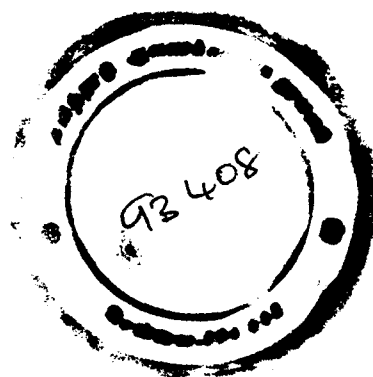


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EDITOR

Rājasēvāsakta

Dewan Bahadur S. KRISHNASVAMI AYYANGAR, M.A., Hony. Ph.D.,
*Honorary Correspondent, Archaeological Survey of India,
Fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.*

ASSOCIATE EDITORS

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

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Journal of Indian History

From Gujarat to Golconda in the Reign of Jahangir

By

W. H. MORELAND.

INTRODUCTION.

From the narratives of Finch, Roe and other English travellers it is possible to form a reasonably good idea of the journey from Surat northwards to Agra in the early years of the seventeenth century, but very little material is available either in English or in Persian for the other main route from Surat, which crossed the peninsula to Golconda and on to the East Coast. In this article I propose to summarise the information regarding this route contained in the diaries kept by two well-known Dutchmen, Pieter Gielisz van Ravesteyn, who travelled from Masulipatam to Surat and back between May, 1615, and January, 1616, and Pieter van den Broeke, who led his shipwrecked crew from Gandivi to the East Coast in November and December, 1617.

Ravesteyn's laborious journey was in effect the result of a misunderstanding. In 1614 the Moguls were at war with the Portuguese, and the officials at Surat, who had no war vessels at their disposal, thought it would be an advantage that the Dutch, who were also fighting the Portuguese, should send some shipping to Gujarat. Obviously it would have been undignified to make a direct request for help, so they wrote to suggest that the Dutch should reclaim some merchandise which had been lying in Surat for several years since the suicide of their factor, and hinted that they might care to take one of the Portuguese fortresses on the coast. The Dutch missed the point, and instead of sending ships despatched Ravesteyn overland from Masulipatam to recover the merchandise. His welcome was indifferent, for the Portuguese had

just made peace with the Moguls, while some of the officials had consumed some of the goods and were not anxious to pay their value. He spent six months first in Surat and then in Burhanpur doing his best to obtain payment of the book value of the goods, and eventually returned to Masulipatam with the modest sum he had been forced to accept in satisfaction of the original claim.

Ravesteyn, not unnaturally, formed a very poor idea of the prospects of trade in Surat, but his superiors thought otherwise, and decided to establish a factory there. In August, 1616, the *Nassau* reached Surat under the command of Broeke, who after some little difficulty obtained a provisional sanction from the Mogul officials, and left a small establishment to start work, while he himself returned to Java. Early next year he was sent in command of the *Middelburgh* and a smaller vessel, the *Dove*, on a round voyage, first to Mauritius, to recover salvage from a wreck and to obtain ebony, then to Madagascar to buy rice and slaves, and then to Surat for the business of the factory. The call at Mauritius was successfully made, but bad weather carried the ship away from Madagascar and near the coast of Arabia. She was very leaky, there was no possibility of repairing her in that part of the world, and on July 8th, 1617, Broeke decided that the only course was to make for Surat, dangerous as the voyage was at that season. It was typical monsoon weather: the ship could be kept afloat only by continuous pumping; when approaching Surat the rudder broke, the mainmast went overboard, and the ship was driven on shore near Gandivi. Fortunately the tide was high, and when it ebbed Broeke found to his surprise that the ship was on dry land. He at once constructed a stockade where he stored the cargo, burned the wreck in order to recover the iron, which he sold satisfactorily, and set to work to find a vessel to take his party to Java, along with the crew of the *Dove*, which had been wrecked a few miles away. The search for a ship proved fruitless, and after making the necessary preparations Broeke started, with a force of 103 Europeans and 29 Indian foot-soldiers hired to serve as guides and interpreters, to march across India to Masulipatam, where he could hope to find a Dutch vessel; he left Gandivi on 29th October, and reached the neighbourhood of Bezwada on 23rd December. The authorities refused permission for the party to go to Masulipatam, so at this point he crossed the Kistna to make for Nizampatam; here also he was refused admission, and sent further south to Motupalli, where a small Dutch vessel took the party on board and carried them to the fort at Pulicat.

Ravesteyn's diary of his journey was published by Dr. H. Terpstra in his *Opkomst der Wester-Kwartieren*. (The Hague, 1913, pp. 174 ff). Broeke also kept a diary, the MS of which is now in the University Library at Leiden, and I am grateful to the Librarian for his courteous permission to obtain photostats of this portion of it. Ravesteyn had served on the East Coast for about six years, and was quite familiar with life in the kingdom of Golconda, though he found Gujarat occasionally a little strange; his diary does not detail the route between Masulipatam and the capital, which was already familiar to Dutchmen. Broeke on the other hand was a stranger in India, and he sometimes made mistakes in dealing with the officials with whom he came in contact; but in essence he is the same man as emerges in the later diary of his residence at Surat, which I summarised in this *Journal* (vols. X and XI)—prompt, tactful and resourceful, and usually able to get his way.

THE ROUTE.

Both diaries contain the names of a large number of villages lying along the route, but identification of these is unnecessary for the present purpose, and as a rule I shall confine the description to the places shown on Plates 39 (Bombay, southern) and 42 (Hyderabad) of the Imperial Gazetteer Atlas (edition of 1931). The route falls naturally into three sections, divided by Golconda (or rather Bhagnagar), and either Daulatabad or Burhanpur; and it is convenient to take the eastern section first.

From Masulipatam to Bhagnagar the road was definite, and at this period adventures on it were not to be expected. It was not an absolutely straight line, which would have involved crossing the Kistna twice, but ran N. W. to Bezwada and then a little N. of W. to Bhagnagar by way of Nandigama, Mangala and Nalgonda. The distance on the map is just over 200 miles, and the time taken by travellers was from ten to twelve days. Broeke recorded the number of *gau* traversed each day, and Ravesteyn equated the *gau* to four of the local kos (of about $2\frac{1}{4}$ English miles), so that it is the unit of nine miles now known locally as *amada*. Broeke did not note the distance from Bezwada to Masulipatam, but his figures from Bhagnagar to Bezwada work out to 163 miles, almost exactly the distance obtained by measuring on the map. This portion of the road was thus direct, and there must be some mistake in the distance given by William Methwold in his *Relation of Golconda* (Hakluyt Society II. 66, p. 8). According to him the distance from Golconda to Masulipatam was 28 'leagues' of nine miles each, or

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252 miles, instead of about 200 : if the figure 28 is a mistake for 23, the statement would agree with the distance deduced from Broeke's diary, 163 miles to Bezwada and 44 miles on to Masulipatam. Ravesteyn, who did not detail the stages, gave the total distance as about 70 Holland, or 210 English miles.

Broeke tells us very little of interest regarding this portion of the route. Bezwada was "very large and populous". The actual crossing of the Kistna for travellers going to Nizampatam was at the village of Ibrahimpatam, about eight miles above Bezwada, which is not shown in the *Imperial Gazetteer*, but is described briefly on p. 29 of the *Manual of the Kistna District* (Madras, 1883). Broeke mentions but does not describe the fortresses on or near the route, Kondapalli, Kondavid and others of less note. He observed that most of the route lay through productive country, but between Nalgonda and Bhagnagar he found the villages "most wretched—houses, people, and food".

In Bhagnagar itself foreigners were not welcome. Broeke camped in a suburb, but rode into the city to call on the Governor; and he tells us that he could not obtain admission to the older city of Golconda "because the king's wives live there". Ravesteyn on the outward journey camped near the Husainsagar lake; and on his return made a long detour to avoid Bhagnagar, "because one cannot leave that place when one wants to". Broeke was impressed by two features of Bhagnagar in particular—prostitutes and police. For the former there was a sort of market: "every evening an assembly is held at an appointed place, where anyone can go and choose whoever suits him in beauty, or in cost (for the handsomest must get the most money); he promptly sends his choice home with a servant, or goes openly with her in person—which is a desirable custom."

Of the police, he records that the Kotwal visited the King every night with a written account of everything that had happened in the city during the past twentyfour hours, nothing whatever being suppressed. Apparently Broeke offended this personage, whom he did not visit, for after he had made one march from the city, his whole party were called back "by the authority of the Kotwal", and for the next three days he was sent from pillar to post before at last he secured a pass from the Governor. At the final interview he lost his temper and on taking leave swore "that I would not overlook the affronts given us here without any cause: yea, it would be talked about for a long time." The Governor smiled, and said "I should think it over". The threat naturally came to nothing.

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The second portion of the route ran almost due N. W. from Bhagnagar through Andol, Kaulas, Deglur, Kandhar, Pathri and Ambarh to Daulatabad: a road to Burhanpur diverged at Pathri. On the map the distance through these points is 265 miles. Ravesteyn's figures, given in terms of the *amada* or *gau*, work out to 311 miles, the main stages being as follows:

	Ravesteyn.	Map.
to Kaulas	.. 94½	78
" Deglur	.. 18	18
" Pathri	.. 103½	82
" Ambarh	.. 52	45
" Daulatabad	.. 43	42
	311	265

The fact that while the distances for two stages are identical, in the others the divergence is nearly 2 *gau*, nearly 2½ *gau*, and ¾ *gau* respectively, suggests that somewhere in the process of transcription errors have crept into the *gau* figures. Broeke gave the figures in kos, but omitted them for two marches. Allowing for these, his route works out to 150 kos; but it must be remembered that he was a stranger, and he noticed that the kos got longer as he travelled eastward. In Gujarat he took it as 1½ miles, and at some unspecified point his information must have changed from the Gujarati kos to the Golconda kos of 2¼ miles; I think therefore that his figures (which arithmetically gives a kos of 1¾ miles) are probably compounded of the two units.

The chief interest of the diaries here is the account of Malik Ambar's camp. According to both diarists, it lay about 10 miles S. E. of Daulatabad. Ravesteyn does not name the place, but Broeke gives us Kerka, which is obviously Khirki, the older name of Aurangabad, where Malik Ambar had established the Nizamshahi capital. I postpone the account of Malik Ambar himself, and for the present confine myself to two facts of political interest which are indicated in the diaries.

Comparison of the two records shows that some of the country between Daulatabad and Golconda had changed hands between 1615 and 1617. Ravesteyn crossed the frontier between Golconda and Ahmadnagar at a point 4 miles S. E. of Deglur, and from there to Daulatabad it was all under Malik Ambar's rule. Six months

later when he returned to Malik Ambar's camp, the direct road to Bhagnagar was reported to be unsafe, and he joined a caravan which made a detour to the south, passing Ahmadnagar city which was then a ruin. A year later Broeke found the Moguls in occupation of the country round Pathri for a distance of five marches, or about 100 miles. I have not found a detailed account of the Mogul campaign during this period, but obviously they had driven a wedge southward from Burhanpur between Daulatabad and Golconda, a movement which might well have proved decisive if it had been pressed to a successful conclusion.

The other point of political interest is this. The *Cambridge History of India* states (IV. 261) that at this period neither Golconda nor Bijapur "concerned himself much with the important struggle in the northwest of the Deccan otherwise than by supporting Malik Ambar by pecuniary contributions". In June, 1615, however, Ravesteyn found three camps side by side, Malik Ambar being in the centre, with on the right a Bijapur force commanded by Mulla Muhammad, and on the left Mir Musa in command of a Golconda force. On his return journey he found the Golconda camp still in position, but does not mention Bijapur. Broeke recorded that Malik Ambar had 80,000 horse in all, including 6,000 from Golconda, 10,000 (horse and foot) from Bijapur, and 12,000 (horse and foot) from "Balaghat near Goa" a phrase which must indicate Maratha auxiliaries. It is clear therefore that at this time Golconda and Bijapur did not confine themselves to pecuniary assistance.

Apart from politics, the following notes on this section of the route may be of interest. At Maliktujjarpeta, the second halting-place W. of Bhagnagar, Ravesteyn noted that the serai was the best and most convenient he had seen in the whole of Golconda; but further on he recorded that the accommodation for travellers in Ahmadnagar was generally very poor. Kaulas, then the frontier post of Golconda, had a moderately strong fort. Up to this point the country was fairly good, with no rivers but many large tanks provided with stone sluices. Deglur, the first post in Ahmadnagar, had a mud fort of little strength. After leaving Deglur the road was stony and difficult near Kandhar, described as a reasonably strong fort. Pathri was a moderate-sized country town, with a large daily market; and from Deglur to this point the country was stony, with very few trees, and did not appear to be very productive. Nothing else of interest appears in Ravesteyn's diary until he reached Malik Ambar's camp; but Broeke, marching in the reverse

direction, furnishes a few additional details. After one march eastward from Khirki the baggage oxen were shod because the road ahead was so stony. From Ambarh, the next halt, to Pathri the country was astonishingly productive and populous. Pathri was the centre of the Mogul administration. The next march brought the party back to Malik Ambar's country, and included a crossing of "the famous river Ganges", that is, the Godavari, at this season "a mere stream". The hills to the West of Kandhar were full of game. Kandhar itself was held in *jagir* by Mansur Khan, a Portuguese convert to Islam, having the rank of 6000 (further on, 5000) horse under Malik Ambar. The fort appeared to Broeke to be strong, built of stone, with redoubts and a double ditch, and provided with brass guns. The country here, which Ravesteyn thought was not very productive, was in Broeke's eyes rich and fully cultivated: the difference is probably a matter of season, for the former passed it in May, when the fields would be bare, and the latter in November when the crops would be ripe. The frontier of Golconda lay a few miles East of Deglur, as when Ravesteyn passed it; and it was in a very disturbed condition owing, Broeke says, to the great *contributie*. This is one of numerous instances where Broeke's fondness for foreign words makes difficulties. The word seems to be hybrid, French-Portuguese, meaning taxes or imposts; a large Golconda force was encamped near Kaulas, and was clearly levying supplies by violence, for on the next march Broeke met many fugitives who had abandoned their villages, which had been overrun and plundered, and further on he found four villages deserted. For the rest of the journey there is nothing of interest.

On the last stage of the route the determining factors were the Ghats, and the Rajput state of Baglan which commanded the passes. There was a direct road from Daulatabad to Surat, which utilised the pass at Pimpri in the Dangs, but apparently most travellers preferred to go North to Burhanpur and then down the Tapti valley to Surat. Ravesteyn used both roads, the first when going to Surat, and the second when returning, while Broeke, starting from Gandivi, took a very bad road through what is now the Bansda State.

Ravesteyn's mileage on the direct road compares as follows with the distances measured on Plate 37 of the Gazetteer Atlas:

	Ravesteyn. Map.	
to Pimpri	.. 108	120
" Mahuwara	.. 58	20
" Surat	.. 52	45
	218	185

From Pimpri to Mahuwara, the track through the Ghats must have been very circuitous, and probably the distance covered was over-estimated. The first four marches were uneventful, but near Pimpri they entered the mountains, and the road became very bad, "very hilly and rocky", and "climbing up and down mountains, the whole country full of jungle, seeing no wild animals and very few birds". Four miles beyond Pimpri they entered Baglan, where almost every village seems to have wanted toll, the amount of which had to be settled by bargaining. Two marches brought the party out of the mountains, and near Mahuwara they found "good productive country, with mangos planted along the whole road", and they saw many toddy palms, which had been rare since they left Golconda. "The people of the valleys are much more civilised in every way than those of the mountains, who seem much wilder". After Mahuwara they entered Mogul territory and the rest of the journey passed without incident.

Ravesteyn's journey from Surat to Burhanpur was made in the company of Sir Thomas Roe, and can be followed on pp. 66-68 of Sir William Foster's *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to India*, (Oxford, 1926). At Burhanpur he had a serious illness, and when he started for Khirki he had to be carried in a litter; apparently the diary for this portion of the journey was written by his assistant, Hendrik Adrianssen, and it gives the distances in kos, the size of which is not specified. On the map the distance from Burhanpur to Khirki is 120 miles, and the line is nearly straight; in the diary the length of one march is not specified, the other six total 66 kos, so the whole distance would be about 75-80 kos, and the kos would be about 1½ miles. None of the places named in the diary is shown in the *Gazetteer Atlas*, but the route can be followed on the Survey of India sheets named 'India and adjacent Countries'; it ran through Ainpur, Varangaon, Jamner, Tondapur and Palod. The road was very lonely, and most of the villages were deserted owing to the war. Mogul territory was left at Tondapur, just half way to Khirki.

When the party arrived, Malik Ambar's camp was in confusion, because the chief officers, both Hindu and Moslem, who had been sent against the Moguls, had rebelled, and proposed to set up another king: three days later the rebels submitted, but the camp was still disturbed, while the direct road to Bhagnagar was reported to be unsafe, and Ravesteyn after some hesitation decided to join a caravan of merchants, which made a wide detour to the S. and S.W.

passing through Paithan, Ahmednagar, Ashti, Naldrug and "Baryda" (probably a metathesis for Bidar). I have not thought it worth while to work out the details of this road, which was obviously not a regular route. Apparently Ravesteyn had recovered his health, for from Khirki onwards the litter was discarded, and the diary was obviously written by him; he eventually reached Masulipatam "safe and sound".

Finally we come to Broeke's journey with his party of over a hundred Dutchmen. Starting from Gandivi, where his goods had been stored, he marched up the valley of the Ambika, which is now traversed by the Gaekwar's branch-railway from Billimora to Waghai; his halting-places at Anauwal and Onny can be identified in the railway time-tables as Anawal and Unai, while the next, which is called Cammela, must be a metathesis for Kalamba. From this point the country is very difficult, and I have not succeeded in putting the next three halts, which Broeke gave as Tgannotra, Wasdebarrai, and Timpiri; but the route taken must have been nearly due S. from Kalamba, for the next recognisable place is Kolher, on the road from Surjana to Daulatabad, and this road was followed for the rest of the way, the halts being Vani, Vadner, Patoda, Deothan and Lasur (none of them in the *Gazetteer Atlas*, but all shown on the large-scale map). Broeke's mileage is given in the Gujarat kos of 1½ miles; the total is 165 miles, against 160 measured on the map.

The journey was uneventful as far as Unai, the first halt in Baglan. Here the headmen demanded toll of five mahmudis for each person and each ox, and seven for each horse, obviously an exorbitant sum. Broeke showed them two passes which he had obtained beforehand from the Raja, and they unwillingly withdrew their demand, but they advised him to go round by the fortresses of Salher and Mulher, where the Raja had his troops, warning him that the jungle ahead was full of robbers, and that he need not complain if anything happened to him. Broeke did not take their advice, but next day marched to Kalamba, where again the Raja's passes were recognised. On the following morning, however, the track was found to be blocked, and large numbers of armed men appeared, who began to shoot arrows, but ran away when Broeke sent a party to find out what they wanted. Further on, a similar attack was made, but was dispersed by a round of musketry, and the rest of that day and the next passed without incident.

Next day, the 5th November, the opposition came to a head. Broeke thought of halting at midday, but the attitude of the villagers

was such that he decided to push on, and get out of Baglan that day. As soon as his party came on to level ground, they observed large numbers of armed men in a jungle which lay ahead; clearing the jungle by musketry fire, they marched through, but on the open ground beyond they met two bodies of horsemen. One of these charged: Broeke held his fire till they came near; and at the first volley the leaders fell wounded from their horses, and the rest ran away out of range. A little later, they met a body of 600 horse, who, however, kept out of range, while musketeers and archers on foot, keeping under cover in the jungle, fired steadily, and caused several casualties. Finally a body of horse charged the rear, but were driven off; and so the Dutch reached the frontier, where they were welcomed by Malik Ambar's troops, after they had marched and skirmished from midday to sunset. The Dutch casualties were three killed and 23 wounded, a large proportion of their small force; the list of killed comprised a Dutch silversmith, a Japanese soldier, and a 'black' slave, while a quartermaster, a drummer, both Dutchmen, died soon after of their wounds. Subsequently Broeke heard that the enemy had lost their leader, nine troopers and 76 foot-soldiers. One incident of the day is perhaps worth mentioning. Before the fighting began, the enemy had tried to win over the Indian soldiers of Broeke's party, and the answer they gave was "Whose salt we eat, their words will we speak".

Broeke had procured a pass from Malik Ambar, and this ensured his safety in the territories of Ahmadnagar. The Governor of Kolher, the frontier post, at once recognised the pass, but asked for toll, a demand which was met by a present. On the next march, the Governor's son warned Broeke that there was danger ahead, because a Turk, whose name is given as Maldar Khan, and who had a command of 5000 horse under Malik Ambar but was not particularly obedient to him, was on the watch for the party in consequence of a rumour that they carried large quantities of gold and silver—a rumour which probably explains the attacks made on them in Baglan. Broeke wisely sent his assistant on ahead, to show Malik Ambar's pass to this Turk, and offer him a present, "a Japanese sword, a piece of satin, two pierced cups, and some cloves". This secured the favour of the Turk, who, as Broeke noted, was "universally respected and feared because he is a great robber"; and the main party pressed on to Daulatabad, the wounded being left at Patoda in charge of the local Governor.

The camp was pitched at Nizampur, about two miles from Daulatabad. Broeke was not allowed to enter the fortress, but he

was impressed by what he could see of the fortifications; and near the town he noticed three brass guns of exceptional size, one of them, known as *Malik Maidan*, more than 30 feet long with a muzzle three feet in diameter. Next day the party reached Khirki, and encamped close to Malik Ambar's position, thus bringing this section of the journey to an end. The *Malik Maidan* was a famous gun. Jahangir was told (*Rogers and Beveridge*, ii. 163) that it was so large that a man could sit comfortably inside it. Its possession must have passed to the King of Bijapur, for in 1632 it was set up in that city, where it is still to be seen (*Camb. Hist., of India* IV. 265).

MALIK AMBAR.

Malik Ambar is one of the outstanding figures of the period, and his military achievements are well known, but I can find in the published chronicles scarcely a word to show the kind of man he was, and it will be worth while to relate in detail how he appeared to the two Dutchmen who saw him face to face. Ravesteyn is as usual very concise, and keep strictly to business, but Broeke was evidently impressed by the Malik's personality, and took some trouble to learn his story, as it was told on the spot.

Ravesteyn tells us that on reaching the camp he presented a letter of introduction to Mir Abdul Fateh, whom he describes, in the terminology of Golconda, as Malik Ambar's Mir Jumla; Broeke described him as the king's secretary. Abdul Fateh introduced Ravesteyn to the Malik, "who talked to us very freely about the sea-war between the Portuguese, us, and the English; he seemed to be very well inclined towards us, and gave us a letter authorising us to cross his frontier. . . . He is a substantial man in body and limb, of more than middle height, black as a Moor. I understand that there is very good justice here, and he is greatly respected by everyone".

Broeke's account is substantially as follows, but I must premise that his colloquial and ungrammatical language occasionally presents verbal problems which I cannot solve with confidence, and the phrases which I have marked with a query contain an element of conjecture.

"After midday I went in person to Malik Ambar with a present consisting of a Japanese sword and a costly Javan creese. He was highly pleased with the sword, but not with the creese, because the Devil was engraved on it; he gave it back to me, with a *farman* for

Nobody may on pain of death offer strong drink for sale or even travel [with it] through the country. The camp is very large in circuit; one cannot ride round it in four hours or *gharis*. At this season it was exceedingly cold in the camp, which is called Kerka; you can buy whatever you want in it.

"The Malik tried hard to get me into his service, offering me 100 pagodas a month and a fine *aldea*¹ or income from a village. There were many Portuguese in his service, all of whom had become Moslems; some commanded 1000 horse, others 3000 and 5000; the name of the last was Mansur Khan, an Indian half-breed."

I have found no records by which to confirm or contradict the dynastic story which Broeke heard in the camp: in essence it is not improbable, but it may have been elaborated by gossip before it reached his ears. One point of fact may, however, be noticed. Writing in 1617, Broeke said that the king of Ahmadnagar was about twelve years old, and was only five at the time of his accession: he would thus have been born about 1605, and succeeded to the throne in 1610. According to the *Cambridge History of India* (III. 704), Murtaza II succeeded in 1603 and reigned until 1630; if this is correct, Broeke's figures must be erroneous, but such mistakes are likely to occur, and do not necessarily affect the credibility of the story in its main lines.

A PORTUGUESE RAID.

I have now completed the account of the road across India, and will conclude this article with two extracts from Broeke's diary. The first is a story which he heard on his arrival at the ruined port of Motupalli after he had been refused admission to Nizampatam.

"The inhabitants told me that about two years ago some Portuguese from S. Thomé came here with nine frigates—200 Portuguese besides topasses [half-breeds] and slaves. To begin with, they overran the country round the village, robbed and carried off many children, girls and women. Not satisfied with this, they marched two kos inland to get plunder, not keeping any order, as is the practice of such a haughty nation after even a small victory. At last they were surprised and suddenly attacked by the Hindus who lay in ambush, so that 180 white Portuguese (not counting the rabble) were promptly massacred, and the surviving twenty priso-

¹ *Aldea* is the Portuguese word for 'village', but Broeke uses it in the sense of *jagir*.

ners were sent to the king at Golconda. When the men on the frigates heard the news, they returned at once to S. Thomé."

This anecdote seems to suggest a reason for what puzzled and angered Broeke, the exclusion of his party first from Masulipatam and then from Nizampatam. With such an outrage in their minds, the local authorities, who would not distinguish one set of foreigners from another, would very naturally keep a strong armed party as far away as possible from their jurisdiction, and it would be a not unreasonable precaution to send them to Motupalli where, at the worst, they could not do much harm, the place being already ruined.

A SUTTEE.

The other extract is an account of a suttee which Broeke witnessed while on a visit to the Nayak of Pondicherry at Valdavur.

"In the Nayak's fort we saw a very handsome young woman of about nineteen or twenty preparing to be burned alive next day with her dead husband, who had died two days before. We would gladly have driven that error out of her head, but it was just like knocking at a deaf man's door; she would not hear a word. She began to laugh very heartily in the presence of a false brute her priest, who made such a noise reading that it was difficult to hear, but we could more or less make out her real attitude. She said, 'I do not want to bring disgrace on my family and parents, but wish firmly to live and die with my husband. Also I could never again associate with any of my family, but would be excluded and considered unworthy to appear before their eyes. Also I would have to spend my life without a husband, which is a severe penance for a young woman'. Thereupon she begged me not to worry any more about such things: besides she thought her husband in the next world was already calling her, which the brute of a Brahman at once asserted to be true. She also said that she would be despised by everybody, but asked us to be so good as to approach the Nayak for her to obtain that her two innocent little children might secure maintenance: 'for myself I am ready to die because our laws require it'. We offered to take her away to some other place, where she would be more esteemed, even though she was left alone in the world. She listened eagerly to the Brahman, stood with a lemon in one hand and a mirror in the other, rubbed her eyes with the lemon, and kept crying out Ram! Ram! which in their language means God! God! She was adorned with all her valuable jewels and with sweet-smelling flowers. We could not wonder enough at the great courage and cheerfulness which she displayed.

the wounded men we had left behind. He was gracious towards me, and put on me two costly shawls, one of gold, the other of camel's hair, which is the greatest honour that can be paid to anyone. Further, he offered to give me a guard of soldiers to escort me to Golconda.

"An envoy from the Raja of Baglan was sitting by him, who wanted restitution of the horse [which we had captured] and [reparation for] the injury which had been done to his men. I answered Malik Ambar that it was true that I was now in his country and in his power, relying on his written promise (? which was respected throughout the world). If it was his will that I should return the horse, it would be done, but not with my will and much against my inclination. If it was not his will, then the valiant Rajput soldiers might come and take it by force. He began to laugh, and caused a similar answer to be given to the envoy (? who was not at all pleased).

"Some Portuguese renegades were sitting in the assembly, who said to each other in Portuguese "Look at that arrogant dog". (? They made a representation to the Malik) saying, "This dog has come merely to spy out the land: look before you". Soon after he gave me my dismissal with a friendly countenance, I returned to our tents.

"This Malik Ambar is a black kafir from Abyssinia, or Prester John's country. He has a stern Roman face, is tall and strong in body, with white glazed eyes, which are very unbecoming. He maintains good administration.

"He was a slave, and was sold in Mocha for twenty ducats. After the death of his master, who was a wealthy nobleman in the Deccan, he won over the widow, who had but little property, because the king of the country usually seizes the property of great men, so that he had to turn to theft and robbery. In this he was successful, and obtained a large following, so that eventually he came to command more than 5000 horse. He maintained himself and his robbers in an impregnable place where the king of Ahmadnagar could do nothing to him, for the fox was too cunning. They fought each other for many years, but because the king was at war with the Great Mogul, who wanted to make himself master of the Deccan, he summoned Malik Ambar and offered to employ him on a good income against the Mogul. The Malik, as a crafty man who had noticed the king's duplicity and treachery, refused this offer, and persisted in his undertaking, so that eventually he collected a

force of over 8000 horse and gained many partisans. Seeing this, the king again offered peace, and the Malik answered that if the king would forget the past, and ask for his daughter, to marry her as a queen, he would serve him faithfully against the Great Mogul, and would always be his subject. The king with the approval of his counsellors agreed to this contract, and married the Malik's daughter as a queen with great pomp and magnificence before all the world: thereupon the Malik came to court with 8000 well-mounted horsemen, was cordially welcomed, and provided with 4000 additional horse, making 12,000 in all; and he rose to high favour with the king.

"Later it happened that the king's first wife, who was a white Persian woman, reproached Malik Ambar's daughter with bitter words, saying that she was only a slave-girl and a concubine of the king, and also that her father was a rebel. The daughter told her father, who was so angry that he determined to have the king killed; and at last he gained over the king's secretary, Mir Abdul Fateh, who poisoned him with a drink of which he died, leaving a minor son. The Malik at once took charge of the minor, and made himself master of the whole country. The son is now about twelve years old, and was only five when his father died. The Malik goes in person to pay his respects to him twice a week. The boy-king is named Nizam Shah. The Queen, the woman who was the cause of the whole quarrel, was also poisoned shortly after her husband's death.

"Malik Ambar is now ruler of the whole country on the pretext that the king is young. He wages war stoutly against the Great Mogul, and every year he is assisted by the kings of Golconda, Bijapur and Balaghat, namely by Qutbshah, king of Golconda, 6000 horse, by Ibrahim Adil Shah, king of Bijapur, 10,000 men (horse and foot), by Balaghat near Goa 12,000 horse and foot, together with some other smaller kings; so that every year he has more than 80,000 horse in his camp. This force must always be kept together on account of the Great Mogul, who frequently attacks the country in force; if the Ghats were not so dangerous to traverse, he would have conquered the country long ago. This is the reason why they must always be on guard at this pass through the Ghats.

"The Malik maintains good laws and administration in his country. He punishes criminals and thieves very severely, so that you can safely travel with gold through his territory. If anyone gets drunk, he promptly has melted lead poured down his throat.

The old Brahman who sat behind her played continuously on musical instruments, so that nobody should contradict.

"Eventually, next morning she sprang beside her husband's corpse—boldly, resolutely and gaily. As soon as she was in the fire, all the bystanders threw on her pieces of wood, oil, straw etc. with such a clamour that it was impossible to hear her cries, so that it was soon all over".

Brooke made no further comment, and I shall follow his example.

Humayun's Religion*

By

S. K. BANERJI, M.A., L.T., PH.D. (LOND.),

Reader, Lucknow University Lucknow.

Humāyūn's religion is a fascinating theme. It exercised great influence on Akbar and his administration. In order to discuss the subject, we shall consider the following points:—

1. Parentage.
2. Religious traditions amongst the Timūrids.
3. Upbringing and education.
4. Marriages.
5. The environment. His nobles, courtiers and poets. Rājput traditions.
6. His life in Persia. Influence of Shāh Tahmāsp on him.
7. Religious tinge in his character. Sūfistic influences.

Let us take up these one by one.

1. *Parentage*:—His father, Bābur, was a man pious and singularly free from bias or religious bigotry. He was deeply religious and had written the religious work, *Mubīn*,¹ and versified Khwāja Ahrār's *Wāladiyya risāla*;² as a pious act. His faith in God was unflinching. But he was untouched by the sectarian controversy. To him, Sunniism was his birthright, and as such it was the only orthodox form of Islām. At the same time he did not hate Shiism and was prepared, if necessary, to pray to Ali or read the Shia *Khutbah*. It was he alone who dared read the names of the twelve Imāms from the Jāmi masjid of Samarqand amidst the teeming Sunnī population, and his coins of the period emphasize this fact. To him the cultural and political alliance with Persia was of greater significance than the maintenance of sectarian differences. Again, during Humayun's illness Bābur prayed to Mur-

*The paper was read at the Modern History Congress held at Poona in June, 1936 A.D.

1. See the *Bāburnāma*, pp. 437-8. Its full name was *Dar fiqha-t-mubaiyyan*.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 619-20.

tazā Ali, 'Karram-Allāh Wajahahu' so fervently that he thought his last illness ending in his death was an acceptance of his prayers.³ In order to realise his touch with Shiism one may draw attention to his association with Persian rulers and Persian literature. The illustrious Sultān Bāiqarā, a Shia and his relation, was the ruler of Khurasān, a province of Persia, and Bābur with a feeling of pride describes in his memoirs, the glories of the Sultān and his capital, Herāt.

Again, his friendship for Shāh Ismāil was deep and sincere; for to his friend he owed the deliverance from the relentless Shāibānī Khān.⁴ We know that Ismāil was not only a political leader but also the head of a religious order and later on became the apostle of the neo-Shiism. Bābur had no feeling of hatred for this cult. Having no spirit of a world-conqueror in him he was content to look on Ismāil's success with passive contentment. This explains the absence of any condemnatory epithets with reference to Ismāil or his son, Tahmāsp's deeds which included many senseless massacres.⁵

This association with the Shāhs of Persia naturally softened his orthodox tendencies. The differences between the Sunniism and Shiism to a thinker would not appear irreconcilable and Bābur as a pious scholar could easily maintain a balanced view with regard to both, viz., being born a Sunnī he followed the rites of his sect, while he enjoyed the company of the Shias.⁶

Such a liberal outlook is bound to grow, and hence amidst the ignorant Afghans, he could rule with complaisance, and in India could be singularly free from idol-breaking tendencies.⁷ If some of the Jaina images were mutilated at Urwah in Gwāliar fort it was because of their nudeness.⁸ Otherwise other temples at the same

3. See Gulbadan Bēgam's *Humāyūn-nāma* (G.H.N.) fol. 17. a.

4. The other variants of his name are Shaibāq Khān, Shāhī Bēg or Shāh-Bakht Khān.

5. For Ismāil's cruelties see Browne's *Literary History of Persia*, Vol. IV, p. 56.

6. In his court there were Persian poets and authors, Khwāndamīr being the most noted.

7. Ajudhiya temple was broken in 934 A.H. (1527-8 A.D.) when Bābur was at war with the Rājputās and had declared a *jihād*. We do not know that its destruction took place at Bābur's orders. The date 935 A.H. (1528-9 A.D.) is that of its completion. See the *Bābur-nāma* (B.N.), p. 574 and Appendix U.

8. B.N., p. 612.

place were also visited and described by him, and they were left entire.⁹ In fact, he uses with regard to them the words, 'after enjoying the sights of these buildings. ' What a contrast between this cultured, deeply religious king and the Pathan rulers of Delhi, his bigoted predecessors!

Humāyūn as the son of Bābur was bound to be influenced by his father's attitude. Bābur carefully nurtured him and at the end of his days could confidently assert the goodness in the son. If Gulbadan Bēgam, Humāyūn's sister, rightly reports him, to Bābur there was no one equal to Humayun in distinction, and that he loved him above all others.¹⁰

Humāyūn's mother was Māham Bēgam, whom Bābur married in Khurasān.¹¹ Like Hamīda Bānū, she came from a Persian stock, having descended from Ahmad of Jām or Turbat-i-Jām, Sultān Husain, the ruler under whose patronage Bābur then lived, was like his more famous contemporary Ismāil a protagonist of Shiism.¹² Bābur was deeply influenced by the personality of his illustrious relation and to oblige him, married a Shia lady especially as Muslim Law fully allowed it. The husband and wife were attached to each other¹³ and doted on their child. Māham exercised some political influence on her husband and much more on her son.¹⁴ The happy domestic life of his parents would tend Humāyūn to think little of the sectarian differences and imitate his father's example in marrying the Shia ladies.

2. *Religious traditions in the family*:—Humāyūn was descended from the great Tīmūr, the family contained the votaries of both the sects. About Tīmūr himself there is a controversy as to whether he was a Sunnī or a Shia.¹⁵ Among those who were Bābur's contemporary, Bāisunghar M., Mahmūd Mirzā's son, Sultān Husain and his son Muhammad Husain M. were Shias at one time or the other. Many of them were learned, devout, and pious, and several were disciples of Khwāja Ubaidullāh Ahrār¹⁶ and his suc-

9. *Ibid.*, p. 613.

10. G.H.N., 17. a.

11. In 1506 A.D.

12. See Browne's *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, Vol. 4, p. 63.

13. According to Mrs. Beveridge, 'She was to Bābur what Ayisha was to Muhammad'. See G.H.N., p. 9.

14. See G.H.N.

15. Harold Lamb: *Tamerlane the Earth-shaker*, p. 285. According to the author he was not a devout Muslim but followed his own ideas.

16. The saint of Samarqand. He died in 1491 A.D.

cessors. The princes tolerated each others' religious views. Thus a Timūrid prince was a synonym for culture, learning, and breadth of views.

3. *Humāyūn's up-bringing and education*:—Bābur was ruling in Kābul when Humāyūn was born there in 1508 A.D. He then took up the title of Pādshāh, a Persian title indicating a higher rank than that of a Mirzā. Three years later, in alliance with Shāh Ismail he conquered Samarqand but lost it immediately after. They had welcomed him as one of their countrymen, just and wise, but they turned their faces from him when from the pulpit of the chief mosque he read the Shia form of *Khutbah* and acknowledged the suzerainty of Shāh Ismail. The Shia suzerainty was galling to the Samarqandī Sunnīs, and hence they drove away one who had been dear to them in the past. Thus rejected, he returned to Kābul, maintained his alliance with Shāh Ismail, learnt much of military improvements from him, and then turned to the east. It is to the credit of Bābur, that as a ruler of Kābul, he so satisfied his Afghān subjects that they supported him against their own countryman, Ibrāhīm Lōdī. Bābur, before coming to Kābul was well known for his justice and fairness, and during his stay there, he enhanced his reputation.

Bābur was interested in his son's education and Humāyūn grew up under his very eyes. It gave great pleasure to Bābur to think that Humāyūn's upbringing was in accordance with his ideas, and the prince grew up to be a learned and pious scholar, qualified as warrior and administrator. Similarly Bābur's kindness of nature, regard for his relations, and disregard for wealth,¹⁷ and assumption of the title of qalandar, (*darwesh*),¹⁸ were remembered and later on imitated by his son.

4. *Humāyūn's marriages*:—Humāyūn married several times. Of his wives three have been pronounced to be principal (a) Bēga Bēgam, the wife of his youth, who accompanied him to Bengal and was captured by Shēr Shāh at the battle of Chausa. She is chiefly remembered for her large share in the building of her husband's tomb at Delhi and for accommodating hundreds of Arabs in the neighbouring *Sarai*, henceforth called *Arab Sarai*. (b) Hamīda

17. He had distributed lavishly the wealth of Delhi on its occupation and had given away the famous diamond (*Kōh-i-nūr*?) to Humāyūn.

18. The couplet on the Ajudhiya mosque given below proclaim his

humility: *قادر و جبار بجز قلندر و کونند در درگنج کامران*

Bānū, daughter of Shaikh Ali Akbar Dōst Jāmī¹⁹ a distant descendant of Shaikh Ahmad of Jām. We shall have presently to refer to her again. (c) Māh Chūchūq Bēgam, a spouse of Humāyūn's older years being married in 1546 A.D. when he was 38 years in age. She was a little girl at the time of her marriage and bore to the king two sons and four daughters. As mother of Muhammad Hakīm she exercised some influence on Kābul politics after her husband's death.

Then there were other wives of whom five can be traced. (d) Gulbarg Barlas, Khalifa Nizāmuddīn's daughter.²⁰ Gulbarg was married after Humāyūn's accession. This would, to some extent, refute the assumption that Humāyūn had continued to be hostile to the Khalifa, owing to the latter's intrigue against the prince's accession. Mir Masūm, author of the *Tārīkh-i-Sindh*, writes of her death, "She entrusted her soul to the guardians of the hour of death, and the leaves (gulbarg) of the rose-bush of her life were dispersed by the boisterous wind of mortality." Probably she died fairly young. (e) Khānīsh Āghā Khwārazmī. (f) Shād Bibī. (g) Mēwa-i-jān. (h) Gūnwar Bibī.

Humāyūn had also been betrothed to two other ladies, but from the absence of any later reference we may presume that the marriages were not celebrated. The ladies were (i) Shāhzāda Khānam, daughter of Muhammad Sulaimān Mirzā, and his more masculine wife, Haram Bēgam. The betrothal took place in 1551 A.D. as a political measure, the object being to attach Sulaimān more firmly to his cause²¹ as against the ever turbulent Kāmran. Since the object was realized with the defeat and submission of Kāmran two years later (1553 A.D.), the question of the celebration of marriage was not considered. (ii) The lady, whose name is not ascertainable was Shāh Tahmāsp's niece and Masūm Bēg's daughter. The betrothal took place in 1544 A.D. Here again Humāyūn's object was to claim relationship and obtain aid from the Shāh. Since full aid was rendered immediately afterwards Humāyūn conveniently forgot all about his betrothed lady.²²

19. Mrs. Beveridge discusses whether Ali Akbar and Bābā Dōst refer to the same person. See *G.H.N.*, p. 237-9.

20. Nizāmuddīn Ali Khalifa was the influential minister of Bābur.

21. As *A.N.*, Vol. I, p. 575 says: 'His Majesty's (Humāyūn's) mind would be at rest as regards Badakhshān and M. Sulaimān would be conciliated'.

22. The modern readers may be reminded that the bridegroom and the bride seldom met before the actual marriage and hence no question of betrayal of plighted love could arise. Hamīda Bānū's case was an exception.

Let us reconsider the first three ladies. Māh Chūchūq was too young at the time of her marriage and became a widow ten years later. Hence her influence on the king was practically nil. Bēga Bēgam was also more or less neglected,²³ though she faithfully carried out her wifely duties and after her husband's death acted as the chief guardian of his tomb. Hamīda Bānū needs closer attention. Married in 1542 A.D. when she was only a girl of 14, she showed remarkable prudence, hardihood, and devotion, to her husband's cause. Accompanied by another lady, the wife of a commoner, she faced the hardship of a journey through the Balūch deserts and went to Persia in her husband's company. Her influence with Shāhzāda Sultānam was in Humāyūn's favour and partly because of her—a Shia's marriage with Humāyūn that the Shāh hoped for the fulfilment of Humāyūn's promises viz., making Shiism the state religion of the future Mughal India.

It is unfortunate that Humāyūn made such large promises without realizing whether he would ever actually be in a position to fulfil them. In Afghānistān, it would have been suicidal, in the face of the rivalry of Kāmran and other Mirzās, to make any such announcement. In India, his sojourn was too short and too full of stirring events to allow him to pay attention to the long postponed question. Still it would not be unreasonable to give him credit for sincerity. An enlightened scholar like him, brought up under the very eyes of one of the most remarkable among men of all times—Bābur—knew full well that the narrow differences between the two sects were not unbridgeable.

Humāyūn's relations with Mariam Makānī,²⁴ like his father's with Māham, were marked by cordiality. As against the other wives, she enjoyed the company of her husband, she establishing her right by the sufferings endured during the journeys to and from Persia. In her son, Akbar's reign too, her influence was considerable. It is believed by some writers, that Akbar's deviation from Sunnism to Shiism was as much due to his mother's influence as to any other.

5. *The Environment:* Nobles, courtiers and poets of his reign:—

When Humāyūn ascended the throne he found himself surrounded by nobles of all Muslim countries belonging to both the

23. See G.H.N., fol. 30 A. & B., for her request to Humāyūn for greater attention.

24. Hamīda Bānū's title by which she is usually known.

sects of Islam. The Shia, Bairam Khān, among them, was, by Bābur's recommendation,²⁵ his particular friend and companion. Charged by his father on deathbed,²⁶ he played the protector and friend to all his nobles and subjects. Of course there were weightier reasons for the adoption of this policy. The Khalifa's intrigues to supersede him by Mahdī Khwāja and Mirzā Muhammad Zamān's and Mirzā Muhammad Sultān's rebellious attitude set him to win the hearts of his nobles. In order to do so, he scattered his father's treasures so liberally that date of his accession is remembered by the chronogram, "trayful of gold".²⁷ His munificence achieved its object and troubles from all quarters ended for the time being.

Humāyūn meant to tread in his father's footsteps and as soon as he was free from the first series of campaigns in the east, he set his heart to accomplish a great and beneficial work. He founded a new capital in Delhi in *Shabān*, 940 A.H. (1534 A.D.), gave it the name of *Din-panāh*, the Asylum of Faith and made it the resort of the wise learned. There the learned Shaikhs, the pious Sayyids, doctors of divinity, great mathematicians, astrologers, historians, and the elders of the city gathered, and in imitation of their king, put a brick on the earth, and laid the foundations of the city.²⁸ *Din-panāh* like Muhammad Tughluq's *Daulatābād*, was to announce a new heaven on earth, and new fundamentals for the Mughal Government. It was to be a new culture, at once cosmopolitan, and assimilative. It is this fact that has been missed by most of the modern writers. They never realized that Humāyūn whether he politically succeeded or not, ever stood for a breadth of culture and purity of motives, that made him an august personage, whose urbanity and nobility of soul were ever the aspiration of his fellow-kings in and outside of India. Again without a full grasp of this cardinal fact, it is impossible to appreciate the full value that Humāyūn attached to the honour of being *Rākhībandh bhai* to the princess Karnāvati of Chitor, or his

25. For Bābur's compliments see the *Tārīkh-i-Rahīmī*, p. 64.

26. G.H.N., p. 196. Bābur's words are, "I hope to God, Humāyūn will also bear himself well towards men . . . and all of these (brothers, kinsfolk, people) I confide to you."

27. سنہ ۹۳۶ - 936 A.H. one year less than the actual date 437 A.H. Such small discrepancies are permissible with regard to chronograms.

28. See Khwādamīr's description in Elliot, Vol. 5. He was present on the occasion.

strategic campaign that made him vanquish Bahādur in the midst of his victories, without directly going to the aid of the Rājputs. Much of his Bengal campaign would be intelligible if we only remember that it was waged in a royal fugitive's interest²⁹ and that for the fugitive's sake he sacrificed the possibility of an honourable and advantageous settlement with Shēr Khān. When no longer a king but a mere fleeing fugitive, yet he was looked upon with a feeling of regard and respect by the kings of the day. Shēr Shāh and Shāh Husain of Sindh might have captured him if they had chosen, and also by Shāh Tahmāsp who lent him his army. Humāyūn's patience in the midst of his sufferings is as noticeable as his munificence as king.

It is this high tone of his court that attracted people from all parts of the Muslim world and it would not be too much to say that under Humāyūn just as under his more fortunate son, Akbar, the centre of attraction for the Muslim learned was neither in Persia nor in Turkistan but in India. Of the poets and historians that had gathered round Humāyūn in Delhi the following may be mentioned:—

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| From Turkistān— | 1. Maulānā Abdul Bāqī, Sadr, Tirukis-tānī. |
| | 2. Mīr Abdul Hai Bukhārī. |
| | 3. Hairatī of Mawarāunnahar. |
| | 4. Jahī Yatmiyān of Bukhārā. |
| | 5. Khwāja Ayyūb of Mawarāunnahar. |
| | 6. Maulānā Nādirī of Samarqand. |
| From Persia— | 1. Mīr Abdul Lattif Qazvinī. |
| | 2. Maulānā Qāsim Kāhī. |
| | 3. Shaikh Abdul Wājid. ³⁰ |
| | 4. Fāriḡhī Shīrāzī. |
| | 5. Shauq-i-Tabrizī. |
| | 6. Shaikh Zainuddin Khāfi (Wafāi). |
| From Herāt— | 1. Yūsuf bin Muhammad Herāvi. |
| | 2. Ghiyāsuddīn bin Humāmuddīn Khwādamīr. He died in India in 1534-5 A.D. |
| From Merv— | 1. Khwāja Hussain Mervī. |
| From Badakhshān— | 1. Maulānā Junūbī. |

29. Sultān Ghiyāsuddīn Mahmūd of Bengal.

30. Badāūnī calls him Wāhid or Wajid.

Similarly most of the chief nobles of the Mughal court were foreigners. Many of the Turkī nobles came with Bābur and there were continual additions in later years. From Persia came Bairam Khān, Shāh Abul Maālī and a host of others.

6. His sojourn in Persia. Influence of Tahmāsp on him:

Humāyūn stayed in Persia for a year or more in 1544 A.D. and came into close contact with the Shāh. He obtained an army in return for³¹ putting on the Shia tāj³² and a promise to read the Shia *Khutbah* in India.

It is clear from the descriptions of Abul Fazl, Bāyazīd, and Jauhar, that Humāyūn was a devout person. At Turbat-i-Jām, Ardabil, and Mashhad, he spent several weeks praying at the tombs of the eighth Imām and the other saints. In this devotion, he made no distinction of personage or creed. At Mashhad he repeated in honour of Ali,³¹ the lines:—

ما یحکم زجان بندہ اولاد علی
چون کسرتی کبے نبانت جز او
مستقیم منته خرم از یاد علی
آن پیکر که منیم و را در یاد علی

Whole-heartedly am I a bondsman of Ali's progeny
Am always happy in remembrance of Ali,
As none but Ali comprehended the myterious teachings
of the Prophet,
It is well that I constantly repeat on the rosary the name
of Ali.

Similarly he prayed at a tomb of Shaik-ul-Islām, Ahmad-i-Jām, Zinda-pil³² at Turbat-i-Jām and the tombs of Tahmāsp's saintly ancestors, Shaikh Safiuddin,³³ and his son Shaikh Sadruddin and others. He was all humility at these places. At the eighth Imām's tomb he acted as a *farrāsh* (sweeper), cleaning the floor and trimming the candles. At Jām, was inscribed on the wall, in Humāyūn's handwriting the words سرگند دای بد سرانجام محمد جلیون 'the wanderer in the desert of destitution, Muhammad Humāyūn.' When the

31. Humāyūn refers to either of the two Ali's, one, Muhammad, son-in-law and the other, the eighth Imām Ali-ir-Razā.

32. The other variant is *خند صیل* (the mad elephant that tears its victims).

33. From whom the dynasty is called Safawī dynasty.

chief Qāzī of the Shāh spoke of rude behaviour in Humāyūn's followers and their insulting references to the Shia Imāms, Humāyūn, if Jauhar is to be believed, was so shocked that as a protest, he at once declared himself a follower and disciple of the two impeccable Imāms meaning Hasan & Husain. From this declaration to the actual acceptance of Shiaism was an easy and natural step.

It will also be clear that such an acceptance did not upset Humāyūn at all. A scholarly and cultured prince like him would sympathize with the sufferings of the Imāms and declared his love for them. As well, a Hindu in a Shia *majlis*, might shed warm tears at the recitation of the *marsias* or elegies.

That Humāyūn did not mean anything more than a momentary regard for the Shāh and for the Shia faith, is clear from his reply to Shaikh Hamid during the second invasion of India. When the Sunnī Shaikh fell into a passion at seeing practically all the king's soldiers to be Shias and observed, 'I see the whole of your army are *Rāfizis*.....I find they are all Yār Ali or Kashf Ali or Haidar Ali and I have not found a single man bearing the name of any other companion,' Humāyūn indignantly pointed out the name of his own grandfather, Umar Shaikh and further informed the Shaikh of the purity of his faith (Sunnism).³⁴

Humāyūn's piety and courtly manners had won the heart of the Persians, several of whom joined his service and returned with him to Qandahār and later on to India. The cruel and bigoted Tahmāsp³⁵ could hardly influence one who was greater than himself.

