some items are collectively grouped as Mss. of famous figures in the realm of Anglo-Indian scholarship and research. Among the names of persons who were the builders of such collections and manuscripts described here, we may mention Philip Francis, Colonel Mark Wilks, W. Roxburgh, Dr. Francis Buchanan, the Abbe J. A. Dubois, Sir Stamford Raffles, C. J. Rich, W. Erskine, W. Moorcroft, B. H. Hodgson, C. P. Brown and others of lesser importance.

Each item is prefaced by a note describing the manuscript, its acquisition, an account of its value and authorship and a brief survey of its contents, as well as of its subsequent utilisation, if any. The Fowke Mss. which were acquired in 1927, contain collections of the letters of the members of the Fowke family from 1771 to 1849 ; and the Fowkes could trace their Indian connections from 1753. Their association with Madras was fairly close. The Francis Mss. were deposited in the India office in 1915. The editor thinks that, perhaps, part of the papers of Sir Philip Francis was destroyed in

1778, particularly letters, as there is evidence of Sir Philip having expressed his intention to do so along with General Clavering.

Item No. 118 is the translation of Mir-Ghoolam-Hossein-Khan's History of India. The editor says that "it is curious that nowhere in the original Mss. as it now stands, is the title 'Seir Mutakherin' employed: it is even omitted from the 'Author's preface,' where it appears in the printed versions." Dr. Buchanan was in the service of the Company from 1794 to 1815 and during a great part of this period, he was employed upon special missions and upon survey work of the most general character. The biographical note given by Mr. Kaye of Dr. Buchanan and the table of the Buchanan Mss. drawn by him are most instructive. It was only in 1815 that he dropped the name of Buchanan and assumed that of Hamilton. His *Bengal Survey* was commenced in 1807 and was continued till 1814 and excluding duplicates, the Mss. relating to this survey are 37, divided into texts, statistics, vocabularies, drawings etc.; the districts surveyed were Dinajpur, Rangpur, Purnea, Bhagalpur, Bihar and Patna, Shahabad and Gorakhpur. The reports are self-contained for each district; and each report consists of five books and certain appendices; the books or parts are respectively (1) Topography and antiquities, (2) People, (3) Natural productions, (4) Agriculture and (5) Arts and Commerce. Attached to three of the district reports are journals of the tours, which form the most interesting portion of the collection. The appendices are also carefully explained by the editor. The drawings and inscriptions as well as the maps are however not now arranged in the order of the formal list.

Going next to the Dubois Mss.; great interest attaches to his famous work, *Description des Castes Indiennes* etc., of which there are three manuscript copies in the I.O. Library. The Madras Government bought this manuscript in 1806 and a translation was published in 1817. The Abbe himself revised his manuscript in 1815 and French editions of the revised work were published in Paris in 1825 and at Pondicherry in 1899. In 1897, H. K. Beauchamp published an English translation of the revised work. The Abbe freely criticised the letters of the Rev. Dr. Claudius Buchanan, very freely in his original letter on the state of Christianity in India.

The famous Raffles Collection (items Nos. 232-246) is attempted to be illustrated by a note of most of the published works that bear upon it. In the Erskine Paper (Nos. 290-304) there is a great deal of material connected with his translation of the 'Memoirs of Baber' and his 'History of Baber and Humayun.' Erskine gives a chrono-

logy of the Maratha kings of Tanjore and notes from the history of Haidar Ali and Tipu. Most important to the student of South Indian History and Literature is the collection of the C. P. Brown Mss. containing 52 items, inclusive of 23 printed volumes copiously annotated. Brown thus writes on Wilson's *Glossary* (1853): "That book (Zillah Dictionary, Madras, 1852) I hope will be reprinted, with some additions copied from Wilson's Glossary of which one half is labour wasted. . . . Yet Brahmans usually assert that all the languages in the world spring from Sanskrit; and Wilson bows to the Brahmans. The additions I have made are numerous; but I have erased so many useless words (particularly the cant or gibberish used among the Thags) that the volume, if reprinted, will be smaller than it was when first printed. . . . In the India House Library there is Prof. Wilson's own copy of this book, interleaved, with additions in the author's handwriting. . . . I found none worth transcribing. . . ."