7. *Humāyūn's character: Sūfistic influences on him.* Humāyūn was a man of many virtues. He was a devoted son, a loving husband, and an affectionate father. Besides administration, his main occupation was the study of mathematics, astronomy, and astrology. He was also a poet of tolerable merit. His studies and administration brought him into contact with a large number of people who one and all felt attracted towards him. Therein lay the secret of his success. He never succumbed to failures, rather out of them rose stronger and higher and regained all that he had formerly lost. His catholicism and toleration of heart contributed largely to his success.

34. Since Badāūnī writes it, 'the purity of his faith' would indicate the Sunnī sect.

35. For his cruelties see Browne's *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, Vol. IV, pp. 96-97.

A comparison of Humāyūn with Kāmran has been a favourite theme with the historians, some of whom have expressed their preference for the latter. We may consider here the religious differences between the two. Kāmran was a bigoted Sunnī and had no feeling but of contempt for the Shias. Many a time wrangles took place between Humāyūn and Kāmran over Sectarian trifles showing the latter's blindness. From bigotry, Kāmran was easily led to the other defect in his character, viz., cruelty.³⁶ Hence the Tīmūrids and their followers rejected him and chose the nobler Humāyūn.³⁷

Before closing, we may also point out another trait in Humāyūn's character. He was of a pensive temperament which later on took on a Sūfistic tinge. Some of his *ghazals* and *rubāis* may be given here.

(1) Ghazals:

کسب می بار دشت بر جان من بر بلبل مرغ جان خوان پرید از هم او اندر هوا
چون صفت کرب و باران بد باد بربان ز آند من غنچه آخر غمره در به به
با سبب شمع در دمن گوازه از آند و نیش در حنای چرخ دار و در شفا
نبست من محراب غم از شعله لاله و هست از پیر این پر خون من پر کمال
بر اسکن شهر هستی نبست من اعتماد چون مایون فیر و منزلت من لب و لعل فنا

Tr.

As sky (fate) aims at me too many arrows of affliction,
My soul (bird) cannot spring into aerial flights.
If the downpours of affliction deluge you, as rain does the
oyster,
Do not complain, (but remember) that to the oyster along
with each drop of rain is given a pearl (hence to you
also something precious may be given.)
To Jesus³⁸ do not unfold (the state) of my pain,

36. See Erskine, Vol. II (*Humāyūn*), pp. 336, 341. Also *Akbar-nāma* (trans.), pp. 502, 510.

37. We have not been able to account for the general desertion from Humāyūn's army in 1550 A.D.

38. In Islamic lore Jesus is represented as the curer of ailments.

For he does not possess any cure for me under the dome-like sky.

These are not poppies in bloom in the forest of grief,
They are only (tiny) muslim pieces from my blood-soaked garments.

Not for a moment can reliance be placed on the foundations of the city of existence,

Like Humāyūn, get up and reside in the wilderness of non-existence.

جان برب اند آفت جانرا خبر نمیداد آه و ناله بهر جان را خبر نمیداد
طوفان اشک طاعت زرد آب چشم من و زین موج فتنه جبهه جانرا خبر نمیداد
ای سوز و درد جان من از کافیه بخت و زین دید با ای اشکب نشانرا خبر نمیداد
فلانی ایستاده بر سر راه منظره ای که سوار تهنه جانرا خبر نمیداد
چون ناش گشت راز دلم و سر کشیده آه از حال من زین در جان را خبر نمیداد
در تهنه غم جان جانین بلب رسیده آشوب غم و آفت جان را خبر نمیداد

Tr.

My heart has come to the lips, O Sighs & Lamentations!

Inform my companions of the afflictions to my soul.

A storm of tears has arisen from the vortex of my eyes,
Inform the world of these tumultuous waves.

O Burn & Pain! the heat of sorrow has burnt my heart,
That the whole world is awaiting him at the head of the road,
Inform people (of the state) of these tear-dried eyes.
Inform the rider on the fast going steed.

When the secrets of my heart are disclosed (to a few), tell
Tear & Sigh,

That they as well inform (the rest of) the universe of the
state of my mind.

Under the restraint of intellect, Humāyūn's heart has come
to the lips,

Inform (the world) about the fear of intellect and the affliction of heart.

Rubais

(a)

یارب بلال لطف عالم گردان ده واقف بمقایس توانم گردان
از عقل خا کارمل افکار شدیم و دیوانه خود خوان و خلاصم گردان

Tr.

O Lord! by thy bountiful grace make me thy select,
Unfold to me the truths of the select,
My soul is in anguish through the tyrannous reason,
Make me bereft of reason but count me amongst thy select.

(b)

ای دل ز صحرای یار فیر و ذری کن و در خدمت او بعد ولسوزی کن
هر شب بمال دست خرم بنشین و هر روز بوسل یار و روزی کن

Tr.

O Soul! reap success by the presence of thy Beloved,
Burn thy heart in all sincerity in his service,
Every night sit jubilant at the thought of the beloved,
Every day celebrate a 'Nauroz' by union with the Beloved.

(c)

ای اند خوار تو ب عالم علم است و روز یکدستم نه بنیم از تو نیم است
هر غم که رسد از دستم جریخ بدل و ما را چه غم عشق تو با ستم چه غم است

Tr.³⁹

O thou whose tyranny is well known all the world over,
The day, I do not experience severity from thee is severe,
Whatever grief reaches the heart from the oppressions of
the sky,
I care not for, so long as I have the grief of thy love in me.

In his last years Humāyūn abstained from animal food and devoted himself to a more copious study of Hāfiz's *Diwān*. He

grew more ascetic and more fervently believed in the doings of God, so much so that relying on God he started on his second conquest with less than three thousand men. As he proceeded, others joined him. When he faced Sikandar Sūr, he had some twenty thousand as against seventy thousand Afghāns. Even then he won a victory and later on recovered Delhi. It was his fame as king and man that enabled him to achieve the reconquest. As he says:

ما پنهان از روی پادشاهی نیست در جیت باراده خدا و خدیو
است دل خور را به او لبته ایم -

Tr.

We do not entertain any desire for kingship. Whatever there is, is with God's will and so we have turned our hearts to Him.'

Humāyūn was humble and placed himself at the service of God and He rewarded him by kingship.

Humāyūn thus left for his son the ideal of a life of patience and suffering coordinating with high and just principles of government. Akbar by acting on some of these principles, became great and good.

Medicine at the Moghul Court

BY

DR. D. V. S. REDDI,
Vizagapatam.

BABER AND HIS TIMES

"Sages, Physicians, Astrologers and Mathematicians, who are the essentials for the machinery of the Government, I drew around me." Timur's Institutes.

* * * * *

The Moghuls, like their great rivals the Persians were patrons of learning and builders of Mosques and Hospitals. Brought up in the cultural atmosphere of Samarkhand, Baber developed a keen sense of what we call clinical observation and records in his "Memoirs" many interesting accidents, disease-syndromes, medical treatments and even surgical operations that were familiar to him or that he came across in the course of his eventful life of adventure. If one remembers that medical knowledge at the end of the 15th century or at the beginning of the 16th century was none too definite or accurate even among the so-called learned profession of medicine all the world over, Baber's observations, brief but brilliant, entitle "The Memoirs" to a place among the source-books for the study of history of medicine in India.

MEDICAL HISTORY OF BABER

In 1497-98, at the seige of Samarkhand, Baber was just then recovering from illness. "But not having been able to take due care in the days of convalescence, I went all to pieces again and this time became so very ill that for four days my speech was impeded and they used to drop water into my mouth with cotton. Those with me despaired of my life. In four days, I became somewhat better but still could not speak. In another few days was myself again." (89) He had another attack next year. "I had fever when we reached Zamin but in spite of my fever we hurried off." (97) In 1501-02, when riding away from Samarkhand, Baber was thrown

* All the references to "Memoirs of Baber" are indicated in the body of the article by means of page numbers in brackets.

on his head to the ground. Although he at once got up, his brain did not work steadily till the evening. "Till then, this world and what went on, appeared to me like things felt and seen in a dream or fancy." (147) During his fight with Tambal in 1502-03, Baber got a severe hit. He was wounded in the leg and in the head. Baber not only records the accident and how he was treated, but adds a very appreciative sketch and skillful achievements of a Moghul surgeon. "But for sword and quiver I was unprotected. I shot off the arrow in my hand adjusting for the attachment of his shield. With matters in this position, they shot my right leg through. I had on the cap of my helm; Tambal chapped so violently at my head that it lost all feeling under the blow. A large wound was made on my head though not a thread of the cap was cut." (167). For some days, Baber was walking with some difficulty on account of the wound in the leg. Seeing this, the younger Khan whom Baber went to see in his camp near Tawakul's Alms-house, sent his Moghul Surgeon to examine Baber's wound. "Moghuls call a surgeon also a Bakshi; this one was called Ataka Bakshi (Court Physician). He was a very skilfull surgeon. If a man's brains had come out he would cure it and any sort of wound in any artery he easily healed. For some wounds, his remedy was in the form of plaster; for some, medicine had to be taken. He ordered a bandage tied on my wound in my leg and put on seton (bandage)?" "Once he made me eat something like a fibrous root. He told me himself 'A certain man had his leg broken in the slender part and the bone was shattered for the breadth of the hand. I cut the flesh open and took the bits of bone out. Where they had been, I put a remedy in a powder form. That remedy simply became bone where there had been bone before.' He told many strange and marvellous things such as surgeons in cultivated lands cannot match." (169-170)

In 1506 such a sciatic pain attacked Baber that for 40 days someone had to turn him over from one side to the other. "Because of the sciatic pain people made a sort of litter for me in which they carried me along.....Before that trouble was over a boil came over my left cheek. This was lanced and for it, I also took a purge." (254).

There is a big gap for some years in the personal records of Baber. The next illness we hear of occurred in 1519. He suffered from what was probably Malaria and was treated with blood letting. April 26, 1519:—"Burning fever appeared in my body. I got myself let blood. I had fever with sometimes two, sometimes

three days, between attacks. In no attack did it cease till there has been sweat after sweat. After 10 or 12 days of illness Mulla Khwaja gave me Narcissus mixed with wine; I drank it once or twice; even that did no good." He used to go about in a litter while ill. The wine mixture was drunk on several occasions but it did no good and he left it off. (399-401). In the course of the same year, 1519, he suffered from a dislocation of fist and later on from crop-sickness. On one occasion, Baber struck an equerry in the face, for leading a poor horse for him to mount. This blow dislocated Baber's fist below the ring finger. "The pain was not much at the time, but was rather bad when we reached our encampment ground. For sometime, I suffered a good deal and could not write. It got well at last." He refers on 26th September 1519 to eating a confection to dispel crop-sickness. While under its soothing influence, he was brought to a grove of colocynthapple. Next year, on 21st January 1520, he records sad notes about his falling teeth. "One of my front teeth had broken off, the other half remaining broke off to-day at mid-day while I was eating food." Just before his invasion of India in November 1525 Baber had a violent discharge (running of the nostrils that wastes brain and stamina of body). "By God's grace it passed off easily." In December, he had a fever and discharge which led one to cough. "Every time I coughed I spat blood. It passed off in two days."

Attempt to poison Baber.

Soon after he ascended the throne of Delhi, an attempt was made to poison Baber. On Friday 16th of the first Rabi (21st December 1526) a strange event occurred which was detailed by him in a letter written to Kabul and quoted below:—

"The ill-omened old woman, Ibrahim's mother, heard that I ate things from the hands of Hindustanis—the thing being that three or four months earlier, as I had not seen Hindustani dishes, I had ordered Ibrahim's cooks to be brought and out of 50 or 60 had kept four. Of this she heard, sent to Atawa (Etawa) for Ahmad the chashnigir—in Hindustan they call a taster (backawal) a chashnigir—and having got him, gave a *tula* of poison, wrapped in a square of paper,—as has been mentioned a *tula* is rather more than 2 misqals—into the hand of a slave-woman who was to give it to him. That poison Ahmad gave to the Hindustani cooks in our kitchen promising them four parganas if they would get it somehow into the food. Following the first slave-woman that ill-omened old woman sent a second to see if the first did or did not give

poison she had received to Ahmad. Well was it that Ahmad put the poison not into the cooking pot but on a dish. He did not put it into the pot because I had strictly ordered the tasters to compel any Hindustanis who were present while food was cooking in the pots to taste that food. Our graceless tasters were neglectful when food was being dished up. Thin slices of bread were put on a porcelain dish; on these less than half of the paper packet of poison was sprinkled, and over this buttered fritters were laid. It would have been bad if the poison had been strewn on the fritters or thrown into the pot. In his confusion, the man threw the larger half into the fire place. On Friday, late after the afternoon prayer, when the cooked meats were set out, I ate a good deal of a dish of hare and also much fried carrot, took a few mouth-fuls of the poisoned Hindustani food without noticing any unpleasant flavour, took also a mouthful or two of dried meat (quq). Then I felt sick. As some dried meat eaten on the previous day had had an unpleasant taste, I thought may nausea due to the dried meat. Again and again, my heart rose; after retching two or three times, I was near vomiting on the table-cloth. At last I saw it would not do, got up, went retching every moment of the way to the water-closet (ab-khana) and on reaching it vomited much. Never had I vomited after food, used not to do so indeed while drinking. I became suspicious; I had the cooks put in ward and ordered some of the vomit given to a dog and the dog to be watched. It was somewhat out-of-sorts near the first watch of the next day; its belly was swollen and however much people threw stones at it and turned it over, it did not get up. In that state, it remained till mid-day; it then got up; it did not die. One or two of the braves who also had eaten of that dish, vomited a good deal next day; one was in a very bad state. In the end all escaped. 'An evil arrived but happily passed on! God gave me new birth! I am coming from that other world; I am born to-day of my mother; I was sick; I live through God; I know to-day worth of life!' Emperor Baber acted as his own Chemical Examiner testing the suspected poison on animals and men.

"I ordered Pay-master S. I. Muhammad to watch the cook; when he was taken for torture (qin), he related the above particulars one after another."

"Monday being Court-day, I ordered the grandees and notables, amirs and wazirs to be present and that those two men and two women should be brought and questioned. They there related the particulars of the affair. That taster I had cut in pieces, that cook skinned alive; one of those women I had thrown under an

elephant, the other shot with a match-lock. The old woman (bua) I had kept under guard; she will meet her doom, the captive of her own act."

"On Saturday I drank a bowl of milk. On Sunday 'araq in which stamped-clay was dissolved. On Monday I drank milk in which were dissolved stamped-clay and the best theriac, a strong purge. As on the first day, Saturday, something very dark like parched bile was voided." (541-543).

Failure of health in India.

In August 1527 he had a short illness lasting 17 days. In October again he had fever and ague. This returned during the next 25 or 26 days. He drank "operative" medicines and at last relief came. He suffered much from thirst and want of sleep (588). It was during this illness that Baber wrote the following quatrain:—

"Fever grows strong in my body by day,
Sleep quits my eyes as night comes on;
Like to my pain and my patience, the pair,
For while that grows waxing, this wanes."

During 1528 he seems to have been troubled very much by ear-ache as the following records show:—

21st March 1528. "This day I bathed in Gui-water. Whether it was from water getting into my ear or whether it was from the effect of the climate, is not known but my right ear was obstructed and for a few days there was much pain." (601). 26th September 1528. "To-night I elected to take opium because of earache. Opium sickness gave me much discomfort next day. I vomitted a good deal." (608). 12th October. "I myself would not sleep on account of the pain in the ear whether caused by cold as is likely I do not know." (615).

Baber notes on 3rd November 1528 that he made a beginning of eating quicksilver. It is suggested by some annotators of his "Memoirs" that he did this after an illness, the record of which was lost. A few days later there is an entry which throws considerable light on the beliefs and practices of the times.

November 6th 1528. "Such heat appeared in my body that with difficulty I got through the congregational prayer in the Mosque and with much trouble through the midday prayer, in the book room, after due time, and little by little. Thereafter, having fever, I trembled less on Sunday (629).

"It occurred to me to versify the Wallidiyyah-risala of Khwaja Ubaidul-lah. I laid it to heart that if I, going to his Reverence for protection, were freed from this disease, it would be a sign that my poem was accepted, just as the author of the Qasidatul-burda (Al-busiri) was freed from the affliction of paralysis when his poem was accepted." Behold the result:—"While last year every time, such illness happened it had persisted at least a month or 40 days; this year, by God's grace and his Reverence's favour, I was free except for a little depression on one day." (12th November).

In the course of his conquering campaigns in March 1529 he suffered from boils. The army was marching along the bank of Ganges near Chunar. "Painful boils had come out on my body. While we were on this ground, an Ottoman Turk (Rumi) used a remedy which had been recently discovered in Rum. He boiled pepper in a pipkin; I held the sores in steam and after steaming ceased, laved them with hot water. The treatment lasted two sidereal hours." (657) . . . 2nd April:—"To-day I used the pepper remedy again: it must have been somewhat hotter than before for it blistered my body, giving me much pain." (660).

The historic and fatal illness.

The most historic illness of Baber occurred in 1530 and ended fatally. It is even likely, that but for this illness which is believed to have been taken on from his son (Humayun) the course of Moghul rule in India and the fate of India, during the next half century or so, would have been entirely different from what has now become history.

Humayun was sent to Sambul as Governor. He remained there for 6 months and had then suddenly an attack of fever. Babernama describes the course of events leading to Baber's death in the following words:—"The Malady greatly increased and Baber growing disturbed at the alarming news ordered that his son be brought to Delhi, and thence by water to Agra in order that he might be treated by skilful physicians under the Emperor's own eyes. Large number of learned Doctors who were always in attendance at the Royal Court were directed to employ their talents in effecting the cure. Though the physicians used their skill and exhibited Messiah-like signs, he did not get better. As the sickness was prolonged the Emperor, one day, seated with the wise men of the age by the Jumna and considering about remedies, Mir Abubaga, one of the most distinguished saints of the age, had represented that it had been "received from ancient sages that in a case like this, when

physicians were at a loss, the remedy was to give in alms the most valuable thing one had and to seek the cure from God." Some courtiers seem to have suggested that he might offer Kohinoor as his most valued possession in exchange for Humayun's life, but Baber replied: "I am the most valuable thing that Humayun possesses, I shall make a sacrifice for him, may God the creator accept it." Having thus decided to supplicate for the acceptance of his life, he turned his face in intercession of his reverence to Saint Martaze Ali Kharim-l-lah and moved thrice round Humayun's bed praying in effect "O God! If a life be exchanged for a life, I, Baber, give my life and being for Humayun." During the rite, fever surged on him and convinced that the prayer and offering had prevailed, he cried out "I have borne it away! I have borne it away!" "I have taken up the burden!" Gulbadan Begum says that Baber fell ill on that very day, while Humayun improved came out and gave audience. Baber had to be carried inside the palace on account of his illness, where he kept his bed for 2 or 3 months (701-702).

Humayun who recovered fully went away to his Province. As Baber grew worse, a messenger was sent to Humayun who returned post-haste reaching Agra 4 days before the death of Baber. Noticing that Baber was feeble, Humayun asked the attendants 'How has he come to such a lamentable pass all at once?' He sent for the doctors and said to them 'I left him well. What has happened all at once.' "They said this and that in reply."

"Meanwhile, His Majesty's disorder of the bowels increased. The Emperor broke down again when he saw his father's condition worsen and called the doctors and said to them 'Think it well over and find some remedy.' Having consulted together, they said 'Small is our luck, for our remedies are of no avail. We hope that God, the most holy, will soon give one from his invisible treasures.'"

When they felt His Majesty's pulse, they came to the opinion that these are symptoms of the same poison as that given him by Sultan Ibrahim's mother."

Then Baber gathered his chiefs together, addressed them and nominated Humayun as successor. Lofty consels were imparted to Humayun to be munificent and just. The cream of Baber's testament was "Do naught against your brothers even though they may deserve it."

Baber passed away on 26th December 1530. As Gulbadan Begum affectionately records "Black fell the day for children and kinsfolk and all." (708-09).

DISEASES, MEDICAL AID AND KNOWLEDGE OF
THE AGE

Baber also gives references to the illness of his mother, his wives and other prominent persons of his times. Baber's mother died of Fever (Malaria?) in 1505 to 1506. "Blood was let without effect and a Khurassani doctor known as Sayyid Tabib, in accordance with Khurassani practice, gave her watermelon but her time to die must have come, for after six days of illness she went to God's mercy." (246). Masuma Sultan begum, youngest daughter of Ahmed Mirza and wife of Baber died in childbed. "She had one daughter and then and there went to God's mercy, through the pains of birth." (36). Another woman, Zainab Sultan Begum, whom Baber took at his mother's insistence, in 1504 A.D., died of small-pox in 2 or 3 years. (48).

Baber also adds what may be a fact of great importance to medical history, when he writes of Kwaja Abdulla Maewerd, who became a captive of sinful disease through his excesses, outlived his hands and feet, tasted the agonies of varied torture for several years and departed from the world under this affliction. (279). Henry Beveridge, the editor of Babarnama, explains in a foot note "San Mirza specifies this affliction as Abla-I-Farang," thus making what may be one of the earliest references to Morbus Gallicus, the European pox. (279).

Baber mentions, in the course of his diary for 1506-07, among the sights of Heri, Mirza's colleges, Alms-House, Alisher Beg's College, and Alms House, "his hot bath and Hospital which they call Safaiya and Shafaiya." (306).

Baber also seems to take pleasure in mentioning the wonderful achievements of his contemporary surgeons or his knowledge of Anatomy. While attacking the fort of Asuhan in 1499-1500 A.D. an interesting operation was done. A stone flung double-waterway hit Yar Ali Balal so hard on the head that in the end it had to be "trepaned." The man recovered and lived till 914 A.H. (109). Round about Samarkhand, in one of the frays, Baber's party and the other constantly chapped at one another several times "Mir shah Quchin got in with his mace; they cut his neck almost half through; most fortunately, the great artery (carotid artery?) was not severed." (68). There is also an instance of a doctor dying along with his patron and patient, in May 1529 A.D. "News came from Sambul where Ali-I-Yusif had stayed that he and a physician who was by way of being a friend of his had gone to God's mercy on one and the same day."

He himself planned and constructed a chambered well (Bolee) at Agra as a protection against the three things which oppressed him in Hindusthan, "its heat, violent winds and dust." (532). To get over the combined efforts of the heat of Hindusthan and his advancing age, he seems to have taken some "tonic pills" on 21-9-1528, while on his way to Gwalior. "We ate powders mixed with the flour of parched grain, Mulla Raffi having prepared them for raising the spirits. They were found to be very distasteful and unsavoury. (P. 606). Baber seems to be so interested in everything and refers to epidemics and natural products of India. Some of his descriptions betray certain amount of familiarity with and love of, nature and animal anatomy. When he first came to Agra in 1526, he noted that the year was a hot one and violent pestilential winds struck people down in heaps together and that masses of people began to die of." (p. 524). Of Indian products, he records many interesting types and beliefs. Referring to lime he says "if a person poisoned drink the water in which its fibres have been boiled danger is averted." He compares vegetables products to animal organs. "The bud of the plantain arises out of its leaves like a sheep's heart"; "the Jack fruit looks like a sheep's stomach stuffed and made into a Haggis."

Some Court Physicians and their writings.

With regard to the individual physicians, their personalities or methods and their writings, Baber is tantalisingly silent. From other sources (Gani) however can be gleaned a few facts relating to physicians that flourished in his Court. History knows of at least one of the personal physicians, if not the only one, of Baber. Yusuf bin-i-Muhammad Hirowi, lived at Moghul Court as personal physician to Baber and later to Humayun. He was also the chief munshi to Humayun. He is the author of several works of diverse utility and nature, including poetical, medicinal and epistolatory. In poetry, he wrote chiefly 'qusida' on subjects connected with public health and hygiene under the pen-name Yusufi. Some of his works are the following:—

1. Riyaz-ul-Insha (Add. 17955. B.M.Foll. 79b and 174a).

A treatise on the properties of simple and compound medicinal herbs and prescriptions undertaken in 946 A.H. and on completion dedicated to Humayun.

2. Jamiul Fawaid (Add 23, 560. B.M. Foll 262-a-264-b).

A work on general medicine treating of their uses benefits, and injuries with certain guiding rules.

3. Qasida-fi-hifz-i-Sihat.

A work on the main principles of Hygiene dedicated to Baber in 937 A.H. when he was not keeping good health (Gani P. 73-74).

Another man learned in a branch of medicine, was Muhamed Ibn-i-Ashraf al Hussaini ar Rustamdari, who flourished under Baber and Humayun. He was a student of Natural Science, and wrote a dissertation on the use of precious stones and other minerals. The IX chapters in this book of 22 chapters is entitled "On Pa-zahr" (A charmed stone said to be found in heads of serpents reputed to be antidote against all kinds of poison).

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2. Gul-badan Begum—Humayun Nama, Oriental Translatic Fund, new series, Royal Asiatic Society, 1902.
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Viceroys of the Nayaks of Madura

By

PANDIT S. SOMASUNDRA DESIKAR,

THE Nāyak rulers of Madura were many of them strangers to the land over which they ruled. Yet they were able to maintain their sovereignty in the south in a very able manner. The reason is that they employed some of the best men of the locality to assist them in their task. The Pālayagārs, who followed the Nāyaks and shared their fortunes, were turbulent people and were not very trustworthy. The Nāyaks, therefore, mainly depended upon the native abilities of the Tamils for the proper maintenance of peace and order, and for the collection of revenue. The country was divided into small portions in order to facilitate quick and efficient government and many intelligent and capable men were appointed as viceroys over these portions. Kayattāru was one of them and Tinnevely was another. Tirumangalam formed a small principality. Kayattāru was under the management of Tiruvēnkaṭanāthayya during the reigns of Tirumalai and Chokkanātha Nāyaks.¹ In like manner, Tinnevely was under the management of Vaḍamalaiyappa Pillaiyan during the time of Tirumalai Nāyak. (Tirumalai reigned from 1623 to 1659 according to the *Nāyaks of Madura* and according to the *Mrittanjaya manuscripts*, from 1623 to 1663). That Vaḍamalaiyappa Pillaiyan was the viceroy of Tirumalai Nāyak is borne out by the following inscriptions. In the maṇṭapa at Tiruchendūr, an inscription dated 1654 states that Tirumalai Nāyak and Vaḍamalai were present together for worship of God Muruga.² Another inscription found in the Kuttalanāthaswāmi temple at Tirukuttālam states that Vaḍamalai built the Ulakammai temple for the benefit of Tirumalai Nāyak in the year Nandana,³ which corresponds to the month of October, 1656 A.D. In a pillar set up

1. JIH, XVI, 133-136.

2. Sen Tamil, Vol. IX, 527.

3. 296 of 16.

சகாப்தம் 1595-ன்மேல் செல்லாதின்ற கொல்லம் 829 விஜயரூபை வைத்து 23-ம் தேதி வெள்ளிக்கிழமைபும திரையோதையும் சிவயோகமும் சிவகாணமும் பெற்ற புனர்பூசத்தில் மிதுன லக்ஷிணத்தில் விசுவனாத நாயக்கரய்யன், திருமலை நாயக்கரய்யன், வடமலையப்ப பிள்ளையன் இவர்களை ரக்ஷிக்கும்பொருட்டாக சுவாமி எழுந்தருளினார். பூதகாதன் சதாசேர்வை.

in a street in Vikramasingapuram, Tinnevely District, it is stated that Vaḍamalai settled the revenue of the village with the help of the elders in the year 1662.⁴

In these inscriptions the term 'Kāryattukku-k-karttar',⁵ meaning a revenue agent, is mentioned. (It literally means, "agents for administration," as distinguished from the military subordinates, who were known as Dājavōys). Ramappayyan was the Dalavōya of Tirumalai Nāyak, with the control of the military under him.⁶ The revenue was under the management of other subordinates, who were given the title of Aiyyan, e.g., Tiruvōnkaṭanāthaiyan, Vaḍamalaiyappa Pillaiyan, etc. Vaḍamalaiyappa Pillaiyan was the Kāryattukku-k-karttar of Tinnevely. He was a native of Kāvaṇūr, a small village near Tirupparamkunṇam (near Madura), a famous Subramanya shrine in S. India, and came of a family belonging to the Kārkāttār sect of Veḷḷālas, already well known in Tamilakam. One of his ancestors was the author of a treatise on Yoga Prāsāda Akaval⁷—and was known as Kāvai Ambalavāṇar. Vaḍamalaiyappan was also known as Kāvai Vaḍamalaiyappan,⁸ Kāvaṇūr being shortened to Kāvai. He was just in his rule and strict in his official duties in collecting revenue. Vaittamanidhi Tiruppaṇimālai⁹ tells

4. 297 of 16.

5. காரியத்துக்குக் கர்த்தரான திருமலைக்கொழுந்து பிள்ளை 652 of 17, விசுவநாத நாயகரய்யன், திருவேங்கிட நாயகரய்யன் காரியத்துக்கு கர்த்தரான திருவேங்கிடநாதர். திருநெல்வேலிக்கு அறிபதி. கர்த்தராகிய வடமலை பிள்ளையன் செந்தமிழ் ix. 528; 289 of 28

6. Nāyaks of Madura,

7. Prāsāda Akaval by Kāvai Ambalavāṇa Thambiran. Printed at Sadhu Press, Royapetta, Madras, 1934.

8. காராளர் திலகஞ் காவை வடமலையப்ப பிள்ளையன்

கடலுலக—வடமலை வேண்பா 109.

9. மெல்லாம் பொதுநீக்கி யெங்கணுஞ்செங் கோல்நடத்து
மல்லார் தடந்தோள் வடமலையான்—கல்விக்கு
மானு வளமைக்கு மன்புக்குங் கேண்மைக்கு
மானுபி மான மகிமைக்கும்—சேனா
முகத்துக்குஞ் செங்கோல் முறைமைக்கும்
நீதியகத்துக்குந் தானோருவ னுனோன்
மனுநீதி குன்றாத வள்ளல்.

குழைக்காதர் திருப்பணிமாலை.

வைத்தமா நிதிதிருத்தேர் வளர்சிலைத் தளபாட மணிகள் பூட்டித்
தைத்ததையற் பணியாகத் தலையலங்காரம் வரைக்கும் தயவாய்ச் செய்தான்
மிதர்ப்பரி பாலனுயர் சத்ருபயம் கரன்கோல விரைத மார்பன்
சித்தியகல் யாணருணன் வடமலைப் பதிவணங்கா திருப ரேறே 44
வித்துவசெனப் பிரிதெய்யும் விதரணிகள் சங்கிராம வீமன் 56.

us of his impartiality and justice, and the inscription at Vikramasingapuram relates to his settlement of the revenue of the village. The Tinnevely Gazetteer account of recovery of the image thrown into the sea by pirates is as follows:

'A familiar tradition runs to the effect that "about 300 years ago", a race of sea-faring men called Uṣilampāḍi descended on the place and took away the temple idol, thinking it was made of gold. Vaḍamalaiyappa Pillaiyan, the local renter of the Nāyakkan ruler, acting under the advice conveyed to him in a dream by the God, put out to sea and following His instructions recovered the image. In memory of this deed the Vaḍamalaiyappa maṇṭapam to which the God is taken in times of festival, was erected. Uṣilampāḍi is an unknown word, and is variously explained by those who tell the story as denoting the Muhammadans and the French. M. Rennel, the French author of a Description, Historical and Geographical of India, published in Berlin, 1785, gives a picture of the temple, which, he says, he got from a soldier in the service of the Dutch Company; he relates an incident which offers a reasonable explanation of the Tiruchendūr tradition. "In a descent made by the Dutch on the coast in 1648," he says, "the Dutch halted in the temple and on leaving did their best to destroy it by fire and by heavy bombardment. But they only partially succeeded and the tower defied all their efforts." Possibly the capture of the idol was one of their achievements.' In a footnote to the same, it is stated that, "as a matter of fact, M. Rennel calls the place Tutucurin, but from the picture and the accompanying sketch-map it is clear that Tiruchendūr was meant. We know that about the period in question the Dutch were incessantly at war with the Portuguese on the Coast."¹⁰ The above story is corroborated by ballads, one of which mentions the date of this recovery as Kollam, 829, etc.¹¹

10. Tinnevely District Gazetteer, Vol. I, pp. 506.

11. எண்ணுற்றிரு பத்தொன்பதாமண்டு
இசையும் விஜய வருடந்தை மாதத்தில்
கண்ணு மிருபத்து மூன்றாம் தெய்தியில்
கல்ல வெள்ளி வாரத்தில்
புண்ணியஞ் சேருந் திரயோதனியில்
புனர்பூசத்திற் பூர்வ பட்சத்தின் மிதுனத்தில்
விண்ணவர்போற்று மித்திரநாம யோகத்தில்
மேன்மேலுஞ் செந்துர்க்கு.
நன்மைபுண்டாகவே இப்போது தேவரோழுந்தருளின
தெல்லோர்க்கும் கல்காலம்.

He renovated the temple at Tentiruppērāi, Tirukkolūr and the Śiva Temple at Śankaran koil, and he built maṇṭapams at the above places and at Tiruchendūr, Cape Comorin, and Tirukkurrālam. His figure is roughly carved together with his associates in the Kāśivisvanātha shrine at Cape Comorin.¹² From another inscription found at Cape Comorin (No. 67, Vol. V, T.A.S. and from 480 of 16) we may assume that he died in the year 1663.

He was a patron of letters. Venrimālaikkavirāyar, the author of Tiruchendūr Stala Purāṇam and Pākai Aḷagappan who composed a poem on Vaḍamalai—called Vaḍmalai Venpā,—were two of the poets of his time known to us.

II

Vaḍamalaiyappan had a son named Tirumalai-k-koḷundu Piḷḷai. After his father's death, he became the viceroy of Tinnevely Śimai under Chokkanātha Nāyak, who reigned from 1659 to 1682. A pillar inscription at Cape Comorin states that, on the 3rd July 1664 (Krodhi, Āni 20) Tirumalai-k-koḷundu Piḷḷai gave some lands to Madura Tiruṅṇāsambandha muṭṭi for maintaining the charities of the muṭṭi at Cape Comorin as a gift in memory of his father Vaḍamalaiyya Piḷḷai.¹³

Very little is known about Tirumalai-k-koḷundu Piḷḷai. He founded a village and named it as Śivarāma Nallūr and promised freedom and safety to all those who settled in it.

12. T.A.S., V, 201.

13. குரோதினா சகாப்தம் தஞ்சையுள் அயக்குமேல் செல்லாநின்ற கொல்லம் அருகில் ஆனிமீ 20வ பூர்வ பட்சம் சதுர்த்ததியும் ஆதித்தவாரமும் சித்தியோகமும் கசகரணமும் பெற்ற உத்திரத்துநாள் செய்த தன்மச்சிலைத் தம்பமாவது சொக்க னாதையக்கர் அய்யனுக்குப் புண்ணியமாகவும், வடமலையப்ப பிள்ளை அவர்களுக்குப் புண்ணியமாகவும் திருமலைக்கொழுந்து பிள்ளை அம்மன் குமரிப் பகவதி அம்மன் சன்னதிக்கு உத்தர திணில் சக்கர தீர்த்தக்கரை மடநிருப்புறம் திருஞானசம்பந்த பண்டாரத்துக்கு தன்மதானப் பிரமாணமாகக் கொடுத்தபடியினாலே மடத்து நடக்கும்படிக்கு விட்டுக்கொடுத்த நிலமாவது பணக்குடியில்..... இதுவெல்லாம் விட்டுக்கொடுத்து கல்விலும் செம்பிலும் வெட்டிக்கொடுத்த படியினாலே இந்த தன்மம் ஆசந்திரபிரமாணமாக அனுபவித்துக் கொள்வாராகவும்.

He was also a patron of letters. A poem, called *Tirumalai-k-koḷundu Venpā* was composed in his name in which about 28 stanzas are available at present.¹⁴

III

After Tirumalai-k-koḷundu Piḷḷai, Venkatēsa Ayer was the viceroy of Tinnevely during the reign of Rangakriṣṇa Muttuvirappa III, for whose life see J.I.H. No. 48.

IV

Vaḍamalaiyappa Piḷḷaiyan was the next viceroy of Tinnevely. This is evident from a grant made as Udirappaṭṭi in the year of Kollam 879 to one Parai Śarhkarai Śērvaikāran and from the poem called *Pulavarārruppaḍai*,¹⁵ composed in the year 1693 (Kollam 868) which says that he was the viceroy of the Nāyaks of Madura at the time of its writing. From the same poem we learn that he was the son of Iruvappa and the nephew of Tirumalai-k-koḷundu.¹⁶ He was very highly connected both on the paternal and the maternal sides, his mother being the daughter of Vaḍamalaiyappa I and sister of Tirumalai-k-koḷundu and his father, a descendent of a noble family of ministers and agents of the Chokkampatti Zamin.

Vaḍamalai II was a very learned man. He was the author of *Maccapurānam* and *Tirunīdūr Tala purāṇam*. *Maccapurānam* is a

14. There are two *Tirumalai venpā*. One is by a Appukkutti on Tirumali. The one referred to in this article is on Tirumalaikkolundu. Two stanzas are noted for reference.

தீடாழி வட்ட சிலத்துக்கெல் னாமுதன்மை
வாடாத தீதிரும் லைக்கொழுந்தே—பிடார்
அகர முதல வெழுத்தெல்லா மாதி
பகவன் முதற்றே புலகு.
முன்னவர்மே யச்சுடலை மூழ்கப் பரேதியோர்
மன்னவனுய்த் தான்நிரும் லைக்கொழுந்தே—அன்னதால்
தம்பொரு ளென்பதம் மக்க னவர்பொருள்
தந்தம் வினையான் வரும்.

15. *Pulavarārruppaḍai*, composed by Kari Ratna Kavirāyar, was issued by the Madura Tamil Sangam as No. 4 of their Sen Tamil Series in 1918.

16. தருவொப் பெனவெழு தாணி புரக்கு
மிருவப் பன்பெறு மிராச குமாரன்

பருவுடைப் பெருமான் நிரமலை கொழுந்துதன்
ஒருதவக் கொழுந்தென வருகிவக் கொழுந்து.

translation of the Sanskrit original, containing about 5,000 stanzas composed in 1706. Niḍūr Tala Purāṇam containing 40, stanzas was composed sometimes later. Niḍūr is a sacred place of Śaiva worship, 3 miles north of Māyavaram. Kāri Ratna Kavirāyar, a descendant of the author of *Māraṇ Alankāram*, was patronised by Vaḍamalai II and has composed a poem *Pulavarārūppaḍai* in his honour giving many details of his life.

His benefactions were many. It was stated before, that he granted an *Udiraipatti* to a soldier. It is also related, how, on an occasion when he was mistakenly presented with the *padakkam* and garland of the image at Tiruchendūr by the *archaka*, he expiated the sin by returning not only the jewel but also making a gift of a new one similar to it, together with a village which was renamed as *Padakkam*. Another story related of him in a poem-called *Kulaikkāthar Pāmālai*, is as follows. When the people of Tentirup-pērai were imprisoned for arrears of taxes, one Nārayaṇa Dikshitar, a poet and a devotee of the place, was also incarcerated. He was pining under it and was crying for mercy to God to intercede on his behalf. One of the guards took pity on him and reported the matter to the viceroy. Vaḍamalai II went to the prison and after hearing his tale of woe released him.¹⁷

Thrones, Chairs, and Seats used by the Indian Mughals

By

MR. ABDUL AZIZ, BAR-AT-LAW,
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List of Abbreviations

A'in	.. Abū'l-Faẓl, <i>A'in-i-Akbari</i> , 3 vols. (Nawal Kishor Press, Lucknow, 1893).
A.S.	.. Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kambo, ' <i>Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ</i> or <i>SHāh Jahān Nāma</i> (<i>Bibliotheca Indica</i>).
Bernier's Travels (Constable)	.. Archibald Constable and V. A. Smith, <i>Travels in the Mogul Empire A.D. 1656-1668</i> , by François Bernier, Oxford University Press, 1914.
B.N.	.. Mulla 'Abdu'l-Hamid Lāhori, <i>Bādshāh Nāma</i> , 2 vols. (<i>Bibliotheca Indica</i>). Vol. III (MS.) by Muḥammad Wāriṣ.
Iqbāl-nāma.	.. Mu'tamad KHān, <i>Iqbāl-nāma-i-Jahāngīrī</i> , Calcutta, 1865 (<i>Bibliotheca Indica</i>).
L.E.A.	.. Loan Exhibition of Antiquities, Delhi, 1911.
P.U.L.	.. Punjab University Library.
Purchas.	.. Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrimes, by Samuel Purchas. 20 vols. Glasgow, 1905.
Qarniya.	.. Muḥammad Tāhir "Ināyat KHān," <i>Qarniya</i> (MS.).
Storia.	.. Niccolao Manucci, <i>Storia do Mogor</i> , or <i>Mogul India</i> (1653-1708). Tr. William Irvine, London, 1907-8.
Tavernier.	.. <i>Travels in India</i> , by Jean Baptiste Tavernier, Baron of Aubonne. Translated by V. Ball, edited by William Crooke, 2 vols. London, 1925.

17. See *Putiayatum paḷayatum* by M. M. Swaminatha Iyer, pp. 143-151.

- Thevenot, *Travels*. .. *The Travels of Monsieur de Thevenot into the Levant*. (In Three Parts). The Third Part: Containing the Relation of Indostan, the New Moguls, and of other People and Countries of the Indies. London, 1687.
- Tūzuk*. .. *Toozuk-i-Jehangeeree*, edited by Syud Ahmud. Ally Gurh, 1864.
- Tūzuk*, R. & B. .. *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngirī*, or *Memoirs of Jahāngir*, translated by Alexander Rogers, and edited by H. Beveridge. 2 vols. London, 1909 and 1914.

A THRONE was one of the insignia of royalty. While some of the other ensigns, like the *'alam*, the *tumantogh*, etc., could be conferred on, and used by, princes and distinguished nobles, sitting on a throne was the exclusive privilege of the Emperor. This rule, however, seems to have been relaxed in *SHāh Jahān's* mild and lenient reign, for we see not his sons but his grandsons, Prince *Sultān Sikandar* (s/o *SHāh SHujā'*) and Prince *Sulaimān SHikoh* (s/o *Dārā SHikoh*) sitting on a throne.¹ Aurangzeb guarded the privilege with jealous care, and insisted on strict observance of the rule. But among the later *Mughals* there was again a relapse, for sons of *SHāh 'Ālam* can be seen on thrones.²

To be allowed to sit in court at all in the Emperor's presence was by itself a special privilege. All, including the highest ministers of the state, ambassadors from other kings and emperors, and even disrowned foreign princes who sometimes came to ask for military and financial assistance had to stand. The princes of the blood often stood in court, but sometimes were allowed to sit.³ This permission granted to any other person was the mark of a very special favour, such as was conferred on 'Abdu'r-Rahīm *KHwāja*, when the latter was allowed by *Jahāngir*, and a little later by *SHāh Jahān*, to sit in court.⁴ This concession was not in recognition of his position as ambassador, but was meant as a tribute to his personality and descent.

1. See pictures described on pp. 54-55 below.

2. See pp. 129-30 below.

3. This can be verified from many pictures. See also *Storia*, I, pp. 88 (middle) and 89.

4. For fuller details see *Tūzuk*, 416, *B.N.*, I, 194 and author's *History of SHāh Jahān*, Chapter on Coronation.

The above applies to sitting on the floor in the Emperor's presence. In two well-known cases princes were allowed to sit on a proper seat in the *darbar*:

When Prince *KHurram* returned to *Māndū* after a victorious campaign in the *Deccan*, and appeared before *Jahāngir*, the latter was so pleased that he invested the prince with the total rank of 30,000 *du-aspa si-aspa* and the title of "*SHāhjahān*", and as a mark of special distinction 'an order was given that henceforth they should place a chair in the paradise—resembling assemblies near my throne for my son to sit upon. This was a special favour for my son, as it had never been the custom heretofore.' (*Tūzuk*, 195; *R. & B.*, I, 395).

Secondly, on the *Nauroz* festival celebrated on the night of Monday, the 23rd *Jumādu*, I, 1066, *Dārā SHakoh* was allowed to sit on a gold seat placed by the imperial throne (*B.N.*, III, 108 a).

Shapes, sizes and designs of thrones grew with the skill and fancy of the artist who modelled them, and with the attention and patronage he received from the emperor. From the contemporary pictures extant we gather that a great variety of design and execution came into existence as the material resources increased and the ambition and tastes of the emperors developed. In later times, specially in *SHāh Jahān's* reign, when the decorative side of art was at its zenith, great intricacy of design and a high standard of finish were attained.

We do not possess sufficient material for a proper classification of models. So we can only follow the chronological order, taking up the historical references as they come, and supplementing them with the information obtainable from the painter's art for the period.

EARLY MUGHAL THRONES

Some of the illustrations available make it possible for us to take note of the thrones and chairs used by the ancestors of the Indian *Mughals*, before we take up a proper treatment of those belonging to the latter.

In Pl. XXX (a) of *L.E.A.*⁵ we see the Turkish Sultan, *Bāyazīd Yilderim*, being brought before *Timūr*, who had inflicted a crushing

5. In this and future references *L.E.A.* stands for *Loan Exhibition of Antiquities*, Delhi, 1911.

defeat on the former at Angora (1402 A.C.). Tīmūr, lance in hand, is sitting on a simple throne, more like a chair. His feet are on the ground.

Again on Pl. XXXI (a) we find Tīmūr squatting on a jewelled throne with a high back. He has a small crown in his hand and a big turban on his head.

It must be remarked, however, that Clavijo, who visited Tīmūr's court at a time when it was at the apogee of pomp and wealth, attended several levees and feasts, but he never saw the emperor sitting on a throne. His seat was usually a dais draped with kincobs and all sorts of gold cloth.

On Pl. II of *Storia*, I, we see Mirān SHāh sitting on a simply constructed but jewelled open seat. It has six slender, graceful legs, and is fitted with a back. An attendant standing behind is holding over the royal occupant's head a daintily finished umbrella. Between the King's back and the back of the throne there is a bolster.

Next we have a picture of Abū Sa'id, sitting on another type of hexagonal throne, with a back and six legs (these last even more slender than in the preceding picture). There is a similar *chatr* or umbrella overhead (*Storia*, I, Pl. III).

Pl. IV in the same volume gives SHaikh 'Umar on a throne, which does not differ materially from the throne of Abū Sa'id noticed just above. The umbrella too is much of a muchness.

The foregoing pictures, the reader is warned, are probably not contemporary; and some of them may have as low a date as the latter half of the sixteenth century. We should remember that in India there was no portrait painting worth the name before the foundation of the Mughal empire. The pictures of the thrones on which Babur's ancestors are found sitting have therefore no historical value. They are given here only for the sake of completeness. What follows belongs to a different class.

THRONES OF THE INDIAN MUGHALS

Bābur.

We know that the treasury of Ibrāhīm Lodhī which passed into Bābur's possession at Delhi and Agra had accumulated through successive dynasties. So there can be no reasonable doubt that Bābur inherited a number of richly decorated thrones and chairs. Only we possess no descriptions or details.

Here are pictures of two of his thrones :

In Pl. XXXIV (b) of *L.E.A.*, Bābur is sitting, hawk in hand, on a hexagonal throne, which has six legs and a back, and is fitted with a *chatr*. Between the Emperor and the back of the throne there is a bolster.

A picture by Farrukh Beg, painted about 1580, represents Bābur holding court. He is sitting on a simple throne, square in shape. It stands on four rather long legs, and has a railing all round, except for an opening in the centre of one of the sides. The throne is set with gems, and has a foot-stool in front (Percy Brown, *Indian Painting under the Mughals*, Pl. XIV).

Humāyūn.

What we have said of Bābur's reign applies also to his son's.

Whatever Bābur and he inherited must have been left behind when the latter fled to Persia, and there is nothing on record to show how much of Bābur's wealth was in the royal treasury when Humāyūn returned and assumed control in 1555.

During this troubled reign we hear of a jewelled throne in several places.

In the passage where Gulbadan Begam describes the great feast given by Māham Begam, Humāyūn's mother, she speaks of a jewelled throne which was ascended by four steps. On it, on this occasion, were spread a gold-embroidered cover, a quilt and a pillow worked with gold thread (*Humāyūn Nāma*, 28 [113]).

Later on we have an account of a 'magic feast' given on the bank of the river.

'First there was a large octagonal room with an octagonal tank in the centre, and again, in the middle of the reservoir, an octagonal platform on which were spread Persian (*Wilāyatī*) carpets. Young men and pretty girls and elegant [? beautiful] women and musicians and sweet-voiced reciters [singers] were ordered to sit in the tank.

The jewelled throne which my lady [Humāyūn's mother] had given for the feast was placed in the fore-court of the house, and a gold-embroidered divan [? quilt] was laid in front of it, (on which) his Majesty and dearest lady sat together' (*Ibid.*, 31 [118]).

After this was celebrated the wedding of Prince Hindāl Mirzā. The 'mystic house', where it came off, is thus described :

'Opposite the big octagonal chamber, where the feast was held, was another small room also octagonal. Both these rooms were decorated with fastidious tastefulness. In the bigger octagonal chamber, where the feast was to be given, a begemmed throne was deposited. On it and under it were spread covering cloths embroidered in gold, and strings of pearls 1½ yards long were hung. At the end of each string there were two globes of crystal. These strings numbered about thirty or forty.

In the smaller room there was a jewelled *chhapar-khat*,⁶ a *pāndān* and a flask; while drinking vessels set with precious stones and plain vessels of gold and silver were placed in niches' (*Ibid.*, 33).

We have no means of finding out whether one and the same throne is referred to in these three places, or three different thrones were used on the various occasions.

Among the illustrations in *Humāyūn Nāma*, which are mostly reproductions of original pictures in the valuable volume of *Tārīkh-i-khāndān-i-Tīmūriā* in Bankipur Library, we see one on Plate entitled 'Incidents following the birth of Akbar' (facing p. 158), where Humāyūn is sitting on a hexagonal throne, which stands on six feet, has a flight of steps of a rather unusual kind, and is furnished with a high back. The centre panel running all round the exterior show plenty of white surface picked out with in-set gems. Overhead is a rough-and-ready sort of canopy. The place does not look like the desert of Umarkot where Akbar was born—at a time when Humāyūn was a miserable fugitive, in dire straits. Was this throne carried about with Humāyūn in his wanderings? The volume from which these pictures are photographed has high credentials, since it belonged to the Imperial Library, and bears an autograph note of *SHah Jahān*.

Islām SHāh.

In No. H, 51 of Delhi Museum of Archaeology we have *Islām SHāh*, s/o *SHer SHāh*, sitting on a gold jewelled throne. It stands on four feet, is square in shape, and has a high back. The picture, however, seems to belong to the late, decadent period.

Akbar.

Abū'l-Fazl is very brief on this subject: 'The *Aurang*, or throne, is made of several forms; some are inlaid with precious

6. A bedstead with a tester and curtains.

stones, and others are made of gold, silver, etc."⁷ The illustrations (Blochmann, Pl. VII) give us only two models. The first is a simple hexagonal seat with pillows (*masnad*) to lean against and fitted with an umbrella (*chatr*)—another royal ensign which was studded with never less than seven jewels. The second is more elaborate, is square in shape, and has four feet and a roof carried on four poles. Over the roof is a canopy standing on four poles likewise. It is furnished with pillows and has two steps.