Brown's plans for the revival and promotion of Telugu Literature contained in Ms. 447 include the following significant sentence: "In 1825, I found Telugu literature dead; in 30 years I raised it to life." His Telugu Collections, Volumes 1 and 2, are extremely interesting and contain the Kanchi Kavyam, the Nelluri Kavyam, the Chinnoor Kavyam and the Vipranarayana Charitra. Among other Mss. of Brown, there is a Marathi account of Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan by Ramachandra Das Punganuri, an officer of the treasury of the Mysore Durbar under the Sultans; and its translation was finished and revised by Brown and published by him in 1849. Another item is Peixoto's History of Nawab Haidar Ali Khan Bahadur, edited by Brown; apparently the original was written in Portuguese and Brown had to work from an English translation, which was slipshod. Peixoto was in the service of Haidar for some time, but a good portion of his Ms. consisted of mere anecdotes and had no intrinsic connection with Haidar Ali. His cyclic and other tables of chronology, some of them having been printed, cover nine items in the collection. The last printed book of this chronology series is dated 1863 and on its pages 88-89, we come across a list of Brown's works which, with its manuscript notes, is said to be the latest authoritative list. The Hodgson Papers are also very interesting and contain most of the material on which his work on Nepal was based. Item No. 12 in the collections contains a note by Sir Walter Elliot, the item itself being a copy of the Kural. That note should be of great value to all students of Tamil. It thus runs: "This version of the earlier chapters of the Kural is believed to be unique. . . .". "This Ms. is believed to have formed part of

the collection of the late F. W. Ellis, who employed several agents in the Southern districts to collect Tamil works and particularly the writings of Beschi and the Jesuits. This volume contains the two first books of the Cural with Latin translation and critical notes—attributed (on what authority does not appear) to Beschi—but it is probable that Mr. Ellis so considered it and conveyed the supposition to my informant, Mutu Sam Pilli. The first few leaves are wanting. W.E. 1841.”

“Having lent the Ms. to the Revd. Thomas Brotherton of the Socy. of Propag. Gosp. For. Parts, who was engaged in studying the Cural, he was good enough to supply the missing portions of the early chapters.... The Ms. was also lent to the Revd. W. H. Drew of the London Mission when engaged in his Edition of the Cural with English translation. . . .”

It has been possible in this review to bring to the attention of the reader, the value of only very few of the items taken as specific illustrations of some aspects of research and collection that marked the Ms. in the Library. A perusal of the notes of the editor and his very careful tabulation of contents etc., gives an impression of an astonishingly meticulous and scientific examination of the Mss. themselves in all their phases.

C. S. S.

ENGLISH RECORDS OF MARATHA HISTORY, POONA RESIDENCY CORRESPONDENCE. (1) Volume 3. 'The Allies' War with Tipu Sultan, 1790-1793. Edited by Nirod Bhushan Ray, M.A., Professor, A. M. College, Mymensingh. Pp. xxxvi & 694. (2) Volume 4. Maratha-Nizam Relations, 1792-1795. Edited by V. G. Dighe, M.A., Pp. xxii & 330.