In early Mughal times, and even during Akbar's reign, thrones seem to have been used only on state occasions; for we often see Bābur, Humāyūn, and Akbar sitting, even in full *darbar*, on an estrade, spread over with gold-cloth or velvet—sometimes in a *jharoka* or a pavilion. The reader can verify this by looking at such pictures as E. Blochet, *Mussalman Painting*, Pl. CLXXVIII (Akbar), CLXXIX (Akbar), CLXXX (Akbar), CLXXXII (Akbar), CLXXXIII (Humāyūn), and CLXXXVII (Bābur); and C. Stanley Clarke, *Indian Drawings (School of Jahāngīr)*, Pl. 6 (Akbar) and Pl. 7 (Jahāngīr).

Blochet, Pl. CLXXVIII, is particularly noticeable, for here we have a clear view of the royal seat, which is unoccupied, the Emperor, who is trying to run on his sword, having just left it. It is just an upholstered velvet-and-gold cloth settee, simply and tastefully finished, and placed in the *jharoka*.

Akbar, says Monserrate, 'generally sits, with crossed legs, upon a couch covered with scarlet rugs. However, he has a velvet throne of the Portuguese type carried with him on a journey, and very frequently uses it' (*Commentary*, 199).

On Plate facing p. 164 of *Humāyūn Nāma* we have Akbar squatting on a simple hexagonal throne, which stands on six feet. It is jewelled all over, the ground of the rectangular panels being picked out in attractive colours; and bosses of gems are seen centrally arranged. The high back is surmounted with a delightfully proportioned canopy, studded with pearls and precious stones.

Stchoukine (*La Peinture Indienne*, Pl. XIV) has a picture of Akbar sitting on a small hexagonal throne with six panels. It has no railing, has probably four elaborately, almost fantastically, worked legs, and a foot-stool or step standing on two small legs.

On Pl. XLVII (c) of *L.E.A.* Akbar is sitting, hawk in one hand sword in the other, on a gold throne, apparently octagonal, with

7. *A'in*, 45; Blochman, 50.

eight legs and a back, against which reposes a bolster. Over the Emperor's head is an umbrella strung with pearls; and Birbal stands behind the throne, *khāndā* in hand.

Jahāṅgīr

In one picture (Brown, Pl. XLIX), painted about 1610, we see Jahāṅgīr holding his court in a garden. He is sitting on a simple, square seat, probably jewelled, which stands on four legs. There is a rough-and-ready sort of canopy on four poles overhead; but it has no connection with the royal seat. Probably it is one of the portable thrones or *sandalis*.

In Binyon, *Asiatic Art in the British Museum*, on Pl. LVI, No. 2, we have Jahāṅgīr sitting on a beautiful little throne, with a high back, graceful feet, and no railing, all set with jewels, and beautifully finished.

We have a somewhat similar throne in *Ā'in* (Blochmann, Pl. VII, 1); but the two differ in important details.

A silver throne of a new design and novel fashion, which had been sent by Jahāṅgīr Qulī KHān from Gujarāt, was placed before the Emperor on Thursday, the 13th *Muharram*, 1019 A.H. (= 19th *Farwardīn*, V.R.Y.), which was New Year's Day. It was inlaid and decorated with figures (*Tūzuk*, 81; R. & B., I, 168).

On the frontispiece of Percy Brown's *Indian Painting under the Mughals*, Jahāṅgīr is sitting on a large open seat, which Mr. Brown describes as a 'gold and jewelled throne' (p. 84). Each of the four feet consists of a lion standing on an elephant. A flat cloth awning stands on the four columns of the throne. The picture portrays the celebration of the *Āb-pāshī* or *Gulāb-pāshī* festival held on 14 *Tīr*, IX R.Y. (*Tūzuk*, 130, R. & B., I, 265).

A gold-and-silver throne. A throne presented by I'timādu'd-Daula on Thursday, the 8th *Farwardīn*, XIV R.Y., is thus described by the Emperor: 'On Thursday, the 8th, I'timādu'd-Daula, *Madār-ul-Mulk* (the pivot of the country), having prepared a royal entertainment, begged to be allowed to receive me. In accepting this request his standing was raised. In fact, in decorating the assembly and the largeness of his offering, he had exceeded himself, and made many decorations, and illuminated all sides of the lake as far as the eye could reach, and decorated the streets both near and far with all kinds of lights and coloured lanterns. Among the offerings of that *Madār-us-sultāna* there was a throne of gold and silver, much ornamented and decorated, the supports of which were in the form of tigers. It had been completed with great assiduity

in the space of three years, and was made at the cost of Rs. 450,000. This throne had been made by a skilful European of the name of Hunarmand (skilful), who had no rival in the arts of a goldsmith and a jeweller, and in all sorts of skill (*hunarmandī*). He had made it very well, and I gave him this name' (*Tūzuk*, 266; R. & B., II, 80). He was rewarded with 3000 *darbs*, a horse and an elephant (R. & B., II, 82-83).

This European, Hunarmand, is Austin of Bordeaux, who was in India from 1613 to 1632, and who describes himself as an expert at counterfeiting precious stones and a skilful cutter of diamonds. Jahāṅgīr's story can be corroborated from Austin's letters. In one dated Lahore, 20th July, 1620, he says 'I made him [the Great Mogul] a royal throne in which there are several millions of gold and of silver'.⁸ In another letter from the same place, bearing date, 27 April, 1625, he says, more fully, 'I have prepared a design for the construction of a royal throne for the King on which he sits once a year for nine days (which they call the new days), when the Sun enters the sign of the Ram, when their year commences. This throne is supported by four lions weighing 150 quintals [quintal = 100 French pounds] of silver covered with beaten gold leaf, and the canopy is supported by 12 columns in which there are 12 thousand ounces of enamelled gold. The canopy which is in the form of a dome has been covered by me with 4 thousand of my artificial stones, but the genuine stones corresponding to these are of inestimable value, for the King has a great number of pearls and it is certain that he also has more large diamonds and large rubies than all the princes of the universe. On the ascent which has four steps I made 4 "Suisses" like those which are at the gate of the Loure, with halberds in their hands but no wine in their stomachs'.⁹

There is no doubt that this is the throne mentioned by Jahāṅgīr in the passage already quoted.

The first account is vague and may or may not refer to the throne described in the *Tūzuk*. The second account is full and corresponds substantially with Jahāṅgīr's; and the title "Hunarmand" forms part of Austin's signature at the bottom of Letters I and IV. The Editor of the letters thinks that two distinct thrones

8. "Four Letters by Austin of Bordeaux" in *Journal of the Punjab Historical Society*, IV, i, p. 7.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 13.

are mentioned in these two passages, one being made, and the other designed, by Austin.¹⁰ This is very doubtful. In the first place, the earlier statement is vague and brief, and rather casual. Secondly, we should remember that I'timādu'd-Daula's throne was presented to Jahāngīr in March, 1619, and this earlier statement was recorded sixteen months later. If Austin had made or designed two thrones before that date, we should expect him to refer to both, and in any case he wouldn't omit the important throne presented by "I'timādu'd-Daula". Nor is there any reference to the second throne in the full and deliberate statement in the Letter dated 27 April, 1625. Austin makes no fine distinctions between making and designing, just because the first entry is only a passing remark.

There is another point worthy of attention. Austin gives in these passages the impression that he made the throne for the Emperor, while, as a matter of fact, the throne was made to the order of "I'timādu'd-Daula" and then presented by him to the Emperor. Furthermore, Austin tells us that he was in the service of Jahāngīr on a salary of 120 crowns (i.e., Rs. 270) a month, and was later made a 'captain of 200 horse'. The King 'has given me', he says, 'two elephants and two horses, a house valued at eight thousand livres [£ 600], and his likeness in gold to put on my hat, which is a mark of honour corresponding to the Order of the Holy Spirit in France' (*Ibid.*, p. 7). Again, he remarks, he served the King as an engineer. Later, when Jahāngīr died he entered the service of SHāh Jahān and designed a throne for him.

We find no corroboration of these statements in the Persian histories.

It is of course possible that Austin belonged to the Goldsmiths' Establishment in the Imperial Household, and "I'timādu'd-Daula" had the throne prepared, by the Emperor's permission, in the royal manufactory, supplying the material used, and, possibly, paying the wages.

Again, a statement by the German traveller, Heinrich von Poser, is often adduced to corroborate Austin's version. On the morning of Christmas Day, 1621, Austin paid a visit to Von Poser at Agra and offered him an audience of the Emperor. They left Agra together on the 28th, and on January 13, 1622, joined Jahāngīr's camp, putting up with Āsaf KHān. On the 19th

10. *Ibid.*, p. 4.

January they obtained private audience of the Emperor at Nūrpur. There, says Von Poser, the Emperor 'inspected the throne, made of gold and about a foot high, constructed after Mr. Augustin's designs.'¹¹

Now it is true that Jahāngīr was at Nūrpur (Kangra) about the end of January, more probably the beginning of February, 1622.¹² No presentation of a throne, however, is mentioned in the *Tūzuk* on or near that date. This is 2 years and 10 months after I'timādu'd-Daula's throne had been presented to Jahāngīr. It is possible that I'timādu'd-Daula's throne was being carried in Jahāngīr's camp, and when Austin came to pay his respects the talk naturally turned on the throne, especially as Āsaf KHān was present at the interview and acted as interpreter in the conversation. So this evidence carries us no further.

The reader will have noticed by the way that Austin and his friend were putting up in Āsaf KHān's camp. This shows the relations between I'timādu'd-Daula's family and Austin of Bordeaux. We should naturally expect this after Austin had prepared the throne to I'timādu'd-Daula's order.

On Thursday, 24 *Mīhr*, XIV R.Y., the day of Dasahra celebration, Mu'tamid KHān offered to Jahāngīr a gold throne,¹³ with a *yāqūt* ring, a piece of coral, etc.—total price, Rs. 16,000. The throne, says the Emperor, was well made (*Tūzuk*, 277; R. & B., II, 100-1).

Prince KHurram's Throne. It appears that Prince KHurram had prepared a jewelled throne for presentation to the Emperor at a cost of five lakhs of rupees. But before it could be offered things changed, and the Prince went into open rebellion. In the collision, which took place between the imperialists and SHāhjahān's rebel forces at Ahmadābād, the throne with 2 lakhs in cash and other things fell into the hands of the royalists; but as they were straitened for money they broke up the throne and distributed the gold among the troopers as pay (*Tūzuk*, 362-63; R. & B., II, 262-64; *Iqbāl-nāma*, 206-7).

Among vague and hearsay talk about thrones we may notice the following brief passage in Terry:

11. Note on Austin of Bordeaux by William Irvine in *J.R.A.S.* for 1910, p. 1344.

12. Jahāngīr encamped at Nūrpur on 26 *Bahman* (i.e., early in February, 1622). So this interview must have taken place on that date, or nine days after the death of I'timādu'd-Daula.

13. R. & B. translate 'tablet,' I do not know why.

'Yet may this King be thought to exceed any other in glorious Thrones and rich Jewels. Hee hath a Throne in his Palace at Agra ascended by degrees, on the top whereof are foure Lions made of massie Silver, gilded, set with Precious Stones, supporting a Canopie of massie Gold' (Purchas, IX, 49). Terry, we must remember never went to Agra.

LASTLY, WE MAY NOTICE A THRONE OF BLACK SLATE

Jahāngīr describes in the following passage a throne of black slate, which was brought from Allahabad, and had some poetry inscribed on it by his order: 'Daulat KHān, who had been sent to Allahabad to bring the throne of black stone, came on Wednesday the 4th of the month of Mihr (15th September, 1610), and had an audience and brought the stone safe and sound. In truth it was a wonderful slab, very black and shining. Many say it is of a specie of touchstone; in length it was one-eighth less than four cubits [$3\frac{7}{8}$ *dir'a* or yards], and in breadth $2\frac{1}{2}$ cubits and one *tasū*, whilst its thickness may be three *tasū*. I ordered stone-cutters to carve suitable couplets on the sides of it. They had attached feet to it of the same kind of stone. I often sat [sit] on that throne' (Tūzuk, 85; R. & B., I, 177).

We know a little more about this throne from other sources. The author of *B.N.* informs us that on the western side of the quadrangle of *Daulatkhāna-i-khāṣ* (at Agra) there is a platform of marble, where SHāhjahān often sits in summer afternoons and evenings; and on the eastern (i.e., the river) side there is a throne of touchstone (*sang-i-mahakk*) (*B.N.*, I, ii, 238). This latter is the one referred to in *Tūzuk* above.

Travellers' guides report that these two thrones are still to be found in the places indicated in *B.N.* Mr. Havell informs us that 'on the terrace in front of the *Dīwān-i-khāṣ* are placed two thrones: one of white marble on the side facing the Machchi-Bhawan, and the other of black slate on the river side' (*Handbook to Agra and the Taj*, 56).

The material is black slate, and the slab is $3\frac{1}{2}$ yards long, over 2 yards broad, and some 6 inches thick.¹⁴ It stands on octagonal pedestals about 16 inches high.

14. Carleylle (*Archaeological Survey of India Report for 1871-72*, Dell and Agra, IV, 132) is out in his breadth and Beale (*Miftāhu't-Tawārīk*, page 206) has exaggerated the thickness. Keene (*Handbook for Visitors to Agra and its neighbourhood*, ed. E. A. Duncan, Calcutta, 1909, p. 120) and Newell (*Three Days at Agra*, 53) only copy Carleylle.

This throne has the following inscriptions: The first is

بادشاہ نے کہ لے آئے اور سوار
چون دو پیکر سرحد بدو نیم
باشد این تختگاه فرخنده
وادی جنتی در تابند
نویی به برپا جو در تیرتیم
گفت مانده سرر شاه سلیم

and the second, written in between the preceding verses, is

بہیستہ باد منور بنور مہر الہ
سریر حضرت سلطان سلیم اکبر شاہ

Both these were inscribed in 1011 A.H. = 1602-3 A.C., some three years before Akbar's death. Prince Salīm was at this time in rebellion at Allahabad, where, having failed in his efforts, he was now ignominiously suing for peace and pardon.

The third inscription reads thus:

چون شاہ سلیم داشت تخت نگین
بر تخت نشست بست گیتی آئین
شد رسد مبارکش جہانگیر چو ذات
از نور عداوت نقش لوزالہن

The passage we have cited from *Tūzuk* refers to the bringing of the throne from Allahabad, and the writing of this last inscription (1018 = 1610).

I have found no authority for Beale's statement (p. 206) that Akbar prepared this throne for his son Salīm. It is apparently on the support of this that Havell remarks that the throne was 'probably made to commemorate the recognition by Akbar of his son's title to the succession' (p. 56). Both these statements are unsupported by any historical testimony.

'On this terrace [in front of the *Dīwān-i-khāṣ*],' adds Mr. Havell, 'Jahāngīr sat to enjoy the sight of his brigantines on the river, or to watch the elephant fights on the level place beneath the walls. From side to side of this throne there is a long fissure, which opened, so says tradition, when the Jāt Rajah, Jawahar Singh of Bharatpur, in 1765, set his usurping feet on the throne of the Great Mogul. The tradition holds that blood spurted out of the throne in two places, and red marks in the stone are pointed out as evidence of the truth of the story. The impious chief was shortly afterwards assassinated in the palace' (p. 56-57).

SHāh Jahān

The completion of the fort-palace of *SHāhjahānābād*, which had taken eight years and a sum of 60 lakhs of rupees to build, was the fulfilment of one of *SHāh Jahān*'s most cherished ambitions. The investiture, which was held on Saturday, 24 *Rabī*' I, 1058, was celebrated, as might be expected, in a particularly sumptuous manner, furnishings and decorations being carried out on an unusually large scale, even for that reign.

On this occasion, we learn from *B.N.* that a jewelled, or gold-enamelled, or *munabhat* (inlaid or embossed), or plain throne was deposited in every room of the palace. From this general statement we gather incidentally that there was quite a large number of thrones, executed in various kinds of workmanship, used on occasions, and in different parts of the palace—both in the *Haram* and outside.

In addition to these, a 'jewelled throne' was deposited in a square place prepared for it in the centre of the *daulatkhāna-i-khāṣ-o-ām*. All round this square place ran a railing of gold. In front of the throne was erected on jewelled poles a gold-worked canopy finished with strings of pearls. On either side of the throne-place stood a jewelled *chatr*, also strung with pearls, and an octagonal throne of gold. And behind the throne-place were placed gold and jewelled stools carrying the *qūr*, which consisted of begemmed swords with jewelled *pardalas*, shields, quivers with jewelled fittings, and jewelled lances (*B.N.*, III, 18a). This 'jewelled throne' cannot be the Peacock Throne, as the latter was at this date at Agra. It is probably one of those we see in the pictures.

Thus we learn that almost every large chamber in *SHāhjahān*'s palace at Delhi had a throne to itself.

This is roughly corroborated by Tavernier, who says, 'It should be stated that the Great Mogul has seven magnificent thrones, one wholly covered with diamonds, the others with rubies, emeralds, or pearls' (I, p. 303). Then after describing the Peacock Throne at length, he goes on: 'Behind this grand and magnificent throne a smaller one stands, in the form of a bathing-tub. It is oval shape, about 7 feet in length and 5 in breadth, and the outside is covered with diamonds and pearls, but it has no canopy' (p. 306).

No throne answering to this description is to be seen in any of the pictures extant.

'The other five thrones,' he continues, 'are arranged in a superb hall in another court, and are covered with diamonds, without any coloured stones. I shall not give a minute description of them for fear of wearying the reader, not forgetting that one may become disgusted with the most beautiful things when they are too often before the eyes. These five thrones are disposed in such a manner that they form a cross, four making a square, the fifth being in the middle, but somewhat nearer to the two which are placed furthest away from the people.'

After the Emperor has remained about half an hour in his harem, he comes out with three or four eunuchs to seat himself in the middle one of the five thrones, and during the five days of the festival, sometimes his elephants are brought, sometimes his camels, and all the nobles of his Court come to make their accustomed presents. All this is done with much magnificence, and with surroundings worthy of the greatest monarch in the East, the Great Mogul being in power and wealth in Asia what the King of France is in Europe, but having nothing comparable with him in might if he waged war with a valiant and clever people like our Europeans' (p. 308). The first part of this passage seems to contradict what the author has said earlier about the seven magnificent thrones. But it is long since we learnt the lesson that no statements by Tavernier can bear close examination.

In Brown we have a beautiful picture of a throne of *SHāhjahān*'s, painted, it is said, about 1630. It is not indeed the Peacock Throne¹⁵ as the title avers, but judging by this representation it must have been one of the finest thrones in *SHāhjahān*'s treasury.

It is square in shape, has a low railing on all four sides (with an opening in the centre of one of the sides), stands on four graceful, richly jewelled legs, and is ascended by three jewelled steps, the lowest of which stands on four dainty little feet. It is fitted with a shapely canopy supported by four begemmed columns. The whole is tastefully finished (*Indian Painting under the Mughals*, pl. XXV).

Another delightful picture of a throne of *SHāhjahān*'s is to be found on Pl. 10, C. Stanley Clarke, *Indian Drawings* (*School of Jahāngīr*). This throne also stands on four feet, has a comparatively simple footstool, a low railing with an opening on one side

15. For a further notice see pp. 95-97 below.

for entry, four columns carrying a fine canopy surmounted by two birds—all stuck over with gems and proportioned and decorated in unimpeachable taste. This and the last picture are closely similar to each other and to the illustration of a throne in the *Ā'in* already referred to. Yet the objects portrayed are not identical. Either they are ringing the changes on an identical throne, of which none of these is a facsimile, or they are likenesses of three distinct thrones which only differ in slight details. The latter alternative is less likely.

In No. H, 35 of the Delhi Museum of Archaeology we find *SHāh Jahān* sitting on a plain gold throne, square in shape, which has four legs, a high back, and a separate footstool. A pearl-fringed umbrella of red colour is fixed over the throne.

There is a good picture in the Delhi Museum of Archaeology, to which no number is allotted. It is a petition submitted to *SHāh Jahān* by 'Abdu'r-Rashīd Dailmī, better known as Āqā Sāhib, the court calligraphist of that reign, and tutor to Dārā *SHikoh*. On one sheet is the text of the petition written in beautiful *nasta'liq*, on the other is *SHāh Jahān* sitting in a spacious kiosk (it may be, a throne) built on a platform. A mace-bearer is standing behind the Emperor inside the kiosk; and the petitioner is standing before the Emperor presenting his petition. The picture reveals a master's hand.

A gold throne. On the New Year's Day which fell on Friday, 22 *SHawwāl*, 1046 A.H., the celebration was particularly joyous as *SHāhjahān* has just recovered from an illness which had lasted nineteen days. The court poets recited poems of thanksgiving and praise; and the first present that was offered was that by Begam Sāhib, which consisted, besides jewels, jewelled arms and rarities, of a gold throne decorated in relief. All the presents, the value of which came to 2½ lakhs, were accepted (*B.N.*, I, ii, 245, A.S., II, 225).

In the spring of 1641 A.C. *SHāh Jahān* was at Lahore fort, where he celebrated the New Year's Day—the spring festival.¹⁶

16. It fell on Wednesday, 9 *Zū'l-hijj*, 1050 A.H. (= 22 March, 1641), i.e., on the eve of the 'Id-i-azhā so that the two celebrations ran together. Manrique mixes up the 'Id-i-azhā with the 'Idu'l-fitr, when he says that the *Nauroz* 'that year fell during the Easter of their Ramadan, with its thirty days' fast' (p. 192). Making allowance for this error, Manrique's dates are accurate, and the Editor's unfavourable remark in the footnote quite uncalled for.

Manrique, who witnessed the ceremony, has given a vivid, if somewhat quaint, description of the sights and scenes he saw. After giving a somewhat elaborate and rather confusing account of the halls of the Palace he goes on thus to describe a throne which he saw:

'In the centre of this ['magnificent and richly decorated hall'], forming as it were the eighth (if but modern) wonder among the wonders of antiquity, stood a superb Throne. So, if what is most perfect disturbs our feelings, just as the glowing rays of the Sun confronting us obscure our vision; if the roar of dashing, clashing water hurling themselves from a lofty rock stuns and deafens our hearing; if the scent of aromatic drugs and oriental spices confounds our sense of smell; if the sweetness of the honey of Hybla vitiates our sense of taste; if the effects of frost numb and destroy the sense of touch;—what wonder is it that, when my senses were distracted at the sight of so remarkable and surprising an object as that Throne, I could not well grasp the precious nature of its constituent materials? Yet, in order to carry out my promise, I will not fail to give such an account of it as my perturbed and numbed senses could grasp at the time.

It was a Throne which contained within its spherical circumference four separate stages, each with six gold and silver steps, on which the designer had shown the unrivalled skill of his workmanship.

Upon this Throne or *tacto* [*takht*], as the natives style it, stood eight exceedingly rich columns of gold sustaining a Cupola of the same metal which formed a canopy and cover over a most magnificent and beautiful seat, also of gold. The Throne, in the brilliance of its glittering, polished metal, thus served to remind one that, except with due submissiveness, one should not amongst such splendours dare to gaze on the richest gifts which ancient mother earth is wont to bestow on the great and most powerful of this world.

For here were to be seen the purest and most brilliant diamonds from Bisnagna [Bisnagar or Vijayanagar], lovely to look on and (as our St. Isidor avers) most useful against enchantments, while they far exceeded ordinary diamonds in size. Here, too, was the purple ruby from Ava, which exposed to the air glows red and scintillates under the rays of the glittering Planet. Also were to be seen green emeralds, most precious of stones, from the mountains of Jatir, whose soft radiance and glow, comforting and cheering the

tired sight, entices the eye to look upon them. Moreover, here were to be seen, even more lovely, and hailing from the same Jatir mountains, the celestial sapphire, whose colour resembles Heaven's blue in a serene sky and in splendour the Firmament: they say that they cool down, in whosoever bears them, all lustful ardours of the flesh.

Nor, to complete the perfection of this rare marvel, did it lack the ornaments of the gates of Paradise; for it could be seen that the Indian Ocean and Persian Gulf had to this end contributed its finest and roundest pearls, useful, it is alleged, for the body's health and in lotions for bad eyesight.

Three sets of steps made of silver, seven palms in height, encompassed this Throne. These were in three separate flights and served to distinguish the rank and dignity of those who, within their precincts, attended the Court of the Mogol Majesty' (II, 197-99).

Despite Manrique's quaint eloquence, we are unable from this description to identify this throne with any throne that we know.

Gold enamelled throne. *SHāh Jahān* built for himself a gold enamelled throne $2\frac{1}{2}$ yards long, 1 yard¹⁷ and 21 *ḡassū* wide, and $4\frac{1}{2}$ yards high. It was prepared in a period of nine months, and cost five lakhs of rupees.

SHāh Jahān sat on this throne on 8 *Rabī' I*, 1062 and again on Friday, 26 *Ṣafar*, 1064, A.H. (Solar Weighment celebrating the beginning of the 63rd solar year of his life).¹⁸

Manucci was, in the summer of 1656, received in audience by *SHāh Jahān* at Delhi. His description of the court, its arrangements and ceremonial, is interesting, and deserves to be quoted in full:

17. A yard is about 33 inches.

18. *B.N.*, III, P.U.L. MS., 60 b, and 85 b; *A.S.*, III, 136 and 180. The dimensions given above are deduced from the somewhat conflicting statements in the authorities cited. There is material discrepancy, however, over the height of the throne; and there is just a chance that two different thrones were used on the two occasions referred to, one 3 yards and 21 *ḡassū* high used on 8 *Rabī' I*, 1062, and the other $4\frac{1}{2}$ yards high used on 26 *Ṣafar*, 1064; but in that case the thrones must have agreed in every other particular including both dimensions and cost—which is perhaps unlikely. It must be said in support of this slender hypothesis, however, that both *B.N.*, III and *A.S.*, III give 3 yards and 21 *ḡassū* as the height on the earlier occasion—which point need be considered only if *A.S.* is not simply copying from *B.N.*

'I noted that the throne on which the king, *SHāh Jahān*, was seated stood in front of and near to the palace of the women, so that as soon as he came out of its door he reached the throne. It is like a table, adorned with all sorts of precious stones and flowers in enamel and gold. There are three cushions, a large one, five spans in diameter, and circular, which serves as a support to the back, and two other square ones, one on each side, also a most lovely mattress. For in Turkey, and throughout the whole of *Hindūstān*, they do not sit upon chairs, but upon carpets or mattresses, with their legs crossed. Around the throne, at the distance of one pace, are railings of gold of the height of one cubit, within which no one enters except the king's sons. Before they enter they come and, facing the king, go through their obeisance, then enter the palace and come out by the same door from which the king issued. Arriving there, they again make obeisance, and upon a sign from the king they take their seat in the same enclosure, but at the foot of and on one side of the throne. Thereupon the pages appear with the umbrella, parasol, betel, spittoon, sword, and fly-brusher.

Below the throne, several feet lower than it, a space is left, sufficient for the Secretary (? *wazīr*) and the greatest officials of the court. This space is surrounded by a silver railing. Near it stand "grusberdares" (*gurz-bardār*)—that is to say, the bearers of golden maces, whose duty it is to carry orders from the court to princes of the blood royal. After a descent of a few more steps there is another space of greater size, where are the captains and other officials, also the "grusberdares" (*gurz-bardārs*) with silver maces, who convey the order of the court to the governors, generals, and other princes. These are placed with their backs to a railing of wood painted vermilion, which surrounds the space.

The hall in which stood the royal seat is adorned with twenty highly-decorated pillars, which support the roof. This roof stretches far enough to cover the spaces enclosed within the silver railing, and is hidden half-way by an awning of brocade. Further, a canopy over the king's throne is upheld by four golden pillars.

Outside the wooden railing is a great square, where, close to the railing, stand nine horses on one side and nine on the other, all saddled and equipped. Near to the pillars are brought certain elephants on every day that the king gives audience, and there they make their obeisance, as I shall describe when I speak of the elephants (ii. 5). Behind the horses already spoken of were four handsomely-adorned elephants, and in the square a considerable

number of soldiers stand on guard. At the end was a great hall, where were stationed the players on instruments, and these, upon the king's appearing to give audience, played very loudly, to give notice that the king was already in the audience hall.

The silence preserved was astonishing, and the order devoid of confusion. For this purpose there are officials, whose business it is to see that the people are placed in proper order. Some of these officials held gold sticks in their hand, and these came within the silver railing. The others carried silver sticks, and they took great heed that throughout the court nothing was done which could displease the king' (*Storia* I, 88-90).

It appears that the Emperor sat on a throne in the *Jharoka* of the Hall of Public Audience in Delhi Fort-palace; and Manucci's 'twenty highly-decorated pillars', instead of forty, is only one of his errors, which are common enough.

Although Manucci's description of the throne is extremely meagre, we know that this could not be the Peacock Throne; for, according to Manucci's account,¹⁹ *SHāh Jahān* never used the Peacock Throne. Nor was it possible to accommodate the Peacock Throne in the *Jharoka*.

Some thrones of Princes have been portrayed by artists:

On Pl. XVIII of *Storia* (Vol. II) we see *Sultān Sulaimān SHikoh*, son of *Dārā SHikoh*, sitting on a small jewelled throne. It is square in shape, and has four legs and a back. An attendant behind holds the umbrella over him.

On Pl. XXI, *Storia* (Vol. II), we have *Sultān Sikandar*, son of Prince *SHāh SHujā* sitting on a square, four-legged, high-backed jewelled throne. This specimen differs very slightly from the one on Pl. XIX to be dealt with later.

Thrones of stone. All thrones were not made of the precious metals. Marble thrones were sometimes used. *Jahāngīr*'s throne of black slate has already been noticed. A wooden throne belonging to *Aurangzeb* will be mentioned under that emperor.

A Throne of White Marble. This, as we have seen, still stands on the *Machhi Bhawan* side of the terrace in *Agra fort*. *B.N.* describes it as a platform of marble, but *Agra Guides* call it a marble throne. It is a rectangular slab and stands on four legs.

19. See below.

It has been there since *SHāh Jahān*'s time: earlier history is not available.

We are told in the same place (*B.N.*, I, ii, 238) that on the south side of the *Machhi Bhawan* courtyard is a kiosk of marble on four columns, decorated with embossed (or inlaid) work. Inside this kiosk stands a gold throne for the Emperor.

In the Hall of Private Audience in *Delhi Fort* the visitors can see today a beautifully carved marble dais. It is said, apparently on the authority of *Carr Stephen*, that it was used as a support of the Peacock Throne. Taking the height of this marble platform together with the altitude of the Peacock Throne as we know it, it would hardly seem possible to accommodate the Throne under the roof of the Hall. Be that as it may, the marble dais is a remarkable piece of furniture by itself.

Lord Curzon describes (*Persia and the Persian Question*, I, 313) the white marble throne of *Kerim Khan Zend*, wrought of marble of *Yezd*, and brought from *SHirāz*—which he saw at *Teheran*. Some suppose it to be an Indian throne, and part of *Nādir SHāh*'s spoil. See an illustration of it in *Benjamin, Persia and the Persians*, p. 222.

PEACOCK THRONE

Great and varied as the wealth is through which we have meandered we have not yet reached the climax. The throne-building which we have so far surveyed does not reflect the mind and art of *SHāh Jahān*. The specimens noticed represent only minor efforts made either to serve an occasion or to satisfy a passing whim, or else they were merely prompted by a love of variety. The Peacock Throne was *SHāh Jahān*'s *chef d'oeuvre*, by which he is to be remembered and judged. Historically its design or decoration was not evolved out of any pre-existing specimens. The throne was designed, as the reader will see, quite early in the reign, and we can trace no family resemblance between it and those manufactured before in the earlier reigns.

We deal with it last, as it is the last word in *Mughal* decorative art.

The vigorous artistic instinct of a great and free people was blindly yearning for scope and effective expression, and in the decorative, as well as in the building, art it was reserved for *SHāh Jahān*'s genius to lead the converging currents of aesthetic life and

taste into some great culminating achievement, which would remain at least as an abiding memory of a great people's great ideals.

The building of the Peacock Throne is a conspicuous landmark in the world's artistic creation. Those who consider it to be only a very costly work of art miss the entire point. Just as among the products of nature there is something classic about precious stones, so is there something classic, indeed, something epic, about the Peacock Throne in the world of art. Mulla 'Abdu'l-Ḥamīd is indulging in no senseless superlatives when he says that in the reign of no king or emperor in the ages gone by has a similar throne been prepared (*B.N.*, I, ii, 78). He is stating the literal truth—indeed, with commendable restraint. On rare occasions have beauty and wealth been so well wedded together. The only pity is that the extreme costliness of the material and delicacy of workmanship proved but a poor guarantee against destruction when political vicissitudes exposed the Throne to the vulgar greed of the barbarian.

The following account of the building of the *Takht-i-tā'ūs* is taken from *B.N.* :

Large quantities of precious stones had gathered for years in the Jewel Treasury. Early in the reign it occurred to the Emperor *SHāh Jahān* that shutting up so much beautiful wealth in the store-rooms of the Treasury defeated the true purpose of its acquisition, viz., show and decoration. They could and should be used in such a way as to serve the double purpose of making so much art treasure visible to the public and of being utilized to a practical end. Orders were consequently issued that leaving apart the *khāṣṣa* jewels kept in the Jewel Treasury of the Harem the total value of which was assessed at 2 crores of rupees, and which were worn on the person of the Emperor, all the stones and gems in the outer Treasury,²⁰ which totalled 3 crores in value, should be passed before the Emperor.

Out of them precious stones weighing 50,000 *miṣqāls* (say, about 500 lb.) and worth 86 lakhs of rupees were selected and entrusted to *Bebadal KHān*, the *dārogha* of the Goldsmiths' Department. These, along with pure gold weighing one lakh *tolas* of 250,000 *miṣqāls* (= 2500 lb.), the value of which came to 14 lakhs

20. It may be noted in passing that *B.N.* has *KHān Zamān*, which ought to be *KHāzinān*, as is clear from *Burhānū'd-Dīn, Mulakhkhaṣ*, f. 831 a.

of rupees,²¹ were to be used in the building of a throne measuring 3¼ yards²² long, 2½ yards broad, and 5 yards high (including the canopy). The ceiling was to be decorated chiefly with enamel and in part with inlaid work, and the roof profusely studded with rubies, *yāqūts*, etc., the canopy being supported by twelve pillars of emeralds. On the top of the canopy were to stand two jewelled peacocks, and between these a tree studded with rubies, diamonds, emeralds, and pearls. And three steps set with bright jewels were to afford ascent to the throne.

The throne was seven years building, and was completed in 1044 A.H., the total expense being one crore of rupees, as already indicated.

Eleven begemmed slabs, continues the author of *B.N.*, were fitted round the royal seat for support, the place of the twelfth being left open, apparently for entry. The middle one of these eleven slabs on which the Emperor leaned and rested his hand was worth ten lakhs of rupees. This slab bore in its centre a historic ruby (worth 1 lakh), which *SHāh 'Abbās* of Persia had sent as a present to the Emperor *Jahāngīr*, who, in turn, sent it to Prince *KHurram* in the Deccan as a reward for his victories in those regions.

The kings and princes, through whose hands it passed, had their names engraved on it. It bore the names of the great *Timūr*, *Mirzā SHāh Rukh*, *Mirzā Ulugh Beg*, *SHāh 'Abbās* of Persia, *Jahāngīr* (with his father's), and *SHāhjahān*. This stone has already been referred to above under Rubies.²³

Hājī Muḥammad Jān Qudsī, at the Emperor's orders, composed the following *maṣnavī* in praise of the throne, inside of which it was inscribed in green enamel.²⁴

21. A.S. has 15 lakhs.

22. Royal measure. This yard should be taken as equivalent to 33 inches.

23. P. above.

24. Or in enamel of pure emerald, as A.S. puts it.

که شد سامان بتایید الهی
 ز رخسار شد را بگذاخت اول
 سینا کمالش نیای انکه
 وجود بگردان رکعت این بود
 لب لعل بتا نرا دل بهایت
 نه از شد لب خاتم بهیده
 نه شد از گنج خالی کیسه خاک
 دم خورشید و در زرد نیایش
 زردون پای به بر تخت افزود
 ناه عرش و کرسی سایه او
 چراغ عالمی هر دانه آن
 فردن چون چراغ از طور دنیا
 نیک خورشید جم بر پای است
 تواند صد فلک را داد اختر
 از آن شد پای قدس فلک سای
 چراغ عالمی را خرج یک تخت
 تواند قدرش تختی چن ساخت
 بود بر تخت جاشاه جهان را
 چراغ تخت کشور زیر پایش
 گفت او رنگ شاه عادل

ر به فرخنده تخت پادشاهی
 فلک دوزخ که میزدش مکمل
 بکم کار فرما حرف نه پاک
 جز این تخت از زرد گوهر چه مقصود
 زیا قولش که در قید بهایت
 برای پای اش عمره کشیده
 بجزش عالم از زرد جهان پاک
 رساند گر فلک خود را بپایش
 سرافراز که سر بر پای اش سود
 خراج بود کان پیرایه او
 انواع جواهر گشته الوان
 نه از افش بود گلهای دنیا
 چه میزد از فرازش کوته دست
 تخت تار از فردن لعل و گوهر
 دم شاه جهان را بوسه بر پای
 نه شاه جهان بخش جوان بخت
 خداوند که عرش و کرسی از تخت
 اثربانیت تا کون و مکان را
 بود تخت جنس مردوز جایش
 جوتا رخسار زان در سید از دل

او رنگ شاه عادل

gives the year 1044.

Another has found another chronogram equally good :

سیر جهان یون صاحب قرالی (۱۰۴۴) 25

25. B.N., I, ii, 78-81.

This is all that 'Abdu'l-Hamid, the prime authority for *SHāh Jahān's* reign, has to say on the subject.

Now we can turn to '*Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ*'. Only additions and modifications need be noticed.

Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ²⁶ adds that the throne was rectangular in shape. Further he says that the jewelled canopy stood on eight enamelled pillars of gold. So not only have we 'enamelled' instead of 'emerald', which perhaps can be reconciled by imagining that the piers had an emerald enamel like the inscription inside; but we have eight columns instead of twelve, which is a serious discrepancy. The twelve columns of B.N. are supported by all the copies of *Qarniya* that I have seen and by Burhānu'd-Dīn, *Mulakhkhaṣ*, 831 b.

Again, on the top of the canopy two gold enamelled peacocks, on the uplifted (tail) feathers of which emeralds are set, stand facing each other; and each of them holds in his beak a ruby of singular brilliance.

In B.N., the peacocks are jewelled, and here they are enamelled. But this is not material, since they were probably both. The other details are welcome as supplementary. The relative position of the birds is corroborated; only the tree between them is not mentioned in A.S.—which is probably an oversight. Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ winds up by saying that jewels of all kinds like *yāqūts*, emeralds, diamonds of European cut, large and small, have been used for decoration everywhere.

This is all the authentic or official history that we possess on the subject.

All the other accounts in Persian histories are more or less mediately derived from these contemporary accounts, and may therefore be ignored as second-hand or hearsay.

It is now time to take up the European authorities. Tavernier and Bernier are eye-witnesses, the former a jeweller who visited the capital several times, and *prima facie* the best judge of such an article that we could think of, and the latter a remarkably intelligent observer. How far our expectations will be fulfilled will appear in the sequel.

26. A.S., II, 86-87.

We quote Tavernier's long account of the Peacock Throne in full :

'The principal throne', says Tavernier, who is talking of the Peacock Throne, 'resembles in form and size our camp beds; that is to say, it is about 6 feet long and 4 wide. Upon the four feet, which are very massive, and from 20 to 25 inches high, are fixed the four bars which support the base of the throne, and upon these bars are ranged twelve columns, which sustain the canopy on three sides, that which faces the court being open. Both the feet and the bars, which are more than 18 inches long, are covered with gold inlaid and enriched with numerous diamonds, rubies, and emeralds. In the middle of each bar there is a large balass²⁷ ruby, cut en cabuchon, with four emeralds round it, forming a square cross. Next in succession, from one side to the other along the length of the bars there are similar crosses, arranged so that in one the ruby is in the middle of four emeralds, and in another the emerald is in the middle and four balass rubies surround it. The emeralds are table-cut, and the intervals between the rubies and emeralds are covered with diamonds, the larger of which do not exceed 10 to 12 carats in weight, all showy stones, but very flat. There are also in some parts pearls set in gold, and upon one of the longer sides of the throne there are four steps to ascend it. Of the three cushions or pillows which are upon the throne, that which is placed behind the Emperor's back is large and round like one of our bolsters, and the two others placed at his sides are flat. Moreover, a sword, a mace, a round shield, a bow and quiver with arrows, are suspended from this throne, and all these weapons, as also the cushions and steps, both of this throne and of the other six, are covered over with stones which match those with which each of the thrones respectively is enriched.

I counted the large balass rubies on the great throne, and there are about 108, all cabuchons, the least of which weighs 100 carats, but there are some which weigh apparently 200 and more. As for the emeralds, there are plenty of good colour, but they have many flaws; the largest may weigh 60 carats, and the least 30 carats. I counted about 116; thus there are more emeralds than rubies.

The underside of the canopy is covered with diamonds and pearls, with a fringe of pearls all round, and above the canopy,

27. 'Balet in the original, for balass, &c.' (P. 303, f.n.).

which is a quadrangular-shaped dome, there is a peacock with elevated tail made of blue sapphires and other coloured stones, the body of gold inlaid with precious stones, having a large ruby in front of the breast, whence hangs a pear-shaped pearl of 50 carats or thereabouts, and of a somewhat yellow water. On both sides of the peacock there is a large bouquet of the same height as the bird, consisting of many kinds of flowers made of gold inlaid with precious stones. On the side of the throne opposite the court there is a jewel consisting of a diamond of from 80 to 90 carats weight, with rubies and emeralds round it, and when the Emperor is seated he has this jewel in full view. But in my opinion the most costly point about this magnificent throne is that the twelve columns supporting the canopy are surrounded with beautiful rows of pearls, which are round and of fine water, and weigh from 6 to 10 carats each. At 4 feet distance from the throne two umbrellas are fixed, on either side, the sticks of which for 7 or 8 feet in height are covered with diamonds, rubies, and pearls. These umbrellas are of red velvet, and embroidered and fringed all round with pearls.

This is what I have been able to observe regarding this famous throne, commenced by Tamerlane and completed by *Shāh Jahān*; and those who keep the accounts of the King's jewels, and of the cost of this great work, have assured me that it amounts to 107,000 lakhs of rupees, which amount to 160,500,000 livres of our money' (Tavernier, I, 303-305).

Such an elaborate and minute eye-witness account of such an important article which is no longer in existence ought, indeed, to be considered a boon, for which we could not be too thankful. The fulness of detail given here is unrivalled in any source, Persian or European. If Tavernier's commendable love of detail had been matched even with a tolerably high standard of accuracy, the French jeweller-traveller would have stood head and shoulders above the other authorities on the subject. As will appear in the sequel, his lack of observation and judgment is deplorable. But before we embark on criticism Bernier's account of the Throne may be placed before the reader. 'The throne', he says, 'was supported by six massy feet, said to be of solid gold, sprinkled over with rubies, emeralds, and diamonds. I cannot tell you with accuracy the number or value of this vast collection of precious stones, because no person may approach sufficiently near to reckon them, or judge of their water and clearness: but I can assure you that there is a confusion of diamonds, as well as other jewels, and

that the throne, to the best of my recollection, is valued at four *Kourours* of *Roupies*. I observed elsewhere that a *Lecque* is one hundred thousand *roupies*, and that a *Kourour* is a hundred *Lecques*; so that the throne is estimated at forty millions of *roupies*, worth sixty millions of pounds [livres] or thereabouts. It was constructed by *Chah-Jehan*, the father of *Aureng-Zebe*, for the purpose of displaying the immense quantity of precious stones accumulated successively in the treasury from the spoils of ancient *Rajas* and *Patans*, and the annual presents to the Monarch, which every *Omrah* is bound to make on certain festivals. The construction and workmanship of the throne are not worthy of the materials; but two peacocks, covered with jewels and pearls, are well conceived and executed. They were made by a workman of astonishing powers, a *Frenchman* by birth, named.....who, after defrauding several of the Princes of *Europe*, by means of false gems, which he fabricated with peculiar skill, sought refuge in the *Great Mogol's* court, where he made his fortune' (p. 268-69). In another place, speaking of the wealth of the *Great Mughal*, he says 'I doubt whether any other Monarch possesses more of this specie 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*' (p. 223).

Even yet we are not qualified to appraise these descriptions. We cannot discuss their respective merits unless we have before us the picture of a copy of the Peacock Throne (to be noticed presently),²⁸ which was prepared in cheaper material to the order of Akbar II (or Bahadur Shah II). This picture is to be found in the Delhi Museum of Archaeology, and probably gives a more adequate idea of the Peacock Throne than any other picture extant. We regret that nothing nearer the original is available.

We will now request the reader to observe this picture closely and in detail. The Throne, he will notice, is unoccupied and stands on a special carpet in the Hall of Private Audience. High above stretched on slender poles a large canopy worked over with a beautiful pattern in gold thread, and trimmed with a fringe.

Now this important picture is to be studied in close connection with the authentic descriptions of the Throne, which have already been placed before the reader. We are now in a position to take up the criticism.

28. See p. 100 below.

The dimensions given by Tavernier make the Throne a rectangle, it is true, but they are widely divergent from those in the Persian histories. On the other hand, we notice that the ratio of the length to the height of the Throne, as given in the official histories, tallies very closely with that obtained from the measurements of the picture. The breadth unfortunately cannot be ascertained from the latter, though one can guess it nearly corresponds to the official measurements, since the central window in the front and back sides is larger than the central window in the other two sides.

The 'twelve columns' in B.N. and Tavernier are borne out by both the pictures in the Delhi Museum of Archaeology,²⁹ and may be considered as established, notwithstanding Muhammad Salih's 'eight'. In fact according to Tavernier the most costly item of the Throne was the twelve columns surrounded with beautiful rows of pearls, round and fine, weighing from 6 to 10 carats each. It is to be noted that B.N. speaks only of emerald columns, and A.S. makes them of enamelled gold. All these descriptions may of course be true; but none helps in corroborating another. Tavernier's statement that twelve columns 'Sustain the canopy on three sides, that which faces the court being open' is, as the reader can easily see, quite wrong, and in fact his whole account of the four bars supporting the base of the throne, and the columns being ranged on these bars is unintelligible in view of the shape and proportions indicated in the Picture.

Mr. Brown's suggestion that the Throne had originally eight columns, which were subsequently replaced by twelve, is mentioned below.

The solid box-like base of the royal seat, which we see in the Painting, constitutes the bulk of the Throne. But in Tavernier's account there is no room for this big base, since the bars were fixed on the feet, he says, and the columns were ranged on the bars.

It is true that this base is not specifically mentioned in the Persian histories, but we can understand that gold weighing 2500 lb. could only have been used on such a solid and heavy member. Besides the total dimensions given in the Persian authorities correspond beautifully to the measurements of the Throne in the

29. The painting already referred to and the picture from the Bankipur Library *Badehahnama* MS., which claims to portray Shah Jahân's first sitting on the Peacock Throne. See p. 98 below.

D.M.A. Picture. It may be noted in passing that in the Picture, where the Throne is unoccupied, the rail in the front centre window, on which the Emperor leaned and rested his hand, is absent, and is replaced by a pillow.

Now about the feet: The four feet on which the Throne in the Picture stands are very small, and this is negatively corroborated by the official account, which ignores them as too insignificant. Tavernier speaks of four 'very massive' feet about 2 feet high; while Bernier outdoes him and has 'six massy feet, said to be of solid gold, sprinkled over with rubies, emeralds, and diamonds'. Such heavy paws are inconsistent with the skeleton and structure of the Throne as we visualize it. Tavernier is as hopeless as usual. But even Bernier is not living up to his reputation.

As for the steps which afforded ascent to the Throne, B.N. has three, while Tavernier has four. The Picture gives no guidance, since the stairway is on the back side.

The most serious blunder in Tavernier's account concerns the peacocks and the tree. Considering that the peacocks were not only a prominent feature but the distinguishing characteristic which gave the throne its name, one feels disposed to doubt if Tavernier ever really looked at the throne. Tavernier has the audacity to state that there was only one peacock and on either side of it a large bouquet, i.e., 'tree.' There can be no excuse for such gross misobservation or such careless statement.

Even Bernier, who saw the throne only from a distance, saw that there were two peacocks.

And yet Tavernier claims that his description of the thrones, which he 'had sufficient time to contemplate thoroughly,' is 'very exact and faithful' (p. 319).

Further, Tavernier makes sapphires prominent on the peacocks' 'elevated tail,' while A.S., as we have seen, mentions only emeralds. Again, Tavernier speaks of a large ruby in front of its breast, from which a pear-shaped pearl of 50 carats hung, while A.S. speaks only of a brilliant ruby in the beak of each peacock, and in the picture a string (? of pearls) hangs from each beak.

The jewel consisting of a large diamond set round with rubies and emeralds which hung before the Emperor's eye when he was seated, is not mentioned by any other author. Probably it is no

part of the Throne, any more than are the two umbrellas fixed on either side of the royal seat. In all probability it was a *Kaukaba*. The reader will recognize these features when he comes to the setting in which the Peacock and other thrones were sometimes placed,³⁰ and will see that they were only appurtenances and ornaments added as occasion arose.

In Tavernier's detailed description we cannot recognize either the Throne described by 'Abdu'l-Ḥamīd and Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, or the one so vividly portrayed in the Painting. Taking all things into consideration we are inclined to believe, and the reader who has accompanied us so far will, it is hoped, agree, that either Tavernier never looked at the Peacock Throne, or else if he did he had forgotten nearly everything about it by the time he sat down to describe it.

Tavernier's yarn about the throne having been begun by Tamerland is outrageous. He seems to have at the back of his mind the accumulation of the jewel treasury since Timūr's times. A poor justification at best!

Now we can turn to Bernier's account, which calls for a few remarks. He saw the throne, as he admits, only from a distance. Still his remarks, where they are corroborative, are welcome.

Bernier's opinion about the construction and workmanship of the Throne stands alone; but his allegation that a Frenchman, whose name is omitted, made the throne deserved examination. The Editor says in a footnote that Steuart, in his edition of a part of Bernier's *Travels*, Calcutta, 1826, gives the name of this Frenchman as La Grange.

Austin of Bordeaux, in his Letter dated Chaul (near Bombay), 9 March, 1632, tells us that *SHāh Jahān* wanted Austin to make for him certain 'Engines of war,' to be used against the Deccanīs, who, he says, are neighbours, friends and confederates of the Portuguese. On this ground Austin refused the demand, and the Emperor threatened to confiscate his two years' pay which was in arrears. 'I had employed these two years at Agra,' he says, 'in making plans for a new throne which the King had ordered before he left Agra for the Deccan. The King had required that two hundred times a hundred thousand livres should be spent on this

30. See p. 108-110 below.

throne in gold, diamonds, rubies, pearls, and emeralds.³¹ This sum comes to 1½ crores of rupees at a livre=1s. 6d.

Now, some writers surmise that the Peacock Throne is the throne mentioned here, and that Bernier, in the passage quoted above, meant Austin of Bordeaux. And on this corroboration is built up the theory that the Peacock Throne was made or designed by a Frenchman.

It is to be remarked in the first place that while Austin of Bordeaux was making plans for a new throne for two years, Bernier's Frenchman, whatever his name, made only the two peacocks for the Peacock Throne. We have enough confidence in Bernier's care and precision to declare that his statement lends no support to Austin's story.

That leaves Austin's statement, uncorroborated as it is, to be dealt with on its merits. It may be granted at once that the time of Austin's writing synchronises beautifully with the period when the great Throne was building, viz., 1037-44 A.H. (=1628-35 A.C.). But we find no further evidence in support of Austin's claim. And in view of the official account of the designing and the building of the Throne (already placed before the reader), it seems extremely unlikely that Augustin de Bordeaux was placed in sole charge of the designing. It may indeed be that Austin, being a foreigner of repute, was consulted about a possible plan for the Throne, and, his plan being rejected, no mention of his name occurs anywhere. And his statement that he was engaged on the plans for two years would still be true. In fact one is tempted to venture the uncharitable suggestion that the payment of his salary was perhaps conditional on his doing satisfactory work, and that when his plans did not meet with the Emperor's approval, his pay was withheld. This would account for the arrears to which Austin refers.

Besides, Austin's strong point as a jeweller was making of synthetic stones; and although his skill as a jeweller-goldsmith drew encomiums from Jahāngīr, he must have appeared as a charlatan to SHāh Jahān, who was the greatest connoisseur of precious stones in the country, and hated false gems. The setting of 4000 artificial stones on the canopy of the throne, of which Austin boasts,

31. "Four Letters by Austin of Bordeaux" in *Journal of the Punjab Historical Society*, IV, 1, p. 17.

must have seemed no more than a fraud to him, who knew the real values of things. In view of this, even if SHāh Jahān placed Austin on the committee of designers (if there was one), we shouldn't be surprised if he was soon dismissed as incompetent or useless.

And even if Bernier does refer to Austin of Bordeaux in the passage already given (of which we have no proof), his opinion about the French workman, as the reader has noticed, does not differ materially from the estimate adumbrated above. But then he only made the two peacocks, which is not corroborated by Austin himself.

Besides, when we read the account of the building of the Throne in the *Bādshāhnāma*, and notice the minute instructions issued by the Emperor, it does not seem at all necessary to look for a man who is to be credited with the designing and the planning of the Peacock Throne. And from what we know of SHāh Jahān both as a jeweller and as a designing architect, we consider it highly probable that the Emperor drew up the plans himself, which were skilfully executed by his officers and workmen in the Goldsmiths' Department, or else criticised or modified so thoroughly the plans submitted to him that the selected model was more an expression of his own genius and tastes than of any one of his officers.

Now we can consider the total cost of the throne. The Persian authorities are clear on the point. The price of the gold and the jewels came just to one crore according to B.N., and 1,01,00,000 according to A.S. (the difference is immaterial). But we must remember that this is the value only of the raw material, and the wages of the highly skilled workmen of the Goldsmiths' Department, who drew regular salaries, and who worked at it for seven years, are taken no account of in this estimate. This would come to a good sum. Is the odd one lakh in Muḥammad Šāliḥ's estimate just the workmen's salary bill? Aurangzeb's additions, mentioned below,³² belong, we must remember, to a later date than the composition of A.S.

Again, is it possible that when the author of *Mir'ātu'l-Iṣṭilāḥ* quotes Rs. 1,11,00,000 as the total value of the Peacock Throne (f. 59 b), he has just counted in the cost of making and the value of the additional ornamentation by Aurangzeb? He, however, gives no details.

32. pp. 104-105 below.

Next we can take up the European quotations. Tavernier has 107,000 lakhs, which, he says, amounts to 160,500,000 livres (=£12,037,500)! Even correcting this to 1070 lakhs (as the Editor suggests, to make the sum equivalent to the amount in French money) we have still ten times the true figure. And yet Tavernier claims that he got the estimate from the keepers of the royal records. It requires a great deal of charity to assume that Tavernier's informant gave him 107 lakhs, and Tavernier played at adding ciphers (to please himself). In that case 7 lakhs would be the cost of making.

Bernier's estimate is extravagant. But then, in fairness to him, we must concede that he quotes no credentials for his statements, like Tavernier. In fact he admits that he is talking from hearsay, and is himself not positive as regards the accuracy. Only we did not expect him to contradict himself, as he does. It can just be mentioned that when he is quoting 4 crores as cost, he may be confusing Indian rupees with *KHānīs* of Transoxiana; for we are told in *B.N.* and *A.S.* (in the account already quoted from) that one crore of Indian rupees equals 4 crores of *KHānīs* of Transoxiana or *Tūrān*.

The reputed value of the Peacock Throne grew into fabulous sums as time went on. Jean Law de Lauriston, who wrote in the fifties of the eighteenth century, values the Throne approximately at 280 million livres, which comes to some 21 crores of rupees! (*Mémoire sur quelques affaires de l'Empire Mogol 1756-1761*. Paris, 1913, p. 581).

We can wind up the descriptive accounts of the Peacock Throne with some queer remarks about it in *Storia*.

'Aurangzeb,' says Manucci in one place, 'was seated on a throne in shape like a peacock—a marvellous piece of work made by King *SHāh Jahān*—but he never had the good fortune to sit on it' (*Storia*, II, 49-50). So the throne was shaped like a peacock, and *SHāh Jahān* never sat on it! That this is not a slip either of memory or of pen is proved by the following passage:

"Their year commences on the 22nd March, at which time a great festival is held, as I have said (III. 10). The palaces are decked inside and out with high and costly hangings, made by order of *SHāh Jahān* along with the throne, like a peacock, of which I have spoken (II. 34). This is of very great value, and the maker

never had the felicity of seating himself upon it. Aurangzeb was the first, who, upon the day of his coronation, had the benefit of ascending this superb seat. It was placed under lofty tents, and he continues to use it on the festival day of which I speak. It is at that time the usage to place on each side of the throne, but a little lower, all the thrones used by the kings of Hindūstān who preceded the present monarch (*Storia*, II, 348).

These cock-and-bull stories might be told to the horse-marines. We are quoting them only to illustrate how far a European 'eye-witness' account can sometimes succeed in making itself really ridiculous. We are convinced that Dr. Manucci never had a look at the Peacock Throne. Indeed even if he had heard of it from eye-witnesses he could not have thought that the Throne was shaped like a peacock!

Considering the fame and position of the great Throne it seems at first sight odd that no contemporary painting of it is extant, though there are several false claimants in the field. This is possibly due to the fact that no artist felt he could do anything like justice to his subject if he ventured on it.

Yet we often find '*SHāh Jahān* on the Peacock Throne' on frontispieces and dust-covers of books on Mughal History. We can only assume that they are meant to be ornamental, rather than historical, and in some cases perhaps only an advertising device.

Even Mr. Percy Brown describes one of his pictures as "The Emperor *SHāh Jahān* on the Peacock Throne" (*Indian Painting under the Mughals A.D. 1550 to A.D. 1750*, Pl. XXV). Apart from the fact that the throne here does not correspond to the Peacock Throne in any important particular, Mr. Brown adds under the picture 'Painted c. A.D. 1630', ignoring the fact that the Peacock Throne was not ready until 1635 A.C.

Besides Mr. Brown makes several statements (p. 90) to which I find myself unable to subscribe. These may be dealt with here. He is of opinion that the Peacock Throne was usually placed in the *Jharoka* of the Hall of Public Audience in Delhi Fort-palace. Considering the dimensions of the Throne and the *jharoka* this seems to me impossible, as I have said elsewhere. Besides the Persian historians unmistakably locate the Throne in the centre of the hall.³³

33. See pp. 108-9, 110, 114, and 116 below.

He says further that 'accurate copies of it [the Peacock Throne] appear in several pictures of the period.' I have found none.

Again early in *SHāh Jahān's* reign, he continues, 'the throne was not such an elaborate piece of furniture as that so minutely recorded by Tavernier, who made his inspection in 1655, for some time between these dates twelve golden pillars encrusted with precious stones were introduced to support the canopy, and several other expensive structural features added. But in many respects the picture here presented tallies with the French jeweller's account.' The year 1655 is probably a misprint for 1665, when Tavernier inspected the contents of Aurangzeb's treasury. But there is no necessity to assume that twelve pillars were at any time substituted for eight; for, as the reader has seen, *B.N. Qarniya* and *Burhānu'd-Dīn*, all give the Throne twelve columns at outset, and so does Tavernier. So Tavernier need not be defeated by any such hypothesis. But the most curious thing is that the throne in the picture which Mr. Brown is discussing has neither twelve pillars nor eight, but only four! And he still calls it the Peacock Throne.

In the Delhi Museum of Archaeology we have a picture (No. J, 106) of *SHāh Jahān* holding a durbar, which is supposed to be his first sitting on the Peacock Throne. This picture is stated to be a photograph of a page of *B.N. MS.* in the Oriental Public Library at Bankipore. It is presumably illustration No. 8 of *MS. No. 566 (Pādishāh Nāma) ff. 241. b-242 a (Catalogue, VII, 74)*. The *MS.* was probably copied in the eighteenth century.

The text of *B.N.* which accompanies the picture would seem to suggest that at least the writer or transcriber of this book believed the picture to portray *SHāh Jahān's* first sitting on the Peacock Throne.

The base of the throne is not visible. It has twelve columns and twelve window openings. But there are no peacocks to be seen; and in other particulars the throne does not correspond to the standard descriptions.

Nor is this the only picture of the kind. In fact we have several pictures more or less closely resembling it. We need only cite

- (1) No. H, 63 of the same Museum "*SHāh Jahān in Darbar*," which is not a photograph, and where the Emperor

and the courtiers are named. A faded or unfinished picture.

- (2) Exhibit No. B-80 of the Central Museum, Lahore, in which there is a single bird at the top centre.
- (3) Illustr. No. 10 in one of the issues of the *Journal of Indian Art and Industry* (No. of issue not available), where the picture is wrongly described as the durbar of *Jahāngīr*. It resembles more closely the Lahore Museum picture mentioned above.

But we can explore another avenue.

It stands to the credit of the designers of the great Throne that several duplicates of *SHāh Jahān's* masterpiece were made in cheaper material. It is said that Akbar II (or Bahādur *SHāh* II ?) had a replica made. A picture in the Delhi Museum of Archaeology (no number allotted to it) claims to portray this copy. We have no means of finding out whether this throne was made from some existing plans or drawings of the Peacock Throne, or only from memory; nor have we any information about the date of this painting. Another copy exists in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (No. 14524).

This picture corresponds so closely to the description of the original throne in *B.N.* and *A.S.* that we consider it as close an approach to the appearance of the great Throne as is available to-day.

But things have so conspired against all chances of clear evidence on the subject that there is yet another throne given on Pl. LXVIII (b) of *Loan Exhibition of Antiquities, Coronation Durbar, 1911*, which also claims to be the Peacock Throne of Akbar II (or Bahādur *SHāh* II ?), and this is the throne, it is added, which was taken to the Residency when Akbar II paid his return visit to the Governor-General there (P. 152). It is a close throne with a rather high base like the base of a flower, and a domed roof. It stands on four feet, and has eight window openings, the sills of seven of which are fitted with panels, the eighth being left open for entry. The centre one of these seven panels (the remotest from the observer) is more elaborate than the rest, and a small umbrella is fixed over it. The base is rather of an unusual shape, and the entire appearance is altogether peculiar.

The contention that this throne was a copy of the Peacock Throne cannot be entertained for a moment, as is clear from this description. It can only represent just one of the thrones in the Delhi treasury in late Mughal times.

Our final opinion is that the picture in the Delhi Museum of Archaeology comes, as we have already said, as close to the original as we can get.

Another exhibit (D, 26) in the same Museum claims to be the peacock (of copper, originally gilt) which belonged to the Peacock Throne of Akbar II. The head is missing (*Catalogue*, p. 13).

The second duplicate is said to have been made by Nādir SHāh. About this we know nothing more. It is clear from Lord Curzon's account³⁴ and the picture given there (*Persia and the Persian Question*, I, 318) that the *Takht-i-Tā'ūs* which he saw at Teheran could not by any possibility be Nādir SHāh's copy of SHāh Jahān's original.

We have the testimony of Bernier for the statement that Aurangzeb, after his accession, wished to make some additions to the Peacock Throne. Aurangzeb, he says, was 'unsuccessful in his demand on *Chah-Jehan* for certain jewels, with which he was desirous of completing a piece of workmanship that he was adding to the celebrated throne, so universally the object of admiration. The captive Monarch indignantly answered that *Aurengzebe* 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).

The following remarks by De Thevenot are so ill-informed in other particulars that we can hardly cite them in corroboration of Bernier's statement. Still we append them for all they are worth: 'And the King his Father [SHāh Jahān] dying in Prison about the end of the year One thousand six hundred sixty-six, he enjoyed at ease the Empire, and that so famous Throne of the *Moguls*, which he had left in the Prisoners apartment to divert him with. He added to the precious Stones that were set about it, those of the Princes his Brothers, and particularly the Jewels of *Begum-Saheb*

34. For fuller reference and discussion see below under Later History of the Peacock Throne.

his Sister, who died after her Father' (De Thevenot, 35). We know that the Throne remained at Delhi throughout SHāh Jahān's captivity in Agra fort.

But a better corroboration is available. From a passage in *Ma'āşiru'l-umarā*, I, 408, it appears that under Aurangzeb's orders a man called Aminā carried out some additional ornamentation of the Peacock Throne. Thus the value of the material is said to have exceeded one crore.

Even these descriptions and pictures fail to convey an adequate idea of the effect actually produced by the Peacock Throne on the spectators. To have that idea the reader should visualize the setting in which the Throne was usually placed at the time of a *darbar*. We give below word-pictures of two or three court-scenes which we would give anything for an opportunity of having been beside to witness.

The first *darbar* at which the Peacock Throne was used was held on Friday, 3 SHawwāl, 1044 (=3 Farwardīn, VIII R.Y.) to inaugurate the New Year's Day celebrations, which culminated on the 19th SHawwāl. Over the courtyard of the *daulatkhāna-i-khāṣ-o-ā'm* was spread a huge canopy (*aspak*) of brocaded velvet, which had been prepared in Gujarāt at a cost of one lakh of rupees,^{34a} and under it were stretched smaller awnings (*sā'ibān*) of the same material on gold and silver poles. The floor was spread with gold-worked stuffs and carpets. Here in the centre of the throne-place, round which stood a railing of gold, was placed the newly finished Peacock Throne. In front of it was erected a canopy (*SHāmiāna*) of gold-cloth with strings of pearls (prepared by "Yamīnu'd-Daula" Asaf KHān at a cost of one lakh) on four gold jewelled poles. Round the Throne hung jewelled umbrellas, covered with pearls

34(a) This tent is presumably the one described by Tavernier in the following passage:—

'The first thing done [by way of preparation for the festival] is to cover by two large courts of the palace from the middle of each up to the hall, which is open on three sides. The awnings covering this great space are of red velvet embroidered with gold, and so heavy that the poles which are erected to support them are of the size of a ship's mast, and some of them are 35 to 40 feet in height; there are thirty-eight for the tent of the first court, and those near the hall are covered with plates of gold of the thickness of a ducat. The others are covered with silver of the same thickness, and the cords which sustain these poles are of cotton of different colours, some of them of the thickness of a good cable.' (Tavernier, I, 302).

and edged with pearl strings; while other thrones and chairs, plain and gold-enamelled, and tents (*KHargāh*) of gold-cloth with silver poles stood close by (B.N., I, ii, 77-78; A.S., II, 85).

On a Lunar Weighments celebration (Thursday, 1 *RabīʿII*, 1064 A.H.) the Peacock Throne was placed in the centre of the *KHāṣ-o-ʿām Hall*. In front of it was set up on four jewelled poles a *SHāmiāna* decorated with pearls and pearl-strings. On the other three sides of the Throne stood three other *SHāmiānas* of gold-worked cloth, each supported on the side of the Throne by poles of pure gold. On either side of the throne-place was set up a jewelled parasol embellished with pearls (B.N., III, f. 86 b).

On the New Year's Day celebrations, a month later, the *darbar* was held in *SHāh Maḥal*, in the centre of which the Peacock Throne with a canopy frilled with pearls was deposited, two gold enamelled thrones being placed on each side of it, each one of these thrones fitted with a *chatr* (B.N., III, f. 88a).

Two thrones placed on the flanks of the Throne occupied by the Emperor seems henceforward to become a favourite arrangement. So also the parasols.

And so on to Aurangzeb's time:—

In the following account of Aurangzeb's coronation the reader will find an arrangement with which he is already familiar.

From *ʿĀlamgīrnāma* (pp. 351-53) we learn that on the occasion of Aurangzeb's Second Coronation (Sunday, 24, *Ramṣān*, 1069 A.H.) a square spot was prepared in the centre of the *daulatkhāna-i-khāṣ-o-ʿām*, and a gold railing was placed round it. Here was deposited the Peacock Throne. In front of it was erected on four jewelled poles a pearl-studded canopy (or awning) the skirt of which had a frill of valuable pearls. On either side of the square throne-place were set up two jewelled *chatrs* strung with pearls. On both sides of the great Throne were deposited two gold enamelled thrones. Behind the Throne were placed stools of gold, on which was set out the *Qūr-i-khāṣṣa*, which consisted of begemmed swords with jewelled *pardalas*, shields, and *barchas* (lances) set with valuable stones.

In the *daulatkhāna-i-khāṣ* or *ghusalkhāna* a small jewelled and enamelled throne which belonged to this place was deposited in front of the Hall. while a large octagonal gold throne, which was furnished with roof, was placed in the centre of the Hall. In the

rooms skirting the courtyard of this Hall were displayed on gold and silver stools vessels and utensils of gold and silver in the customary manner.

There seems to be a conflict of opinion as to where the Peacock Throne was placed at the time of an audience. Bernier,³⁵ Tavernier³⁶ and the author of *Mirʿātu'l-Iṣṭilāḥ*³⁷ place it in the Hall of Public Audience, while Von Orlich³⁸ assigns it to the Hall of Private Audience.

Bernier and Tavernier may be noticed a little more fully. On festive occasions Bernier saw Aurangzeb seated on the Peacock Throne 'at the end of the great hall [Hall of Public Audience]' (P. 268). In another place he says that in the *jharoka* 'the Monarch every day, about noon, sits upon his throne, with some of his sons at his right and left' (P. 261). This latter refers to the daily audiences, and the throne mentioned is not the Peacock Throne, which could not be accommodated in the *jharoka*, and which, besides, was reserved on grand occasions only. Again, speaking of the Hall of Private Audience, Bernier says 'It is in this place that the King, seated in a chair, his *Omrahs* standing around him, grants more private audiences to his officers, receives their reports, and deliberates on important affairs of state' (P. 265). This was another small throne, more like a chair, possibly the 'small jewelled and enamelled throne,' which, according to *ʿĀlamgīrnāma*, belonged to the *KHāṣ Hall*.³⁹

Tavernier says the Peacock Throne was 'placed in the hall of the first court [the *KHāṣ-u-ʿām hall*]' (P. 303).

But when we come to the Persian histories we have no difficulty at all in determining where the Peacock Throne was placed at *darbar* time:

The Peacock Throne was manufactured at Agra. On the first *darbar* in which it was used (on *ʿIdu'l-Fiṭr* and *Naurūz* celebrations, which occurred on Friday 3rd. *SHawwāl*, 1044) it was deposited, as we have seen, in a throne-place prepared in the *khāṣ-o-ʿām quadrangle* at Agra.⁴⁰

35. P. 268.

36. I, 303.

37. P.U.L.M.S., f. 60 a.

38. *Travels in India* (Tr. Lloyd, London, 1845), II, 24.

39. See p. 110 above.

40. B.N., I, ii, 77-78.

The next occasion appears to be Thursday, 24th *Zū'l-hijja*, 1056 (Solar Weighment), when the Throne was placed in *daulatkhāna-i-khāṣ* at Agra.⁴¹

Next after this the Emperor is said to have sat on a 'jewelled throne' in the centre of the *khāṣ-o-ām* hall in the Delhi Fort-palace, on the occasion of the first *darbar* at Delhi held on Tuesday, 24 *Rabī' I*, 1058 A.H.⁴² This, however, cannot be the Peacock Throne since we learn later⁴³ that the Peacock Throne did not come to Delhi until 1 *Rabī' I*, 1060 A.H.

On the occasion of New Year's Day which fell on Monday, 18 *Rabī' I*, 1060, the Emperor, who was at Delhi, ordered *Siyādat KHān* that he, with the sons of *Islām KHān* and a few others should go to Agra and fetch the Peacock Throne. On the 1st of *Rabī' I*, these gentlemen arrived at Delhi with the Throne. On the 18th the Emperor sat on it, which was placed *daulatkhāna-i-khāṣ-o-ām* (B.N., III, 41 b).

On two following occasions (both Lunar Weighments), viz. 9 *Rabī' II*, 1063⁴⁴ and 1 *Rabī' II*, 1064,⁴⁵ the Peacock Throne was deposited in the centre of the *khāṣ-o-ām* Hall.

After this there appears to have been a uniform practice of sitting on the Peacock Throne in *SHāh Maḥal*; for we know that the Emperor did so on Friday, 3 *Jumāda I*, 1064 (N.Y.D.),⁴⁶ Tuesday, 10 *Rabī' I*, 1065 (Solar Weighment),⁴⁷ Monday, 20 *Rabī' II*, 1065 (Lunar Weighment),⁴⁸ Sunday, 12 *Jumāda I*, 1065 (*Naurūz*),⁴⁹ Monday, 24 *Rabī' I*, 1066 (Solar Weighment),⁵⁰ Saturday, 1 *Rabī' II*, 1066 (Lunar Weighment),⁵¹ Monday, 23 *Jumāda I*, 1066 (N.Y.D.),⁵² 4 *Rabī' II*, 1067 (Solar Weighment),⁵³ and Saturday, 19 *Rabī' II*, 1067 (Lunar Weighment).⁵⁴

The above information, the reader is warned, is based on the assumption that wherever 'jewelled throne' is mentioned in the

41. B.N., II, 626.

42. B.N., III, f. 18 a-b.

43. See below.

44. B.N., III, f. 74 b.

45. B.N., III, f. 86 b. (already given in detail).

46. B.N., III, 88 a (already dealt with in full).

47. B.N., III, 96 a-b.

48. B.N., III, 97 a.

49. B.N., III, 98 b top.

50. B.N., III, 104 a.

51. B.N., III, 105 b-106 a.

52. B.N., III, 108 a.

53. B.N., III, 120 b.

54. B.N., III, 121 b.

histories we have supposed it to mean the Peacock Throne. This assumption is supported by a statement on p. 235 of B.N., I, ii, from which it appears that a certain great throne was commonly known as 'the jewelled throne' (*takht-i-murassa'*). So there is a strong presumption in favour of Peacock Throne being meant. It should be stated, however, that on one occasion already referred to 'jewelled throne' cannot mean the Peacock Throne. Such verification has not been possible in the other cases.

Aurangzeb's histories do not offer much material of interest. What little there is, is found only in *Ālamgīrnāma*, the narrative of the *Mā'āṣir* being too hurried and crowded to notice such leisurely details. An account of Aurangzeb's coronation *darbar* has already been placed before the reader. The practice on the biannual weighments during the first ten years of this reign seems to be that the actual weighment took place in the *ghusal-khāna* or *daulat-khāna-i-khāṣ*, and this was followed by a *darbar* in the same place. Then a little later a bigger court was held in the *khāṣ-o-ām* hall, where the Emperor sat on the 'jewelled throne' (presumably the Peacock Throne). The reader is referred to *Ālamgīrnāma*, pp. 591, 613, 633, 738, 916, etc.

Later History.—The Peacock Throne remained in India until 1739, when *Nādir SHāh*'s hordes overran northern India and sacked the capital. He took it away with him with other spoil to Persia. Later history of the Throne is unimportant. Still, for the sake of completeness, we may follow it a little further. It had long been thought that the famous Throne still existed in Persia, and was to be seen at Teheran. After Lord Curzon's inquiries and research, however, it is considered established that the Peacock Throne, which he saw at Teheran, is not the Peacock Throne which *Nādir SHāh* carried off from Delhi, and that the latter was broken up long ago. In the following passage he sums up the results of his inquiry: 'In this dilemma, but with the growing conviction that the modern *Takht-i-Taous* had a very shadowy connection, if any at all, with the plundered treasures of Delhi, I turned to contemporaneous records. I found in Malcolm [*History of Persia*, II, 37] that *Nādir SHāh* was so fond of the real Peacock Throne of the Great Mogul that he had an exact duplicate of it made in other jewels. This left two Peacock Thrones to be demolished between his death and the end of the last century, a catastrophe which in the anarchy and violence of those times would have been in itself no unlikely occurrence; but it left the *Takht-i-Taous* un-explained, as under no circumstances could the latter

be described as a duplicate of Tavernier's original. Now, however, I came across a passage in Fraser's "Khorasan" in which he mentions that an old Kurd told him in 1822, that "when Nādir SHāh was murdered and his camp plundered, the Peacock Throne and the Tent of Pearls fell into our hands, and were torn in pieces and divided on the spot". Any Kurd might certainly have been trusted to handle such an object as the Peacock Throne in the unceremonious manner here described, and, assuming the veracity of this particular Kurd, I witnessed with some delight the disappearance of the real Peacock Throne, or one of the two, from the scene.

A phrase in Morier's account had now set me thinking that the Takht-i-Taous at Teheran must be a modern structure after all. In the same passage which I have quoted in a footnote, he adds: "It (i.e. the throne) is said to have cost 100,000 *tomans*" (equivalent at the beginning of the century to about 100,000*l.*) [now valued at nearly 200,000*l.*]; herein clearly implying that an account or a tradition of its cost prevailed at Teheran, which was far more likely to be the case with a new than with an old fabric, and which was extremely unlikely to have been the case with an object carried off in plunder from a remote country seventy years before. At this stage, accordingly, I referred my doubts for solution to Teheran itself, and after an interval of some weeks was interested and (I may confess) rejoiced to hear, on the authority of the Grand Vizier and the former Minister for Foreign Affairs, that, as I suspected, the Takht-i-Taous is not an Indian throne at all. It was constructed by Mohammed Husein Khan, Sadr (or High Priest) of Isfahan, for Fath Ali Shah when the latter married an Isfahani young lady, whose popular sobriquet, for some unexplained reason, was Taous Khanum or the Peacock Lady. The King is further said to have been so much delighted with the throne, that it was made a remarkably prominent feature in the ceremonies that commonly ensue upon marriage. Here, therefore, at one fell swoop, toppled down the whole of the brilliant hypothesis, which has sustained scores of writers, and provided material for pages of growing rhetoric. From the same authorities I learned that the original Peacock Throne of Nādir SHāh (i.e., the survivor of the two facsimiles) was discovered in a broken-down and piece-meal condition by Agha Mohammed Shah, who extracted it along with many other of the conqueror's jewels by brutal torture from his blind grandson Shah Rukh at Meshed, and then had the recovered portions of it made up into the throne of modern shape and style, which now stands at the end of the new Museum

in the palace at Teheran, and to which I have alluded in my description of that apartment. In this chair, therefore, are to be found the sole surviving remnants of the Great Mogul's Peacock Throne, and the wedding present of Fath Ali Shah must descend from the position which it has usurped in the narrative of every writer in this century, without exception, who has alluded to it,' (Lord Curzon, *Persia and the Persian Question*, I, 320-22).⁵⁵

And this fate befell not only the Peacock Throne but all the other thrones carried off from Delhi by Nādir SHāh. For we are told by Hanway that Nādir SHāh carried off from India nine other thrones besides the Peacock Throne (*Travels II*, 383). Some of these we have no doubt reviewed in our survey.

Aurangzeb.

We have not much record of thrones or chairs designed or built to Aurangzeb's order. Therefore, in the notices that follow, it will be difficult to say how many of the thrones mentioned here have already been reviewed under Jahāngīr and SHāh Jahān, and which of them, if any, were prepared in this reign.

We can lead off with Tavernier's description of a throne, which he saw in actual use at the time of one of Aurangzeb's durbars. His description of its fittings and appurtenances and of the whole court, its etiquette and procedure will be found interesting:

'In the middle of this hall [of Public Audience], and near the side over-looking the court, as in a theatre, they place the throne when the Emperor comes to give audience and administer justice. It is a small bed of the size of our camp beds, with its four columns, the canopy, the back, a bolster, and counterpane; all of which are covered with diamonds.

When the Emperor takes his seat, however, they spread on the bed a cover of gold brocade, or of some other rich quilted stuff, and he ascends it by three small steps of two feet in length. On one side of the bed there is a parasol elevated on a handle of the length of a short pike, and to each column of the bed one of the

55. Lord Curzon's conclusions are probably sound. We have no doubt that the Peacock Throne exists no longer. But we must remark that throughout his inquiry the author adopts Tavernier's account of the Throne as the 'standard reference,' he having no access to the official authorities like B.N. We have already appraised Tavernier's description at its true worth. Yet Lord Curzon's findings are substantially accurate.

Emperor's weapons is attached, to one his shield, to another his sword, next his bow, his quiver, and arrows, and other things of that kind.

In the court below the throne there is a space twenty feet square, surrounded by balustrades, which on some occasions are covered with plates of silver and at others with plates of gold. At the four corners of this space the four Secretaries of State are seated, who both in civil as well as criminal matters fulfill the rôles of advocates. Several nobles place themselves around the balustrade, and here also is placed the music, which is heard while the Emperor is in the Divân. This music is sweet and pleasant, and makes so little sound that it does not disturb those present from the serious occupations in which they are engaged. When the Emperor is seated on his throne, some great noble stands by him, most frequently his own children. Between eleven o'clock and noon the Nawâb, who is the first Minister of State, like the Grand Vizir in Turkey, comes to make a report on what has passed in the chamber where he presides, which is at the entry of the first court, and when he has finished speaking, the Emperor rises. But it must be remarked that from the time the Emperor seats himself on his throne till he rises, no one, whosoever he may be, is allowed to leave the palace' (I, 80-81).

On the occasion of the wedding of Prince Muhammad A'zam Aurangzeb visited the former's residence on 17 *SHa'bân*, 1079 A.H. There he sat on a gold throne (*Ma'âşir-i-'Âlamgîrî*, 79, top). When the emperor visited any of his subjects apparently some of the minor thrones moved with him; and of course they were carried about in camp.

In Pl. L(b) of the *Loan Exhibition of Antiquities* the reader can see Aurangzeb sitting on a graceful little throne with a high back, the usual umbrella over his head, princes, ministers and attendants round him.

In No. H, 169 (Delhi Museum of Archaeology) we see Aurangzeb on a gold jewelled throne, square in shape, with four legs and a high back. But there is no umbrella over him. The decoration is in good taste, and is well represented in the picture.

Wooden Throne.

The present writer once saw in a German publication a picture of Aurangzeb sitting on a throne of ebony and reading the *Qur'ân*. The reference has been lost.

The Later Mughals.

On Pl. XIX of *Storia* (Vol. II) we find Sultân Mu'izzu'd-Dîn, eldest son of *SHâh 'Âlam*, sitting on a square, four-legged, high-backed, jewelled throne. The usual umbrella is held over him.

Sultân 'Azîmu'd-Dîn, second son of *SHâh 'Âlam*, is likewise seen sitting on a throne on Pl. XX (*Storia*, II). The square throne stands on four legs and has a back. The usual umbrella is held over the Prince's head.

In H, 75 (Delhi Museum of Archaeology) we see Jahândâr *SHâh* (1712-13) sitting on a throne, with four legs and a back, to which an umbrella is fixed.

In Pl. LIX of *L.E.A.* we see Nâdir *SHâh* and Muḥammad *SHâh* sitting on a single throne in a moonlight assembly in the Seraglio. The throne, which is not the Peacock Throne, has four legs and a canopy standing on four columns. Over it is stretched a tent on eight poles.

In No. H, 80 of Delhi Museum of Archaeology we see Ahmad *SHâh* (1748-54) sitting on a gold throne, hexagonal in shape, with six rather heavy legs and a high back. The courtiers are named and additional details given in the margin. The picture is faded and worn.

In Pl. LVI (a) we see the Emperor 'Âlamgîr II (1754-59 A.C.) sitting on a jewelled throne under a canopy. As Nâdir *SHâh* had carried off all the valuable thrones in 1739, this throne and the last one were probably made after that date, presumably with cheap material. The same applies to those that follow.

In H, 83 of the Delhi Museum of Archaeology we see *SHâh 'Âlam* II (1759-1806) sitting on a gold throne, plain and simple. It is square in shape and fitted with four feet and a back.

H, 86 is Akbar II (1806-37) sitting on a rather spacious throne—a square seat, with four thick legs, a footstool and a high back with an umbrella fixed to it. Ornamentation is spare.

CHAIRS.

The Greater Mughals.

Chairs—modern arm-chairs—seem to have been in use since Tîmûr's time.

On Pl. 44 (N. C. Mehta, *Studies in Indian Painting*) we see Tîmûr sitting on a chair, with an umbrella over him.

In two pictures in the Delhi Museum of Archaeology we have *Timūr* sitting on the same chair as in the picture last mentioned. In one (bearing no number, being a recent acquisition) we see the *Amīr* sitting on the gold chair, lance in hand, *āftābgīr* overhead. It is a finely executed and brilliantly coloured piece of art. The other is No. H, 44, which is a defective, and quite inferior, piece of workmanship.

In H, 193 (same Museum) we have *Timūr* again sitting on a chair with a large canopy erected over him. The ruler of *Bukhārā* is brought before him as a prisoner. Here the chair is different from the one in the preceding pictures.

In *Stchoukine* (*La Peinture Indienne*, Pl. XXXIV) we see *Jahāngīr* sitting on an elaborately jewelled chair.

On the Frontispiece of *Storia*, II, we have *Aurangzeb* sitting on a jewelled chair—one of the few pictures where one of the greater *Mughals* is seen occupying a chair. It is a light, tastefully constructed piece of furniture, for use on informal occasions.

Among pictures of nobles we have one of *Sa'dulla-KHā* *SHāh* *Jahān*'s Prime Minister, holding court. *Sa'dulla-KHān* is seated on an arm-chair, administering justice. The railing and the double *SHāmiāna* overhead are interesting details (I. *Stchoukine*, *La Peinture Indienne*, Pl. LV).

On Pl. XXXII (*Binyon*, *Court Painters*) we find *Fākhīr KHān*, a noble of *SHāhjahān*'s time, sitting on a chair.

The Later Mughals.

Chairs seem to have been in common use in later *Mughal* times. We see the Emperor *SHāh 'Ālam* sitting on a rather high arm-chair in Pl. XLIV (d) of *L.E.A.* Similarly the reader can see *Mīrzā Salīm*, s/o *Akbar II*, sitting on an arm-chair smoking a hookah in Pl. XXX (c). Another arm-chair, belonging to the Delhi Palace, which is carved and gilded, can be seen in Pl. XV (c).

The Historical Material in the Private Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai

Part XVIII. From July 1758 to September 1759

By

RAO SAHIB C. S. SRINIVASACHARI, M.A.,
Annamalai University.

(Continued from p. 81, Volume XVII, part 1.)

I. LALLY'S DOINGS IN THE TANJORE COUNTRY

After the capitulation of Fort St. David, French troops had plenty of trouble; and the authorities were impatiently hustled by Lally about the provision of money, food etc., for the projected attack of Madras. An English sloop was captured near Negapatam and brought to Pondicherry, loaded with sugar and rice. The Diarist's office in the flower-garden was broken into and guards were posted there; and naturally he felt worried very much over this act of official aggression. The European troops were sent to Tindivanam on the way to Madras. Vessels were laden with cargo for the purpose. On the last day of June news was received by Ranga Pillai that Bussy had left Golconda with all his troops, not even leaving a single European behind; and the countries in the coast had been seized by Vijayaramaraja's men. Lally who went to Karikal with a view to getting money from the Tanjore ruler, could not meet even his own expenses. He proceeded to Tiruvālūr, on the road to Tanjore, without settling anything with the Raja whose general, Manoji, intercepted the road with 2,000 horse and 5,000 foot. When Lally's troops reached Ammāpēttai about twelve miles east of Tanjore, a battle was fought in which the Tanjore troops attacked boldly, but finally retreated in panic; and the French marched on and encamped near Mariamman Kovil, four miles east of Tanjore. The Diarist was not, however, sure whether this item of news was true. Lally had broken his word to protect the houses of the merchants and others at Nagore and sold that town's plunder to a German for two lakhs of rupees and diamonds worth 12,000 francs. The Hindu images in the temples of Kīvalūr and Tiruvālūr had been carried away by the people in fear of the French. The Dutch at Negapatam were approached for the loan of a lakh of rupees and for provisions. Their governor,

Vermont, promised to supply the provisions, but declined the loan. The Danes at Tranquebar were also said to have supplied some provisions.

The Diarist heard that Koyaji Ghangte, the Tanjore adventurer¹ had offered, through the priests of St. Paul's Church, to pay forty lakhs besides the expenditure incurred by the army, if Tanjore should be captured and given to him, while Muthayyar from Udaiyarpalayam had offered to become a Christian, to pay two lakhs and to defray the expenses of the campaign if Udaiyarpalayam should be captured and given to him. Also another offer of a lakh and a half is said to have been made on condition that Papu Reddy and his people were given Ariyalur and Turaiyur. Father Lavour attempted to persuade Lally to come to a decision. Writing on July 18, the Diarist gives a brief account of the engagement at Kōvilvenni, in which the Raja's troops retreated and fled, leaving two cannon and thirty match-locks in the enemy's hands. The Tanjore horse attacked and plundered Tirumalarāyanpattanam and the neighbouring mahanams. Haidar Nayak from Mysore had passed Karur with 2,000 horse on his way to join Lally. When Lally encamped at Māriamman Kovil, the Raja opened negotiations and first consented to settle the affair for thirty lakhs, offering to pay ten lakhs in ready money; but Lally demanded, in addition, the fort of Tirukkāttuppaḷi with a view to using it as a base for his intended attack on Trichinopoly.

Lally's troops were very deficiently provided with draught cattle, ammunition and provisions. He had plundered Nagore from which, however, the merchants had had time to remove all their valuable effects. At Kīvaḷūr, eight miles inland from Negapatam, he was told by deceptive informers to expect an immense amount

1. Vide; *JIH*—Vol. VIII; Part I.—footnote 1 on p. 38 on the sons of Tukoji Raja. Koyaji was the champion of the Kattu Raja.

Father Lavour, it seems, had suggested to Lally that the real means of his getting money was to undertake an expedition against Tanjore as Sahuji who had twice been expelled from the country in 1739 and who, taken up by the English for their own purposes in 1749 and thrown aside when no longer of any use to them, had continued to live ever since a pensioner on their bounty and now came to Pondicherry. Father Lavour the Jesuit, thought that this pretender might be made use of to frighten the ruler of Tanjore, his nephew, upon whom the French had a claim of 55 lakhs of rupees in consequence of a bond given to Chanda Sahib and made over by his son, Reza Sahib, to Dupleix. Lally however, marched unwillingly upon Tanjore. This Sahuji was very likely one and the same person with Saiyaji, the second son of Tukoji and the Kātturaja.

of gold. Here, Lally "ransacked and dug the houses, dragged the tanks, and took the idols out of the chapels, but no treasures were found; and the idols proved to be only of brass". Further, mistaking for spies six unhappy Brahmans who lingered about his camp to try to recover their images, he had them shot away from the muzzles of the guns.

On July 25, the Raja of Tanjore and his general, Manoji Appa, directly opened negotiations with Lally for peace. The negotiations were naturally protracted; and in their course, the Tanjore horse effectively prevented provisions from reaching the French camp, which had to be entrenched on account of the virtual blockade maintained by the enemy. Rumours regarding the negotiations reached the Diarist daily. He, however, did not regard that the affair could be settled very satisfactorily so soon and would not place any reliance on the news that filtered. Thus on the 1st of August, he heard that Manoji had given Lally's envoy 20,000 gold pieces and also promised to send 500 horse and 1,000 foot, with rice and provisions for the attack of Trichinopoly. Again, the next day, he heard that 7½ lakhs of rupees had been promised. Later, we read from him that no letters had been received from Lally's camp and that rumours were prevalent of a pitched battle having been fought. We hear also that the Raja of Tanjore was hurt by the treatment of Lally and, being supported by the promises of the English, bade defiance to the enemy. Early in August batteries were erected against the Tanjore fort; a breach was effected on the 7th and the decisive attack itself was to take place on the 8th. But just on the morning of that day, news was received by Lally that the French Admiral, D'Ache, had been attacked and beaten by English ships and the latter were threatening Karikal which formed the base of his Tanjore operations. Then Lally had, with him, supplies only for two days. Anyhow, a breach having been effected, the French captains were eager that the assault should follow; but Lally suddenly made up his mind to retreat in the direction of Karikal. On the 9th of August, the Tanjoreans, having got to know the intention of Lally, made a sudden sally on his camp. They were repulsed, but not before 100 Europeans had been killed and a great quantity of ammunition blown up. There was, indeed, even an attack upon Lally personally, which might have succeeded, had it not been for the assailant being shot dead at the nick of time by one of his personal followers. The same night, Lally spiked his heavy guns and retreated towards Tiruvālūr. But the next morning, the Tanjoreans pursued his troops, cut off a number and took two guns and some mortars. The Diarist describes, in

his entry for August 6, an attack of Manoji Appa with 2,000 horse on Lally's troops which, failing, enabled the French to open a fierce cannonade on the fort. The Diarist's account of the final repulse of Lally from Tanjore is as follows:—"This is the news of to-day—When at about three o'clock on the morning of August 9, M. Lally's troops were about to attempt to scale the walls of the Tanjore fort with the aid of heaps of straw, the Tanjore Raja's troops opened the north gate and attacked M. Lally's provision camp, half an hour before our troops were to move; a severe battle followed, in which five or six Europeans were killed on the Tanjore side and 500 or 600 Europeans besides three high officers on M. Lally's. In consequence M. Lally and our troops retreated to Tiruvālur leaving everything behind. Raza Sahib who had marched from Kārikāl to Tiruvālūr and visited M. Lally at the latter place means to attack the fort again with the help of the Sētupati and the Tondaiman. It is not known whether the English ships have left Karikal. Savarirayan is going about, prostrating himself before the ships' captains in order to make his peace with them" (Entry for Wednesday, August 16).²

The Diarist tells us that the Dutch ship, *Haarlem*, which was intercepted and brought into the roads, was deprived of its store of gold and silver bullion worth two lakhs of rupees, and the captain was given a bill payable in Europe for the amount, including a profit of about 15%. The pretence was made that as the French had no money in India, the French King had made an agreement in Europe that any ship containing gold and silver might be detained and the money taken, in return for bills payable in Europe. The real motive was that the ship was seized in revenge for the Dutch inaction when a French ship the (*Rubis*) was taken in the roads of Negapatam.

Lally had to spike his cannon and burn his tents and guns on his retreat. He was in great anger with the Pondicherry Council at not having been supplied with money for his camp expenses or with provisions, powder and shot. The confusion at Pondicherry was great; and the Diarist remarks that Lally's complaints against the councillors were not justified. "M. Lally is wrong to blame all the councillors wholesale like this, for, before his departure when he asked me whether Tanjore could be attacked, I advised him not to go, as the rivers and canals would be full, the fields in cultivation, and the ground so deep that the troops could only

2. The figures of casualties on Lally's side are greatly exaggerated.

march with great difficulty. In spite of this, he blames us all. He should blame only those who advised him to go". (Entry for Monday, August 21). D'Ache was preparing to return to Mascareigne as he had already suffered severely from the attack of the English fleet and as he now heard that six fully equipped English men of war were approaching Bombay.³ Lally returned to Pondicherry on August 28; and on the last day of the month news was received of the return of Bussy from the north. According to English records we learn that the earlier accounts of the Diarist had greatly exaggerated the French losses. Caillaud had been ordered to join the King of Tanjore with all the troops that could be spared, in case it should be possible to cut off the enemy's retreat to Pondicherry; and Pocock had been desired to co-operate with Caillaud, while Lawrence marched south to prevent assistance being sent to Lally from Pondicherry. But when the last (Lawrence) reached Chingleput, he learnt that the enemy had recrossed the Coleroon, and therefore returned to Madras. Pocock was cruising off Karikal and Negapatam to protect the English ships coming from England and intercept hostile reinforcements. Caillaud's former orders in the event of an appearance of attack on Madras, to march to the coast with all the Europeans and Coffrees of Trichinopoly and come here with the Squadron, have been renewed, although Palk and Lawrence consider the measure is now unnecessary."⁴

In September Lally left for Wandiwash and the English abandoned Chingleput as soon as Soupire crossed the Palar; and the French were soon strengthening the forts of Chingleput, Karunguzhi and Chetpattu, which forts they had taken, as well as Tiruvanamalai, Chengamma etc. Taqi Sahib of Wandiwash submitted to Lally and made friends with him. Lally seems to have said to the renters and others that they need not render accounts of the rents paid or the balance due from them to any one but himself and that they should even give him the accounts which they had already given to others and that they might raise horse and seize all the country they could. There is a large gap in the Diary from September 17, 1758 to January 23, 1759 and this period has occupied chiefly with Lally's siege of Madras and its failure.

3. This is deemed to be the reason for his departure; but he did not seem to have urged it.

4. (Despatch from the Select Committee at Madras to the Secret Committee, Fort St. George, October 5-10-1758.) Military Despatches to England, Vol. 2, pp. 21-45.

Ranga Pillai merely noted that Lally took up all power on himself and signed all orders himself, thus putting De Leyrit completely into the background. The coin and plate obtained from the Dutch ship proved to be two lakhs and thirty-three thousand nine hundred pagodas weight of gold, mostly in coins struck with human figures, $9\frac{3}{4}$ fine and the total value of the whole quantity was $3\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs of rupees. Bussy was said to have sent a *hundi* for a lakh and a half, though the Diarist put it down at three lakhs. News was also received early in September that Soupire had camped by westwards of Tiruvannamalai and Chetpattu, while Bussy and Moracin had reached Nellore on their way to Madras. The situation in Pondicherry was so bad that Lally went to the length of threatening to assault and kick De Leyrit in open council; but De Leyrit put up with all these in a cowardly manner. The Diarist reports a remark of a French man on the situation:—'The Company is gone, and Pondicherry is like a bird that has lost a wing, and, being unable to fly with the other, must perish in spite of every effort. M. Lally respects nobody, but beats, abuses and otherwise disgraces them; so that sixteen officers have gone home by the ship which sailed for Europe, and others say that they will do the same'. Even the conduct of Father Lavaur had alienated De Leyrit, Desvaux and others.

II. EVENTS DURING AND AFTER THE SEIGE OF MADRAS⁵

When the Diary begins again on January 23, 1759, the first entry is that Muhammad Ali Khan's son, who was in Fort St. George was killed by French fire and that all the Tamils and several European settlers with their women had quitted the place.

5. (The detailed events of the siege were recorded in Public Department Sundry Book, Vol. XIII, 1758-59, entitled 'Journal of Transactions during the Siege of Fort St. George.' The volume was compiled by the Secretary to Government, Josiah du Pre. It contains 461 folios, of which 161 constitute the journal proper, the remainder consisting of tabular statements and returns, and copies of letters despatched and received during the siege. A journal maintained by Mr. John Call, the Engineer, was published in 1761 in Cambridge's 'Account of the War in India'. In the following pages the official account is followed, but the plan which accompanies the narrative is produced from Cambridge. 'The Indian Records Series: D. Love: *Vestiges of Old Madras*', Vol. II, Page 539). There is, a plan of Fort St. George at the Black Town, as it when besieged by the French: 12th December, 1758; in Cambridge's book, reproduced in a reduced form by Love. A similar plan is furnished by Orme who also gives an enlarged plan of the north front. The Pondicherry archives contain three coloured drawings of the Fort executed in 1758-59. The French force was estimated at 3,000 Europeans,

By January 14, the siege had practically begun to show itself a lost cause; and news arrived from Bombay that Admiral Pocock was sending two men-of-war and four Company's ships for the relief of the the besieged at Madras. On January 21, we hear that a sally of the English made at the foot of the glacis, drove out the enemy and destroyed some of their works. On the 23rd the French worked up the basis by sap and opened a battery against the north ravelin; the next day they formed a lodgement on the crest of the glacis. A week later they opened a breaching battery which was however badly constructed and from which the shot flew high.⁶

Ranga Pillai mentions the death of Saubinet and also that Caillaud from Madura and Muhammad Yusuf Khan had visited

horse and foot, 500 native cavalry and 3,000 sepoys. The British garrison consisted of about 1,750 Europeans and 2,200 sepoys. The French had reached Vandalur on the 6th of December; Lawrence fell back from St. Thomas' Mount to the Choultry Plain on the 10th December; on the 12th Lally cannonaded the choultry plain and drove in the detachments; Lawrence retreated to the Island and then to the Fort, leaving small bodies to guard the approaches to the Black Town. Captain Preston had a body of troops at Chingleput and Major Caillaud was ordered to join it from Tanjore and to operate against the enemy's line of communications.

The French troops occupied the Black Town on the 14th December. Early in the morning on the 17th February, 1759, they abandoned their trenches and batteries and retreated.

The siege lasted 67 days; and for 46 days the defenders sustained a vigorous bombardment. The French left behind 52 guns. The chief actions during the siege were: (1) Draper's action in Peddunaickenpetta, in the Black Town, on the 14th December; and (2) Caillaud's action near St. Thomas' Mount on the 9th February. (See Orme: Vol. II, pp. 384 *et seq.*, Book X—Love's *Vestiges of Old Madras*, Vol. II, Ch. XL; and Cambridge: *The War in India* (1761).

6. "The enemy opened 3 batteries January 6; their maximum fire was from 26 guns and 9 mortars. Their attack was on the north, as the Black Town afforded them cover from which to open the Royal Battery at 450 yards. A few days later, they opened other batteries enfilading all the northern side. They advanced by sap to 30 yards from the crest of the glacis, where they raised a battery against the right face of the north ravelin; but this was ill-constructed and their cannon was destroyed by our fire as often as they opened their embrasures. Their next battery on the crest of the glacis proved no better. None of our defences have been destroyed. Every disabled gun has been replaced and the damaged works repaired. Our fire therefore was so superior that they were forced to retire to the Royal battery after springing a mine which opened the counterscarp of the ditch before the salient angle of demi-bastion, which by that time was actually breached; but palisades had been erected before the enemy could interrupt its repair by musketry fire."

"An army of observation, consisting of 50 Europeans from Chingleput, a large body of sepoys from Trichinopoly, and some country horse, commanded

Abdul Wahab Khan at Chandragiri, captured Tiruvallur and other places and then marched to Poonamalle. Lally sent a body of soldiers and *Kallars* to oppose their advance; and as usual he raged against the commandant of this body for failing to scale the walls and capture Chingleput when it was but slightly defended. The Diarist also tells us that the English Governor Pigot, General Lawrence and others met in council and resolved to resist to the last and not to surrender even though the walls should be destroyed or scaled. He heard that the northern works of Fort St. George had been brought down, fetching the curtain along with them and that the French had occupied the covered way and were in a fair way to success. He also mentions a reference to the intrigues carried on against Lally in the French camp itself which led to the arrest of several officers, their deportation to and their imprisonment in Pondicherry. The names of two of these officers are given by him. Lally found proofs of their sending letters to the English, according to his *Memoires*.

On the 1st of February the Diarist heard that an English squadron of nine ships had reached Galle and Colombo, that contrary winds and currents would prevent it from coming to the rescue of besieged Madras before the middle of March and he felt that by that time, Madras would have been captured. In spite of these hopes, the wealthy inhabitants of Pondicherry including Christians were secretly sending their goods to Negapatam and Tranquebar and for the past one month, people had been going away from the town on the pretext of visiting Rameswaram.

The next important item of news reported by Ranga Pillai is that on the 9th February.⁷ Abdul Wahab Khan, Muhammad Yusuf

first by Preston and then by Caillaud jointly with Yusuf Khan, the Commandant of the Sepoys, proved of great service by distracting the enemy, who four times sent large detachments against them unsuccessfully."

[Despatch from the Secret Committee, Madras to the Company, Military Despatches to England, dated February 21, 1759.]