The first of these two volumes marshals contemporary official records relating to the Third Mysore War and the events leading up to it as well as from it. Most of these records here presented have been hitherto unpublished; and they include the correspondence of the British Residents at Poona and at Hyderabad with the Governor-General and with the Governors of Madras and Bombay as well as despatches and news-letters from other persons connected with the war. The student had till now to utilise the standard works by Mark Wilks (*History of Mysore*) and by Col. Ross (the *Cornwallis Correspondence*) besides the contemporary narratives of the operations of the war by Major Dirom, Edward Moor and R. Mackenzie; and the Marathi despatches bearing on this war that were published by V. V. Khare in his *Aitihāsik Lekh Sangraha*,

supplemented to some extent by a few letters collected by D. B. Parasnis. The Nizam's share of the war has been described by his minister Mir Alam and Tipu's version is embodied in his court history, the *Nishan-i-Haidari*. Sir Jadunath Sarkar, the veteran general editor of this series, points out that this war which brought out Cornwallis' military talents as against Tipu, who was then the most formidable Indian ruler, assisted by a large and efficient French corps, "in the fullness of his resources and overflowing with confidence, born of past victories over the English and the Marathas"—has suffered eclipse from the greater brilliancy and finality of Wellesley's final war with Mysore, though the Tipu of 1799 was a tiger, whose claws had been cut and fangs extracted seven years before and had become a dazed and dropping chieftain with obscure vision and lost initiative. Cornwallis had to work under comparatively greater difficulties with imperfect allies and equipment; and above all, unlike Wellesley, he had to fight in a region which had not been explored or surveyed. Sir Charles Malet, the Resident at Poona and Sir John Kennaway, the Resident at Hyderabad, bore between themselves the main burden of the task of co-ordinating and reconciling the clashing interests of the English and their two allies in this war. Malet's great ability is naturally brought to the forefront in this volume. His adroit negotiations with Nana Fadnis and his final accomplishment of the treaty of alliance with the Marathas show him to have been as much of a master mind in diplomacy as his astute rival, the Nana. Malet at first debated, in his despatches, the advantages of conducting the war with Tipu either singly or jointly with the assistance of the Marathas and also put forward the additional alternative plan of combining the Portuguese, the Dutch and the Malabar Rajahs under the English banner. Rapidly enough, we are taken by the editor through the worsening English relations with Tipu in the years 1787-89, the formation of the triple alliance in 1790, the speeding up of the diplomatic and military arrangements consequent on Tipu's attack on the Travancore Lines and then the campaigns of Generals Medows and Abercromby and the fall of Bangalore and Dharwar. Then we go to the third and later stages of the war, culminating in the final attack on Seringapatam and the submission of Tipu Sultan. Later come the partition of the conquered territories ceded by Tipu and the settlement of the vexatious disputes that arose between the allies together with Cornwallis' generous treatment and subsequent recommendations of the release of the hostage sons of Tipu Sultan, who was adjured by Sir John Shore to show an accommodating spirit in adjusting his boundary disputes with the Nizam, in the hope that the peace which

would ensue throughout India then, would be perpetual. The letters about the war written by General Francois Raymond, who was the French general employed by the Nizam and who participated in the operations of the war under the banner of the Nizam's son, have been given in the last section, these letters having been secured by Sir Jadunath Sarkar and first published by him in *the Islamic Culture* (Hyderabad, 1933). We find here Raymond writing to the Governor of the Isle of France that peace seemed to have been entirely reestablished at all events for the great Indian powers like the Nizam and the Marathas, after this war. Raymond had also to make protestations, obviously caused by his conduct, that he had never sought to injure the interests of the French nation in India nor to slacken the discipline of the soldiery under him.

Sir John Kennaway deplores in letter No. 210 that there were so few of the nobles of the Nizam in whom rank and ability were found united. He also tells us that some of the Deccani nobles could possibly be corrupted by Tipu; while the Governor-General had to stress on the necessity of his keeping a careful watch on the Shams-ul-Omarah, Mahabat Jang, and many of the other principal nobles.

Malet's efficient grip over the quick changing political moves of the Poona Durbar and his great ability which had to be fully exercised in order to manage the Nana and keep him in a satisfied temper are not only stressed in the introduction but brought out prominently in many of the prefatory notes to his letters. Malet was wonderfully supple in his diplomacy and attuned himself to the changing moods of the Maratha court; but Kennaway was, relatively speaking, blunt and straight-forward and was twice subjected to indignity at the hands of the Nizam's administration. Malet had to work very hard, but succeeded in bending the plans of the Poona Durbar to the military needs of the campaigns. On the other hand, Kennaway was so troubled that he wrote to Malet in April 1791, in respect of a letter of the Nizam's minister, that "he is as great a coward and if possible a greater than Teidge Wunt; I am perfectly disgusted with his conduct and shall hail my delivery from this durbar as joyfully almost as I could do from a person of the enemy."

Lord Cornwallis himself is shown in his letters to have been much more generous and chivalrous to the defeated foe than could be inferred from the available literature of the history of the period. He thus wrote to Sir Charles Oakley in December 1792: "We must take care that Tippoo shall not succeed in creating jealousies

of us in the minds of our allies by affecting to give us a preference in the performance of his pecuniary engagements, and on that account if the second Kist should be offered to us before the first shall be paid to the Nizam and the Marattas, I must request that you will decline to receive it, and desire that the money may remain wherever Tippoo pleases within his own territories until you shall be informed that the first payments had been made good to our allies, and I shall direct Sir Charles Malet and Sir John Kennaway to give the earliest notice of such payments having been made."

The fourth volume of the *Poona Residency Correspondence*, edited by Mr. V. G. Dighe who also prepared index for the previous volume, contains papers dealing with the Maratha-Nizam relations in the three critical years that ended with the battle of Kharda (1795). The editor tells us that the diplomacy of these years was not a mere development of affairs between the Marathas and the Nizam, but one continuous course of monœuvring between the three premier powers of India, namely, the English, the Marathas and the Nizam. Sir John Shore, who has been usually blamed by historians for following an inept policy of non-intervention in this matter, is shown here to have very carefully weighed the probable consequences of the different courses of action suggested by the Residents at Poona and at Hyderabad, and the possible repercussions of the alarming situation in Europe on the English position in India. The incomparable Malet had the greatest possible influence on the policy of Shore. Mr. Dighe gives a historical survey of the past relations between the three powers, wherein he brings into clear prominence Malet's considered opinion that, however desirable it might be in the interest of the Company to prevent the annihilation of Nizam's independence, any armed support given to him was sure to draw the English into hostilities with the Maratha confederacy at a very inopportune moment. The Maratha court was of the view that Tipu had been sufficiently humbled and needed watching no more; and it looked upon any English enagement with the Nizam positively as a shield held between it and its dependent. On the other hand, the Nizam's claim for British protection was based on the interpretation of the promises given him by Lord Cornwallis in 1790 before the outbreak of the war with Tipu. Malet insisted that the conduct of the Nizam's court towards the Company did not entitle it to the latter's good offices, "further than policy and its own interest may suggest and that that should be the principle on which the Company's disposition to mediate between him and the Peshwa should be founded. He even suggested that the Governor-General should secure the Nizam's emancipation from the Peshwa's

claims by commuting the arrears of tribute due into a cession of a tract of territory." Shore could not openly countenance the Nizam's rejection of the demands of Poona because it would have meant war with the Maratha confederacy with Tipu who was smarting and nursing a sense of revenge taken by them as a possible ally. Moreover, the Company's resources were then at a low ebb; and there were no prospects of reinforcements from home.

The defeat of the Nizam at Kharda was marked by the surrender as a hostage to the Marathas of the great Minister of Nizam Ali, Azim-ul-Omra who had intrigued with Mahadji Sindia, had fomented the quarrels and dissensions at the Poona court and had tried every possible means to benefit by the conflicting interests of the Marathas and the English. It was he that advised the Nizam to retreat to Kharda during the campaign and his dismissal was insisted upon by the Marathas as a necessary step for the restoration of any friendly relations between the two Durbars. Letter No. 192 shows us the Resident Kirkpatrick discussing the causes of the Nizam's defeat. He writes thus: "After all it is possible that the weakness shown by the Nizam on this occasion arose entirely from solicitude on the score of the ladies of his harem, and if there be any foundation for this surmise, it may not be unreasonable to presume that after having disposed of them (as well as of all his heavy baggage) in the fort of Perinda, which it was his intention to have done, he would in the following operations of the campaign have displayed a suitable degree of firmness, especially as this is a quality in which he has never till now, I believe, been suspected of any deficiency."