Refer also to the diurnal chronicle of the siege operations given by Colonel Love—*Vestiges*: Vol. II, pp. 540 *et seq.*

7. Caillaud's engagement with the French at St. Thomas' Mount is the second of the notable operations of the siege, as already pointed above. Throughout the siege Lally had been harassed by the detachment at the Mount under Captain Preston and Muhammad Yusuf Khan which constantly threatened his communications. Lally resolved, early in February, to attack the Mount in force and sent a detachment of 800 cavalry and 1,800 infantry one-third of the number being Europeans, under his relative Colonel Lally with orders to annihilate Preston. But two days before this, Caillaud who had returned from a mission to Tanjore in search of mercenaries, reached the

Khan and Caillaud marched against the French besiegers who were suffering from want of provisions and took up a position at St. Thomas' Mount. Thereupon Lally—the Diarist mistook the General's relative Col. Michel Lally, who was sent—attacked the English troops at St. Thomas' Mount, inflicted heavy losses on them and scattered them in all directions. The Diarist reports the deaths of both Caillaud and Yusuf Khan in the action. Of course the story of the death of these two was purely fictitious; and according to Orme, the action was a drawn one, both sides falling back with a number of losses. The Diarist also reported that Abdul Wahab Khan and his Bakshi were also made prisoners. A detailed account of this action is given by Orme, who says that the cavalry of the French inflicted more loss than they suffered. Towards the evening, the French retreated towards the east, crossed the river and took up their quarters in the village of Marmalong (Mambalam). Caillaud had practically no ammunition, left to him and he could not have retreated, if pressed by the enemy in the open plain. By next morning he arrived at Vandalur and soon afterwards reached Chingleput in safety.

Bussy had meanwhile come to Pondicherry owing to ill-health while six or seven English vessels reached Madras on the 16th. The Diarist does not give us any details regarding Lally's retreat⁸

Mount and took over the command as the senior officer. The native contingents were commanded by Muhammad Yusuf and Abdul Wahab, the Nawab's younger brother, on whom, however, little reliance could be placed. Abdul Wahab's horsemen were repulsed easily by the French cavalry and fled to Chingleput. The French put up a hot fire and their infantry repeatedly attacked the English advanced post and captured it. They, however, did not assault the main position and drew off to the Adyar river in the evening. Caillaud remained on his ground till 8 p.m. (Caillaud's replies to queries regarding the details of this action are found in Orme Mss. in the India Office—Vol. LXII. (S. C. Hill's Catalogue of the Orme Collection: (1916)—Orme Mss. O.V. 62 (14). In a letter, dated 28th June, 1778, Caillaud wrote to Orme that "the European cavalry had no chance with the black cavalry, & l'arme blanche",—which accounts for the French cavalry halting and firing with their carbines, instead of charging with the sword." (*Ibid.*, p. 126)

8. Generally it has been held that Lally's retreat from Madras was caused by the arrival of the English squadron on the coast. Six English ships were despatched to the northward on February 16th; and early on the 17th, Lally abandoned his trenches and batteries and retreated. A letter from Lally to De Leyrit, dated 14th February and intercepted by Caillaud, shows that the resolution to raise the siege was taken two days at least before the appearance of the English ships. "Their opportune arrival, however, hastened the enemy's retreat and doubtless saved Black Town from destruction." Lally's letter showed that he despaired of success and had resolved to burn the Black

from Madras except that he heard he had reached Poonamalle with his troops on his way to Arcot (Entry for the 19th February), and then marched by way of Tiruvallūr and Tiruppachur to Kaveripauk. He says, reflecting on the fortunes of the French, that Madras was plundered, the fort was blown to pieces, the houses within it were demolished by shells, the walls destroyed and beaten into the ditch. Yet the fort was not taken and the glory redounded to Mr. Pigot the English governor; but Lally is not to blame—this is repeated several times and Madras escaped because Fort St. David was destroyed. Then, in a sad vein, he continues that only his prosperity would bring prosperity to the French cause and that it was but just that their misfortunes should coincide with his own.

III. EVENTS AFTER THE RETREAT FROM MADRAS

One of the usual accompaniments of the warfare of those days was that the Marathas who were invited by the English, plundered Conjeevaram and other places unchecked. Pondicherry itself was threatened by the English vessels. Moracin was sent, instead of Bussy, to proceed to Masulipatam in consequence of the news that the English and Ananda Raja, the son of Vijayaramaraja, of Vizianagarm had advanced against that place, plundered its suburbs and were about to launch an attack on the fort. Soon afterwards, Brereton, the commander of the English troops which advanced from Madura, scaled the walls of the Conjeevaram fort, (i.e. the big temple of the place) and slew some of the Muhammadans inside. They also occupied the town itself. Lally had left for Wandiwash and there was much privation for want of money for his expenses. Soupire had reached Tiruviti. On April 22, news was received that Masulipatam had been captured. The English scaled the walls of the fort and captured it at dead of night. They floated Salabat Jang's flag on the fort, and it was said that the Nizam himself had come to Bezwada. The French at Pondicherry merely said that they could not explain the capture of Masulipatam with its 600 soldiers and 3,000 or 4,000 foot except by ill-luck. The loss of the place was a serious blow to the French; and De Leyrit wrote to Lally at Wandiwash that his recall of Bussy and Moracin had lost for the French Salabat Jang's support and

Town. In his hasty retreat he destroyed the powder-mills in Egmore, but left the Black Town intact. English fire had destroyed no less than 33 of the enemy's cannon and left them few serviceable guns.

entirely ruined French interest in the Deccan and the Northern Sarkars.⁹

Lally's conduct at Wandiwash at this time was equally outrageous. He hanged in the public street the dubash of the Commandant for an act of alleged embezzlement. He took to task Reza Sahib, who ran away from Wandiwash to Pondicherry without telling anybody and gave the Arcot subah to be managed by one, Ramalinga Pillai, a petty clerk. Lally then advanced on Conjeevaram and attacked the English on the banks of the Sarvathirtham tank. There were losses on both sides; but a number of French troopers including a few soldiers and officers deserted to the English side; the troops then quitted Conjeevaram and marched to Tiruvattur (Cheyyar) and Wandiwash. Lally himself was expected to return to Pondicherry. Thus ended the glorious scheme of destroying the English power at Madras. "Thus from misunderstanding the course of events and the state of affairs in different places, M. Lally is mismanaging business, showing himself to be indiscreet and unaccustomed to positions of responsibility. People say that our period of misfortune has turned men's minds. I have written it accordingly". So wailed the Diarist with his gloomy forebodings of the impending ruin of Pondicherry and the French cause.

In Pondicherry itself, towards the end of the siege operations at Madras, an attempt was made to issue token parchment rupees which were to pass current at their face value and the parchment money would be paid to the Company's officials, sepoys and peons and to be accepted by the Company. Immediately after the issue of the proclamation to this effect, the shroffs and cloth-merchants closed their shops in protest. Two days later, i.e., on the 21st of February, the governor had to summon the choultry writers and tell them that the bazaar people need not be compelled to accept the parchment money; on this assurance being given, the bazaars

9. [Pigot's letter of June 28, 1759.] The following is an account of the English successes in the Sarkars:—Forde's expedition succeeded beyond expectation. After defeating the French near Rajahmundry, December 7, 1758, he was prevented from investing Masulipatam, by differences with the Raja, until March 7. On the night of April 7-8, he took it by assault, making the Marquis de Conflans and the whole garrison prisoners—no less than 500 Europeans including 100 officers and officials, a number exceeding that of the attacking army. Two ships from Pondicherry with reinforcements anchored there 8 days later under Moracin, the former Governor. He afterwards proceeded to Gñjam hoping to raise fresh opposition by means of a disaffected Raja there. But we hear he has failed and re-embarked."

were reopened. Confusion also began to prevail in the settlement owing to the misbehaviour of the European troops, who molested the towns-people and said, in their defence, that they had not received any pay from the Company and had nothing to live upon and so were reduced to demanding money with threats. Well-dressed people were asked to pay Rs. 4 or Rs. 5/-; and the others were allowed to go free for six *fanams* or a rupee. The Governor did nothing; and things became so bad towards the end of April, that a few European officers and writers went breaking into the houses in the streets of the native town. The Diarist tells us that if the Europeans had not gone to camp, the situation would have been easily worse. In May, the Governor had to post the European residents, officials, councillors etc., at the fort, the sea-gate, the ramparts and the gates surrounding the town. Each one had his place assigned and all were ordered to assemble at the firing of two guns and the hoisting of their red flag; so afraid were they of an English attack.

The Diarist felt a premonition, on the occasion of his father's annual ceremony which fell on the 17th of May, that he would not perform that ceremony next year at Pondicherry though he hoped even yet that his fortunes would turn round the corner. He felt that after Lally's arrival he would bring fresh troubles to those under the influence of Venus and Mercury; and he told a friend that when Lally entered Pondicherry, on the night of the 18th, Saturn had entered the fort.

Lally would not admit even De Leyrit into the citadel and even resolved, so we read, to imprison the Governor and his friends and also the Tamils under them, seize their houses and property, look into their accounts and confiscate their wealth to the Company. The object of Lally was to get money urgently needed for the pay of his army before Wandiwash. There was a rumour that Conflans had been bribed to deliver Masulipatam to the English. In June the situation became worse. The Diarist's entry for the 8th tells its own tale. "The misconduct of the Europeans in the town, their plundering, ravishing women, and other misdeeds have gone beyond all limits. Men say that injustice daily increases. I cannot describe their sufferings but only mention them briefly here and there. The parchment money has already been sold at a discount of 15 to 50 per cent; but to-day I myself saw one or two persons selling it at a discount of 60 or 65 per cent. so I write it, and I have heard that ten or twenty persons have sold it at that rate. Those who have to pay the Company and the lessees gain much, and the Europeans also. The *Arumpatai's* people have made

lakhs by cheating the Company. Others have suffered much loss and are broken-hearted".

Ranga Pillai promises to give us details about the capture of Masulipatam, as communicated to him by Mattal Reddi Naicken, dubash at that place, written on Krishnapaksha 10th S.S. 1681. But he apparently forgot to enter the letter in the diary when his autograph rough draft was written fair. Lally was foolish enough to order the imprisonment of Nagoji Naicken, the diwan of Bussy, in the Valudāvūr fort; and Bussy himself was put under arrest at his house on the suspicion that he was concealing his correspondent with Salabat Jang. This reported arrest probably meant that Bussy was no longer permitted to visit Lally. Bussy himself was much annoyed and alarmed at this; and the rumour prevailed that his words would no longer be regarded with any weight by Salabat Jang or the Peishwa. De Leyrit and the Councillors were also alarmed at this action of Lally in alienating and humiliating Bussy.

Lally tried to enlist the help of Murari Rao and hoped to secure his alliance through Father Noronha, Bishop of Mylapore. The English ships were cruising on the Tanjore coast and the alliance of the Rajah of Tanjore was eagerly sought after. It was thought that Lally intended that De Leyrit should be removed from his office. Even at this moment Lally claimed to make Reza Sahib, the subah of Arcot and resolved to recognise him as the Nawab. To this arrangement, De Leyrit and Desvaux would not give their consent; and Lally said that he did not care. The Diarist was surprised that the French, to whom the *subah* was given by Muzaffar Jang and Salabat Jang, should themselves appoint another master to lord it over the country. Neither Dupleix nor his successors could enjoy the management of the country as disorder prevailed continuously.

The Muhammadan management had also failed. Reza Sahib was to enjoy a jaghir and also all the revenue from the country except Trichinopoly and Tanjore as well as the *pēshkash* due from the Poligars and the Killedars. The Diarist also heard that Basalat Jang, the younger brother of Nawab Salabat Jang, had claimed the Arcot subah and the country south of the Krishna as they had been given to him and that he was coming down with a body of 10,000 horse and 6,000 foot by way of Cuddapah and Nellore.

In the entry for July 29, the Diarist records the news of the first step of the revolution that replaced Salabat Jang by Nizam

Ali Khan and that the two brothers had quarrelled even to the point of death.¹⁰

Early in August, news came from Salabat Jang that Bussy was experienced in the affairs of the Deccan and that he alone keep the Poligars, the Marathas and Killedars in order and therefore either Lally was requested to come or to send Bussy to his court and then there was threat given at the end; "if you will do neither of those, your troops and jemadars, who enjoy country etc., here will be dismissed, and I shall seek English help and manage affairs as I think best". To this letter of Salabat Jang it was agreed that no reply should be given until a letter should be received from Nizam Ali Khan. Evidently the French had some knowledge of the course of events at the Nizam's court, which was to end in the deposition of Salabat Jang.

Lally proceeded with his recognition of Reza Sahib as the Nawab, gave the *parwana* for Tyagadrug to the son of Imam Sahib and held the function of the installation of Reza Sahib with ceremony at which De Leyrit was also present. Unfortunately, the rope of the flag-staff broke in the middle in the process of the flag-hoisting; and Ranga Pillai immediately prognosticated evil, saying that, in the people's opinion, the breaking of the flag-staff rope signified his (the Nawab's) death within a few days.

Murari Rao who had been written to by Father Noronha, agreed to send a body of 1,000 horse and musket people, besides some *coffres* and *topasses* in return for two lakhs of rupees and the payment of each horseman at $\frac{3}{4}$ of a rupee daily. Four sardars of Murari were also said to be coming. On August 4, the English vessels which had been cruising off Negapatam, appeared in the

10. "Nizam Ali Khan who has been living in Shah Nawab Khan's house, went to his elder brother Salabat Jang's and said that he would not depart unless he was given the twenty lakhs of rupees' worth of property belonging to his wife, and then set guards on his house, attempting to imprison Salabat Jang, seize all the property, and rule the country. But the *amir-ul-umara* (chief nobles) under Nizam Ali Khan, the jemadars, etc., disapproved of such treatment of Salabat Jang and told Nizam Ali Khan that they could not countenance such unjust behaviour as they had vowed not to raise a finger against Salabat Jang. The latter will either kill Nizam Ali Khan or be killed by him. The two brothers have thus quarrelled even to the point of murder. Owing to the atrocities committed at Golconda, the merchants and inhabitants are leaving it, and people say that the town will be destroyed, anarchy will prevail, and the destruction of the Muslim power is at hand."—Entry for July 29.

Pondicherry roads and caused great consternation. All the Europeans assembled at the fort with their guns; and shot and powder were made ready at the beach. News was received, a few days later, of the English capture of Louisbourg in Canada and of the declaration of war by Denmark against France. The English marched against Kāvērippakkam, intending to proceed from thence to Arcot and camped their troops at Lallapet, Ranipet and Uttaramallur. The French commander who was encamped at Wandiwash complained of want of provisions, while it was feared that Reza Sahib and his people would be running back to Pondicherry out of fear within the current month. The English were beaten twice in their attempt to advance to Arcot. They were driven from Tirupati by the Marathas and retired towards Arcot, intending first to take Kaveripakkam and Timiri. Being fore-warned of this, the French had made preparations and managed to repulse them twice, and to make them retreat to Conjeevaram. The English were themselves in some want of money and depended upon Bengal and Bombay, for the usual supplies had not been got by importation from Europe. The net result was that, after months a manoeuvring, the French cantoned their troops at Wandiwash and Chetpattu and withdrew the rest to Pondicherry, while the English troops were cantoned at Conjeevaram and Chingleput; and the only fruit of the campaign for the English seems to have been the recovery of the Conjeevaram and Tiruppāchur countries. Thus there was a temporary stalemate in the situation in the Carnatic for the time being.

IV. GROWING CONFUSION IN PONDICHERRY

The lack of money at Pondicherry resulted in a forced money-levy on the population from De Leyrit downwards. The houses of those who refused to contribute were liable to plunder by the troops, according to a resolution of the Council. De Leyrit was to be shortly removed from the Governorship; but until a successor should come, he was to continue nominally in office, but in reality without power. In his entry for August 17, the Diarist tells us that the *Mahānāttārs*, two from each caste, were brought in to give a list of the property of the towns-people; and when they professed ignorance, they were shut up in a room for a length of time. The next day they assembled in the Choultry and Ranga Pillai was persuaded to pacify them into a good state of mind. They said they had never agreed to make out a list of properties of the towns-people. Soon afterwards the head-peon and two other prominent Hindus were imprisoned in the west gate of the fort,

while their houses were searched. Lally met the *Mahānāttārs* and the Company's merchants and assured them that he would act impartially, that he proposed to build ramparts round the fort and make other preparations for the defence of the settlement and they should join together and lend him 8 or 10 lakhs of rupees which would be returned with interest at 12%, and for the security of which, the Villiyanūr or Valudāvūr country would be mortgaged to them and allowed to be managed by them. Lally promised to give an agreement to this effect and requested the *Mahānāttārs* to send four of their number, along with Ranga Pillai, and settle the business. The four representatives met Lally on August 24th, in the presence of the Diarist and a few others and were told that 2 lakhs of rupees were required for the repair of the town-walls and a larger sum for paying the soldiers and *sibbandies* and that they should pay an initial portion of this sum in four days. An idea of the corruption that persisted even now can be had from the entry of the Diarist that the choultry-writer and his assistants had been told to write an account for twice the sums as shown in the lists prepared according to the means of the different castes. Lally urged the Diarist to accompany the collectors of the contribution in their rounds. He even offered to mortgage the Gingi or the Tiruviti country, with 12% interest and to include the amount borrowed by De Leyrit in the bond. The proclamation of the Council assuring the payment of interest was translated into Tamil; but the usual delay took place in the preparation of the quota-list of contributions by the respective communities. The levy of a tax of five in twenty was ordered; but those who had property worth only ten pagodas were exempt. There was disagreement between the Diarist and La Selle who was commissioned to collect the contributions. On September 1st, the *Mahānāttārs* were compelled to sign for an extra sum making in all a lakh of pagodas. In spite of this they would agree only to pay 70,000 pagodas and to nothing more. The Diarist advised Lally that he could collect ten or fifteen thousand pagodas every week. Some of the *Mahānāttārs* were treated badly by La Selle; and they were imprisoned in the dungeon, or kept in custody. The Madras merchants closed their shops in alarm at the imprisonment of the *Nāttārs*. La Selle complained to Lally that the Tamils were threatening him and the latter thereupon ordered their houses to be searched and all guns, swords and other weapons found in them to be seized and brought into the fort. At last, after repeated pressure, they signed for 81,000 and odd pagodas, after having been kept under duress from sunrise to 2 o'clock in the night. The treatment accorded to Kandappa Mudali and others was horrible; and the

Diarist declared that he had never seen such a thing in all his life. A petition presented to Lally with the recommendation of Father Lavour made him agree to the reduction of the stipulated payment to 70,000 pagodas. But Lally did not change his mind as was thought he might. The Diarist himself was asked to pay 5,000 pagodas and protested that it was only in the previous December, he paid 10,000 rupees; and the *dubash* of La Selle assured him that he would be excused from paying the amount if only he would make the *Mahānāttārs* pay speedily.¹¹

La Selle was suspected by the Diarist to secretly arrange to receive bribes and to trouble the *Mahānāttārs* with the hope that, in their alarm, they would give him something. Meanwhile news was received of the naval action off Negapatam between D' Ache and the English Admiral, Pocock. Throughout September the work of collecting the contribution continued; and towards the last week of that month the English ships reached the Pondicherry roads and D' Ache arrived at the settlement. There was an action at Wandiwash on the 22nd between the English and the French; and Ranga Pillai says that the English captain had to retreat to Tiruvattur leaving a large number of wounded. This was only Colonel Brereton's rash attempt to seize Wandiwash and was to have for its sequel the French defeat at the hands of General Coote.

(To be continued).

11. It is interesting to know from the list prepared by La Selle, the material condition of the respective communities. "56 Vellālas have agreed in writing to pay 7,550 rupees; 113 Agamudaiyāns 7,800 rupees; 45 Idaiyans 900 rupees; 91 Kōmuttis 6,000 rupees; 28 Kavarais 600 rupees; 33 Shānārs 600 rupees; 13 Elavāniyans 800 rupees; 9 Mucchiyars 400 rupees; 169 Chettis 2,000 rupees; 5 Kammālas 500 rupees; 32 Pallis 1,600 rupees; 26 Brahmans 1,000 rupees; 12 individuals 2,215 rupees; 71 Christians 7,500 rupees; Venkatachala Mudali 750 rupees; Ayyamperumal 600 rupees; Mir Ali Nayakkan 150 rupees; and Mir A'azam 750 rupees. Let the amounts be collected according to this list." La Selle wanted that, in addition, small sums should be collected from others, including dancing-women, washermen, barbers and Paraiyas. The Tamils had their contributions fixed very high. The Brahmans' share of the tax was fixed at 12,000 pagodas, finally, of which more than half was to be paid by two individuals and the balance by the rest of the community.

Reviews

THE DEVELOPMENT OF DOMINION STATUS—1900-1936.

Edited by Robert MacGregor Dawson, M.A., D.Sc. (Econ.),
Associate Professor of Political Science, University of Toronto.
Oxford University Press. Pp. viii and 466. Price 21s. net.

The book claims to be an attempt to give the general reader a concise account of what Dominion Status means and how it has come into its present state, tracing the movement from 1900 and illustrating it from a number of contemporary documents comprehending also other material besides official reports and papers. The History of the movement is divided into five parts, namely, (i) The Period before the War (1900-14). (ii) The War and the Peace Treaty (1914-20). (iii) The Period of Tentative Centralization (1920-2). (iv) The Period of Decentralization (1922-6). (v) The Period of Equal Status (1926 to the present time). The characteristic features of each of these periods are given in the first part of the book, entitled the Introduction. In each part the essential features of growth have been detailed at some length, the summary of which is best given in the following sentences in the words of the author himself. In the first period the Dominions had achieved complete control over all domestic matters, and were beginning to make cautious advances beyond their own boundaries. In the second period, there were seen the outbreak of the war and the resulting stimulus to nationalism in the Dominions, the creation of the Imperial War Cabinet, and the first assertion by the Dominions of their right to an 'adequate voice' in foreign policy. It closed with the international recognition given the Dominions by their admission to the Peace Conference and the League of Nations. In the third period an attempt was made to perpetuate the Imperial Cabinet and to formulate and carry out a common foreign policy for the Empire. The fourth period, extending from the Chanak Incident of 1922 to the Locarno Treaty in 1925, is the most eventful and important period of all, for it witnessed the breakdown of a common foreign policy and the abandonment of the idea of the diplomatic unity of the Empire. In the fifth was the Report of the Imperial Conference of 1926, which gave a formal recognition to the new conditions in the Empire. Subsequent constitutional developments have been, for the most part, merely elaborations of, or logical consequences from, the principles enunciated in this Report, according to Professor Dawson.

India does not come in anywhere in the treatment except very casually. Her position in the League of Nations is not even touched on, except in the barest and the most necessary outline. The Treaty of Lausanne is illustrated by full papers given in the second part and is regarded as being very difficult to justify from the point of view of the Dominions and as marking an inability to understand the nature and strength of Dominion national feeling. In the Locarno agreements, the Imperial Government admitted that unity of Empire foreign policy was no longer possible. The report of the Imperial Conference of 1927 is fairly full. Regarding the Statute of Westminster, we read with satisfaction that the legal theory of the Commonwealth had at last caught up with events and the constitution *de facto* had become in essentials at least the constitution *de jure*. "The Statute was passed partly for the sake of political convenience, but chiefly to satisfy those sensitive Dominions and fussy persons who were not content with constitutional practice as enunciated in 1926, but who demanded legal as well as practical equality. It necessarily failed in its main purpose. The awkward fact remained, and must remain, that if the Imperial Parliament could grant complete legal powers to the Dominions it could at any time withdraw them by the same method; and to argue that the British Parliament would never repeal the Statute of Westminster is simply to admit that Dominion powers depend now, as they depended before, upon constitutional usage. Apparently the only way in which complete powers in the absolute sense could be obtained would be for the Dominions to declare their independence, and then to re-enter the Commonwealth as independent States."

In the documents portion forming the second part the material given is wide, representative, contemporary, abundant and fairly interesting in substance. The difficulty there is to choose the portions for intensive reading.

C. S. S.

THE COLONIAL OFFICE—A HISTORY. By Henry L. Hall, Ph.D., Author of *Austria and England: A Study in Imperial Relations* (1934). Published for the Royal Society by Longmans, Green and Co., Pp. xii and 296. Price 12/6 net.

The aim of this book is to trace the development of the Colonial Office in its individuality and growth from the times when it was merely a branch, first of the Home Office and then of War Office. The Colonial Office, unlike other departments of His Majesty's Government, has had to build up a great administrative system

for the Crown Colonies and even, to a large extent, for the Dominions till a comparatively late stage in their growth. It has had also to perfect a system, to found new colonies, to handle problems of a constitutional nature, questions of foreign policy and native policy and also to do a host of other matters interesting alike to the peoples of the Empire and to the British element of the Commonwealth. The Office has had also to adjust its critical relations and numerous questions of difficulty with the other departments of State especially, the Treasury, the Foreign Office, the War Office and the Board of Trade, and to help in the inter-relations of trade policy and foreign affairs.

The historical treatment of the development of the Office is taken up first. Therein we get an account of miscellaneous bodies started under the auspices of the Office to deal with specific subjects either of technical difficulty or else relating to the whole Empire. In one matter, that of coolie and Chinese immigration to the West Indies, a thorough study of the minutes-book of the West India Committee of the Office is very necessary. The library of the Office is as in the case of similar institutions of great value to search students.

Lord Grey is held to have been the most remarkable and creative Secretary of State in the last century. Though he became unpopular, he always endeavoured to reconcile with one another and synthesize as far as he could, the three fundamental ideas of the Modern British Empire, namely, Freedom, Unity and Responsibility, though with him the claims of unity and responsibility were just a little inclined to encroach on the territory of freedom.

Our author enumerates the main ways by which Parliament influenced Colonial policy and regrets that the work caused by the preparation of returns to be placed before the Houses of Parliament has been absolutely futile, though very laborious. He characterises this labour as being both expensive to the public and worthless in reality. The type of the permanent official at the Colonial Office who got the appellation of the "Mother Country" is detailed, as also the varying types of Governors, some of whom came from the Indian Civil Service. Lord Metcalfe, a notable illustration of this latter class, was successful as the Governor-General of India but is not regarded to have been a success as a constitutional Governor of Jamaica and Canada. Sir Bartle Frere, Governor of Bombay, left his mark both for good and evil on South Africa. We are also made aware by our author of the difficulties confronting a Colonial Governor, both in the times before responsible

government was generally introduced and in the period subsequent to it.

The Office put forward on several occasions proposals for the reorganization of the whole administrative system of the Empire. Some of them advocated Imperial Federation, while others wanted some form of representation, either by means of an Advisory Council or by having members of the Dominions in the British Parliament. The judicial systems differ in the different Crown Colonies and one of the most important problems to be solved is the extent to which English law should be followed particularly in the newer colonies.

Part II of the book deals with the policy of the Office as shown in its attitude towards the foundation of new colonies, the acquisition of strategic posts and various boundary disputes. Some writers have denied the actual existence, or even the possibility, of such a policy at any time; but active instances are given here of definite ideas put forward by the Office from time to time in the matter of the government of the various parts of the Empire. Native policy, so important in South Africa and the tropical colonies, is detailed with remarks that are not in good form, particularly about the assumed difficult attitude of the semi-educated natives. Constitutional problems have their own importance and are said to be productive of no end of trouble. Hong-Kong, Malaya, Cyprus, Mauritius, Malta and Trinidad are taken as examples of difficult colonies affording special problems for solution. The idea is also refuted that the Colonial Office did little or nothing towards the development of the economic prosperity of the dependent Empire. One view of the writer receives our cordial support; and that concerns the claim of some of the Dominions to exclude completely coloured men from immigrating into them or to restrict their privileges. Thus the author pertinently asks: "That the presence of a large foreign element of different customs, culture and ideals would be dangerous for Australia and Canada, one is prepared to admit, but the Dominions ought not to have refused to allow for the complications such a policy caused, or for the fact that Britain had to bear the brunt of this. To exclude British Indians, subjects of the same king and members of the same Empire, may be necessary, but why not admit that this causes trouble and heartburning in India?" Where is the just answer forthcoming?

C. S. S.

THE CRUCIAL PROBLEM OF IMPERIAL DEVELOPMENT.

With a Foreword by the Rt. Hon'ble Malcolm Macdonald,
H. M. Secretary of State for the Dominions—Longmans, Green
and Co., Ltd., London (1938)—2/6 (cheap edition).

This publication is No. 15 of the Royal Empire Society Imperial Studies, under the general editorship of Professor A. P. Newton, and constitutes the record of the Conference on Imperial Development convened by the Royal Empire Society in the end of 1937. The Conference was planned on a scale embracing all parts of the British Empire and its findings were helped by experts in a series of authoritative views. As the High Commissioner for Australia remarked in his message, these problems concern more the attainment by consumers of ever-increasing standards of living than the question of mere production, as influencing the economic strength and development of the Empire which depends primarily upon an increase of consumption. The purpose of the Conference was to consider the relation of consumption and production, the practicable methods for stimulating both and the effects of these upon the prosperity of the empire countries and the world trade. The main purport of the discussions was not to formulate conclusions, but only to secure the ventilation of ideas.

The Conference took care to stress on the caution that the Empire had never been, nor could ever become a closed economic system. The Empire owes a duty, more pressing now than at any other time, that under a system of political and economic liberty, the Empire Commonwealth could achieve for its peoples opportunities for individual development and happiness that cannot be equalled by any other system, Fascist or Communist. The diminution of the cost of distribution should be undertaken by the Empire movement on a wide scale.

The problem as affecting India comprehends a section of the proceedings. Opinion tended to the view that much could not be looked for from the large areas shown in Indian statistical tables as 'culturable waste other than fallow.' Without gravely disturbing the general balance of cash and food-crops, care should be taken to increase the nutrition of the cultivator and of his cattle and to raise the fertility of the soil. A much larger production of fodder-crops is recommended, as also a nutrition survey of each province in order to discover the chief deficiencies in the dietary of the people. It is also held that an excessive development of bi-lateral trade-agreements for India will not be good and there is room both for a reduction of the cash crop area and for an increased export of raw products from the country. It is also admitted that unless

the purchasing power of India should be raised, there cannot be any real industrial and economic peace with India. Sir Frank Noyce who expressed these ideas at the Conference has deserved well of India; and he held that the quality of agricultural research in India was of a very high order indeed.

Industries in the Colonial Empire are seldom 'economic', and the great aim should be to stimulate the export trade in agricultural products and to find good markets. Self-sufficiency and nationalism are, at present, very largely economic problems, really arising from poverty and therefore capable of being solved, to some extent by participation of the concerned countries in world-trade. International trade should not be narrowed in its basis as every such process would violently magnify every shock. One of the ideas put forward is that only in the stimulation of the world trade is to be found the most essential means of progress towards Empire economic development. A subsidiary conference of young people was held also, drawn from the universities of the United Kingdom and of the Empire overseas. They advocated free trade within the Commonwealth as a step towards freer world trade in capital and commodities alike; and they also held that an organisation of economic opportunity should precede the resumption of a large-scale emigration within the Commonwealth.

As Mr. M. Macdonald says, every aspect of the discussion was considered from a very wide stand-point and in relation not merely to imperial development, but also to the course of world trade.

C.S.S.

THE STRUGGLE FOR IMPERIAL UNITY (1868-1895)—By J. E.

Tyler, M.A., Lecturer in Modern History in the University of Sheffield, Sometime Exhibitioner of St. John's College, Oxford. Published for the Royal Empire Society, Longmans, Green and Co., London. Pp. viii and 219. Price 12sh. 6d. net.

This book traces the struggle for imperial unity from the first beginnings until Joseph Chamberlain became the Colonial Secretary in 1895. The Royal Colonial Institute was founded in 1868 and quickly became a centre of propaganda for a United Empire. Then a sufficient stimulus was provided for its activity by the Colonial policy of the first Gladstone Government. A new attitude was actively called for with Disraeli's pronouncement at the Crystal Palace in 1872, according to which the Tories identified themselves with the idea of a United Empire. Imperialism in the seventies

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perhaps led to the victory of the Conservatives in the elections of 1874, but it was largely a movement of prestige made under the fear that without it Britain would become a second Holland, so far as her empire abroad was concerned.

There was a less offensive type of Imperialism which sought to draw closer the bonds between the mother country and the so-called settlement colonies. Perhaps the two types were mutually influential upon each other. Our author stresses the effect of the appearance of foreign powers in the Colonial field, and of a simultaneous industrial depression and naval panic that occurred about 1884. One chapter is devoted to the survey of business interests inquired into in the eighties so far as their imperialist tendencies are affected. Another shows the trend of the influence of literature and thought as bearing on imperial questions. Thus and then was the ground prepared for the battle royal which the new economists were ready to wage with the old orthodox ones when Joseph Chamberlain gave the signal in 1903 for an empire tariff. Sir Charles Dilke had systematised his opinions more completely than even Chamberlain, and he may be regarded as a pioneer in the perception that England's problem of defence was imperial, not simply national.

The most important development of the eighties was the tendency for a section of the Conservatives to become identified with the movement for protection and imperial preference. Stress is also laid on the idea of the then Imperialists as tending to permeate both parties and therefore blurring the line of division between the two.

Even as early as the seventies some held that the Empire was already, or should become soon, a federation in its framework. The Imperial Federation League did not confine its studies to mere federal propaganda, but took in every effort at imperial unity. Therefore the study of the activities of the League is a study of the imperial movement as a whole.

The Colonial Conference of 1887 is described in the book in full detail. It is held here to be a success and was but regarded as the first of a series. The idea of a method of conferences as the best approach for the formulation of some machinery of government for the Empire was thus begun. It was to reach its climax in the Imperial Conference of 1927 and in the Statute of Westminster of 1931. The Canadian attitude towards Imperial Federation was never very intense. In Australia the attitude of the British element was not on the whole different from that existing in the other self-governing colonies of purely British character. The work of

the Imperial Federation League is traced down to 1892 and its end in a report is held to mark the closing of one epoch and the beginning of another. The conclusion put forward about the character of the movement has been largely borne out by subsequent development. "But if, on its political side, British imperialism always meant the consolidation of British power, it also meant something more. The idea of United Empire as the union of the forces of freedom in a world given over to militarism and aggression was present from the first. It is to be found in the speeches of Forster, it entered largely into the calculations of Chamberlain and Dilke and it lay at the heart of a whole philosophy of 'liberal imperialism.'"

C. S. S.

THE VAIDIKAPADĀNUKRAMAKROŚA—(A word index to the Vedic Literature). Edited by Prof. Visvabandhu Sastri, D. A. V. College, Lahore. Published by the Viśveśvarānanda Research Institute, Lahore.

The second volume of this publication in two parts containing the word index of the Brāhmaṇa and the Āraṇyaka Literature has been published, the first part (from A to Na) in 1935 and the second part (Ta to Ha) in 1936. The first volume is to contain the word index to the Saṃhitās; the third volume will contain the word index to the Upaniṣads and the fourth and last volume will comprise the other works in Vedic Literature like the Vedāṅgas. There is a reference in the Preface to the second Part to a Reverse Index and Appendices forming a separate Volume, which it is hoped will be the fifth.

The value of Index material to a research scholar is something which can never be over-estimated and the task undertaken by the Viśveśvarānanda Research Institute, Lahore is something which will earn, when it is finished, the gratitude of all the scholars engaged in Sanskrit research. For all the Saṃhitās except for the Taittirīya there are already indices available. Jacob's concordance helps scholars a great way in the field of the Upaniṣads. Thus, next to the Brāhmaṇas and the Āraṇyakas the greatest need for index material is in the field of the Kalpa Sūtras. It is hoped that the Institute will recognise this aspect.

Brāhmaṇa passages are profusely quoted in Vedic Commentaries and one of the most difficult tasks for a student working on these commentaries is to trace these passages and to find out the correct reading. A concordance of the sort now made available is

a real help in such a difficult work. The work is not a mere index of words like the word indices of the Samhitās that are available. The facts of linguistics have been taken into consideration in arranging the words. As explained in the Introduction to the Volume, published in the first part, it is also an aid to textual restoration, a material-book of Vedic philology and a material-book of Vedic lexicography.

C. K. RAJA.

ANNUAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF INDIAN ARCHAEOLOGY for the year 1935. (Kern Institute, Leyden).

This number is as interesting as the previous volumes and maintains a high standard. Mr. K. N. Dikshit furnishes an able survey of the archaeological work done during the year 1934-35, followed by a section devoted to archaeological news in notes. A survey of the work done in Indian numismatics in 1935 is made by Sir R. Burn. The most interesting of the sections in this volume is the contribution by Dr. B. C. Law, giving us a list of important treatises and articles on ancient Indian geography in which field Dr. Law has already to his credit many contributions of value. Equally interesting is the survey of Ernest Mackay on the excavations at Chanhu-daro in 1935-36. It is said that the so-called 'Indus Valley Civilisation' should be re-named the 'Harappa Culture'. Next, we get a brief history of the Lahore fort contributed by H. L. Srivastava. There are also sections on archaeological work done in Hyderabad, Deccan, Gwalior, Ceylon and Further India. Particular mention may be made of the Assam Mahārōi with illustrations. We find that two publications on Iranian archaeology are reviewed by J. H. Kramers.

Then follows the regular bibliography of Indian archaeology. Lastly we have as many as thirteen interesting plates, including that of a female archer. We congratulate the Kern Institute on their very useful work.

V. R. R. DIKSHITAR.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA—1934-35.

The present Report is interesting in more than one way. The first section is on conservation. The next section is devoted to an account of the exploration and research in the different places in

India. The section on epigraphy is of special value. An inscription in the Udaipur State shows that the king performed an *Aśvamedha* sacrifice, and that the worship of Sankarshana and Vāsudēva was prevalent in the first century B.C. It is also suggested that the king Śaivatāta was a Kāṇva ruler, the term Gājāyana in the inscription being a misreading for Gādāyana of the Matsya Purāṇa. Among the South Indian inscriptions, the Kalinga grant of Mahārāja Anantavarman may be mentioned. An epigraph of importance is from Arakaṇḍanallur in S. A. District of the time of Kulottunga III giving details of a political compact entered into by two subordinate chiefs. A case of voluntary sacrifice of life is recorded in an inscription of the time of Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya. Here a son of a certain Devaradiga is said to have cut off his head presumably in fulfilment of a vow. Much interest centres round section VIII where Dr. Fabri traces in the Indus Valley Civilisation the Cretan. Bull-grappling sports and the bull sacrifice together with a note on the bird figurines of Mohenjodaro. U. Mya furnishes another valuable note on the Nanpaya temple and its images, Pagan. The value of the report is much enhanced by as many as twenty-six plates of which stucco heads from the Khyber Pass, Dancing Ganeśa and Goddess Mānasa are interesting specimens.

V. R. R. DIKSHITAR.

ANNUAL REPORTS ON SOUTH INDIAN EPIGRAPHY for the years 1934 and 1935.

The Report for the year 1933-34 has considerably added to the existing knowledge of epigraphical material. Inscriptions found at Tiruvāmūr in S. A. District where reference is made to saint Appar almost support the popular view that Tiruvāmūr is the birth place of the saint. For the first time the district of Kurnool yielded fifty-two gold Roman coins of the early centuries of the Christian era. A Brāhmi epigraph found at Rāmireddipalle in the Kistna District is dated in the sixth year of the Ikṣvāku king Māḍhariputa Śri Virapurīśadata. The Trisūla hill where an inscription of the reign of Rājārāja is found, is identified with Naviramalai of the Sangam king Nannan. An inscription of Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya III mentions Iruṅḷar as a *mudali* of the king. Some additional information is secured in regard to the Śambuvarāyas and the Tanjore Mahrattas, as also to the Sugutūru chiefs who were ruling over Punganur in the Chittoor District in the 18th and 19th centuries A.D. Of the plates in the Report, Plate I is interesting

and contains an archaic inscription at Bōdanampāḍu and also a hero stone with inscription of Chālukya Vikramādityā at Annavaram Agrahāram.

The Report for 1934-35 opens with a plate where a stone image at Nāgāvi (Dharwar District) is published, and it is suggested that it is a figure of Nāgārjuna. We are not told however on what evidence this identification is suggested. It is to be hoped that more light will be shed on this interesting image. The Department is fortunate in having secured a set of three copper plates belonging to a Kalinga king Chanḍavarman. The inscription, incised in archaic characters, suggests early fifth century A.D. as its date. The grant is issued from Vijaya-Singapura and the king is a *Parama bhāgavata*. The seal of the grant bears the legend *Pitr-bhakta*. Another set of copper plates relate to the reign of the Bhanja King Nēṭṭabhanjadēva from the village of Kumarāpura in the Ganjam District. The grant furnishes three generations of kings. By far interesting are the inscriptions of the Chōlas and especially of Kulottunga III. One record furnishes details of a political compact entered into by two subordinate chiefs to stand by each other in times of danger and not to enter into any negotiations with each other's enemies. Mention may also be made to the grant of the Gajapati king Kapileśvara to 120 Brahmanas in the name of his father. The grant mentions several family names from among the 120 Brahmana donees. One record (No. 13) shows Nāvalūr village being endowed as *Paḷlichchandam*, and demonstrates the survival of Buddhism in Kāñchi up to the fifteenth century. Among the list of copper plates again, No. (11) is of special interest. It is a Tamil record of the Vijayanagar King Venkaṭapatideva of Śaka 1518. It states that on the occasion of giving the title Yādavarāya to Kaṇḍyadeva of Vṛddhāchalam, the *mudalis* of 56 *deśas* and the *mudalis* of Iravaṇṇāsūr were present among others. What these *deśas* were, and who were these *mudalis* are questions which are worth investigation.

V. R. R. DIKSHITAR.

MEMOIRS OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA No. 49 Bijapur Inscriptions :

Years ago H. Couseus, then Archaeological Superintendent Western Circle, published his *Notes on the Buildings and other Antiquarian Remains at Bijapur*. His work relating to the history of Bijapur and the decipherment of inscriptions was found far from

satisfactory. An Urdu work on the same subject by Maulvi Bashiruddin Ahmad was considered equally unsatisfactory. Hence the publication of this memoir which seeks to present a correct history of Bijapur as well as a proper reading and interpretation of the inscriptions. The author has almost reproduced Couseus' note in respect of architecture which with a few alterations is inimitable in its description in the words of Dr. M. Nazim. There are as many as four appendices—the first being a note on SHahūr San which occurs as Sūr San in the Mahratti records and this is an era of Muslim origin. The next appendix is a comparative table showing SHahūr San, the initial days of the Hijra year and the corresponding dates of the Christian year.

No. 52.—A MEMOIR ON KOTLA FIROZ SHAH, DELHI.

This is by J. A. Page, Late Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of India. It is a description of the ruined town of Firozabad, now known Kotla Firoz Shah at Delhi. In his account Mr. Page quotes largely from Muslim historians and this serves the reader to visualise the life of the time depicted. On the roof of this three storied citadel is now set up the Topra pillar bearing the famous seven edicts of Aśoka. In an appendix the translation of these edicts by Dr. Hultzsch is also furnished.

The memoir contains the relevant text and translation of Sirat-i-Firoz-shahi—a Persian manuscript in Nastaliq character dated 1002 A.H. The extracts in the memoir deal with the removal of the golden pillar,—the monolith containing Asokan edicts—from the village of Topra to Firozabad. The illustrations appearing in the transcript of this manuscript are produced and are very interesting.

NO. 56 : THE ANANDA TEMPLE AT PAGAN.

One of the most important monuments of Burma is the Ananda, founded by one Kyanzittha about whom several legends had grown. It is said the date of the foundation was 1112 A.D. A descriptive account of the Ananda is furnished, especially the architectural details and other features noticeable in the temple.

STUDIES IN CHINESE ART AND SOME INDIAN INFLUENCES. Published by The India Society, London 1938. Price 21 sh.

During the exhibition of Chinese art at the Royal Academy in 1935-36, lectures were delivered by scholars of distinction on some

aspects of Chinese Art. Thanks to the India Society, we have a permanent record of these lectures, four in number, in the publication under review. Plates of much value and of profound interest are added to each of these four lectures published here. The first lecture is by J. Hackin on *Buddhist Art in Central Asia*. Here the lecturer shows Indian, Iranian and Chinese influences on Buddhist art from Bāmiyān to Turfān. The subject of the second lecture is *Indian and other Influences in Chinese Sculpture* by Oswald Sirén. The beginnings of sculptural art in China can be carried as far back as 1200 B.C. After examining the animal sculptures, the lecturer takes up those representing Buddhist motifs, and finds Indian influences at work in these models allowing for slight modifications in accordance with local traditions. An *Approach to Chinese Sculpture* is by Langdon Warner. Prominence is given to the early ritual vessels in bronze used in different ceremonials. But considerable difficulty is experienced in finding out the purpose of such ritual vessels and rituals. Professor Paul Pelliot's study on the *Royal Tombs of An-yang* is interesting & learned. Some of the finds include specimens of carved ivory, bronzes with turquoise inlay and cowries, all datable to the second millennium B.C. We welcome this highly useful publication.

V. R. R. DIKSHITAR.

TRAVANCORE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SERIES, VOL. VIII.

This volume published by the Director of Archaeology, Travancore, contains only texts of inscriptions copied from different places in the State. Some of them are in Tamil language, some in Sanskrit, some in Malayalam while a few are in Vaṭṭuttu. The last five inscriptions are from a Śiva temple, Tali, Cochin State.

REPORT ON THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT AND THE SUMMER PUBLIC LIBRARY, GOVERNMENT OF JODHPUR, VOL. XI.

This annual administration Report for 1936-37 is devoted to the work done in the Archaeological section, Sardar Museum, Historical Department, Manuscript Library, and Summer Public Library. The appendix (A) contains inscriptions copied during the year.

V. R. R. DIKSHITAR.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT OF HIS EXALTED HIGHNESS THE NIZAM'S DOMINIONS, 1933-34.

The Report opens with an account of the monuments surveyed during the year under review in the different districts of the State. The work of the conservation of the Ajanta and Ellora frescoes, as well as others continued as usual. In the field of epigraphy, it is gratifying to note, that good work has been turned out. A comprehensive survey of the Telugu districts has been made, and all records in the Telugu language have been copied. These, we are told, would soon appear in the form of a monograph. In addition to this, it is reported that two separate monographs of the Canarese inscriptions of Kopbal and of Kukkanur and Kallur are in the course of publication. There is no doubt that epigraphy will be enriched by the above publications.

The Report under review contains a number of appendices, some of which are of great value. Dr. P. Sreenivasachar contributes three notes, one on the Inscriptions of Niḍikoṇḍa, another on the Lazipett Inscription of Amoghavarṣa I, and the third on the inscription of the Velamas of Rāchakoṇḍa. These three notes form the first three appendices. Appendix (D) is a list of sculptures and carved stones in the District of Warangal. We congratulate the Hyderabad Archaeological Department on the excellent work they have been doing.

V. R. R. DIKSHITAR.

THE MAHABHARATA—UDYOGAPARVAN (1). CRITICALLY EDITED BY V. S. SUKTHANKAR and published by Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1937.

This fasciculus presents the first half of the Udyogaparvan. Out of a total of 197 adhyāyas, a hundred have been printed including the important sub-parvans,—the Sanat, Sujāta and the Prajāgara. On the textual reconstruction of the Sanatsujāparvan a general note is furnished on p. 192. Śankara's Bhāṣya as published in the Gujarati Printing Press (1920) has been collected for this section. This text naturally follows the southern recension. Whether the Bhāṣyakāra was the great Śankara is still a disputed point. But he has followed the Telugu-grantha version rather than the more systematic Malayalam version. The Prajāgara version is a good piece of nīti literature. The only available Śāradā codes of the Udyoga, belonging to the India Office Library, has been utilised in the preparation of this fasciculus. In addition, the

commentaries of Devabodha, Sarvajña-Nārāyaṇa, Arjuna Miśra and Nilakaṇṭha have also been collated and variants noted, though these are few and far between. We offer our heartiest felicitations to the talented editor Dr. Sukthankar on this critical edition which maintains the character of *Ādiparvan* already published.

V. R. R. DIKSHITAR.

ANCIENT INDIA (History of Ancient India for 1000 years in four volumes—From 900 B.C. to 100 A.D.). With a foreword by Dr. S. K. Aiyangar. Volume I by Tribhundas L. Shah, L.M.&S. Shashikant and Co., Baroda, 1938.

The author himself says that the book is full of "bombshell-like and astounding theories either quite newly proposed or presented in entirely new light"; and twenty-three of these theories are indicated by the author as marking new ground that he has broken. Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, who writes the foreword to this volume, says that the work is more or less a Jaina version of Indian History relating to the prevalence of Jainism in the country in the epoch which it covers, beginning from the life of Parsvanatha and coming down to the end of the first century and striving to remove the defect that the corresponding Jaina sources for the period have not been proportionately utilised.

The first chapter of the book under notice contains an account of the epoch, Cir. 900-600 B.C. when only Jainism and the Vedic religion might be said to have prevailed. The next few chapters bring down the narrative to Bimbisara Srēṇika (builder of the guilds) and details an amount of new information concerning him, as well as a comparative study of the sixteen states of Northern India mentioned in early Buddhist books and of the twenty-six (more correctly twenty-five and a half) states mentioned in the Jaina works. Thus the additional eight states comprehended in the Jaina records were probably not mentioned in Buddhist literature, because they continued un-Arya (or uncivilised) in the period. Our bold author maintains that there have been grave mistakes in the calculations of the time of the Mahabharata and that the Tirthankara, Parsvanatha, lived in the ninth century B.C. He holds that Sisunaga was the first king of his line that ruled over Magadha; and his predecessors were rulers of Kasi. He also says that Angadesa was annexed to Kaliga after the end of the dynasty of Dadhivagan and thus was formed the kingdom of Trikalinga. The Kanva dynasty lasted, according to him,

from 472 B.C. to 427 B.C., having been founded during the period of the Sunga kings of Avanti. Among several conclusions that are blandly put forth by the writer is one defining the connotation of Trikalinga which is as follows:—"Trikalinga meant a group of three countries, Anga, Vamsa, and Kaling during the reign of king Karkandu (or Mahāméghevāhan), the founder of Chedi dynasty; while during the reign of Kharvel, who is famous for his Hathigumpha inscription, it meant a group of three countries named Kaling, Chola and Pandya. At still another time it meant a group of three countries named Kaling, Vanga (coastal region of Bangadesa, or which was called Samtat) and Suvarṇabhūmi (coastal region of Burma). It is possible that during the reign of some Andhra King, it might have meant a group of three countries named Kaling, Andhra and Chola." (Page 161).

Dr. Shah would give an equal, if not higher, importance to Avanti as to Magadha; and he holds that more light upon the history of Avanti is more than likely to change the entire historical perspective of Ancient India. He claims to throw new light on the history of Sanchinagari, maintains that the Pratyodha dynasty of Avanti was Jaina and would appropriate for Jainism both the Sanchi and Bharhut stupas. These two, as well as the undoubtedly Jaina Simha Stupa of Mathura, are held by him to be clearly connected with Jainism.

The second part of this volume is devoted to the Magadhan Empire under the Sisunagas and the Nandas. Bimbisara is held to have been converted from Buddhism to Jainism in 558 B.C. and to have changed his capital from Rajagiri to Rajagṛha in that year. Some Jaina writers believe that he remained in prison for twelve years (more likely twelve months); and his death which is held to be an act of suicide, rather than one of murder by his son, took place eight years before the Nirvana of the Buddha. Dr. Shah holds that the statement in the Bauddha books that Ajatasatru changed his capital to Pataliputra in the fourth year of his reign is not true, but it was Champapuri that continued to be the capital in his reign. Ajatasatru is claimed also to have been a pioneer in finding out a way from Northern India through the Vindhya ranges to the south. Udayin is said to have conquered the whole of South India. His successors, Anuruddha and Mund, had weak and short reigns. It was now that Kalinga and the southern kingdoms asserted their independence of the empire. Their chiefs are described as the descendants of the Magadha Samvrijis, one branch of whom was known as the Mauryas or new Mauryas of the south.

The Nanda dynasty ruled for a hundred years from 472 to 372 B.C. In the reign of the second king, Mahapadma, the Second Buddhist Oecumenical Conference of Vaisali was held in 444 B.C. under Magadhan royal protection. Srimukha, the founder of the Satavahana dynasty, is held to have been a son of Mahapadma by his low caste queen. The last of the nine Nandas was the seventh son of Mahapadma. His reign was the longest of those of all the members of his line; and he expanded the Magadha Empire greatly. He conquered the Punjab and brought from it to his capital the learned trio, Pāṇini, Vararūchi and Chanakya. He did not care to attempt the conquest of South-East India, because it was under the power of the Emperor Kharavela, while the interior of the south was under his own brother, Srimukha, who had founded his dynasty in the Deccan. By a laboured process Dr. Shah makes out that the three learned men brought over from the Punjab, by the emperor, began their work in the University of Nalanda from 404 B.C. Chanakya left Magadha in dudgeon on account of a supposed insult offered to him by a son of his master. Vararuchi was driven out soon after; and thus the Nanda ruler lost his valuable advisers one by one. Chanakya now got hold of Chandragupta, the son of Mura, the daughter of a Mayūrapōshak (tamer of peacocks) and made him, first, the ruler of a small hilly region on the outskirts of Magadha (in 382 B.C.). Ten years later, Vakradeva, master of Chedi, helped Chanakya in the invasion of Magadha and in driving out Mahananda completely.

The above is the substance of Dr. Shah's book that would need notice in a review like this. The treatment is at times repetitive and is not based upon a strict chronological continuity. The conclusions arrived at, particularly as to the filiation of the Andhras and the importance and connection of Avanti in the history of the period, are bound to stimulate the reader, though not to convince him. The maps given at the end show India, with the exception of the non-Aryanised portions, as it was, in the time of Bimbisara, Ajatasatru and the Nandas. Dr. Shah will follow this volume with others that would bring his new history supplemented by a regular scheme of linked chronology to a hundred A.D. Of course, he himself admits that only the bright side of Jaina religion and culture is presented here and that he has been very largely occupied with a criticism of the opinions and conclusions hitherto maintained by historians. His chronological scheme, apart from the pre-history epochs, is made to run on the two parallel wheels of the Christian and the Mahavira eras. The conclusions suggested in the book require careful consideration and evaluation, and the

treatment is also worthy of critical notice at the hands of the serious student.

C. S. S.

FOUNDERS OF VIJAYANAGARA. By S. SRIKANTAYA. Published by the Mythic Society, Daly Memorial Hall, Cenotaph Road, Bangalore City, 1938. Pages 174.

This publication is an elaboration of five special lectures on the foundation of the Empire of Vijayanagara and on the part played by Sage Vidyanarya therein, delivered several years ago under the auspices of the Annamalai University. The author begins his treatment with the remark that though South India was politically divided and rapidly declining in the 13th century, it was marked by a high level of progress in culture and learning. The Muhammadan invasions from the time of Alauddin to the climax of Muhammad Tughlak's reign are then detailed.

Mr. Srikantiah's first thesis is this:—In the time of Ballala III, Vijayanagara was familiarly known as Hosapattana before its emergence as the capital of the new state and Ballala IV was actually crowned at this place and was commonly known as Hampiah or Hampe Wodeyar. After the fall of the Anegondi chiefs, the Hindus felt that the southern bank of the Tungabhadra was far more secure for defence against Northern attacks, and consequently shifted the centre of their resistance to the Hampe locality.

Mr. Srikantiah dwells, with a considerable amount of clarity, on the part played by the Yadavas of Devagiri, by the Rajas of Anegondi, Kampila and Kummata, by the Kakatiyas of Warangal and by the Hoysala Ballalas of Halebid in the rise of Vijayanagara and also on the position that Harihara and Bukka occupied towards their contemporary brother chiefs. Muhammadan historians do not connect the Kampili Rajas with the foundation of the Vijayanagara Empire. Ballala III and Harihara could not be held to have been constantly at war as has been supposed on the authority of *Rājakāla Nirṇaya*. At the worst, Harihara might have been guilty of a restiveness that naturally led to an attempt to set up independently of his master. Both Harihara and Bukka were never charged by the Muhammadan historians with disloyalty to Delhi; and therefore there could have been no lapse on the part of these two chiefs into independence from an original dependence on Muhammadan suzerainty. Kanya Nayak about whom much

has been made of elsewhere, was perhaps a Kakatiya noble who carried on private negotiations with the Hoysalas.

In the next place, our author is a vigorous supporter of Ballala III's rule at Vijayanagara which was definitely under Hoysala jurisdiction! With the fall of Kampli, Ballala had naturally to come to the forefront of Hindu resistance and to direct operations personally on his northern frontier. Apart from subsidiary and supplementary evidences for the maintenance of this thesis, Mr. Srikantiah makes the following clear observations: "Vijayanagara was, besides, central to the Hoysala, Kakatiya and Deogiri kingdoms and if the origin of the empire could be said to be the result of a vast and united Hindu effort for the protection of the Hindu religion, the Hoysala Empire was then the symbol of revolt against the Muhammadan usurpation and Vijayanagara was its centre. That Harihara supported this undertaking of Ballala is clear and that people throughout the Hoysala dominions prayed for the success of Ballala's arms is also clear."

Mr. Srikantiah then discusses the alleged connection of Sangama with the Yadava line of Devagiri and also the exact relationship of Harihara to Ballala III, the basis of loyalty underlying which is strongly supported by Dr. S. K. Aiyangar. Harihara and his four brothers were generally and largely reverential to the acts of the Hoysalas and to their several grants; and it was only after the death of Ballala IV that Bukka came to be recognised as the heir apparent to the throne. Bukka had secured his position at Dorasamudra even when Ballala III was absent abroad on campaigns; he had acquired a definite position at the Hoysala court.

The most prominent part of the book relates to the share of the Sringeri Mutt in the foundation of the Hindu empire. The Mutt had then probably secured the support of the Sri Vaishnava and Madhva schools of Hindu thought, in the face of the common danger arising from the Muhammadan invasions and also from the increasing numbers and the aggressive attitude of the Jangamas. The greatness of the Gurus of Sringeri and the width of their vision are both a cause and a reflection of the greatness and heritage of the empire that they helped to build. Our author does not accept the several theories held regarding the identity otherwise of Kriyasakti with Vidyaranya made by scholars like Dr. A. Venkatasubbiah. He vigorously rejects the view of Father Heras that the connection of Vidyaranya with the foundation of the empire was a late fabrication of the 16th century. He discusses whether the Sringeri Matha before Vidyatirtha was a Kalamukha stronghold and when it was converted into the fountain-head of the

Advaita school of thought. He holds it impossible to establish the identity of Mādhavācharya and Mādhavamantri, as the former who became Vidyaranya at the close of his secular career, was occupying the pontifical office at Sringeri when the latter was engaged in the work of government and in waging war etc. "When we do not hear of Madhavacharya at all but of Vidyaranya, we continue to notice Madhavamantri as governor, commander, warrior, under the orders of the Vijayanagara kings While the two Madhavas were contemporaries serving under the same king perhaps, (both being authors with attainments in the same school of philosophy . . . the inexplicable difference in dates and achievements, gotra and perentage cannot be explained away by a mere suggestion to exclude the Kānchi inscription from consideration or a statement that literary references such as we have already referred to are interpolations." Mr. Srikantiah estimates Madhava Vidyaranya as unequalled among the gurus of Sringeri in learning and as animated by a political philosophy of a rarely practical type; and above all serving as "the cementing factor amongst the several kings of the South and the people of varied faiths." The book displays an abundance and variety of material cogently arranged and clearly sifted.

C. S. S.

ASSAM BURANJI (1648-1681 A.D.). EDITED BY S. K. DUTTA, Principal, Earle Law College, Gauhati—published by the Government of Assam in the Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies, 1938—price Re. 1.

The D.H.A.S. of the Assam Government has been doing very useful work in publishing the Assamese chronicles with English introductions, marginalia and elaborate synopsis, besides full translations of sources embodied in *The Tungkhungia Buranji* and *The Baharistan-i-Ghaybi*, a Persian account of great interest for the Mughal conquest of the eastern provinces in the early part of the 17th century. We had occasion to review, some time back, a publications of the Department, including bulletins of its activities.

This *Buranji* covers a period of intrigues and revolutions in the history of Assam, from the reign of Jayadhwaj Singha to the accession of the Tungkhungia clan, which ended the period of disorder. It covers the period of Mir Jumla's invasion, about the details of which the *Buranji* sometimes conflicts with other sources

of the times. Historical records of the troubled period, 1670-81, when no less than seven kings came to die violent deaths, are rare ; and in this respect this Buranji has a unique value, particularly since it records the events of some of the reigns month by month. The text of the Buranji, an English synopsis of which is given at the end is collated from three manuscripts, the last of which continues the narrative of the former two ending in 1675 A.D.

C. S. S.

Select Contents from Oriental Journals

The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland (July, 1938).

Al-Risālat Al-Ladunniya—By Abū Hāmid Muhammad Al-Ghazali (1059-1111 A.D.) translated by Margaret Smith (concluded—Chh. III-VII).

The Instructions of the East India Company to Lord Macartney on his Embassy to China ; and his Reports to the Company (1792-4)—Part II : Letter to the Viceroy of Kuangtung and Kiangsi (continued): Edited by E. H. Pritchard.

The Instruments of Music on the Tāq-i-Bustān Bas-Reliefs—By H. G. Farmer. (The instruments occur in two scenes ; the boar-hunt and the stag-hunt.)

The Ancestral Message—By L. C. Hopkins : (dealing with certain characters occurring in the titles of the Honan inscriptions).

The Earliest Jain Sculptures in Kathiawar—By H. D. Sankalia (found at Dhank in cells in a ravine).

Notes on remains of Rome's Mesopotamian *Limes* surveyed in Iraq territory—By Sir Aurel Stein. [Singara (Balad Sinjar) was the starting point of the Limes.]

Archiv Orientalni, Journal of the Czechoslovak Oriental Institute, Prague—Vol. X, Nos. 1-2. (dedicated to Professor Dr. Alois Musil on his 70th birthday)—July 1938.

The Nuzu Menology—By C. H. Gordon and E. R. Lacheman.

Silpasastra and Arthasastra IV—By O. Stein.

Developpement de la langue ancienne égyptienne—By F. Lexa.

Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London, Vol. IX. Part 3.

Geographical factors in Persian Art—By V. Minorsky (dealing with the political centres round which Persian art rose and grew and with artistic topography for the last 9 centuries and more).

Muslim Funeral Customs—By A. S. Tritton (making good an omission in the *Encyclopædia of Islam*).

Dravidian Studies I—By T. Burrow (holding that the existence of initial sonants in Telugu and Canarese is secondary to the parent language).

Argi and the "Tokharians"—By W. B. Henning.

Z. D. M. G.—Band 91.

A Buddhist Chinese Text in Brāhmī Script—By Dr. F. W. Thomas.

Problems of Semitic Grammar—By G. R. Driver.

Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. 58. No. 2 (June, 1938).

The Doctrine of the Bolos in Manichæan Eschatology: The Personality of Mānī, the Founder of Manichæism—By Prof. A. V. Williams Jackson.

Bibliography of A. V. W. Jackson—By G. C. P. Haas.

Rome and (2) Antioch in the *Mahabharata*—By F. Edgerton (claiming for Sahadeva the conquest of Antioch, Rome and Alexandria, on a suggested reconstruction of line ii, 1175 cd. calc. = ii. 31. 72 ab. Bomb. ed. of *Sabhā Parvam* (Bk. 2.).

Late Mughal Illustrations to the *Iqbāl-Nāmah 'I-Jahāngīrī*—By M. A. Simsar and W. Norman Brown (taken from the J. F. Lewis Collection at Philadelphia) showing that it is a mu Indianized type of Mughal art, the emphasis being shifted from the elaboration of composition and minute detail to simplification and suggestion, as in the 17th C. Rajput and earlier Indian indigenous styles.

Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XV, Part III (Dec. 1937).

An Introduction to the Study of Ancient Times in the Malay Peninsula and the Straits of Malacca—By R. Braddell—(3) —Pre-Funan (utilising the Kedah Annals for the story of the introduction of Indians into the Malay Peninsula and the Straits, in the period up to the middle of the 3rd century A.D.) Suggested origin of the Malay Keris and of the superstitions attaching to it—By G. C. Griffith Williams.

Journal of the Burma Research Society, Vol. XXVIII. Part I. April 1938.

Felix Carey and the English Baptist Mission in Burma—By B. R. Pearn.

A Mon Inscription by Kyanzittha at Ayetthema Hill—By Maung Tin.

The Journal of Hellenic Studies, Vol. LVIII, Part I, 1938.

The Excavations at Al Mina, Sueidia, I—By C. L. Woolley (the archaeological report made on search for the tracing of

connections between the early civilisations of the Aegean and the more ancient cultural centres of Hither Asia). Al Mina represents 9 level and 5 centuries.

Journal of Oriental Research, Madras, Vol. XII. Part I (January-March, 1938).

Pramāṇa—By Prof. M. Hiriyanna.

Vidyāvinōda Narayana's Commentary on the *Amarakoṣa*—By Dr. T. R. Chintamani.

The Founders of Vijayanagara before the Foundation of the City—By Dr. N. Venkataramanayya.

Poetry and Rasa—By Dr. A. Sankaran.

The Yadavas of Devagīrī—Chronology—By Dr. P. Srinivasachar.

Tiruttavatturai or Lalgudi—By M. Raghava Iyengar.

Vijayalaya Chola's Kāliyāpatti Siva Temple (9th C.)—By S. R. Balasubrahmanyam and K. Venkatarangaraju.

Advaita Rasamanjari of Sadasiva Brahmendra Sarasvati—Ed. by N. Kuppaswami Aiyar.

Greater Gita—By Dr. V. Raghavan (an enquiry into the permeation of the Gita spirit in the *Mahabharata*).

The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. XXIV, Parts I-II (March-June, 1938).

The History of the Widows' Right of Inheritance—By Dr. A. S. Altekar.

Pre-Dravidian, Proto-Dravidian and Dravidian—By Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari.

Note on the Kosam Coin of Bhavanaga—By E. H. C. Walsh.

On the Cult of the Godling Bir Kuar in the Palaman District—By S. C. Mitra.

The Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. XIV. No. 1, March, 1938.

Symbolism of the Dome—By Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy (a consideration of the ideology expressed in Indian domed constructions).

On the immediate sources of the *Kathāsaritsāgara*—By S. Rangachar (concluding that the *Brhatkathāmanjari* of Kṣemendra and the *Kathāsaritsāgara* of Sōmadeva are to be traced to different sources; and for the former the source must have been in the Paisāci language).

Raja Ram Narayan—By S. H. Askari (being the 1st part of the life of the great Behari diwan of the Nawabs of Bengal in the 18th century).

Vamadeva, the Saiva Saint—By D. C. Sarkar.
 Some Folk-Goddesses of Ancient and Mediaeval India—By
 J. N. Banerjea.
 Doctrines of the Mahasangika School of Buddhism (II)—By
 N. N. Dutt.

Dr. A. Banerji on the Sakas and the Kuṣāṇas—By Dr. Sten
 Konow (maintaining that Nahapāṇa's foreign origin is indi-
 cated in his name; and he was an Iranian, most probably a
 Saka; the Malawa Vikrama era commemorates the esta-
 blishment of the independence of the Malawas after the defeat
 of the old short-lived Saka dynasty; the historical Saka
 era was introduced during the life of Kujula Kadphises;
 and Bhūmaka and Nahapāṇa were probably his viceroys;
 and Kanishka was connected with a general Saka rally, but
 he did not probably come to Lāta or Mālava).
 Minor Old Brahmi Inscriptions in the Udayagiri and the
 Khandagiri Caves—By B. M. Barua (revised edition).

Journal of the Annamalai University, Vol. VII. No. 3. (June 1938)
 Tholkāppiya Ārāichhi—By Prof. S. S. Bharati.
 Rajendra Chola III—By V. Vriddhagirisan.
 Nyayakulisa and Nitimala—Ed. by R. Ramanujachari and K.
 Srinivasachar.

Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Bangalore, Vol. XXIX.
 No. 1, July 1938.
 Theory and Practice of Politics in Mediaeval Ceylon—By
 R. C. Proctor.
 History of Devotional Literature in Kannada (II)—By B. N.
 Krishnamurti Sarma.
 The Chronology of the Eastern Chalukyas—By K. S. Vaidya-
 nathan.
 Tripura—Rahasya—By M. S. Venkatarama Iyer.
 The Significance of Megalithic Monuments—By L. A. Krishna
 Iyer.
 A Review of the Ganga-Pallava Problem—By S. V. Visvanatha
 (holding that there is no warrant for the formation of a sepa-
 rate dynasty, Ganga-Pallava).

Man in India, Vol. XVIII, No. 1.

Note on the Presence of Light-Coloured Eye-Iris amongst the
 population of North-Eastern India—By B. N. Datta, M.A.,
 Dr. Phil.

Racial Admixture in the United Provinces—By D. N. Majum-
 dar, M.A., P.R.S., Ph.D.
 The Racial Composition of the Hindukush Tribes—By B. S.
 Guha, M.A., Ph.D.

The Poona Orientalist, Vol. III, No. 1.

Usnisa and Chatra—Ananda K. Coomaraswamy.
 Some Unpublished Inscriptions of the Chalukyas of Gujarat—
 By D. B. Diskalkar.
 Further Light on the Date of the Yogavasistha—Prahlaḍ C.
 Divanji.
 Bibliography—By R. N. Sardesai.

New Indian Antiquary, Vol. I, Nos. 2 and 3.

Notes on the Katha Upanisad—By Ananda K. Coomaraswamy.
 Echo-Words in Toda—By M. B. Emeneau.
 Sambhaji Angria: 1733-1741—By Surendranath Sen.
 Buddhism in the Kathaka Upanisad—By Helmuth von
 Glasenapp.
 Gotra and Pravaras of the Kadambas—By Jogendra Ghosh.
 Ravivarman Kulasekhara—By S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar.
 Round the Meharauli Inscription—By O. Stein.

Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Vol. XIX,
 Part ii.

Toda Culture Thirty-Five years after: An Acculturation Study
 By M. B. Emeneau.
 The Easter Island and the Script of Mohenjo Daro—By Rev.
 H. Heras.
 Occupations and Professions as seen in the Ramayana—By
 P. C. Dharma, M.A., L.T.
 The Date of Srikara Bhasya—By S. Srikantha Sastri, M.A.
 The Mahabharata and Ancient Commentators—By P. V. Kane,
 M.A., LL.M.
 The Tantric Doctrine of Divine Biunity—By Ananda K.
 Coomaraswamy.

The Adyar Library Bulletin, Vol. II, Part 2.

Rgvedavyakhya Madhavakrita—Edited by Prof. C. Kunhan
 Raja, M.A., D.Phil.
 Bhavasankranti Sutra and Nagarjuna's Bhavasankranti Sastrā
 with the Commentary of Maitreyanatha—Edited by N.
 Aiyaswami Sastri.

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Chronology of Asokan Inscriptions

By

H. C. SETH, M.A., PH.D. (LONDON),
Nagpur University.

SOME of the Asokan records give a direct indication of the regnal years in which they were inscribed, while others give no such indication. As regards the first group the earliest appear to be the two Barābar Hill cave inscriptions, recording the donation of the caves to the Ājivikas after the 12th year of his coronation.

Next will be the Major Rock Edicts (Girnar, Kalsi, Mansehra, Sahabgharhi, Dhauri and Jaugada) which could not have been inscribed before the 14th year of Asoka's reign, as the Edict V contains a reference to his appointment of Dharma Mahāmātras after the 13th year of his coronation.¹ It is difficult to say when exactly after the thirteenth year from his coronation they were actually inscribed. The way in which the ideas are repeated over and over again in several of these Edicts, it appears that they were promulgated in different years of his reign prior to the thirteenth. It is also clear from the III and IV Edicts that they were issued after Asoka had been crowned 12 years,² where as the V Edict, as suggested above, could not have been issued in any case earlier than the 13th year after his coronation. But they all seem to have been inscribed at the same time. This is evident from the manner of the engraving and the character of the letters, which appear to be the work of the same artisan. The engraving was, perhaps, made not long after the 13th year of Asoka's coronation, otherwise some other events that took place after that year or other administrative measures subsequently undertaken by Asoka for promoting

1. *ta mayā traidasa-vāsābhisitena dhammamahāmātā katā.* (Edict. V. Girnar).

2. *"Devānampiyo Piyaḍasi rājā evam āha dbādasa vāsābhisitena mayā idam āñapitām* (Edict. III. Gl.) *"dbādasa-vāsābhisitena Devānamprinena Privadasinā rāñā idam lekhāpitām.* (Edict IV. Gl.).

the happiness and morality of his subjects might have been mentioned and brought under review, as in the case of the Pillar Edicts which were issued subsequently. Moreover, as we shall discuss later, the Major Rock Edicts contain Aśoka's ideology of the early part of his reign before he became a full fledged Buddhist.

Next in chronological order will be the third Barābar Hill cave inscription recording the donation of a cave after the 19th year of Aśoka's coronation. It is not mentioned to whom the cave was donated and it is doubtful if it was donated by Aśoka or some one else.³ Since, the other two Barābar Hill cave inscriptions refer to the donation of the caves by Aśoka to Ajivikas, the third inscription may also refer to the donation of the cave by Aśoka himself to the monks of the same sect.

Rummindei and Nigali Sagar⁴ pillar inscriptions were put in the 21st year of Aśoka's reign, as these records inform us that Aśoka himself visited these places and offered worship there twenty years after his coronation. It seems that the pillars and the inscriptions on them were put in commemoration of this visit.

Last of the regnally dated inscriptions of Aśoka are the Pillar Edicts. (Delhi-Topra, Delhi-Meerut, Lauriya-Araraj, and Lauriya-Nandangarh, Rampurva and Allahabad-Kosam). The first six Pillar Edicts, which like the fourteen Major Rock Edicts form one group were issued after Aśoka was crowned 26 years. The Pillar Edict VII, which is so far found only at Delhi-Topra pillar, and which appears to be a subsequent addition, as its letters are in a different hand from that of the preceding six,⁵ was issued a year after the first six, i.e., after the 27th year of Aśoka's coronation.

Now we come to the inscriptions of Aśoka which do not bear any direct testimony of the regnal dates in which they were issued and inscribed. Amongst these the Schism Edict (Sārnchi, Sarnath

3. C.I.I Vol. I. (Aśoka), p. 182.

4. Nigali-Sagar pillar inscription informs us of two facts (1) that Aśoka after the 14th year of his coronation got the Stūpa of the Buddha Konakamāna enlarged (2) in (number is obliterated) year after his coronation he himself came and worshipped there. As the Rummindei and this pillar are close by, it has been conjecturally suggested that Aśoka visited this place also in the same year as the Rummindei, which marks the birth place of Buddha. (see. C.I.I. Vol. I. p. 185. Aśoka). It seems that the whole inscription at Nigali-Sagar pillar is put at one and the same time after Aśoka's visit.

5. Cf. Dr. Bhandarkar. Aśoka, p. 285.

and Kauśāmbi Pillar Edict) can definitely be said to have been issued after the first six Pillar Edicts, because this is "engraved on the Allahabad-Kosam Pillar in a position which shows it to have been a subsequent addition."⁶ Since the first six Pillar Edicts were issued after the 26th year of Aśoka's coronation and since the Schism Edict cannot be earlier than these, the inscribing of the latter could not have been done earlier than the 27th year of Aśoka's reign.

There is a great deal of uncertainty and controversy regarding the Minor Rock inscriptions (Rupnath, Sahasaram, Bairat, Maski, Brahmagiri, Siddapura, Jatinga-Rameshvar), which inform us that Aśoka had become a Buddhist lay worshiper and later on joined the Buddhist Saṃgha. Equally uncertain is the date of the Calcutta-Bairat inscription recommending certain Buddhist texts to the monks and the laymen. None of these mention the regnal date of their issue, and one of the most important questions in connection with these is to which period of Aśoka's reign they belong. They are regarded by some eminent scholars like Hultzsch, Senart, Vincent Smith and Dr. F. W. Thomas, as the earliest of Aśoka's inscriptions. This is based on the following two main arguments. As Hultzsch puts them (a) the Rupnath and Sahasram Edicts "speak of inscription on rocks and pillars as a task which it was intended to carry out, and not as a fait accompli; (b) they and the three Mysore records, contain the first elements of Aśoka's Dharma, which we find more fully developed in his rock-and pillar-edicts."⁷

As regards the first point it is a mistake to think that the order of Aśoka in Rupnath and Sahasram for the engraving to be caused on rocks and stone pillars⁸ in any way refers to other inscriptions. Hultzsch's way of reasoning will suggest that even the seventh Pillar Edict (Delhi-Topra) was also one of the earliest of Aśoka's inscriptions because this edict also suggests that, like the Sahasram and Rupnath edicts, the task of engraving on rocks and pillars was intended to be carried out, it was not yet a fait accompli.⁹ We have already given reasons which indicate that the

6. C.I.I Vol. I. (Aśoka), p. XIVII.

7. C.I.I Vol. I. (Aśoka). p. xiv.

8. iya cha aṭṭhe pavatisu lekḥāpet vāṭa haḍḍha cha aṭṭhi sālā-ṭṭhabāe silā-thambhāsi lākhāpetavaya-ta (Rupnath), C.I.I. Vol. I.

9. iyaṃ dhamma-libi ata aṭṭhi silā-thambhāni vā silāphalakaṃ va tata kaṭaviyā. Compare this with the similar statement in the Rupnath Edict given in the previous foot note.

Major Rock Edicts were inscribed about the 14th year of Aśoka's reign and therefore were much earlier than the Pillar Edicts which could not have been inscribed before the 27th year of his reign.

In our opinion in both cases, i.e. that of the Rupnath and Sahasram Edicts as well as the Pillar Edict VII, the order of Aśoka for the engraving to be done on stone pillars or rocks refers to the subject matter of these particular edicts and in no way to other edicts. Dr. Barua rightly emphasises that the order of Aśoka for the causing of the inscribing on rocks and pillars in the Sahasram and Rupnath as well as Pillar Edict VII was more an instruction to the agents who were to carry out his orders regarding the inscribing of these Edicts.¹⁰ It is not unlikely that similar orders were issued by Aśoka regarding the inscribing of the Major Rock and other Edicts, but were dropped because of discrimination exercised by officer supervising the task of inscribing or the orders for inscribing were issued separately. At some places, too, in other, inscriptions of Aśoka what were, perhaps, only executive order of the Emperor had crept in the Edicts themselves. Brahms and Siddhapura versions of the Minor Rock Edict preserve, perhaps, the whole of the order, including even the customary greetings in official correspondence, received regarding the inscribing of the Edict from the Viceregal head-quarters at Suvarnagiri. We may also refer to the Sarnath Edict, where Aśoka's executive orders to his Mahāmātra regarding the promulgation of the Edict in the various parts of his district, which apparently do not form an integral part of the Edict,¹¹ and which are, therefore, not found in the Sanchi and the Kausāmbi version of the same, were inscribed.

As to the second reason given above for regarding the Minor Rock Edicts as the earliest of Aśokan inscriptions, i.e., "they contain the first element of Aśoka's Dharma, which we find more fully developed in rock and pillar edicts"; this we think depends on a misunderstanding of the development of Aśoka's personality as we see it through his inscriptions which can be regnally dated. Major Rock Edicts indicate that during the first eight years of his reign like his grandfather, the mighty conqueror Chandragupta

10. I.H.Q. Vol. II, p. 100, ff.

11. āvate cha tūphākam āhāle savata vivāsāyātha tūphe etena viyājanena hemeva savesu koṭa-vishavsu etena viyājanena vivāsāyāthā (Sarnath Pillar).

and may be like his equally powerful father, Bindusara, Aśoka is engaged in the task of extending the bounds of the empire. But the massacres and the horrors of the Kalinga war in the ninth year of his reign cause a complete revulsion in his mind with regard to military conquests. His whole youthful energy is henceforward directed to promoting a lasting happiness of his people through various administrative measures. He is constructing roads and wells, planting trees, opening hospitals, helping the aged and the infirm. He appoints special officers to promote morality amongst his subjects. He exerts himself to the utmost and expects his ministers and officers to do the same, in order to avoid injustice to any one. At all times of the day and night he is open to listen to any complaint lodged by any of his subjects. The trait of character that stands out uppermost in Aśoka, as we see him through the Major Rock Edicts, is his kindness to all men and even towards animals. He exerts his utmost to promote peace and goodwill between man and man, sect and sect, and even between country and country.

This change in the outlook of life in Aśoka was not so much the result of the influence of any particular religious sect, as it was the result of the reaction of the Kalinga war.¹² It was this changed mood of mind after the Kalinga war that made Aśoka incline towards Buddhism. That soon after this war he came in contact with Buddhism is indicated by his visit two years later to Sāmbodhi or Bodh Gayā where Buddha received the supreme enlightenment.¹³ It will be interesting to note that in the above Edict there is no mention of offering worship, as we find in case of his inscription at Rummidei, the birth place of Buddha, which he visited twenty years after his coronation. He is not yet hardened in his faith and his object in these tours was to visit Brahmanas and Śramanas alike.¹⁴ There is also no other indication in the Major Rock Edicts to show that, at the time they were issued,

12. Tato pacha adhuna ladheshu Kaligeshu tivre dhrama-silana dhramakamata dhramanusasti cha Devanapriyasa so asti anusochana Devanapriasa vijñiti Kaligani. (Edict XIII. Shahabgarhi).

13. Devānāpuriyo Piyadasi rājā dasa-vasabhisti samto ayāya Sāmbodhim, (Edict VIII).

The earlier scholars took "nikrami" or "ayāya" Sāmbodhim to mean entered the path of supreme knowledge. But following Dr. Bhandarkar Hultzsch and other scholars now take it signify that Aśoka took a journey to Bodh-Gayā. The context in the Edict does indicate an actual tour or visit. Divyāvadana also speaks of Aśoka's visit to Bodhi-Mūla.

14. etayam hote bāmbana-samanānam dasane. (Edict VIII. Gā.).

Aśoka had become an ardent Buddhist. On the other hand, as they reveal him to us, we find that he wisely patronises and honours all sects.¹⁵ He sees the good in all of them and "desires all sects to reside every where, for all these desire both self-control and purity of mind" (Rock Edict VII Gi). Donatory inscriptions of Aśoka, belonging almost to the same period as the Major Rock Edicts, also reveal the same concern for all sects. If he enlarges the Stūpa of Buddha Konakamana (Nigali-Sagar Pillar inscription) he is giving caves to Ājīvika (Barābar Hill Cave inscriptions No. 1 and 2). Perhaps even as late as the 19th year after his coronation he denoted caves to Ājīvikas (Barābar Cave Inscription No. 3). Thus in all the inscription dated before the 20th year of his reign there is nothing to suggest that he is favouring Buddhism over other religious sects. The very moral teachings emphasised in the Rock Edict XIII are called by Aśoka as *his own*.¹⁶ He is not so far directly pressing for the teachings of Buddha. This policy of religious toleration was, perhaps, as much a political dictum handed down from the time of Candragupta and Cāṇakya, as it was the attitude of a virile mind enquiring after what was real, true in the various religious sects, the same sort of urge which several centuries later we find in the case of Akbar.

In the inscriptions which fall after the 20th year of his reign, we find Aśoka inclined more and more towards Buddhism. Twenty years after his coronation he visited the birth place of Buddha and offered worship there.¹⁷ In the same year he visited Buddha Konakamana and also offered worship there. We have already noted that there is no mention of worship when ten years before he visited Sambodhi. In the Pillar Edict VII which was issued 27 years after his coronation we find him for the first time mentioning Saṅgha (which evidently means Buddhist Saṅgha) in his regnally dated records, and the way in which it is mentioned here first along with other religious sects¹⁸ also indicates that the Saṅgha was uppermost in his mind.

15. Devanāmpriyo Priyadaśi raya savra prashamānani pravarijitani grahat-hani cha pujati danena vividhaye cha pujaye. (Ed. XII. Sh.)

16. Devanāmpriyasa dhrama vutaṁ vividhanam dhramanūṣasti (Edict XIII. Sh.)

17. Devanapiyen Piyadasina lajina vīsati-vasābhisitena atāṇa āgācha mahīyite hida Budha jāte Sakyamunī ti (Rummindei Pillar).

18. Saṅghaṭṭhasi pi me kaṭe ime viyāpaṭā hohamti ti hemeva Bābhanesu Ājīvikesu pi me kaṭe ime viyāpaṭā hohamti ti nigamthesu pi me kaṭe ime viyapata hohamti nāmāpāsāṁdesu pi me kaṭe ime viyapata hohamti ti

Now when we come to the Schism Edict (Saranath, Sanchi and Kausāmbi Pillar inscriptions), which, as we have shown above, was definitely issued after the first six Pillar Edicts and, therefore, any time after the 26th year of his coronation, in this we find him in the closest relation with the Saṅgha. He is striving hard to preserve the unity of the Saṅgha, and prescribing, almost like its head, punishment for the Bhikshus and Bhishunis, who attempted to break the Saṅgha.

Thus, the records of Aśoka which can be definitely allotted to different periods of his reign give us the following insight into the development of his mind. Buddhism was not the early faith of Aśoka. His own ideology, which resulted from the reaction on his mind of the massacre and horrors of the Kalinga war, was strikingly similar to the teaching of Buddha, with its emphasis on love, kindness, and service to humanity. This drew him nearer Buddhism. With advancing years his devotion to Buddha and his teachings grew deeper and deeper, and, as the Schism Edict indicates, it was sometimes during the last ten years of his reign that Aśoka developed into an ardent Buddhist.

This course of the development of Aśoka's religious views may help us to chronologically fix the Minor Rock Edict. In this also Aśoka is revealed to us as closely preoccupied with the Buddhist Saṅgha. Like the Major Rock and the Pillar Edicts, Minor Rock Edict also is addressed to the general public, but one fails to find in the last any trace of the catholic interest in all sects, which characterises the earlier proclamations of Aśoka. Nor does the Minor Rock Edict indicate Aśoka's enthusiasm for administrative measures, which one finds in his earlier proclamations. Its tone is entirely religious. It, thus, appears that the Minor Rock Edict like the Schism Edict belongs to the later period of Aśoka's reign. This is also borne out by the fact that in the Rupnath and Sahasran version of the Minor Rock Edict it is clearly indicated that Aśoka had already constructed the pillars¹⁹ and, perhaps, had got the Edicts inscribed on them, in which case the Minor Rock Edict was issued after the Pillar Edicts, sometimes during the last ten years of Aśoka's reign.

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paṭivisiṭhaṁ paṭivisiṭhaṁ tesu tesu-te- . . . mātā, dhammamahāmātā chu m ctesu cheva viyapata savesu chava viyapata savesu chaṁnesu pasamdesa (Edict. VII. Delhi-Topra).

19. hadha cha athi sālā-ṭhabe silā-ṭhambhasi lēkhāpetavaya ti (Rupnath).

ya....thi hatā sila-thambha tata pi likhāpayatha ti. (Sahasram).

In our opinion the Minor Rock Edict was issued in the last year of Aśoka's reign. In this Edict he declares his open, and, perhaps, official conversion to Buddhism. ("sātirakekāni aḍhatiyāni va ya sumi prakāsa Sake sātīleke chu chhavacchare ya sumihakam sagha upete". Rupnath). The expression prakāsa Sake²⁰ indicates that Aśoka had been an admirer and follower of Buddha for long time, but it was only two and a half years before the issue of this Edict that he openly embraced the teachings of Buddha. From the various versions of the Minor Rock Edict it is obvious that Aśoka first joined the Saṅgha as lay worshiper (upāsaka), and about a year afterwards he actually entered the Saṅgha in the sense of joined the monkish order.²¹ The Chinese pilgrim I-tsing mentions an image of Aśoka dressed in the garb of a Buddhist monk.²² It does not necessarily mean that Aśoka relinquished the throne. Dr. B. C. Law draws attention to Milinda Panho, where king Milinda is described to have acted similarly. He "put on yellow robes and had his head clean shaven and fulfilled the eight moral conditions, having assumed the state of a muni (muni bhavim upagantva) for a week".²³ One wonders if Milinda was just acting in a manner in which about a couple of centuries before Aśoka had done.

Seated as Aśoka was on a throne founded, and also perhaps supported by Brahmanic influence, this official and public announcement of the change of faith, his putting on of the monkish garb, and also perhaps the lavish gifts from the treasury to Buddhist Saṅgha²⁴ brought about a political revolution in which Aśoka

20. Maski version reads Budha-Sake. Sahasram, Bairat and Sidhāpura versions read "upāsake".

21. Senart and Hultzsch take the word "upeta" to mean "visited" and conclude that the Minor Rock Edict refers to a state visit paid by the king to the Saṅgha. (C.I.I. Vol. I. p. XIV). But the more convincing interpretation appears to be that for sometime Aśoka was an upāsaka and later on actually joined the Saṅgha as a monk.

22. Fleet. J. R. A. S. 1908. p. 496 and also J.R.A.S. 1913, p. 657.

23. *Indian Culture*, Vol. I. p. 123.

24. Hiuen Tsang mentions the existence of a pillar in Pataliputra in his time which recorded the gift of Aśoka to Buddhist Saṅgha of the whole empire thrice and its redemption in return for jewels and treasure. Part of the inscription was reported by the pilgrim as follows "Aśoka-rāja with firm principle of faith has thrice bestowed Jambudvīpa as a religious offering on Buddha, the Dharma, and the Assembly, and thrice he has redeemed it with his Jewels and treasure; and this is the record thereof." Such is the purport of the record." Beal's *Buddhist Records of the Western World*. P. 91. Vol. II.). Earlier than Hiuen Tsang, Fahian had also reported similarly about the above pillar and inscription. *Ibid.*, Vol. I. p. lvii.

was deprived of his powers and the ministers put his son or one of his grandsons on the throne. Aśokāvadana has preserved the tradition that Aśoka died destitute of power. Hiuen Tsang also refers to a story similar to one found in the Aśokāvadana of Aśoka's extravagance and of his being deprived of royal power by his minister towards the close of his life. He reports, "King Aśoka having fallen sick and lingering for a long time, felt that he would not recover, and so desired to offer all his possessions so as to crown his religious merit. The minister who was carrying on the government was unwilling to comply with his wish. Sometime after this, as he was eating part of an Āmlaka fruit, he playfully put the half of it for an offering. Holding the fruit in his hand he said with a sigh to his minister; "Who now is lord of Jambudvīpa?"

"The minister replied, "Only your majesty."

"The king answered, "Not so! I am no longer lord; for I have only this half fruit to call my own! Alas! the wealth and honour of the world are as difficult to keep as it is to preserve the light of a lamp in the wind! My wide-spread possessions, my name and high renown, at close of life are snatched from me, and I am in the hands of a minister violent and powerful. The empire is no longer mine; this half fruit alone is left."

"Then he commanded an attendant officer to come and he addressed him thus. "Take this half fruit and offer it in the garden (arama) of the cock (monastery) to the priests, and speak thus to the venerable ones, 'He who was formerly lord of Jambudvīpa, but now is master of only this half Āmlaka fruit, bows down before the priests. I pray you (on behalf of the king) receive this very last offering. All that I have is gone and lost, only this half fruit remains as my little possession. Pity the poverty of the offering, and grant that it may increase the seeds of his religious merit.'"²⁵

It, thus, seems that the events referred to in the Minor Rock Edict belong to the last three years of Aśoka's reign, and that the Edict itself was issued and inscribed in the closing year of his reign after which he was deprived of his royal power and, perhaps, died soon after. The most careless and haphazard manner in which the Yerraguḍi copy of the Minor Rock Edict was inscribed

25. Beal's *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. II. p. 95-96.

is symptomatic of the decline of Aśoka's influence. As the news of his dethronement and subsequently of his death reached the outlying provinces of his empire, the task of inscribing this last edict of his appears to have been slackened.

Vincent Smith was perhaps, right in detecting in the Schism, as well as in the Minor Rock Edict reference to the Third Council held at Pataliputra. He acutely remarks that the Council "is not mentioned in the review of pious acts recorded in Pillar Edict VII (issued in the 28th year of his reign). I assume, therefore, that the Council, which was assembled to correct the evils caused by schism, took place at sometime in the last nine or ten years of Aśoka's life."²⁶ It seems likely that the Schism Edict, prescribing punishment for monks and nuns, who attempted to break up the Saṅgha, as well as the Calcutta-Bairat Edict prescribing the Buddhist texts for monks and lay worshippers, were issued, with a view to bring unity in the Saṅgha, about a year or so before the Minor Rock Edict, during the period of Aśoka's zealous efforts referred to in the Minor Rock Edict.

This line of thought suggests that the expression "yā imāya kālāya Jambudīpasi amisā devā husu te dani misā kaṭā" (Rupnath) and "pure Jambudīpasi ye amisā devā husu to dani misi-bhūtā" (Maski) may refer to the unity Aśoka brought about in the Saṅgha. From the way in which he mentions his intimate relations with the Saṅgha in the opening sentences of this Edict, it is obvious that the event mentioned in the above expression has also to do something with the Saṅgha. The term 'deva' may refer to the great body of the Bhikshus. As Rhys-Davids points out, one of the senses in which word 'deva,' as in case of Visuddhīdeva, is used in the Pali literature is a person divine by purity or of great religious merit or attainment.²⁷ In Sanskrit also 'Deva' is sometime used in this sense for Brahmans or priests as in "bhū deva."²⁸ The above expression in Rupnath and Maski Edict may be translated as follows: "During this period, the divines (the

26. Aśoka. p. 217. Buddhist Ceylonese traditions put the Third Council about the 18th year of Aśoka's reign. But it seems they have shifted earlier the events of Aśoka's reign. His conversion to Buddhism is put about the 4th year of his reign, which is not supported by his inscriptions according to which his conversion could not have taken place before the Kalinga war i.e., the 9th year of the reign.

27. Pali. English Dictionary, Pt. I, 164-165.

28. Sanskrit-English Dictionary, Monier-Williams.

great body of Bhikshus) who were disunited (amisā) were now united (misā) by me. Besides at Rupnath and Maski, the above passage is preserved intact only at Brahmigiri where it has a slightly variant reading "iminā chu kālāna amisā samānā munisā Jambudīpsi misā devehi." Here it is indicated that even men in Jambudīpsi were disunited (amisā samānā munisā Jambudīpsi) and that they 'along with the divines were united' (misā devehi) by Aśoka's efforts. The above passage like the corresponding passage at Rupnath and Maski may then be interpreted as follows "With in this interval in Jambudīpsi men who were disunited, were united along with the divines by me." Aśoka could take a legitimate pride in his great achievement in uniting the Saṅgha, and saving it from disruption after his zealous efforts of about one year.

The conclusion that we have arrived at above that the Minor Rock Edict was issued in the last year of Aśoka's reign may throw valuable light on one of the knottiest problems presented by the Aśokan inscriptions, namely the figure 256 mentioned in most of the versions of the above Edict. Ceylonese Buddhist traditions inform us that Aśoka was crowned 218 years after Buddha Nirvāṇa,²⁹ i.e., in the 219th year current after Buddha's death and that he reigned for 37 years.³⁰ This will give $219 + 37 = 256$ years after Buddha Nirvāṇa as the date of the issue of the Minor Rock Edict. This makes us think that in inscribing the figure 256 in this Edict Aśoka was dating it in terms of Buddha Nirvāṇa era.³¹ Almost all his other inscriptions he had dated in his own regnal years, but it seems on his formally entering the Saṅgha he adopted the mode of reckoning events current in the esoteric Buddhist circle. From the way in which Buddha Nirvāṇa Era is used for dating in the Ceylonese Buddhist works like Mahāvamsa and Dipavamsa³² as

29. Mahāvamsa, V. 21, f; Dipavamsa, VI, 21, f. Samantapāsādikā, p. 299. The Burmese tradition also confirms this date. In our paper "Buddha Nirvāṇa and some other dates in Ancient Indian Chronology" (Indian Culture) we have shown that the independent Tibetan tradition also supports the above. (Rockhill's Life of Buddha p. 237 ff).

30. Dipavamsa, V, 101; Mahāvamsa, XX, 6. Pauranic traditions assign 36 years to Aśoka's reign.

31. This view was held by the earlier scholars like Buhler and Fleet, who also regarded, though on different grounds than ours, that the Minor Rock Edicts were the last of the Aśokan inscriptions.

32. Compare the following remark of Fleet. In the Dipavamsa the original reckoning, from Buddha Nirvāṇa, "is first presented in connection with

well as from its use in old Tibetan traditions, in dating certain events in Aśoka's life,³³ it appears that it was in use in the esoteric Buddhist circles during the early centuries preceding and following the Aśokan period.

This indicates that the expression *vyuṭhenā* (Rupnath), *vivuthā* and *viyuthena* (Sahasram) and *vyuthena* (Brahmagiri) is derived from the Sanskrit word *vyuṣṭha* (व्युष्ट) which according to Kaulṭalya, as suggested by M. Ganapat Śāstri, means regnal dating.³⁴ My learned friend Professor Hiralal Jain has kindly drawn my attention to the following use of the same expression in old Jain scripture.

ततोऽस्य हायने पूर्णे व्युष्टिर्नाम क्रिया मता ।

वर्षवर्द्धन-पर्याय-शब्द-वाच्या यथाश्रुतम् ॥ (आदिपुराण. पर्व. ३८. श्लोक. ६६)

This suggests a possible use of the expression *vyuṣṭha*, and hence also of its prakrit form *vyuṭhenā*, etc., in the general sense of annual counting.³⁵ In this case, then, in the expression "*vyuṭhenā sāvaṇe katē 256*" (Rupnath) or "*iyam cha savane vivuthena duve sapaṁnā lāti satā vivuthā ti 256*" (Sahasram) or "*iyam cha sāvaṇe sāva-*

the ordination of Dāsaka, at 16 years after the death (4, 27, 28; 5.76, 77). The only conspicuous use of it in that work, however, is in the record of the Vaiśālī schism at 100 years (4.47, 48; 5.16), which led to the Second Council; of the birth of Mahendra, at 204 years (6.20); of the anointment of Aśoka, at 218 years (6.1); and, at 236 years, of the interruption of the Buddhist observances which led to the Third Council (7.37, 44 of the anointment of Dēvānāmpiya-Tissa (17.78), and of the arrival of Mahendra 15.71). The reckoning does not figure in the Dīpavaṁsa after the last-mentioned year. In the Mahavaṁsa, it appears only in connection with the Vaiśālī schism, at ten years of the reign of Kālāsoka and at 100 year after the death (ed. Turnour, p. 15), and with the anointment of Aśoka, at 218 years." The Origin of the Buddha-varsha. J.R.A.S. 1909. p. 324.

33. One of the Tibetan traditions informs us that 234 years after Buddha's Nirvāṇa, Aśoka was reigning in India, and that exactly 234 years had elapsed when the kingdom of Khotan was founded by Kustana, son of Aśoka. (Rockhill Life of Buddha, p. 237 ff.). Another Tibetan tradition informs us that 250 years, after the death of Buddha, Aśoka visited Khotan. (V. Smith Aśoka. p. 81).

34. राजवर्ष मासः पक्षो दिवसश्च व्युष्टम् Arthashastra. Bk. 2. Ch. 6. Compare the following commentary of M. Ganpat Sastri. राजेलादि राजवर्षम् आ राजा राज्याभिषेकादिराज्यः संवत्सर, मासः, पक्षः, दिवसश्च, व्युष्टं राजवर्षादिवत्तुष्टं व्युष्टं सप्तमित्यर्थः ।

35. A similar view is held by Dr. Brauer who also suggests 256 as the number of years counted from Buddha Nirvāṇa. "Inscriptional Excursion in respect of Aśoka's Edicts." I.H.Q. Vol. 2. p. 122. ff.

pite *vyuthena 256*" (Brahmagiri), Aśoka wants to convey the years by annual counting when that proclamation was issued. The initial year of counting as suggested above being the year of Buddha Nirvāṇa, which after his joining the Buddhist order must have become so important and sacred to him. Dr. Thomas' suggestion that "*lāti*" in the expression "*duve sapaṁnā lāti satā*" in Sahasram Edict means Sanskrit "*rātrī*" (a night)³⁶ has given a very wrong turn to the interpretation of the figure 256. Dr. Mukerjee correctly remarks "the best, interpretation of "*sapaṁnā-lāti*" is suggested by Pali grammatical rule—"Yavamadanataralā chāgamā", "the consonants, ya, va, ma, da, na, da; na; ta; ra; and la should be placed between the final vowel of the preceding word and the initial vowel of the succeeding word, if a sandhi between those two vowels takes place". The examples cited for this rule include *chha+asīti=chhalāsīti*, whence we may also derive *chhā-paṁnālāti* by sandhi from *chhapamṇā+ati chhapamṇālāti*." The expression "*duve sapaṁnā lāti satā*" will simply mean 256.

If, as shown by Mr. S. N. Mitra, the stone inscription found at Kapileshwar (now in the Puri Museum) giving a duplicate record of Aśoka's pilgrimage to Lumbni is a genuine one and not spurious,³⁷ then the figure 240 in it³⁸ also appears to be the date of this event in terms of the Buddha Nirvāṇa era. On the assumption that Aśoka was crowned in the 219th year current after Buddha's death the Lumbni pilgrimage of Aśoka would fall in the 21st (240—219) year of his reign. This is exactly what we are also informed in the Rummindei as well as in the Kapileshwar copies of the record of this pilgrimage. This, then, further strengthens our conclusion that the figure 256 in the Minor Rock Edict represents dating in terms of Buddha Nirvāṇa era, and that this Edict was issued in the 37th or the last year of Aśoka's reign.

Our conclusion that 256 of the Minor Rock Edict represents the years after Buddha's death upto the last year Aśoka's reign greatly strengthens the truth of the Ceylonese traditions, which are supported by Tibetan traditions, that Aśoka was crowned 218 years after Buddha Nirvāṇa. Elsewhere in our paper "Buddha Nirvāṇa and some other dates in Ancient Indian Chronology"³⁹

36 C.I.I. Vol. I. p. 169.

38. I.H.Q. Vol. V. 728. ff.

37. Aśoka. p. 115. Footnote.

39. This is Mr. Mitra's reading. Ibid.

40. The paper was read before the Second Indian Culture Conference, Calcutta, and is being published in Indian Culture.

we have shown that Candragupta's coronation took place in 325 B.C., which gives (325-24-28-4)⁴¹ 269 B.C. as the date of Aśoka's coronation. This gives us $269+218=487$ B.C. as the date of Buddha Nirvāṇa. This is also the date of Buddha Nirvāṇa given by the well-known "dotted record" of Canton. Scholars have not doubted the general truth of the story of the dotted record. As Max Muller pointed out, "there was nothing to induce a Chinese Buddhist to invent so modern a date for Buddha's death. It runs counter to all their own chronological theories, and even the writer himself seems to express surprise that he should himself be so much nearer to the age of Buddha than he imagined."⁴² But it has been suggested that the process of adding one dot at the end of every year during 975 years was extremely precarious. But mistake in this connection was not likely because putting a dot, according to the account preserved of the "dotted record" became a part of the ceremonial in connection with the celebration of the Buddha's death. The dot was put by the presiding priest. This "dotted record" of Canton of the date of Buddha's death deserves more credit than so far has been generally given to it.

In light of the conclusion reached in this paper we give below the following table giving the chronological order of Aśokan inscriptions.

Inscription.	Aśoka's regnal year.	Year current after Buddha Nirvāṇa.	Christian Era.
Coronation of Aśoka	—	219 A. B.	269 B. C.
Barābar Hill Cave Inscription Nos. 1 & 2.	13	232 A. B.	256 B. C.
Major Rock Edicts	14	233 A. B.	255 B. C.
Barabar Hill Cave Inscription No. 3.	20	239 A. B.	249 B. C.
Rummindei and Nigali-Sagar Pillar Inscriptions.	21	240 A. B.	248 B. C.
First Six Pillar Edicts	27	246 A. B.	242 B. C.
Seventh Pillar Edict	28	247 A. B.	241 B. C.
Calcutta Bairat Edict	c. 36	255 A. B.	233 B. C.
Schism Edict	c. 36	255 A. B.	233 B. C.
Minor Rock Edict	37	256 A. B.	232 B. C.