Sir Jadunath Sarkar supplies a good topographical note on the site of Kharda; and there is a clear and large map of the fort of Kharda and its vicinity. An appendix gives the text of the treaty of Yadgir of 1784 between the Marathas and the Nizam, mainly directed against Tipu which formed the basis of the friendly relations that had existed between the two parties before the English came on the scene, and which is often referred to in the correspondence published in this volume as constituting the basis of the conflict between the courts of Poona and Hyderabad. This volume is enriched with a short explanatory notes on the points given.

C. S. S.

THE INDIAN FEDERATION—By Sir Shafa'at Ahmad Khan.
Published by Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London (1937). Price 15s. net.

Sir Shafa'at Ahmad Khan, a close student of Indian constitution, was a delegate to the three sessions of the Indian Round Table Conference in London, 1930-32, and to the Joint Select Committee of Parliament on Indian Constitutional Reform, 1938. Being thus privileged to take part in the negotiations and discussions on Indian Constitutional reform Sir Shafa'at eminently fitted to give a critical review of the Government of India Act 1935, which the book under review has for its aim. The book is divided into thirteen chapters and is prefaced by a lengthy introduction of 21 pages in which the learned author lucidly summarises the various movements, political and economic, since 1919, which have led to the passing of the Government of India Act 1935.

The first chapter is on the Federal Centre, and begins with a discussion how federation is necessary for genuine Provincial autonomy. The subject of the Provinces is taken up for elaborate study in the second chapter. The next chapter is devoted to an examination of the Federation and its units. Chapter IV examines the principles and application of safeguards. In this connection the Nehru Report on commercial safeguards is examined. The most important portion of the book is that on Federal Finance. In the chapter on Public Services, it is said that the new Act safeguards all rights of service. Then the subject of a Federal Court is taken up, pointing out its need, its original jurisdiction and its relation to the Federated states. Chapter VIII is on the Secretary of State for India, miscellaneous appointments and others. Fundamental Rights as set out in the Act such as protection of rights of property, free trade between Provinces are next elucidated. The composition and franchise of Indian legislatures are next studied, offering then and there his remarks on the Poona Pact, women's movement in India and the large increase of the electorate. The minorities in India form the subject of discussion in a special chapter, and it is pointed out how and when the communal award can be replaced and that by an agreed settlement. Sir Shafa'at Ahmed Khan says 'Muslim India should set aside the trappings of separate electorates without avoidable delay, for the time has come when it must put forth its maximum energy into the patriotic task of securing for India complete equality of status with other members of the British Commonwealth of Nations.'

After passing in review the Orders in Council, the new Constitution is surveyed with much ability. The objections

raised by critics to the New Act are answered; but the author is alive to some glaring defects of the Act. Says he "the Act must be taken as a whole, and an estimate should be formed of its general effect on India. Viewed from this aspect, it must be declared a great improvement on the present constitution." There are twelve appendices where endeavour is made to give the Orders in their final form. It may be that Indian politicians would not subscribe to all the views expressed in the book, but it is undoubtedly an able study on a very intricate and important subject.

V.R.R. DIKSHITAR.

INDIA. By H. H. Dodwell.—Parts I & II (Modern States series)
Published by J. W. Arrowsmith, London, Ltd. Price 3s. 6s.
each volume (1936).