41. Buddhist and Pauranic accounts agree in allotting 24 years to Candragupta's reign. Buddhist sources allot 28 years to Bindusara and suggest that Aśoka was coronated four years after he succeeded Bindusara.

42. "True date of Buddha's Death". I.A. May 1884, p. 150.

The Gupta Era

By

DHIRENDRANATH MOOKERJEE

IN the last July issue (1936) of the *Indian Culture*, Miss Karunakana Gupta has taken up the pen to criticise my theory on the epoch of the Gupta era. I am really grateful to her in giving me a chance of replying and placing my arguments before the learned public for the correct ascertainment of the epoch of the Gupta era.

At the outset Miss Gupta states "But with the publication of Fleet's theory, supported by the discovery of the Mandasor inscription of Kumaragupta and Bandhuvvarman, it has been generally agreed among scholars that year 1 of Gupta era = 319-20 A.D.' But from Vincent Smith we learn 'Most of the difficulties which continued to embarrass the chronology of the Gupta period, even after the announcement of Fleet's discovery in 1887, have been removed by M. Sylvain Levi's publication of the synchronism of Samudragupta with King Meghavarna of Ceylon, c. A.D. 352-79.' One wonders how only one piece of evidence of a certain nature can remove all other difficulties unless it be by rejecting them and taking no notice of them. Anyhow, we find Miss Gupta mentions three known data that can in her opinion, help one in positively fixing the epoch of the Gupta era. But among these the above synchronism based on the statement of a Chinese envoy is not mentioned. The reason for this is not apparent. We, however, find Miss Gupta remarking that the statements of Chinese travellers, one of whom had been in India for about 16 years and who in the opinion of sober historians was a close observer of men and things, should be rejected, simply because they clash against a particular theory, on the ground that 'they (Hiuen Tsiang and I-tsing) were foreigners and must have been obliged to rely wholly on current popular tradition without being able to test them critically'. But Wang Hiuentse, the Chinese envoy whose statement was interpreted to show the synchronism of Samudragupta with Meghavarna of Ceylon, came to India during the troublous days after Harsha's death and returned to China within a very short time; Wang Hiuentse's statement was not in relation to a contemporary event but was also a popular tradition and Wang Hiuentse had little time to check the same critically. It may be that for these reasons Miss Gupta did not and could not attach much importance to his

statements. In her attempt to uphold Fleet she made a very deplorable remark 'And it must be confessed that the chronological sense of the average Indian has always been regrettably poor. He might quite easily have represented a hundred years as three or more centuries,' forgetting that she herself might fall under that category. Every one knows the class of people with whom these Chinese travellers mixed and to discard traditions which they declare were 'handed down from ancient times by old men' simply because they go against a particular theory is regrettable. We do not hear an Indian saying that the Sepoy Mutiny occurred some four hundred years back. We hear of Mutiny veterans still living. If Mihirakula and Yasodharman really lived upto 90 years before Hiuen Tsiang—as they are represented on Fleet's epoch to be—then Hiuen Tsiang might easily have met several aged persons who had been eye-witnesses of events occurring 90 years before.

From the Haraha inscription of Suryavarman dated (Vikrama) Sam. 611 we know that he repaired a Siva temple when he had attained puberty and that he was born while his father Maharajadhiraja Isanavarman was ruling. This shows that Maharajadhiraja Isanavarman was ruling about (611 — 20, or) 591 V.S. = A.D. 534, exactly the time when on Fleet's epoch Rajadhiraja Yasodharman Vishnuvardhana was ruling. Does not this show the incorrectness of Fleet's epoch?

As regards the date of the first foundation of the Nalanda monastery we should remember that this was the statement of Hwui-Li, a disciple of Hiuen Tsiang who wrote a biography of his master as he heard from him from time to time and which was completed sometime after A.D. 670. We have identified Kumargupta I (Sam. 93 = A.D. 35) to be the first founder of the Nalanda monastery. But we have already noticed another Buddhist tradition wherein Aryadeva was stated to have been the rector of Nalanda during the reign of the Gupta monarch Chandragupta (II) (last date Sam. 93 = A.D. 35). So that from about A.D. 35 up to Hiuen Tsiang's last days (A.D. 664) more than 600 years had elapsed. This period is stated in round numbers to be 700 years. Miss Gupta's remarks on this 'Now if the kings who built the Nalanda monastery belonged really to the Gupta dynasty, as they seem to do, then even the date of 57-58 B.C. would be too late for the beginning of the Gupta period!' are flimsy and unconvincing. Hiuen Tsiang says that after Baladitya's son, a king of Central India built by the side of this monastery another Samgharama. This king will clearly be seen to be Yasodharman of the Mandasor inscription who seems to have been rightly identified by

Dr. Hirananda Sastri with Yasovarman of the Nalanda stone inscription wherein the name of Baladitya also occurs.

The reference to the building at Nalanda 'Not long after' (or 'soon after,' of Watters) the Nirvana of Buddha, is stated by Hwui Li in his *Life of Hiuen Tsiang* as 'After the Nirvana of Buddha a former king of this country called Sakraditya . . . built this convent.' On this Rev. Beal remarks as follows 'Again with reference to the remarks of Hwui Li . . . that the Nalanda monastery was founded 700 years before the date of Hiuen Tsiang, this as I have observed . . . clears up the date of Sakraditya, who is described as a former king of the country, *living after the Nirvana of Buddha*; the expression 'not long after' found in the Si-yu-ki, must be accepted loosely . . .' (Beal, *Life of Hiuen Tsiang*, p. xx n.) After all this, it is to be hoped Miss Gupta will not indulge in flimsy pretexts to discard traditions handed down from ancient times by old men, heard and faithfully preserved by the Chinese travellers. If these clear traditions should have gone in support of Fleet then they should have been hailed as wonderful confirmations no doubt.

In page 52 Miss Gupta remarks 'As for the date of Manoratha and Vasubandhu an examination of the known data about them will soon make it evident that we are far from being sure about their period and consequently it is most unwise to make this date a basis for further deductions. Watters (i. pp. 211-12) shows that there were two Vasubandhus and two Manorathas, and that Vasubandhu, the preceptor of Baladitya should not be confused with the 21st patriarch of the same name. Now this is 'just what Mr. Mukherjee had done.' For Miss Gupta's information I beg to submit that it was not I alone that did so, for, says Vincent Smith, 'Some people have imagined that there was another early Vasubandhu, but that guess has no solid basis. *Watters was mistaken in distinguishing the patriarch from the author Vasubandhu*'. (E. H. I., 3rd ed., p. 329). Now this double vision of seeing, two Vasubandhus, two Manorathas, two Buddhmitras, two Mihirakulas, two Toramanas, two Baladityas, two Kalidasas, two Pushyamisras, etc., is patent with Fleet's epoch. I wish Miss Gupta will pause for a while and examine whether this double vision is not an illusion.

Miss Gupta finds fault with my identification of Vasubandhu, the 21st patriarch, with Vasubandhu the teacher of Baladitya. But who else can he be when we learn that Mihirakula repaired to Kashmir and there put the last and the 23rd patriarch of the

Northern Buddhists to death? The difficulty with Watters might have been with another statement that of Bodhidharma, the 28th patriarch of the Southern Buddhists having arrived in China in A.D. 520. Watters and others seem to have confused the Northern and the Southern patriarchs. We should remember that Simha is distinctly stated to be the 23rd and the last patriarch of the Northern Buddhists who had their origin from shortly after the death of Buddha (5th Century B.C.). This is the average period of patriarchship places Simha about the 2nd century A.D. As the Southern patriarchs had their origin from the time of Asoka (third century B.C.) the average period of patriarchship places Bodhidharma the 28th patriarch of the Southern Buddhists in the 6th century A.D. There is no inconsistency in these statements. Fleet's wrong epoch was responsible for these searches for a late date of Vasubandhu and others.

As for the dates of Manoratha and Vasubandhu who are stated by Hiuen Tsiang to have 'flourished in the midst of the thousand years after the Nirvana of Buddha' Watters and other Chinese scholars have placed their dates before A.D. 150. In this connection I would draw Miss Gupta's attention to the following: "This expression, 'in the midst of or during the thousand years,' has a particular reference to the period of 1000 years which succeeded the period of 500 years after Buddha's death. The 500 years is called the period of 'true law,' the 1000 years 'the period of images,' i.e., image worship; after that came the period of 'no law.' The phrase 'during the 1000 years' therefore, in these records, means that the person referred to lived during the middle portion of the second period, that is, about a thousand years after Buddha. There is a useful note in Wong Puh's *Life of Buddha* (§ 204, J.R.A.S. Vol. XX. p. 215) relating to this point, from which it appears that the accepted date of the Nirvana in China at this time was 850 B.C. The period of thousand years, therefore, would extend from 350 B.C. to 650 A.D." (Rev. Beal, *Buddhist Records*, Vol. I. p. 106n.). From this Miss Gupta will see very clearly that 'in the midst of or during 1000 years after the Nirvana of Buddha' is equivalent to within (850 B.C. — 1000, or 650 A.D. — 500, or 350 B.C. — 500 years, or) 150 A.D. and Hiuen Tsiang is consistent throughout. The accepted date of 850 B.C. for the Nirvana of Buddha in China during Hiuen Tsiang's time might have originated with Kanakamuni Buddha, a historical personage, whose memory was still fresh in Asoka's time.

From Dr. J. Takakusu's 'A Study of Paramartha's Life of Vasubandhu and the date of Vasubandhu' (J.R.A.S. 1905 pp. 33-53)

and also from K. B. Pathak's 'Buddhamitra, the teacher of Vasubandhu' (I.A., 1912, p. 244) we learn that (Isvarakṛṣṇa alias) Vindhyavāsa (one who lived in the Vindhya forest), the author of Samkhya Saptati (or, Karika) was successful in a dispute with Acharya Buddhamitra, the teacher of Vasubandhu. From the Mankuwar inscription of (Gupta) Samvat 129 during the reign of Kumaragupta I we know that Buddhamitra was so famous for his learning that no contemporary Brahmin scholar, however eminent, could venture to attack Buddhism. Hence Buddhamitra's defeat must have occurred after Gupta year 129. After Buddhamitra's defeat in the religious controversy with Vindhyavasa, King Vikramaditya gave the Samkhya philosopher Vindhyavasa three lacs of gold as reward and transferred the royal patronage from Buddhism to Brahmanism. Vasubandhu on his return to Ayodhya heard of the shame of his teacher and searched for Vindhyavasa. Finding that he was dead, Vasubandhu wrote a work entitled 'Paramartha Saptati' in opposition to Vindhyavasa's 'Samkhya Saptati'. As a result the Siddhantas of the Samkhyas were all destroyed. This caused general satisfaction and King Vikramaditya gave Vasubandhu three lacs of gold. From a verse in Vamana's Kavyālamkāra Sutravritti as discussed by K. B. Pathak in his 'Kumaragupta, the patron of Vasubandhu' (I.A. 1911, p. 170) we learn that the illustrious Buddhist author Vasubandhu was the minister of Kumaragupta I, the son of Chandragupta II. Now from Chinese and inscriptional evidence we learn that this King Kumara-gupta had troubles during the latter part of his reign and abdicated (according to Somadeva's Kathāsaritsāgara as discussed in Allan, Gupta Coins. p. xlix fn.) in favour of Skandagupta who restored the ruined fortunes of his family and widely patronised those distinguished for literary merit. K. B. Pathak has shown very clearly from inscriptional evidence that Buddhamitra's defeat occurred after Kumaragupta's rule. Both Pathak and Takakusu have also shown very clearly that King Vikramaditya of Ayodhya who was first a patron of the Samkhya school and afterwards that of Buddhism was no other than Skandagupta Vikramaditya who sent his queen with the Crown Prince Baladitya to study under the famous teacher Vasubandhu. Vincent Smith also stated that Vasubandhu's patron Vikramaditya 'must' have been Skandagupta Vikramaditya, and his son Baladitya pupil of Vasubandhu 'must' have been Narasimhagupta Baladitya (E.H.I. 2nd. ed.). After the death of Vikramaditya, King Baladitya and his queen-mother, both pupils of Vasubandhu, invited the latter to Ayodhya and favoured him with special patronage. Paramartha, a famous Buddhist

author (A.D. 499-569) tell us that Vasubandhu died at the age of eighty during the reign of Baladitya. Vasubandhu was, therefore, contemporaneous with three successive Gupta kings, namely, Kumaragupta, Skandagupta and Baladitya. Now from Chinese literary evidence we learn that Harivarman and Vasubandhu were contemporaneous. Harivarman's great work was translated by Kumarajiva (A.D. 383-412 in China) who also wrote a Life of Vasubandhu not now extant and read the 'Sata Sastra' of Vasubandhu before A.D. 380. Now Vasubandhu was the Teacher of Sthiramati who wrote 'an Introduction to Mahayanism which was translated into Chinese about A.D. 400 . . . hence Sthiramati must have flourished before A.D. 400' (Watters, Yuan Chwang, Vol. II. p. 167). Acharya Bhadanta Sthiramati is mentioned in the Wala grant of Dharasena II of Sam. 269 as having built a Vihara through Dharasena's father Guhasena (Sam. 240). Fleet's epoch of the Gupta era would make Sthiramati flourish about A.D. 560 (= G.E. 240) whereas his works were translated into Chinese about A.D. 400 i.e., 160 years earlier. This shows clearly that Fleet's epoch is in error by at least a century and a half. Moreover, a history of the patriarchs down to Simha, the last patriarch of the Northern Buddhists who was put to death by Mihira Kula, was translated in China in A.D. 472. We have already found from Kumarajiva's translations that Vasubandhu flourished before A.D. 380. That is, on Fleet's epoch Vasubandhu lived during the reign of Samudragupta. But according to all Chinese accounts Vasubandhu was the teacher of Baladitya, son of Vikramaditya. In his attempt to uphold Fleet's theory, Vincent Smith opined that Vasubandhu was the teacher of the young prince Samudragupta who perhaps had the *biruda* Baladitya (!) and his father Chandragupta I had the title Vikramaditya. Miss Gupta, however, does not find fault with this identification perhaps because Fleet's theory must be upheld at any cost.

Now Narasimhagupta Baladitya who defeated Mihirakula according to all Chinese accounts and during whose reign Vasubandhu died is assumed to have reigned from about A.D. 485 to 530 on Fleet's epoch, i.e., the interval between Samudragupta and Mihirakula is one of 190 years. Whereas, as has already been shown, Vasubandhu's death cannot be pushed later than A.D. 370. This shows clearly that Fleet's epoch is in error by about a century and a half. We have already found that according to all Chinese evidence Vasubandhu and his teacher Buddhimitra or Manoratha flourished between A.D. 50 and 150 (Watters, Yuan Chwang, Vol. I. pp. 213 and 257) i.e., between (Gupta) Vikrama

Sam. 108 and 208 and we know that during this time Kumaragupta, Skandagupta and Baladitya reigned. So that Miss Gupta will see that all these Chinese and Indian literary evidence point as clearly as possible that the Early Imperial Gupta Vikramadityas began to rule from 58 B.C. the epoch of the Vikrama era. Fleet's wrong epoch is responsible for a voluminous literature and discussion that have arisen on Vasubandhu and Baladitya.

In page 59 Miss Gupta remarks, 'In the first place he (Mukerji) has identified the Gupta era with the Vikrama era of 57-58 B.C. and made Chandragupta I its founder by attributing to him the epithet Vikramaditya, although we have no evidence of his ever using such a title.' Miss Gupta may not possess any such evidence which the late Drs. Vincent Smith and Thomas did as is evident from the following: 'Although there is no clear evidence that that king ever used the title Vikramaditya, *there is no reason why he should not have done so, as both Chandragupta II and Skandagupta certainly did.* Mr. E. Thomas ascribed to Chandragupta I the umbrella gold coins with the title Vikramaditya, *and that attribution may be defended*, but the weight of evidence favours the assignment of those coins to the second Chandragupta. Anyhow, the traditional use of the title Vikramaditya for any Gupta king need not cause serious difficulty.' (E.H.I. 3rd. ed. p. 332). In the umbrella gold coins alluded to above we have the figure of a youth holding the umbrella over the head of Chandragupta Vikramaditya. There is a striking resemblance between the figure of the youth and that of Samudragupta in his own gold coins. Evidently these coins clearly indicate that the Crown Prince Samudragupta had a great share in Chandragupta Vikramaditya's *ekacchhatra*-ship.

As for the Kṛta or Malava era I tried to explain the origin of the names. I admit my theory on the origin of the term 'kṛta' was fanciful enough. However, I tell her here that the meaning of 'kṛta' had at last dawned upon me which I am going to write in a separate paper. But for the term 'Malava gana sthiti' I think I have given ample reasons to show the meaning and also what its epoch might have been. That my epoch of the Kṛta or Malava era is the only correct one will be seen when my paper on the same is out.

I fully concur with Miss Gupta in admitting that the Mandasor inscription is the most positive evidence in fixing the epoch of the Gupta era and begin examining the same. It is an inscription recording 'the building of a temple of the Sun in Dasapura (Mandasor) by a guild of silk weavers in the Malava year 493 and its

restoration by them in Malava year 529, when Kumaragupta was reigning over the whole earth and his feudatory Bandhuvarman, son of Visvavarman, was governor of Dasapura.' Now the question is who this Kumaragupta was who was ruling in Malava years 493 (month Pausha) and 529. With my epoch of the Malava era these dates are equivalent to Gupta Vikramaditya years 93 and 129. We have the last inscriptional date of Chandragupta II—the Sanchi inscription dated Sam. 93 (month Bhadrpada) recording two gifts in favour of the Arya Samgha, one of these being for the spiritual benefit of Devaraja or Chandragupta II. Thus with my epoch it is found that in G.E. 93 (month Pausha) Kumaragupta I was ruling. But Miss Gupta finds fault with my equivalence of Malava year 493 with G.E. 93 on the ground 'that Chandragupta II ruled at least down to year 93.' Surely it baffles my intelligence to understand how I might be wrong. If one says that King George the Vth ruled down to A.D. 1936 and Edward the VIIIth was also ruling in that year I do not know if Miss Gupta will say that both these statements cannot be true. Miss Gupta perhaps knows that the silver coins of Kumaragupta I are dated Sam. 136 and the Junagadh inscription of Skandagupta is also dated in Sam. 136. Now, Fleet assumed Malava year 493 to be equivalent to G.E. 117 when we know Kumaragupta I was ruling. Both Mr. Pai and Dr. Shamasastri with their own epochs assumed Malava year 493 to fall during Kumara II's rule. This is plainly impossible for we have another Mandasor inscription dated in Malava year 524 during the rule of Govindagupta (son of Chandragupta II) who was governor of Vaisali. This Govindagupta was therefore a brother of Kumaragupta I and was governing till Malava year 524 = Gupta Vikramaditya year 124 when we know Kumaragupta I was ruling. It is impossible, therefore, that in Malava year 493 Kumaragupta II was reigning. Now, the inscription of Kumaragupta and Bandhuvarman contains another date, Malava year 529, when the Sun temple was repaired and the reason of this repair is stated in the inscription thus :

Vahunā samatitena kālenā-nyaisca pārthivaih |
Vyāsīryataikadeśosya bhavanasya tato-dhunā ||

Then (after Malava year 493) a long time having elapsed, now a part of this building (Sun temple) has been terribly (vi-) mutilated by other kings. The late Dr. Bühler, a great Sanskritist, understood the same meaning of the verse as is evident from his following remarks: 'A postscript narrating a restoration of the edifice demolished (Zerstörten) in parts with a mention of the date of this event . . .' (Indian Inscriptions and the antiquity of Indian

artificial poetry—Vatsabhathi's Prasasti—Ind. Antiquary, for 1913). Moreover, what may be the force of *anyaih* unless it be that kings 'other than our own rulers' are responsible for the mutilation? These other kings who destroyed a part of the Sun temple are none but the Mlecchas of the Junagadh inscription and the rulers of the Bhitari inscription who were threatening the ruin of the country during the last days of Kumaragupta I's rule. With my epoch Malava year 529 = Gupta Vikrama year 129 when we know Kumara I was ruling as evidenced by the Mankuwar inscription. With Fleet's epoch Malava year 529 is equivalent to Gupta year 153 which falls after Skandagupta's reign. But this is impossible, for, from the inscription it is evident that the reigning king in Malava year 529 was the same Kumaragupta I. If the paramount sovereign had been other than Kumara I his name should have been mentioned in the inscription. It seems the late Dr. Fleet perceived this difficulty with his epoch and translated the verse thus: 'And in the course of a long time, under other kings parts of this temple fell into disrepair.' Mr. Pai translated only half the portion thus: 'When a long time had passed by and when other kings (were ruling). . . .' But for this massive temple to fall into disrepair within such a short time as 36 years is simply impossible to believe. Miss Gupta also seems to pass over this difficulty with Fleet's epoch by remarking, 'The inscription contains two dates but for our present purpose, we are concerned with the earlier one' and please why? In the language of Miss Gupta are not such translations and note made to distort history to suit particular theories? Other difficulties with Fleet's epoch such as Govindagupta being governor of Vaisali for more than 50 years and Narasimhagupta Baladitya coming 50 years before Yasodharman and Mihirakula have already been pointed out by me in my article. All this shows very clearly that the interval between the Malava and Gupta Vikrama years is not one of 376 years (the interval between the Vikrama and Valabhi eras) but 400 years (the interval between Sree Harsha and Vikrama eras). Thus these Mandasor inscriptions do not support the epoch of the Gupta Vikramaditya era being 319-20 A.D. as stated by Miss Gupta.

As for the discrepancy of Fa-hian's description with the flourishing condition of Sravasti during Chandragupta II's time Miss Gupta says that I relied on a very flimsy tradition regarding the identification of one of the Gupta Vikramadityas with the Vikramaditya of Sravasti, a contemporary of Manoratha according to Hiuen Tsiang. This I am sorry to say is far from the truth. From Chandragupta II's inscription we know that during his time Sravasti

was the provincial capital and the seat of the governor. Fahian's visit in A.D. 400 falls on Fleet's epoch during Chandragupta II's time. Whereas Fahian says that he found Sravasti desolate, peopled by only 200 huts. Does not this show clearly that Fahian came to India long after the downfall of the Imperial Guptas?

As for the 'Rajatarangini', to say that its earlier portion is not at all trustworthy is perhaps saying too much. When we find in it the statement that Toramana forbade the use of the coins with the name 'Bala (aditya)' within his territory and largely circulated the *dinnara* coined by himself, and we find that this statement is in conformity with correct historical evidence we do not understand how this statement can be rejected. As for the other statement in the *Rajatarangini* on 12 reigns intervening between Kaniska and Mihirakula Miss Gupta would not like to infer anything from this on the ground of Kaniska's date not having been settled as yet. But even accepting the latest date proposed for Kaniska (A.D. 128) by Prof. Sten Konow we see that Mihirakula comes about A.D. 300. Whereas on Fleet's epoch Mihirakula's date falls about A.D. 520, showing clearly that it is in error by at least 230 years.

Miss Gupta says that the similarity between the Gupta and Kusana coins only shows that the Guptas inherited the Kusana dominions and inherited their type. May not this be due to the Guptas not inheriting but conquering the Kusana dominions and imitating their coin types? Miss Gupta says 'that the two empires could not have been contemporaneous is proved by the fact that the same tracts were ruled by both these dynasties.' However, I learn from Allan, 'It seems certain that the Kusana or Tukhara empire stretched as far to the south-east as Magadha and the Gupta kingdom was *probably* one of many which rose to practical independence with the decline of the Kusana power in the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D.' (*Gupta Coins*, Intro. p. xvi.).

It is gratifying to note that Miss Gupta following Dr. R. C. Majumdar believes for several important reasons that the Guptas and the Kusanas were more or less contemporaneous, the latter coming somewhat earlier. Dr. Majumdar accepting Fleet's Gupta epoch found that the epoch of the Kalachuri or Chedi era was only 70 year prior to that. He, therefore, supposed that this era originated with Kaniska. But if for several reasons it is found that the Kusanas should be placed much earlier than A.D. 249 would it not be necessary to take the Guptas along with the Kusanas to a much earlier date? As for the contemporaneity of the two enough has been said in my paper and also in Dr. R. C. Majumdar's article on

the Kusana chronology in the *Journal of the Department of Letters of the Calcutta University*, Vol. I. The contemporaneity of Kaniska and Chandragupta is also narrated in the ancient Indian Buddhist tradition preserved in the 'Pag-sam-jon-zang' by the Tibetan Lama Sumpo Khanpo about the 18th century A.D. where it is stated that while Chandragupta was ruling in the East (Magadha, etc.) Kaniska was ruling in the West towards Delhi and Malwa. Mm. Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana (in *J.A.S.B.* for 1910, pp. 477-81) has shown very clearly that this Chandragupta was no other than Chandragupta of the Gupta dynasty. Accepting Fleet's epoch of the Gupta era, however, he placed Chandragupta and his contemporary Kaniska about A.D. 319.

Hima Kadphises is supposed to have flourished immediately before Kaniska. Hima Kadphises was the first to issue the gold coinage which was continued by the Gupta Vikramadityas. The nameless king of certain coins uses a symbol characteristic of Hima Kadphises and on a unique coin, published by Gen. Cunningham there occurs a bust with two faces, and, in front of the faces, the symbols of the nameless king and Hima Kadphises which seem to show that Hima Kadphises was defeated by the nameless king who is regarded by von Gutschmid as an Indian prince. Gen. Cunningham also saw the feasibility of some such identification and suggested that the Kharosthi Vi. which occurs on many coins of the nameless king might be an abbreviation of Vikramaditya. On this Prof. Rapson remarks, 'It must be pointed out, however, if any such identification of the nameless king with Vikramaditya is possible, the Vikrama era, which begins with 57 B.C. . . . must be supposed to date from his birth.' (*Indian Coins*, p. 17). Does not all this show the contemporaneity of the Gupta Vikramadityas and the Kusanas?

I do not understand how the superior workmanship of the Gupta coins compared to the late Kusana coins is evidence of the Gupta coins belonging to a later period. Coins of the British Government in India are of a far superior workmanship than those of the native rulers of India. Is this evidence of the priority of the native coins over the British Government coins? This argument has also been advanced by Dr. Shamasastri in his article on the Age of the Early Guptas (*Mysore Arch. Report* for 1923, pp. 128-29.).

Miss Gupta remarks, 'Mr. Mukherjee simplifies the other difficulties by making the Kusanas, the Western Kshatrapas and the Guptas all use the V.S. But if we believed that we would have to hold that the Gupta victory over the Sakas was contemporaneous with the reign of Rudradaman, and that soon after the reign

of Chandragupta II, Malwa and Kathiawar again passed into the hands of the Sakas, whose rule then extended upto the year 388, (i.e., over nearly three centuries) at least. This is a contradiction of known facts. The evidence of coins show that the pieces issued in Malwa and Kathiawar by the Sakas about year $388 + x$ were *restruck by the Guptas*. Now the above is a reference to the silver coins of Surashtra issued by the Western Kshatrapas dated in year 310 or $310 + x$ which in the opinion of Prof. Rapson are most probably dated in the Saka era and therefore equivalent to A.D. 388 or $388 + x$. But the information of these silver coins being restruck by the Guptas is new to me. I hope Miss Gupta will examine her statement afresh and enlighten us on the point. As Surashtra passed from the Western Kshatrapas to the Guptas and it was assumed that the silver coins of the former are dated most probably in the Saka era, the last date on which is, therefore, A.D. $388 + x$ about and as the earliest date on a coin of Chandragupta II found in the region of Surashtra is 90 or $90 + x$, therefore, from this evidence it was concluded that Chandragupta II's date was after A.D. 388. But Sam. 93 being the last date of Chandragupta II, Sam. 90 or 90 falls towards the end of his reign when he was too old and could not possibly have started on a mission of conquering the whole earth. If at all he did conquer the Sakas this must have been done towards the beginning of his reign. But the absence of any coin dated in that period negatives the idea. After the extensive conquests of Samudragupta, Chandragupta II had no occasion to start on a mission of conquering the whole earth and the undated Udaigiri inscription evidently belongs to Chandragupta I who with the help of Samudragupta completed his conquests. On the evidence of Samudragupta's extensive conquests it may be asserted that the Kshatrapas were subordinate or allies to the Guptas. There are instances even now in India of feudatory rulers minting their own silver coins of an inferior workmanship side by side with the coins of far superior workmanship of the British Government in India. Should any historian conclude from this that the British rule in India was subsequent to the time of these feudatory rulers? From all this Miss Gupta will see that the history of the Western Kshatrapas does not support Fleet's theory at all. In fact, the late Dr. Bhagwan Lal Indraji in his 'Nasik, Pande Lena Caves' (Bosey's Gazetteer, Vol. XVI, pp. 612-624) has shown that taking General Cunningham's epoch (A.D. 167) of the Gupta era the Kshatrapas used the Vikrama era.

Again, I would like to draw Miss Gupta's attention to the following: 'The conventional head which had done duty for cen-

turies as a portrait of the reigning satrap continued to appear on Chandragupta's coins as his portrait; . . . Chandragupta likewise retained the few traces of the once significant Greek legend on the Kshatrapa coins; the reverse type on the other hand is an entirely new one; the *caitya* which had done duty for centuries on the Kshatrapa coins was replaced by a figure of Garuda standing facing with outstretched wings, while the border of dots on the right and the wavy line beneath were retained, as was the border of dots.' (Allan, *Gupta Coins*, p. lxxxvi). The conventional head which had done duty for centuries was found on Chandragupta's coins. Can anyone conclude from this that he copied the head after the extinction of the Kshatrapas? Could he not as well have copied it after he defeated the earliest Kshatrapas? Again, Chandragupta retained the few traces of the once significant Greek legend on the Kshatrapa coins. We know that the few traces of the Greek legend are found on the earliest Kshatrapa coins as well as on Chandragupta's coins and are not found on later Kshatrapa coins. Is this not proof definite that Chandragupta was contemporaneous with the earliest Kshatrapas and not with the later Kshatrapas on whose coins no such legend for about two centuries are to be found. May not similarly the figure of *Caitya* have been replaced by the Guptas with their Garuda emblem at the beginning of the three centuries and not towards the end of the same?

Again, in Rudradaman's Girnar inscription of Sam. 72 we read that he 'forcibly extirpated the Yandheyas who were not fit to be extirpated by reason of their earning the title of heroes among all Kshatriyas? If the Yandheyas were extirpated about Sam 72 = A.D. 150 as taken by Miss Gupta and others how can they again appear some 200 years later during Samudragupta's rule about A.D. 320 on Fleet's epoch? Does not this show that Samudragupta flourished before Rudradaman? To save Fleet's epoch such remark as 'Their (the Yandheyas?) forcible extermination is not to be understood literally but in the Indian hyperbolic fashion' is made. Again, 'The style of the Yandheya coins being an adaptation of the Kaniska type and their being found from Mathura to Saharanpur where Kaniska ruled is a proof that the Yandheyas wrested from the successors of Kaniska the greater part of the North West Provinces . . . the latter of whom (Vasudeva) was a contemporary of Rudradaman.' (Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Pt. 1, p. 39). As the Guptas and the Kusanas were contemporaneous and as Rudradaman's date is Sam. 72 and that of Vasudeva Sam. 80, it follows clearly that they all used the (Gupta) Vikramaditya Samvat. That the Kusanas really used the Vikrama

era I have already verified astronomically in a separate paper ('The Era used by the Kusāna Kings'—*Indian Culture*, Vol. I, pp. 477-79) to which Miss Gupta may not attach any importance.

The coins of Kṛṣṇarāja of Western Gupta fabric found in the Nasik District have been attributed to a Raṣtrakuta King of this name who flourished c. A.D. 375-400. The late Prof. Rapson accepting Fleet's epoch of the Gupta Era remarked (This attribution is, however, certainly incorrect, as this date is too early for the style of the coins, which are imitated from the latest Gupta coins current in this locality.—*Indian Coins*, p. 27). Miss Gupta will kindly see that the attribution is all right, only the latest Guptas flourished long before A.D. 375, i.e., Fleet's epoch of the Gupta era is hopelessly incorrect.

'According to Chinese authority the Yue-chi, during the period between A.D. 220 and 280 put their kings to death and established military chiefs'. Samudragupta must therefore have reigned before A.D. 200 because he was contemporaneous with *Daivaputra Sāhān Sāhi*.

Now let us come to the identity of the 'Siladitya of Moḥ' whose nephew was 'Tu-lo-ho-po-tu' of Valabhi. From Hiuen Tsiang's description we know that during his time (A.D. 640) Valabhi and Molapo were two distinct countries ruled by independent kings. Kieccha (Kaccha or Kaira) and Anandapura were appanages of Malava whereas Surashtra was dependent on Valabhi as stated by Hiuen Tsiang. If Fleet's epoch had been correct we should expect Dhruvasena II Baladitya (Sam. 310-21 equivalent on Fleet's epoch to A.D. 628-40) to be the reigning king of Valabhi during Hiuen Tsiang's visit. But the name 'Tu-lo-ho-po-tu' is far from 'Dhruvasena.' Even if it be assumed with Miss Gupta that Dhruvasena II (not Dhruvasena III as stated by her which is perhaps a misprint) was Dhruvabhata of Valabhi then from the former's inscriptions dated Sam. 320 and 321 (equivalent on Fleet's epoch to A.D. 639 and 640) we find that he records the grant of one hundred bhuktis (of land) on each occasion in the district of Malava (Malavaka bhukti), whereas Hiuen Tsiang says that in his time Malava and Valabhi were independent countries. This shows that Dhruvasena II of Valabhi was one of the rulers prior to Hiuen Tsiang who says that the former Siladityas were kings of Malava and Valabhi. Fleet's wrong epoch was responsible for a huge number of articles which appeared on 'Molapo & Valabhi,' a lengthy reference on which is to be found in V. Smith's *Early History*. On Dr. Shamasastri's epoch of the Gupta era (A.D. 200) the ruler of Valabhi has been identified with Siladitya

(VII) Dhruvabhata (Sam. 447 equivalent on his epoch to A.D. 647). But this will also be seen to be impossible, for, this plate was issued from Anandapura. Whereas during Hiuen Tsiang's time Anandapura was an appanage of Malava and not of Valabhi. We know that Anandapura and Valabhi were the seats of the earlier Maitraka rulers of Valabhi. Now who then was the 'Siladitya of Molapo' whose nephew was Tu-lo-ho-po-tu of Valabhi. To understand this we should remember what Hiuen Tsiang says regarding the country of Malava. He says that the river Mahi lay to the south and east of the capital of Malva which Rev. Beal correctly identifies with some such place as Dungarpur very near to Udaipur where the inscription of (Guhila) Siladitya of Vikrama Sam. 703 (= A.D. 646) was found. During Hiuen Tsiang's time Malava and Ujjaini or Avanti were two separate countries—the latter being ruled by a Brahman king. Moreover, Hiuen Tsiang says that Tu-lo-ho-po-tu of Valabhi was a nephew of Siladitya of Malava. If Siladitya of Malava was really Siladitya (I) Dharmaditya who on Fleet's epoch ruled from c. A.D. 595 to 610-15 as supposed by Sylvain Levi then it is strange that Hiuen Tsiang does not say that Tu-lo-ho-po-tu of Valabhi was a nephew of Siladitya of Valabhi for we know from the inscriptions that Siladitya I Dharmaditya was the ruler of Valabhi. Fleet's wrong epoch had such a strong hold on Vincent Smith that he was constrained to remark 'The apparently necessary inference is that Siladitya Dharmaditya was king of Molapo by conquest in addition to his ancestral realm of Valabhi'. Then again this Siladitya I Dharmaditya was assumed by Sylvain Levi to be the Siladitya of Malava regarding whom Hiuen Tsiang says that he ruled for 50 years till 60 years before his time, i.e., from A.D. 526 to 576. But Siladitya II Dharmaditya ruled on Fleet's epoch from A.D. 595 to A.D. 610 or 615, showing a great discrepancy. Hence Vincent Smith was again constrained to remark 'Mr. Sylvain Levi seems to be right in identifying this religious monarch with Siladitya I surnamed Dharmaditya, the Sun of Piety of the Valabhi dynasty, who reigned from about 595 to 610 or 615 A.D.; for, although these dates do not agree exactly with the indications given by Hiuen Tsiang.....?'¹ All this shows how matters stand with Fleet's epoch. It will thus be seen very clearly that Siladitya of Molapo whose nephew Tu-lo-ho-po-tu was no other than (Guhila) Siladitya (of Malava) of Sam. 703 (=A.D. 646).

The other religious monarch Siladitya of Malava ruled from A.D. 526 to 576 about i.e., up to 70 years before (Guhila) Siladitya

1. E.H.I. 3rd. ed. p. 325.

(A.D. 646) and on an average of 20 years to a reign this will carry us to his fourth predecessor, i.e., Guhadatta, the originator of the Guhila dynasty. From the inscriptions of Guhila kings we know that Guhadatta originally from Anandapura (the seat of the Maitrakas of Valabhi) was the founder of a new royal line and was a greatly benevolent and pious monarch. From Tod's *Annals of Rajasthan* we know that 'King Siladitya of Valabhi died while resisting an attack of the barbarians and lost his kingdom. A posthumous son was born to him, Guhadatta by name, who was brought up in a family of Nagar Brahmins of Vadnagar in Gujerat. When the child grew up he conquered the aboriginal Bhil chieftain of Idar and became the progenitor of the Guhilots of Mewar.' ('A note on the Early home of the Guhilots' by Golap Chandra Roy Chowdhury—*Indian Culture*; July 1936, p. 219). From inscriptions also we know that he was the delighter of the Brahmana family i.e., he seems to have been reared up in a Brahmin family thus supporting the tradition. This Guhadatta seems also to have the surname Siladitya because of his great benevolence and piety and Guhadatta Siladitya seems to have been abbreviated in the tradition to Guha (datta Sila) aditya who reigned from c. A.D. 526 to 576 as stated by Hiuen Tsiang. On Fleet's epoch the tradition of the origin of the Guhilots as well as the statement of the earlier pious Siladitya of Malava have got to be rejected.² The barbarians who attacked Siladitya of Valabhi seems to be Gollas and his men—the 'White Huns' of Cosmos Indicopleustos who visited India during the early part of the 6th century A.D. 'Cosmos calls them White Huns, and relates that while he wrote, their king Gollas besieged a certain city and that his elephants and horses drank up the water round it, and thus forced it to surrender. This has happened very often in the parched countries of Becanere and Jesselmere; and it does not even require a numerous army, to drink up the scanty waters of a few wells round a city; but then the besiegers far from taking the town, are obliged to raise the siege in the greatest distress'. (Capt. Wilford, 'The Kings of Magadha.' *As. Res.* Vol. IX, p. 113). From the travels of Sung Yun (518-521 A.D.) (vide Beal, *Buddhist Records*, Vol. I, pp. xc-cii) we get an insight into the country of the White Huns and its peoples. The king of the country received tributes from forty different countries, including the country of Lae-leh or Lara (seems to me to be Lata) i.e., Valabhi. Hiuen Tsiang speaks of Valabhi

2. Dr. Hoernle sought to prove that this Siladitya should be identified with Yasodharman who defeated Mihirakula (!). (*J.R.A.S.* 1909, p. 122).

as the kingdom of the Northern Lara (Lo-lo) people. Thus the barbarians who defeated Siladitya of Valabhi about the beginning of the 6th century A.D. and exacted tributes from him will clearly be seen to be Gollas and his men. From Sung Yun we learn that these White Huns had no written character or religion and were in short barbarians. Their king resided in his own country beyond North Western India and received tributes from various countries. There is no chance of this king Gollas being identical with Mihirakula (as is done in support of Fleet's epoch) who we know from his and his father's inscriptions knew learning, *was a Saiva by religion* (Bhandarkar's *List of Northern Inscriptions*, p. 295) and lived in India throughout.

Again, on Fleet's epoch Mihirakula is placed about A.D. 510-30. Whereas in the 'Fu-fa-tsong-yin-yuan-ching,' the Chinese translation in A.D. 472 of a Buddhist work it is stated that a persecuting king Miloku, that is evidently Mihirakula, beheaded the 23rd and the last of the great Buddhist patriarchs Simha. This shows that Mihirakula flourished long before A.D. 472. Again the latest date of the translation of a work 'Lien-hua-mien-ching' or the Sutra of Lotus flower face' in Chinese, according to one account is A.D. 574. The contents of this work show that it was written long after the death of Mihirakula. It relates that after this event seven Devaputras became incarnate in succession in Kashmir i.e., Mihirakula was succeeded by seven sovereigns who were all patrons of Buddhism and that they restored Buddhism. Again in another Chinese work 'Chih-yue-lih' it is stated that Mihirakula beheaded Simha in A.D. 259. It seems to me that this date should be A.D. 159. For we have already seen that Mihirakula's defeat by Baladitya occurred about A.D. 130, after which he repaired to Kashmir. Hence this beheading of Simha might have occurred about A.D. 159. From all this it is evident that Mihirakula can under no circumstances be identified with the White Huns invader of the 6th century A.D. Moreover, there is no proof that Mihirakula and Toramana were Hunas.

As for King Sasanka who slew Rajyavardhana I tried to elucidate his history in my own light wherein I may be wrong. But Miss Gupta accuses me of distorting history to suit my particular theory and points out to me the express mention of Hiuen Tsiang that Harsha 'set out to avenge his brother's murder and to reduce the neighbouring countries to subjection.' But this will be found to be the gist of Hiuen Tsiang's statement made out by Watters as will be evident from Rev. Beal's rendering of the original passage

'The enemies of my (Harsha's) brother are unpunished as yet....' I said in my paper that King Sasanka of Karnasuvarna was a Mahasamanta under Rajyavardhana. Sasanka's dominion was in imminent danger of being attacked by Bhaskaravarman. Hence Sasanka repaired to the imperial court for help. But as Rajya turned out to be a devout Buddhist and was averse to fighting his enemies, Sasanka conferred with Rajya's ministers and killed Rajya. Immediately after this Bhaskaravarman defeated Sasanka and issued the Nidhanpur plate from Karnasuvarna, his camp of victory. Harsha on ascending the throne set out to conquer his enemies and after the first day's march it was Bhaskaravarman who sought peace with Harsha. If I am wrong in all this will Miss Gupta explain to us how Bhaskaravarman could capture Sasanka's dominion Karnasuvarna which was evidently a part of Harsha's dominion during his reign? The other difficulty is with the Ganjam plate of Maharajadhiraja Sasanka of current Gupta year 300 (equivalent on Fleet's epoch to A.D. 619). How will Miss Gupta explain of a Maharajadhiraja Sasanka ruling in Northern India in A.D. 619 during the reign of Maharajadhiraja Harshavardhana who was the lord of the whole of Northern India as stated by Hiuen Tsiang and also by Chaulukya Pulakesi II in his inscription, unless she reverts to the statement of Hiuen Tsiang who says that the Bodhisatva among others advised Harsha 'Ascend not the lion throne, and call not yourself Maharaja.' I have shown that current G.E. 300 is equivalent to A.D. 242, and this inscription was recorded on the occasion of a solar eclipse. Now from the description of the river Salima which is compared to the Ganges it is evident that rivers attain this condition when the first monsoon sets in which occurred about that time towards the end of Ashadha. In A.D. 242 there occurred a solar eclipse visible from India on June 15 which fell in the last week of Ashadha. Whereas in A.D. 619 there was no eclipse till the end of Asvina. Miss Gupta is confident that Sasanka of the Ganjam plate must have been identical with Sasanka, the slayer of Rajyavardhana. But even an eminent historian like Dr. Bhandarkar could not have been so confident, for, says he 'probably identical with Sasanka, King of Karnasuvarna.' (Ep. Ind. App. List of Northern Inscr., p. 182 fn.).

It is admitted that the mode of reckoning the date by dividing the year into seasons, fortnights and days fell out of use in the third century A.D. The Ginja inscr. of Bhimasena of year 52, the Mathura inscr. of Sam. 57, the Bodh Gaya inscription of Trikamala of Sam. 64 and the inscription of Bhimasena of the years 130 and 139 are all dated in the above manner. These inscriptions are held

on palaeographic grounds to be dated in the Gupta era the epoch of which, Miss Gupta will see, must therefore be in the first century A.D. at the latest.

The characters of the Mathura pillar inscr. of Chandragupta II Vikramaditya dated Sam. 61 are practically identical with the early Kusana records. As the latest date proposed for the early Kusanas is the beginning of the 2nd century A.D. evidently Fleet's epoch is in error by at least 200 years.

The newly discovered Gokak plate of the Rashtrakuta King Dejjia Maharaja (Ep. Ind. Vol. XXI, p. 289) is dated when 845 year from the reckoning of the Gupta Kings (*ā-Guptāyikānām rājñām*) had expired. From palaeographic grounds this inscription belongs to about the 8th century A.D. These Gupta kings are stated to belong to the spiritual lineage of Jina Mahavira. We have already seen that Chandragupta I Vikramaditya was the follower of the Jaina Acharya Siddhasena. On Fleet's epoch of the Gupta era this inscription has to be placed in the 12th cent. A.D. which is impossible. If, however, the Gupta era is assumed to be identical with the Vikrama era then the date of the inscription falls in A.D. 787 which is quite plausible. The writer of the article has shown that even when referred to Maurya Chandragupta's accession the resulting date is somewhat too early. *ā-Guptāyikānām rājñām* evidently means in the reckoning of kings whose names end in 'Gupta'; an expression, similar to *Sree-samyutānām Guptānvayānām nṛpasattamānām rājye* of the Udaigiri cave inscription of Sam. 106 written by a follower of Jina. From these epigraphic records Miss Gupta will see that Fleet's epoch cannot be upheld.

As for the astronomical calculations, Miss Gupta's remarks 'unfortunately very little emphasis can be laid on astronomical calculations in as much as it appears that they can now be made to suit any and every epoch,' is really deplorable, proceeding from her ignorance of the science of astronomy. Miss Gupta should know that no number of Fleets, Pais or Shamasastrys can with their epochs verify the solar eclipses mentioned in the Kathiawad plate of Dharasena II of Valabhi dated Samvat 257 or the Morvi plate of Jainika dated in Gupta year 585 (not noticed by Miss Gupta the reason for which is not apparent). Palaeographically this Morvi grant of Jainika is earlier than the Dhiniki plate of Jaikadeva of Sourashtra issued from Bhumilika (or Bhumli) dated in Vikrama Sam. 794 which is about the time when the Jethnas made Bumli their capital, their ancient capital being Morvi.

Taking the Gupta era to be identical with the Vikrama era the interval between the two inscriptions is one of (794-585, or) 209 years which is quite justified on palaeographic grounds. Whereas on Fleet's epoch the date of the Morvi grant of Jainka is A.D. 905 which is later than the Bhumli grant by 905-738 or) 167 years, a clear impossibility on palaeographic grounds which shows that the Morvi grant must be earlier than the Dhiniki grant. It was for this reason that the Dhiniki grant was branded as spurious on Fleet's epoch. Other grounds for labelling this as spurious have been ably refuted by the late Dr. Bühler. Does not this show that Fleet's epoch of the Gupta era is in error by at least 200 years? Mr. Pai was unable to verify the solar eclipses mentioned in the Morvi and the Kathiawad plates with his epoch (A.D. 272-73) and searched for an epoch which would verify these eclipses and found the same to be A.D. 334-335 which was 62 or 65 years later than his epoch of the Gupta era and which he termed 'the renovated Gupta Valabhi era, the year of Dronasimha's installation.....' With Dr. Shamasastri's epoch none of the solar eclipses can be verified. The same is true of Fleet's epoch. Whereas with my epoch the eclipses are verified as accurately as possible. We wonder to read the information supplied by Miss Gupta 'What is more curious, though the Samvat year given in the heading is G.S. 257, we find it changed into 254 in the course of the article!' The underlying motive of these changes seems to uphold Fleet at any cost and the arguments advanced by Miss Gupta that (1) the date may have been wrongfully read, (2) the plates might have been spurious, (3) and a solar eclipse might after all have taken place in 573 A.D. are patent with other records also which may go against Fleet's hypothesis. It was thus that the first reading of 'Pushyamitrāmscha' was doubted, the date of the Koh plate of Samkshobha of the year 209 was first read as the 29th day of solar Chaitra, then as the 27th and then again as the astronomical difficulty with Fleet's epoch was not removed, Fleet remarked 'I think that the value of the second numerical symbol must be corrected once more and *no matter what may be suggested at first sight by the value of similar symbols elsewhere must be finally fixed at 8, i.e., the (civil) day 28.*' The scene of the Bhita medallion (of the 1st cent. B.C.) exclusive of the *Abhijnana Sakuntalam* of Kalidasa is explained away by some, anxious to uphold Fleet, on the ground that Kalidasa might have copied the scene from some earlier non-existing work of the 1st century B.C. Moreover, both the Morvi and the Kathiawad plates are missing. The dated portions only of several grants which might have gone to prove the correctness or otherwise of Fleet's epoch indubitably are found

disfigured beyond recognition. The reason for all this is not apparent.

There are such a vast number of varied evidence—Chinese, Buddhist, Jaina, Indian non-sectarian, Brahmanical and epigraphical which are in 'flagrant contradiction' of Fleet's theory that I earnestly request Miss Gupta to study these afresh with a mind open to conviction and she will soon see that the basis of my theory stands on 'quicksand' no doubt as stated by her but mixed with quick lime which she has overlooked and it requires only a few drops of water of mercy to cement the foundation of my theory and make it as strong as possible.

The Kadavarayas

By

PANDIT SOMASUNDARA DESIKAR,

THE appellative Kāḍava was first assumed by the Pallavas of Kāñchi. The origin of the word Kāḍava is shrouded in obscurity. The word itself means 'a man of the forest'. The Tamil Lexicon says that it is 'a title of the Pallavā kings' on the authority of the *Periyapurāṇam*, where it is stated that Aiyāḍigaḷ one of the 63 saints is said to be a Kāḍavarkōn. It seems to have become a common name of the Pallavās who were rulers of the forest region. After the overthrow of the Pallavās, the word Kāḍava seems to have been used as a title and was bestowed on generals by the reigning monarchs.

Kāḍavarāyan is listed as one of the titles of the Kaḷḷar community in the *Kaḷḷar charitram* written by Paṇḍit Venkataswāmī Nāṭṭār. As the Paḍaiyāchi community claim every title of the Kaḷḷars, the title Kāḍavarāyan has been borne by both the communities, who formed the major part of the soldiers of the Chola armies. After the disbandment of the military of the Cholas took place, both the clans, Kaḷḷars and Paḍaiyāchis settled all over the country of the Tamil land.¹ The Kāḍavarāyans of the 12th century found in the South Arcot District were the descendants of those that settled in the Chola times.

Mr. V. Vriddhagirisan, M.L.T.T., has contributed an article on the Kāḍavarāyas in the *Journal of Indian History*, No. 47. There he is at fault in thinking that 'the term Kāḍava might well refer to their being the inhabitants of the mountainous tracts lying in and out of the Eastern Ghats comprising the modern North and South Arcot districts where their inscriptions are found in large numbers'. And it is not correct to say that 'we have no epigraphical evidence on hand to trace the existence of the Kāḍavarāya before the time of Kulottunga III'. Nor 'is it difficult to identify the numerous Ālappirandāns and Araśanārāyaṇans found in the inscriptions'.² Nos. 74 of 1918 and 436 of 1921 contain a set of verses with certain

footnotes. They are very important in that they help to trace and elucidate the Kāḍavarāya clan. I give below the inscriptions in verse form.

ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ அரச நாராயணன் ஆனப்பிரந்தான் வீரசேகரான காடவராயன் கண்டராதித்தன் வாசலில் கல்லுவெட்டுவித்தபடி.