The two volumes together propose to give a bird's-eye view of India, emphasizing recent history but without ignoring the historic tradition and development of the past, which is the aim of the series now presented as Modern States series. There are four chapters in the first volume of which the first chapter is on the Hindu Heritage. At the outset it is shown how the development of India has been determined by its geographical conditions. "The political history of early India" is said "to be the ceaseless formation and disintegration of large states despotically governed." But the unwearied researches of Indian scholars have shown that ancient India anticipated many of the modern institutions, including representative and elective assemblies. Next the author takes to task the Brahmans of ancient India for not recording the history of their kings. This is to a great extent untrue. The stories in the epics and the stories in the Purāṇas which centre round the kings of ancient India cannot be treated as 'shadows of legend.' They are records of kings who ruled All India before the epoch of the Nandas. It is however refreshing to note the remark that 'Hindu society has survived all that the external world could do against it.' It is due to the wonderful social organisation of caste and the consequent division of labour by which India was able to withstand all external attacks. The ancients realised that it was not the business of all people to defend the state but only of a particular class, so that the progress of the country in the other directions, especially economic, might not be handicapped. In the second chapter Professor Dodwell points out the influence of Islam on Indian culture. After stating that the Delhi Sultanate was always a military state, it is said that the

Mughal empire 'at first exhibits a marked tendency to depart from the tradition of Muslim rule in India.' After passing in review the reigns of Akbar and Aurangzib, the rise and expansion of Maratha power is traced, as well as its decline after the battle of Panipat in 1761. The last two chapters of this volume deal with the story from the establishment of an Indian empire by the East India Company to the outbreak of the Mutiny. How the empire was built up is narrated with lucidity.

The second volume contains five chapters. The first chapter takes the narrative from 1858 to 1918. The year 1858 saw the end of the administration by the East India Company and the commencement of the rule of the Crown. The relations between Afghanistan and India are described. The chapter is concluded with the part which India played in the war that broke out in 1914. How the machinery of administration was reorganised and how India was brought into effective contact with the West are summarised in the second chapter. The most interesting part of the book is that on education and politics 1858-1909. In the next chapter the dyarchic system of government introduced by Montagu Chelmsford reforms as preliminary towards responsible government is examined, and it is remarked rightly that 'finance was one of the major problems which rendered the working of dyarchy peculiarly difficult.' The political unrest, the Simon Commission and its report, the meetings of the Round Table Conference and the Government of India Act 1935 are all treated in the last and concluding chapter.

V. R. R. DIKSHITAR.

A HANDBOOK OF GWALIOR—By M. B. GARDE, Superintendent
of Archaeology, Gwalior State, 1936.

There are already two books on Gwalior as stated by the author in the preface, but still necessity has been felt for a third hand book which would satisfy the needs of a general visitor to Gwalior. Besides furnishing general information about the state, it mentions places of interest in the Gwalior city including institutions of importance. Some institutions of the Districts of Gwalior are also mentioned. The appendices contain figures relating to population, occupation and languages. Important state publications find mention in an appendix. The information is brought up to date and the book is profusely illustrated. It is bound to be a useful guide book to a visitor to this ancient historic city and its neighbourhood.

V. R. R. DIKSHITAR.

MAHĀVIRA—His Life and Teachings. By Dr. Bimla Churn Law.
Published by Messrs. Luzac & Co. London, 1937.

Dr. B. C. Law needs no introduction to the oriental world. He has established his reputation for original work by his numerous publications. As a Buddhist scholar he is indeed very well-known. In the book under review the learned author presents an account of the life and teachings of Mahāvira, the last Tirthankara of the Jains. Dr. Law's comparative study of the original Buddhist and Jain tenets has enabled him to elucidate some doubtful points of Mahāvira's life and doctrine. Mahāvira belonged to the Jñātṛ Kṣatriyas. He was Nirgrantha because 'he was outwardly unclothed and inwardly free from all wordly bonds and ties.' His teachings are examined in a second section and it is pointed out how the main system of Jainism came to be represented as nava-tattva or doctrine of nine categories. His teachings are said to lead to the distinction of Karma and to the attainment of perfection. The book is well written and will be found useful by all students of Jaina religion and history.

V. R. R. DIKSHITAR.

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