- (1) வரிவளை பொலம்பூண் படுத்த மங்கையர்
மயலுற³ மனந்தான் துடக்குகின்றன
மதிகதி ரிரண்டாங் கெனச்சி மந்தொளிர்
வயிரமு மிசைந்தாங் கிடமா டிசைந்தன⁴
பரிமள தளந்தான் சமைத்த குங்குமம்
பரிவொடு பசஞ்சாந் தெழக்க மழந்தன
பலிகொள விற்றாந் குயிக்க சிங்களர்
பரவையில் விழுந்தாங் கோடத்⁵ தொடர்ந்தன
கரிபரி புடன்சேர்ந் தெடுத்த கங்கர்கள்
கருவரை யிடந்தான் புகக்க டந்தன
கனலென வுத்தான் சுடத்தொ டங்கிய
கலிவலி பிலந்தான் புகக்க லந்தன⁶
அரிபெற விரந்தான் தடக்கை யொன்றினில்
அகவிட முகந்தான்⁷ புனற்சொ ரிந்தன
அரசரை கெடுஞ்சாயங் கிடக்கை கொண்டன⁸
அழகிய வளந்தான் திருப்பு யங்கனே.

[இது] வளந்தாரான காடவராயர் கவி.

- (2) அலங்குலவும் வயற்பெறுகை யாட்கொளி⁹ காடவர்கோன்
பலங்குலவும் மதயாளை பதிகளம் விடுகின்ற
னிலங்குமணி முடியரசர் யார்கொலோ யிணையடியில்
விலங்குலன் கலனென்ன¹⁰ வீதிதொறும் வருவாரே.

இது இவர் மகனார் ஆட்கொளியாரான காடவராயர் கவி.

- (3) பொருகாம னம்பு[பு] குந்தயிர்மே¹¹ லன்றிச்
செருகர் விடையாமஞ் செல்லா—தொருகாலும்
பாகாகா மாலியாளை¹² கண்டு பணிந்தாளை
மோகாகா வந்தி[பட]ர முன்.

இது இவர் மகனார் னாலுதிக்கும் வென்றான் ஏழிசைமோகன் காடவராயர் கவி.

- (4) துடக்கு மாரன் சொரிசரப் பாயன்மேற்
கிடக்கு மிவ்வுல கென்பதங் கேட்டுமே
வடக்கு மேருவுந் தெற்கு மலையமுங்
கடக்கு மாணியான் கச்சிய ராயனே.

S. R. பாலசுப்பிரமணிய ஐயர் கொண்ட பாடங்கள் கீழே கொடுக்கப்பட்டு
இன்றன. 3. மயலுற, 4. மிசைந்தாங்கிட்டுச்சிறந்தன, 5. விழுந்தாங்
கெடத் தொடர்ந்தன, 6. புகத் தூந்தன, 7. அகவிடமுகந்தான், 8. அவர்
தகை கெடுஞ்சாந் கிடக்கை கொண்டன, 9. ஆட்கொள்ளி, 10. விலங்கு
கலின் கலனென்ன, 11. துயர்மே, 12. பானக்கனலியாளை.

1. For a detailed study of this caste, please see *Castes and Tribes of Southern India* by Edgar Thurston, Vol. VI, 1-28.

2. The article contains many mis-statements and wrong conclusions as to be of no use to a student of History.

மும்மலை முன்பெறிந்தாய் பின்புமுடி னிரட்டர்
தெம்மலை வாதாவி சென்றெறிந்தாய்—மெய்ம்மைச்
செருவரசே(ய்)பின்னிச் சிலம்போ வெறிந்த
தொருவ(ை)ரசோ மேனா ஞடன்று.

இது இவர் தம்பியார் அரச நாராயணன் கச்சியராயன காடவராயர் கவி.

(5) இவர்களை சகரர்யாண்டு ஆயிரத்தொரு நூற்றெட்டினால் ஆடி மானத்
துப் பிற்பத்தில் கண்டராதித்தன் வாசலுக்கே மேற்கே புறப்பட்டுக் கற்கடமா
ராயன் கூடலும் அகியமானும் அழித்து வெற்றிக்கொடி யுயர்த்து அனுமனும்
பொறித்தான் ஆளப்பிறந்தான் வீரசேகரனான காடவராயன்.

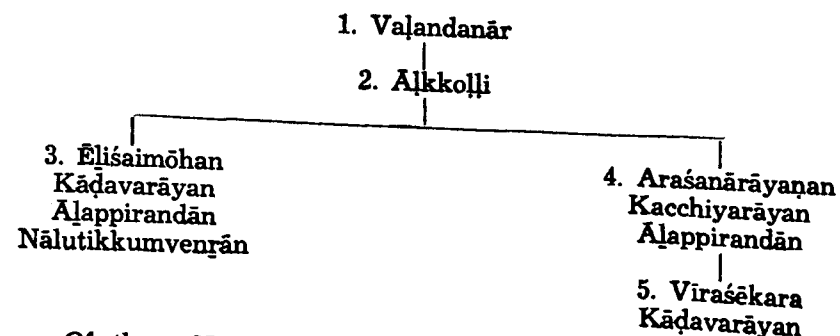
பாராள வல்ல பணைத்தோளளவு பகலவன்பொற்
தேரள வல்லின் செங்கோளளவு திகிரிச்செங்கை
காரள வல்ல பரவீர சேகர காடவரின்
போரள வல்லவன் வாம்பரி வேந்தர் புறத்தளவே.

தாரார் மணிப்புயற் தண்ணந் துழாய்மண நாமஞ்சந்தக்
காரார் திருநிறஞ் செய்யான் திருமண நாமங்கச்சி
ஆரார் திகிரிக்கை யாளப் பிறந்தார் கசஞ்சலற்குப்
பாராள வடமன்னர் பொன்முடி நாமும் பதாம்புயமே.

விடையள விட்ட கொடிவீர சேகர காடவரின்
நடையள விட்டது ஞாலங்க ளேழையும் வாழிநின்பேராம்
படையள விட்டது பத்துத் திசையும் பரியமுத்தக்
குடையாள விட்ட திருகடர் சூழண்ட கூடத்தையே.

ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ இக்கல் வெட்டழிப்பான் வல்லவரையன் சத்தியாம்.

From the above the following genealogy may be traced :—



Of these No. 5 Virasēkhara Kāḍavarāyan went westwards and defeated a Karkaṭamārāyan and Adigamān in śaka 1108—A.D. 1186. From this statement, it is certain that Virasēkhara lived during the early part of the reign of Kulottunga III. It follows, then, that his ancestors should have lived during the reigns of previous kings.

No. 4 in the list, Araśanārāyaṇa Kacchiyarāyan built the gopura of the temple at Tiruvenṇainallūr in the 3rd year of Kulottunga II (1136 A.D.)—Vide 477 of 1921. In the seventh year of the same

king he donates a *makaratōraṇam* and other jewels to the temple at Tirunāvalūr¹³—Vide No. 374 of 1902. In the twelfth year he settles the revenue of *Perumbāḍikāval*¹⁴ of certain villages to the temple of Tiruvadikai¹⁵ and incidentally states that this gift is made with the consent of his elder brother¹⁶ (Ēlīsai Mōhan Ālappirandān)—Vide 45 of 1903. These inscriptions contain the *prasasti* of Kulottunga II, and it cannot be doubted that Araśanārāyaṇan Kacchiyarāyan, father of Virasēkhara Kacchiyarāyan lived during the time of Kulottunga II.

His brother, and uncle of Virasēkhara, Ēlīsai Mōhan, number three in the list, donates the *Perumbāḍi-Kāval* fees to the temple at Tiruvadigal in the thirteenth year Kulottunga II, Vide 46 of 1903. He builds a *snapanā Mantapa* in the fifteenth year of the same King at Vṛddhāchalam. In the same year of Rājarāja II, he builds a varandah at the Elavānāśūr temple. In the same year he donates some lands to the Śrīmuṣṇam temple. In the 16th year he makes up the quarrel existing between him and his neighbouring chief Rājarāja Chēdiyarāyan on account of the intended marriage of his brother Ākāraśūran alias Rājarāja kōvalarāyan.¹⁷ It is certain, therefore, that he lived during the time of Kulottunga II and Rājarāja II.

The other two persons Nos. 1 and 2 may be held to have lived during the reigns of Kulottunga I and his son Vikrama Chola.¹⁸

13. Tirunāvalūr is now known as Tirunāmanallūr. But the correct name is Tirunāvalūr.

14. *Perumbāḍikāval* is a revenue term. Persons were appointed over certain areas to keep law and order. They were authorised by the king to levy a certain tax for the maintenance of their establishment. This tax is called *Perumbāḍikāval*.

15. Tiruvadikai. This place is called Tiruvadi in the *Cōḷās*, which may be mistaken for Tiruvayyāru, a sacred place 7 miles north of Tanjore, known also as Tiruvadi in all the Government records. This village, Tiruvadikai is in the South Arcot district on the banks of Gaḍilam and is known as Tiru Adhigai Viratṭānam in literature. I have adopted the name used in the literature and in currency in the district.

16. நான் செய்ததே என் தமையனுக்கும்.

17. M.E.R. 480 and 481 of 1921.

18. M.E.R. 352 of 1902, an incomplete inscription found on the south wall of the maṇṭapa in front of the Tiruvenṇainallūr temple records as follows : ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ : குலோத்தங்கசோழ தேவற்கு யாண்டு சயெ (42) ஆவது திருட் வலூர் திருத்தொண்டைசுர முடையாற்கு இவ்வூர் பாடிக்காவலுடையானான் வீரநாடன் வளத்தானான் . . . (incomplete).

It may be inferred from this record that Vaḷandanār of the genealogy is the person referred to here.

This family of Kāḍavarāyas come from Peruganūr nāḍu¹⁹ in Tirumunaippāḍi. They call themselves as Paḷlis. As far as we know the Paḷlis are Paḍaiyāchis or Vanniyās by caste as was stated above. The Tamil Lexicon gives the meaning as Vanniya caste : *Vanniya cāti* in Tamil. Another meaning is Kuṟumbar which is the equivalent of petty chiefs. We should not confuse the Pallava with the Paḷlis. The Pallavās are altogether different. Though they had become reduced in power, yet they were not completely merged with the masses.

In this connection, a perusal of the statement found in the *Chōlas*²⁰ will be of interest.

“Mōhan Alkkolli alias Kulottunga Chōla Kāḍavarāyan was a chieftain of Pallavā extraction who had charge of the policing of a small area near Tirumānikuḷi in the South Arcot district about 1136 A.D. In the course of the next few years, this Kāḍava chieftain attained a more important position and his inscriptions appear in different places like Tirunāmanallūr, Tiruvadi and Vriddhāchalam and in them he is given many names and titles expressive of his growing importance ; and his gifts and charitable work also become more ostentatious. In 1140, he presents gold ornaments and silver vessels to Tiruttonḍiśvara at Tirunāmanallūr and he bears the names Kūḍalūr paḷli Aḷappirandān Mōhan and Kulottunga Kacchiyarāyan. About the same time, he presented a jewel necklace to the deity of Tiruvadi. Five years later, he made over to the temple at Tiruvadi, the *perumbāḍikāval* on some lands and properties and he bears now the additional titles Paññāka Muttarayan Aḷappirandān Araśanārāyaṇan, and Kūḍalūr is stated to be situated in Peruganūr nāḍu in Tirumunaippāḍi. In 1146, he made over to the Tiruvadi temple some further taxes and dues from three devadana villages located in his beat, and on this occasion he styled himself Kūḍalūr Paññāka Muttarayan Aḷappirandān Mōhanāna Kulottunga Chōla Kāḍavarāyan. Lastly in 1148, he builds a mantapa called *Ēḷisaimōhan* for the *mahāśnapana* of the deity at Vriddhāchalam and in recording this act, he called himself *Ēḷisai Mōhan* alias Kulottunga Chōla Kāḍavarādittan.”

The learned professor is greatly mistaken in holding the brothers *Ēḷisaimōhan* and *Araśanārāyaṇan* are one and the same

19. Peruganūr nāḍu lies in the Tirukkoilur Taluk. Tiruvennainallūr, Vriddhāchalam and Tiruvadikai lie very near to Peruganūr which is now known as Periyarūr.

20. The *Cōlas*, ii. pp. 77, 78.

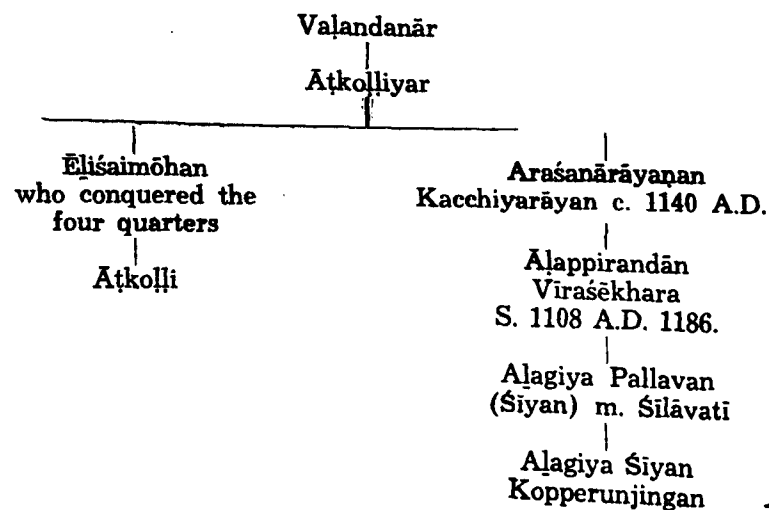
person. *Ēḷisaimōhan* has the title Kāḍavarāyan and whereas *Araśanārāyaṇan* always sticks to the title of Kacchiyarāyan. It is to be regretted that this fundamental difference has been lost sight of by the learned author. Their benefactions to the several temples have been separately detailed above. It is also doubtful whether the Tirumānikuḷi inscription No. 157 of 1902 referred to by him²¹ belongs to this family for the simple reason that it does not give more details about the donor. The endowment is made by one Mōhan Alkkolli alias Kulottunga Chōla Kāḍavarāyan. The learned professor will not, I am sure, dispute the fact that Alkkolli alias Kulottunga Chōla Kāḍavarāyan is the son of Mōhan. The Kāḍavarāyan referred to in the list—Paḷli Aḷappirandān *Ēḷisaimōhan* Kāḍavarāyan—is the son of Alkkolli and it is easily found that they are separate individuals. It may be argued that Alkkolli is No. 2 in the list, but it is stated in the two inscriptions that the father of Alkkolli is Valandanār and not Mōhan. Anyhow, his identification of Alkkolli with *Ēḷisaimōhan* becomes groundless. Professor Śastry reverts to the same subject again and says as follows²² :—

of “Let us now turn to the Kāḍavas. The role of the important line of feudatories in the history of the period has been briefly pointed out already. The inscriptions of the reign of Kulottunga III attest the increasing power of these chieftains who claimed descent from the ancient Pallavās. The central figure among the Kāḍavas of the reign, was Kūḍalūr Araśanārāyaṇan *Ēḷisaimōhan* alias Jagannātha Kacchiyarāyan. He was, as his name implies, the son of Araśanārāyaṇan who flourished in the reign of Kulottunga II and this fact is expressly mentioned in a record of A.D. 1184. There is an inscription found in two places, Vriddhāchalam and Tiruvennainallūr, which is a *prasasti* in Tamil verse, recounting the deeds of some members of the Kāḍava line. The chief last mentioned in this *prasasti* is called Aḷappirandān Virasēkharan alias Kāḍavarāyan and is described as the son of Araśanārāyaṇan Kacchiyarāyan alias Kāḍavarāyan. This fact together with the date of the *prasasti*, Śaka 1108 (A.D. 1186), leads us to identify him with *Ēḷisaimōhan*, the son of Araśanārāyaṇan. If this is correct he must have inherited

21. 157 of 1902 reads கல்வந்திழை திரிபுவன சக்கரவர்த்திகள் ஸ்ரீ குலோத்தங்க சோழ தேவற்கு யாண்டு முன்றாவது ; ராஜராஜ வளநாட்டு மேற்காநாட்டு உதவி திருமணிகுழியாலுடையாற்கு திருப்படி மாற்றுக்கும் திருவிளக்குக்கும் திருப்பணிகளுக்கும் மோகன் ஆழக்கோள்ளி ஆன குலோத்தங்க சோழ எடவராயனன் இத்தேவர்க்குவிட்ட பாடிக்காவல்.....

22. The *Cōlas*, ii. 159-164.

the title of Kacchiyarāyan from his father. Inscriptions mentioning Virasēkhara and giving him the titles Aḷappirandān Kāḍavarāya, etc., or mentioning his connection with Kūḍalūr occur also, as we shall see, in the later regnal years of Kulottunga III; this fact also tells in favour of the identity proposed above. The Kāḍava *praśasti* gives the genealogy of the line for four generations. After Virasēkhara, however, there is a break. The next name we come to is that of Kūḍal Aḷappirandān Aḷagiya Pallavan Kāḍavarāyan who figures in an inscription of the 33rd year of Kulottunga III. The inscription says that he confirmed the gifts made by his grandfather whose name is unfortunately not stated. Another inscription of the 35th year mentions that the mother of Kopperunjinga, the son of Aḷagiya Pallavan, set up an image of the goddess in the temple of Tiruveṇṇainallūr. The name of the lady is given as Śilāvati in other records. If we assume, what is most likely, that Aḷagiya Pallavan and his son is on the main line of Kāḍavas, and that it is this line that is represented in the *praśasti* mentioned above, then we may assume further that Aḷagiya Pallavan was the son of Virasēkhara and that the grandfather whose gifts he confirmed 1211 A.D. was no other than Araśanārāyaṇan of the time Kulottunga II. The genealogy of the main line of the Kāḍavās reached is as follows:



'We see, thus, that this family worked its way up more or less steadily from the days of Vikrama Chōla, if not from the latter part of Kulottunga I. And the Vriddhāchalam *praśasti* is extremely interesting from this point of view. It says that Valandanār fought against the Singalese and the Gangas and this well may be true as

his age would fall in the latter part of Kulottunga I's reign, when there was much fighting in the Ganga country, though there is no definite evidence of war against Ceylon or even the Pandya country at the time. The verses on the next two chiefs Aṭkolli and the conqueror of four quarters contain no detail of historical value. To Araśanārāyaṇan is attributed an expedition against the enemy stronghold Vādāvi, *nattar, tenmalai vadavi senreri* which is by no means easy to explain. His humbler and certainly less apocryphal achievements have been noted under Kulottunga II. There are 3 verses mostly of empty rhetoric, on Virasēkhara; the only fact mentioned of him is that he started from the western side of the *Gandarāditan Vāsal* on an expedition against Kūḍal of Karkāṭamārayan and the land of Adiyaman and that he devastated both the territories named. Evidently these are local conflicts among the feudatories of Kulottunga III. But the capture of Kūḍal appears to have marked a definite stage in the rise of the Kāḍavās who thereafter style themselves born to rule the land of Kūḍal—Kūḍal *avani yāḷappirandān*, Virasēkhara himself being the first to do so. Kūḍal or Kūḍalūr cannot be identified with certainty though we learn from an inscription that it formed part of Peruganūr nāḍu in Tirumunaippāḍi. At this point we may note the existence of another *praśasti*, which bears no date and relates to the wars and conquests of a certain Tonḍaimaṇḍalaṅgoṇḍa Pallavāṇḍar alias Kāḍavarāya the son of Kūḍal-āḷappirandār alias Kāḍavarāyar. It appears quite likely that this is a *praśasti* of Aḷagiya Pallavan, the father of Kopperunjinga, the events mentioned in the *praśasti* admirably fill the gap in the story of the rise of the Kāḍavās between Virasēkhara and Kopperunjinga. And if our view of this *praśasti* is right, Aḷagiya Pallavan must have also the name of Pallavāṇḍar and must have carried forward the work of aggrandisement begun by Virasēkhara and thus paved the way for the greater achievements of his son on a wider stage. The *praśasti* of Pallavāṇḍar states that he gained success in a hard fought battle at Sēvūr, the enemy against whom he fought is not specified, but the result of the battle seems to have been his mastery over Tonḍaināḍu. This is implied by the titles, 'ruler of the land of Penṇār', 'ruler of the northern Vēṇḍaṇ hill, Tirupati', 'the Pallava of Kāñchī' applied to him later in the same *praśasti*.

'We may now consider the other references to the Kāḍavas in the inscriptions of the reign. Virasēkhara Kāḍava, also called Araśanārāyaṇan Aḷappirandān, presented a necklace (*Ēkāvalli vaḍam*) of precious stones to the deity at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai in the 13th year of Kulottunga (A.D. 1191); 12 years later, he bears the

title of Adigamān of Kūḍalūr, evidently assumed after his expedition against Kūḍalūr and Adigamān mentioned before and endows a lamp at Tiruveṇṇainallūr. Two inscriptions of the 3rd year (A.D. 1181) from the same place mention Kūḍal Mōhan Aḷappirandān and Uḍayār Kāḍavarāyan, perhaps names of one and the same person; one of his *agambaḍi mudali* is said to come from Śēdamangalam, the fortress city which held an important place under the Kāḍavās; there is thus clear indication that Kūḍal and Śēdamangalam were already in the possession of the Kāḍavās. *Whether Mōhan Aḷappirandān or Uḍayār Kāḍavarāya is the same as Virasēkhara, and whether, if it be so, we must assume that the expedition against Kūḍal and Adigamān had taken place before A.D. 1181 are questions which cannot yet be solved with certainty. Another detail equally uncertain, relates to the identity of Kūḍal Eḷisaimōhan Maṇavāḷapperumāl Vānilaikandān Rājarāja Kāḍavarāyan mentioned in two inscriptions from Tiruveṇṇainallūr and Vriddhāchalam.* (The italics of sentences are mine.)

I have quoted the learned professor in *extenso*, so that the reader may understand the position clearly. Though the above contain many assumptions, it may be summed up as follows:

1. That Virasēkhara Kāḍavarāyan was also known as Jananātha Kacchiyarāyan and had also the other title Adigamān;
2. 'Further, Aḷagiya Pallavan was the son of Virasēkhara and that the grandfather whose gifts he confirmed in A.D. 1211 was no other than Araśanārāyaṇan of the time of Kulottunga II.'

Now let us examine these statements. We know definitely that Virasēkhara was the son of Araśanārāyaṇan and went to fight against Karkaṭa Mārāyan and Adigamān in 1186. This was the 8th year of Kulottunga III. In the 9th year of the same king, he—Virasēkhara—confirms a donation to the Jaina Paḷḷi at Tirinaṇṇur made by his father²³ 'aiyyan iṭṭapaḍiyē chandrādittavaḥ selvadāka viṭṭēn. In the 13th year—A.D. 1191—he presents a jewel ēkāvallivadam to the Tiruvaṇṇāmalai temple.²⁴ These we hear of him from the inscriptions. In all these he is known as Virasēkhara Kāḍavarāyan, and by nothing else. But it is quite true that Jananātha Kacchiyarāyan is the son of Araśanārāyaṇan.²⁵ In the 3rd year of Kulottunga III—A.D. 1181—he gives 32 cows for a lamp to

23. M.E.R. 381 of 1902.

24. *Ibid.* 531 of 1902.

25. *Ibid.* 413 of 1909.

the temple at Tirumāṇikuḷi.²⁶ In the 5th year—A.D. 1183—he makes over some taxes to the temple at Elavānāsūr.²⁷ In the 6th year record—A.D. 1184—his name is mentioned as the son of Kūḍalūr Aḷappirandān Araśanārāyaṇan.²⁸ Thus these records are clear in stating that he is known as Jananātha Kacchiyarāyan. Then, there is nothing to suppose that this man and Virasēkhara are one and the same person. But, on the other hand, we may take it as certain, that they are brothers and sons of the same father.

As to the statement that Virasēkhara assumed the title of Adigamān, inscription No. 312 of 1902, on which this statement is based, says that a Virasēkhara alias Adigamān of Vēsāḷippāḍi nāḍu set up a lamp at Tiruveṇṇainallūr. We must not confound Virasēkhara Kāḍavarāyan of Peruganūr nāḍu with the man of Vēsāḷippāḍi nāḍu.

As to the second point that Aḷagiya Pallavan is the son of Virasēkhara, it is based on mere assumption. The inscription relating to this, reads as follows:—'. . . Sri²⁹ Tiribuvanadēvarkku Yāṇḍu 33-vadu Munnūrāna Rājanārāyaṇa-chaturvēdimangalattu Aḍavalla nāyanār dēvadānangai pāṭṭan kalvēṭṭi viṭṭuvandapaḍiyē viṭṭēn Kūḍal Aḷappirandān Aḷagiya Pallavanāna Kāḍavarāyanēn.' When translated it will read 'Kūḍal Aḷappirandān Aḷagiya Pallavan alias Kāḍavarāyan confirmed the donations already made by his grandfather'. If his grandfather be Araśanārāyaṇan, he should have made some donations to the temple at Munnūr. As far as the available inscriptions go, there is no record of Araśanārāyaṇan, in Munnūr. On the other hand, inscription No. 62 of 1919 from Munnūr 'records the confirmation by Aḷagiya Pallavan Virarāyan alias Kacchiyarāyan of gifts made by Aiyadevar for worship and repairs to the Munnūr temple in the 3rd year of Kopperunṅinga'. From these records, it seems, that a person of the Pallava family had made donations to the Munnūr temple. In the absence of any specific record of Araśanārāyaṇan we cannot assume that Aḷagiya Pallavan is the son of Virasēkhara, much less the grandson of Araśanārāyaṇan.

Mr. S. R. Balasubramania Aiyar of Chidambaram goes a step further. In his thesis on Kopperunṅinga—a Śaṅkara-Pārvathi prize essay—he holds that Pallavāṇḍār was the son of Kūḍal Aḷap-

26. M.E.R. 165 of 1902.

27. *Ibid.* 157 of 1906.

28. M.E.R. 413 of 1909.

29. *Ibid.* 63 of 1919.

pirandān Araśanārāyaṇan, on the authority of the Atti and Morzjonai inscriptional verses. The preamble to the Atti verses (296 of 1912) says that this is the inscription of Pallavāṇḍār alias Kāḍavarāyar, who took Tonḍaimaṇḍalam, son of Kūḍal Aḷappirandān alias Kāḍavarāyar'. கூடல் ஆளப்பிறந்தான காடவராயர் மகனார் தொண்டைமண்டலங்கொண்ட பல்லவாண்டாரான காடவராயர் கல்வெட்டு. The Morijonai preamble says that this is the donation of Pallavāṇḍār alias Virarviran Kāḍavarāyan who took Tonḍaimaṇḍalam, son of of Kūḍal Aḷappirandār. கூடல் ஆளப்பிறந்தார் மகனார் தொண்டைமண்டலங்கொண்ட பல்லவாண்டாரான வீரர் வீரன் காடவராயன் தானம். It is unnecessary to say that these preambles are not sufficient to connect Kopperunjinga with the Kāḍavarāyas of Peruganūr nāḍu. Nor is there any material in the verses themselves to support this connection.

It thus becomes clear that the Kāḍavarāyas of the South Arcot district held only subordinate positions from the time of Kulottunga I to Kulottunga III, and there is not sufficient evidence to connect them with the Pallava Kopperunjinga.

Sultan Bahlul Lodi—The Place of His Death and Duration of His Reign*

By

ABDUL HALIM, M.A.

Lecturer in History, Muslim University, Aligarh

BAHLUL Lōdī's last military campaign was directed against Rāja Mān (Mān Singh) of Gwālīor, hitherto a vassal of Sūltān Hossain Sharqī. The Rāja offered submission and appeased the Sūltān's wrath by making a present of 80 lacs of tankas. The Sūltān then turned towards Delhi. On the way at Etāwah he dismissed the governor the Chauhān Rāja Sakat Singh or Sakit Singh son of Rai Dāndu,¹ probably for his intrigues with Hossain Shāh Sharqī. Military campaigns undertaken so frequently, affected his frame already worn out with the burdens of age. The heat of the season which probably did not abate even during the early part of July indisposed him.² He halted near a place under the jurisdiction of Sakit Pargana³ called Badāuli according to Badaūnī's Mūntakhabūt Tawārikh A. S. B. Text V. I and Ferishta Muslim University Ms.; Talāuli Nizāmuddīn's Tabqāt-i-Akbarī A.S.B. Text Vol. I; Madauli Abdul Baqī's Maāsiri Rahimī A.S.B.T. p. 450; Tilāwarī according to one M. U.Ms. of Sūjjān Rāi's Khulāsāt and Gholām Hossain's Seirūl Mutākherin; Bilāuli according to three other M.

* Read at the Sultania Historical Association, M.U., Aligarh.

1. Ni'amatūllah's Makhzan-i-Afghāni, M.U. Ms. Rai Dād.

2. Ni'amatūllah's Makhzan-i-Afghāni, M.U. Ms. p. 90. Bajiht-i tughlān-i ḥarārat-i garmī dar rāh cimār shud.

Sūjjān Rāi's Khulāsātūt Tawārikh is vague in merely stating that he died due to advanced age. ba-marg-i ṭab'ī.

3. Sakit or Sukeet Town 27°27' N. 78°50' E. Etah Dist. U.P., lies 10 miles S.E. of Etah. Contains one mosque of the time of Balban, another of Sher Shah.

N.W.P. Dist. Gaz. XII, p. 213-214.

Pargana Etah—Sakit occupies the south-east portion of the head-quarters Tahsil and is bounded on the south-east and south by the Mainpuri District; on the west by the Pargana Mārehra; on the north by the Kālinadi which separates it from Tahsil Kāsganj and on the east by Pargana Souhar. The Pargana represents the old Akbari Pargana of Sakit.—N.W.P. Dist. Gaz. v. XII, p. 168-70.

U. Ms. of Sūjjān Rāi's Khulāsat; Bhādāuli Ferishta Lucknow Text; according to Abdullah's Tarikh-i-Dāudi Bankipore Ms., in the vicinity of the township of Jalālī,⁴ while according to Sūjjān Rāi's Khulāsat edited by K. B. Zafar Hassan in Nilāuti, i.e., in the town of Jalālī itself,⁵ and ultimately succumbed to his illness.

All historians are however agreed on this point that the place whatever it was, was under the jurisdiction of, or near the township of Sakī. To avoid a direct commitment of the place-name modern historians have preferred the vague statement that he died near Sakī, or in the neighbourhood of Jalālī.

He could not have died at Jalālī, for the very obvious reason that all historians mention that his dead body was conveyed to Jalālī, where the enthronement of his son Sikandar Lōdi took place on Friday the 17th Sha'bān 894 (the 16th July 1489).⁶ If the two events had taken place at one and the same spot there was no justification for the historians to associate a different place with the death of the Sultān Bahlūl and correctly write the name of Jalālī as the scene of Sikandar Lōdi's enthronement. The events between Bahlūl Lōdi's death and Sikandar Lōdi's enthronement clearly illustrate, that these two events took place in two different places. According to Nizāmuddīn and Ferishta when Bahlūl fell ill near the town of Sakī, he ordered for encampment near a village which has been variously mentioned as noted above. Some nobles wanted to alter the bequest of the Sultān by which prince Nizām Khān had been made the heir-designate. The nobles however were by no means unanimous as to the choice of a successor. Some supported Barbak Shāh, the eldest son of Bahlūl through Shams Khatūn, hitherto the King of Jaunpur (after its conquest by Bahlūl in 893.H.); others were in favour of Prince A'zam Hūmayūn S/O Prince Bāyezīd S/O Sultān Bahlūl. (Prince Bāyezīd having been put to death by a servant according to Ferishta during the life time of his father), while a group wanted

4. Jalālji sit. 27°52'N. 28°15'E. in Aligarh Dist. U.P. at a distance of 13 miles east from Aligarh. Founded by Jalāluddīn Khilji during the reign of Ghiāsuddīn Balban cf. Juma Masjid inscription dated 1267 A.D. N.W.P. Gaz. Vol. VI, p. 261-63.

5. Nilāuti is the pre-Moslem name of Jalālī vide N.W.P. Dist. Gaz. Vol. VI, p. 161.

6. Nizāmuddīn Tab. A.S.B. I 314 p.; Ferishta M.U. Ms.; *Makhzan-i-Afghāni* M.U. Ms. p. 91; Abdullah Tarikhi Dāudi Bankipore Ms. p. 68.

the throne for Prince Nizām Khān on whom was bestowed, Delhi, the Punjab and portions of the Doab by his father.⁷ Omar Khān Sherwāni who was deputising for the Sultān during his last illness was a secret supporter of Prince Nizām Khān. To avoid a contest for the throne which might go in favour of Prince Nizām Khān the nobles hostile to him conspired to imprison the prince by summoning him to the camp through an order of the ailing monarch. Bibi Zeban commonly called Bibi Sonāri⁸ sent secret instructions to the prince and warned him of the consequences of his coming to the Sultan. He tarried behind, procrastinated and put forth excuses. The nobles hostile to him painted this as disobedience on the part of the prince of the royal orders. A peremptory summons followed in the king's name threatening the prince that the Sultan was himself coming to Delhi as an alternative of the prince's not coming to him (the Sultān). The prince not knowing what to do sought advice from Qutlagh Khan the Wazir of Hossain Shāh, "the best learned man of the time" who was living as a prisoner in Delhi ever since his capture by Bahlūl (following a treacherous attack by Bahlūl on Hossain Sharqi after terms had been concluded). The 'ulemas' too elastic in matters of advice and 'fatwa' to princes, advised the prince to proclaim a false march by beating of drums and pretending to make preparations for it and gain time in that way. When the Sultān expired a meeting of the nobles was held the next day in which heated discussions took place.⁹ Bibi Sonāri mother of prince Nizām Khān who was a Hindu goldsmith's daughter and happened to accompany the Sultan in his fatal campaign addressed the nobles from behind the veil, inculcating the virtues of her son who she assured would behave well with them. The meeting however ended in tumult.¹⁰ Isa Khān Lōdi, a cousin of the deceased Sultān ridiculed the idea of the son of a goldsmith's daughter ascending the throne to the exclusion of Barbak Shāh who possessed nobility of blood,

7. Ferishta M.U. Ms.; Sūjjān Rāi Khulāsat; Subhi Sādiq by Mohd. Sādiq, Vol. IV, p. 1700. Bankipore Ms.

Mujmali Hindi by Mir Hoshin. Habibganj Ms. (private Library of Nawāb Sadr Yār Jung, Habibūr-Rahmān Khān Sherwāni who is a descendant of Omar Khān Sherwāni and a prominent Reis of the Aligarh District, U.P.)

8. Bibi Pannā according to Ferishta M.U. Ms.; Zeban Abdullah's Tarikhi Dāudi; and Ferishta, Lucknow.

Bibi Sonāri Mir'ati Aftāb Numā by Shāh-Nawāz Khān. M.U. Ms. and Beale's Miftāhūt-Tawārikh.

9. Ferishta; Sūjjān Rāi Khulāsat; Mujmali Hindi Habibganj Ms.

10. The same sources.

whereupon, Khān Khānān an active supporter of Prince Nizām Khān rebuked Isa Khān for his discourtesy to the wife of the Sultān only a day after his decease. Isa Khān retorted to Khān Khānān not to meddle in the affairs of his kith and kin. This enraged Khān Khānān and he suddenly took an oath of allegiance to Prince Nizām Khān and began a move towards Delhi with the bier of the Sultan.¹¹ The news of the Sultān's death was conveyed to Delhi through a courier. Nizām Khān hastened towards the camp and joined the party still on the way and encamped at Jalālī.¹² He sent his father's dead body to Delhi and crowned himself the next day on an elevated ground near Jalālī where the Palace of Firoz Shah Tughlak was situated on the bank of the Kali Nadi and took the title of Sultan Sikandar.¹³

These facts conclusively prove that Bahlūl Lōdī did not die at Jalālī. His dead body was conveyed to that place, and Sultān Sikandar's enthronement took place there. It is also beyond dispute that the Sultan died at a place near Sakit (which is about 35 miles from Jalālī). Of all places in the present Etah District having a similar sound Barauli¹⁴ (Pargana Sonhar Etah Tehsil; Pharauli (Sonhar Pargana, Kasganj Tehsil) Dharauli (Azamganj Parg., Aliganj Tehsil), Karauli (Azamganj Parg., Aliganj Tehsil), Nardauli (Nidpur Parg., Aliganj Tehsil); Kisrauli (Pachlana Parg., Aliganj Tehsil), Nidhauli (Etah Prag) none corresponds to the names in dispute except Badauli of Badāūni (Muntakhabūt Tawārīkh) and Ferishta M.U.Ms. Badauli cannot be identified with Barauli though it is quite likely considering the distance between Milauli and Barauli. In the Ms. of *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* one of the finest and oldest manuscript in the possession of the Muslim University¹⁵ f. 103 and the Ms. of Niamatullah's *Makhzan-i-Afghan* M.U.Ms. and *Tarikhi Khan Jahan Lodi*, his death took place in the vicinity of Milauli written in every clear

11. Ferishta; Sujjan Rai Khulasat, Mujmili Hindi.

12. Ferishta says that the prince was summoned after the party had reached Jalālī. A reading of *Tabaqat* implies that the prince halted at Jalālī with his father's dead body. cf. *Tabaqat A.S.B.T.* I. p. 314.

Nizām Khān . . . sara't-i sayr az bād isti'āra karda dar qasba-i Jalālī khud rā ba-tābūt-i Sultān rasānid, wa na'sh-i pedar rā ba-Dehli farastāda ba-ittifāq-i Khān Jahān wa Khān Khānān Faramli wa sā'ir umarā'-i pedar dar ruz-i jum'a hafdahum sha'bān sanh Arba' wa tis'in wa samanumāyat . . . bar sarir-i saltānat julūs namūda mukhātib ba-Sultān Sikandar jasht.

13. Nizāmuddīn, Ferishta, Niamatullah, Badāuni and all the rest.

14. N.W.P. Gaz. Agra, Division B, Vol. 1914. Appendix XXVI.

15. Copied in 1003 H in 1594 A.D. by Abdul Hai Quraishy.

hands.¹⁶ There is a Village named Mindauli in Mainpuri District U.P. about 10 miles south east of Sakit (Cf. map attached to the N.W.P. Dist. Gaz. Vol. X). This may correspond to Madauli of Abdul Bāqī's *Maāsiri Rahimi*. Apart from the reliability of edited texts regarding proper nouns, the *Maāsir* is a later work than Nizāmuddīn's *Tabaqāt*. In many places (cf p. 484 A.S. B text) *Maāsir*'s author cites the authority of Nizāmuddīn. In my opinion the name Madauli is due to the mistake of the scribe in reading "Milauli." This is evident from the fact that not a single other historian has mentioned Madauli.

It is not by majority voting that I accept the village Milauli as the scene of the Sultan's death. In the map attached to the N.W.P. District Gazetteer Vol. XII on Etah the village Milauli is shown almost midway between the modern Etah town and Sidpūra a little towards the north, situated on the road which leads from Etah to Patiali in Aliganj Tehsil. It is at a distance of about 15 miles from Sakit via Etah, and considerably less than that if a straight course be followed which the Sultan probably did. It is mentioned in connection with the township of Sakit because it was the only town in the vicinity then famous.¹⁷ It is quite likely that a military road passing through the vicinity of Milauli connected the eastern portions of the Empire with Delhi. Bilauli. Tilauli, Nilauti, Tilawari or whatever they are, are but the misspelling of the word Milauli. Bilauli in the three Mss. of Sūjjān Rāi's *Khulāsāt*, Tilauli in *Tabaqāt A.S.B.I.* and Madauli in *Maasiri Rahimi* are clear proofs of the Mim being converted into Ba or Ta and the lam into dal. It appears in various forms due to the mistake of the copyist or ignorance of the historians

16. *Tabaqāt* M.U. Ms. p. 57.

Makhzan M.U. Ms. p. 90 and *Tarikhi Khan Jahan Lodi*

Elāwa rā az Sakat Singh pesar-i rāi Dāndu taghayur dāda murāji'at namūda dar aṣnā-i rāh timār shuda nazdik-i mauza'-i Malāwali az qasba-i Sakit dar sanh arba' wa tas'een wa samā numayat az tang nā-i fāni ba-farākh nā-i 'alam-i jāwedāni intiqāl namūda dā'i-i ḥaq labbaik namūd.

The M.U. Ms. of *Tarikhi Khān Jahān Lōdī* No. 137/3 is incomplete. Some pages are missing. From p. 72 there is a sudden jump from the story of Bahlul to that of Sikandar though there is nothing wrong in the marking of the pages. Elliot's reference of T. K. J. L. Vol. V. p. 91 of 'Malawi' (Jalālī in foot note) is evidently a mistake for Milauli, perhaps the copyist failed to notice the raised head of the last √ (lām).

17. Etāh with a population of 8796 souls (1901) is the only municipality in and the headquarters of the District since 1856. Etāh is only an overgrown village opened out by metalled roads and deriving its importance from the fact that it is the headquarter of the District cf. N.W.P. Dist Gaz. Vol. XII, p. 168-70

The Beginnings of European Influence in Rajput Art

By

DR. H. GOETZ PH.D.

RAJPUTANA is one of those parts of India which for a remarkably long time have withstood the intrusion of Western civilisation coming in the wake of British rule. The more it is surprising that at least half of the houses in the main streets of Jaipur are painted with European wall-decorations in a style belonging to a time when none of the Rajput states had yet signed a treaty of alliance with the Company. Similar wall decorations are, however, to be found on many buildings of the city palace erected or renovated during the reign of Maharaja Sawai Pratap Singh (A.D. 1779-1803), and also the just mentioned houses are locally attributed to the same period. These decorations represent not only round windows, columns, arches, but also flower-vases and amorettes as they were the fashion especially in France during the second half of the 18th century; often these motifs have, no doubt, been misunderstood and adapted to very old Indian traditions, e.g., the flower creepers are —emanating from the mouths of those little gods of love, like from those of the *yakshas* on the railings of Bharhut, Bodhgaya, etc. In a street of Sanganer, not far from the Tripolia gate, there stands a house (Illustration) of typically Rajput outlay, and with the characteristic miniature windows everywhere to be found in this part of India. But its stucco decoration is quite unique in Rajputana; an elegant facade of late Roman pilasters, small epitaphs surmounted by oval lunettes and heavy festoons, i.e., the fashion of the decades preceding the French revolution, the so-called Louis XVI style.

In India this style is most conspicuous in the early European architecture of Lucknow, from the Martiniere to the Sikandar Bagh (as a return to the earliest forms of Lucknow art is obvious in the buildings of Wajid Ali Shah), the work of the French refugees who fled before the emissaries of the Jacobins and a Napoleon, or before the troops of the British Company, and took service with the princes of Hindostan. So far as we know, none of these French refugees, however, has been in the service of Jaipur, except Count Benoit de Boigne who in 1784 was commissioned by Sawai Pratap Singh to raise a couple of sepoy battalions, but was soon after-



HOUSE WITH EUROPEAN DECORATION :
18TH. CENTURY—SANGANER.

themselves most of whom are merely copyists of the sources so that once a wrong name had been inserted the historians copying it fell into an unending chain of errors, and variations began to multiply.

DATE

Badāuni, Nizāmuddīn, Ferishta, Nia'matullah, and Bakhtawar Khan (Mira'ti A'lam Bankipore Ms.) ascribe to Bahlul an octonery reign of 38 years, 8 months and 8 days. Sūjjān Rai in two Mss. the the edited Text puts his reign to a total of 38 years, 8 months and 7 days, but in two other Mss. 38 years, 8 months and 8 days. Mirza Mohammad the author of Jinnatūl Firdaūs (Bankipore Ms.) in his chronological Table puts his regin to 39 years but curiously enough puts his date of accession to 855 H. and the year of his death to 893 H. According to the estimate of Jinnatūl Firdaūs his reign comes to a total of 38 years by lunar calculation. It cannot be authentic because the author does neither put the date of his enthronement or death in months.

Unfortunately no historian has mentioned the actual date Bahlul's death. Now taking it for granted that since Sikandar's succession was a disputed one, many days did not elapse between the date of Bahlul's death and Sikandar's accession. All historians are agreed on the point that Sikandar's accession took place on the 17th of Sha'bān i.e., July 16, 1489. It was a hasty enthronement, a race against time. The luxury of a pompous and leisurely enthronement at Delhi had to be dispensed with. It is very likely that Bahlul died on the 13th Sha'bān 894 (July 12, 1489). On the 14th a move towards Delhi was begun and on the 16th Jalālī¹⁸ was reached and the Sultan's dead body was sent to Delhi for burial and on the 17th Sikandar's enthronement took place.¹⁹ Counting back 38 years, 8 months and 8 days by lunar calculation from the 13th Sha'bān 894 his enthronement must have taken place early in Zilhaj 855 H. 1451. This date²⁰ (in month) appears to be improbable because Bahlul spent sometime in corresponding with Sultān Alauddīn at Badaōn pretending to be his deputy in Delhi; and, receiving a favourable reply and stabilising his position by the conquest of the territories round about Delhi,²¹ and marching

18. A distance of about 35 miles.

19. The historians are unanimous on two points:—(1) that a move towards Delhi was began a day after Bahlul's death and (2) that Sikandar Lodi's enthronement took place a day after Jalālī was reached.

20. There is no dispute as to year 855 cf., Bahlul's coin of 855 Wright H. N. the Sultans of Delhi—their coinage and metrology, p. 247.

21. Makhzan-i-Afghāni, p. 80.

against Sheikh Yusuf King of Multān. All these incidents cannot be crowded in a space of 24 or 25 days of Zilhaj 855.

Against it Abdūllah and Ni'amatullah the two Pathān historians and Nizāmuddīn put Bahlul's date of enthronement (after the overthrow of Hamid Khān the *de facto* ruler of Delhi) to Rabi I 17, 855, i.e., April 19, 1451. Counting ahead 38 years, 8 months and 8 days, the date of his death falls on the 24th or 25th Ziqadh 893. It is also impossible for we have a number of Bahlul's coins bearing the date 894.²²

By lunar calculation Bahlul can by no means have reigned 38 years, 8 months and 8 days. Taking the 17th of Rabi I 855 (Ap. 19, 1451) as the date of his accession and the 13th Sha'bān (July 12, 1489) as the date of his death his total reign should be 39 years 4 months and 26 days (lunar calculation) and 38 years 2 months and 24 days by solar calculation. The complexity of the problem does not end here. Indian historians²³ of the Moghul Period ascribe to Sikandar Lōdi a total reign of 28 years and 5 months and yet they put the date of his accession to Sha'bān 17, 894 H. and the date of his death to Ziqadh 7, 923 H. According to lunar calculation he reigns full 29 years and 2 months and 20 days an easy calculation in which no historian could err. In the case of Ibrāhīm Lōdi again who ascended the throne on the 8th Ziqadh 923 and received martyrdom at Panipath on the 8th Rajab 932 H, Ni'amatullah puts his reign to a total of 8 years, 8 months and 16 days; Nizāmuddīn A.S.B.T. and M.U. Ms, 7 years and a few months; Badāuni 7 years, Ferish 8 years.²⁴ In the face of this baffling method of calculating dates it is hazardous to attempt a generalisation. Either the medieval Indian Historian did not care to be accurate in counting dates in years and months, or they sometimes gave the total indifferently according to lunar or solar calculation, preferring at the same time to put events in Hijra years and months. The attribution of an octonery reign to Bahlul, is in my opinion, due to oriental taste for poetry and symmetry.

22. Wright, p. 245 and 249; Cf. Chronogram given by almost all historians.

Ba-hasht šad wa nawad wa char raft az 'Alam.
Khediw-i mulk-sitān-i Jahān-kushā-i-Bahlul.

hasht-šad wa nawad wa hasht

Quoted in all the Mss. and Edited Text of Sūjjān Rai's Khulāsat is apparently a mistake.

23. Ferishta, Nizāmuddīn, Badāuni, Ni'amatullah and all the rest.

24. Twenty years in Lucknow Text of Ferishta p. 191 is obviously a mistake of the copyist who put Bist sāl instead of hasht sāl.

wards recalled by the opposition party against Warren Hastings at Calcutta. De Boigne as well as his successor in the command of the Sindhia army, Perron, remained, however, in personal contact with Jaipur. As general of Mahadji Sindhia, de Boigne fought the battles of Patan and Merta against the Rajputs A.D. 1790, and after the battle of Lakhairi A.D. 1793 marched before the walls of Jaipur in order to exact the tribute promised by Sawai Pratap Singh. After the battle of Malpura A.D. 1800 when the whole Kachhwaha camp had fallen into the hands of the Marathas, Sawai Pratap Singh invited Perron and sixteen other European officers to Jaipur and installed them in the Hawa Mahal. Colonel Skinner has left us a graphic description of the festivals celebrated in their honour, including banquets with the best country liquors, elephant, bullock and tiger fights, and many nautch parties. In the winter of the same year, during the troubles of the Bhais' War, Perron came for several months again to Jaipur in order to attend the marriage of the Maharaja.

Few as these contacts of the Jaipur court with the French military adventurers have been, they must account for the European tendencies in the contemporary art of Jaipur. For Jaipur has since its rise always been the Paris of Rajputana, the centre where all new foreign fashions first found favour. Mirza Raja Jai Singh I had introduced the classical Mughal art of Jahangir and Shahjahan, Sawai Jai Singh II the style prevalent under Aurangzeb, Sawai Madho Singh the fashions of the frivolous court of Muhammad Shah. In spite of all the political disasters, the Jaipur of Sawai Pratap Singh, too, was a rich and elegant city, and in its art a spirit of innovation and experiments is evident. His additions to the Hawa Mahal show a splendid flamboyant decoration comparable to that of Asaf-ud-Daula's Great Imambara at Lucknow, in a number of miniatures of his time another intrusion of the late Mughal style of early Lucknow is indubitable, side by side with the most splendid perfection of the classical Rajput art tradition. But also the exceptionally large size of many of these latter paintings, else never to be found in Rajput art, raises the question whether this was not due to the accounts of life size European oil painting which the Maharaja may have heard from his French visitors. What wonder that the architectural fashions of the West could get a foothold in this city always so anxious for innovations, several decades before they appear at the court of Sindhia who employed all these foreign soldiers (the earliest palace at Gwalior with some European features is the Kampoo Kothi erected by Jayaji Rao c. 1830). And they had to come from

French art, not only because those leading foreign adventurers were Frenchmen, but also because those Frenchmen in their exile looked for Lucknow as the next cultural centre of their own; especially Count de Boigne was an intimate friend and commercial associate of General Claude Martine who actually had introduced the Louis XVI style and built the Martiniers and the Farhat Bakhsh Palace at Lucknow. It is a testimony to the strength of Rajput art that these foreign elements did not disintegrate it, but only contributed to the wealth of the Jaipur style.

The Historical Material in the Private Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai

Part XIX : From October 1759 to September 1760.

BY

RAO SAHIB C. S. SRINIVASACHARI, M.A.,
Annamalai University

(Continued from page 245, Volume XVII, Part 2)

I. INTENSIFIED DEPRESSION AT PONDICHERRY

THE contributions levied from the Tamil castes of Pondicherry did not amount, after all, to much. On September 16th, the fleet of Admiral D'Ache was sighted off the Pondicherry roads, along with a Dutch ship he had taken. It had encountered the English fleet off Nagore and Karikal; and in the engagement the masts and hulls of two of the English ships were damaged; but just when they were about to surrender, a frigate came to their help and a hard north wind also set in. The smoke from the English cannon enveloped the French ships, of which two or three were damaged and had their masts injured. The Diarist wrote that two of the disabled English ships were burnt and that the people from Karikal, Tranquebar and other places said they saw the light of the burning ships. This was, however, a mere rumour and not true.

The French fleet landed 1,000 soldiers and 1,000 coffres and silver which, when minted, was expected to yield about 160,000 rupees. D'Ache and Lally quarrelled quickly enough; and De Leyrit and Bussy were summoned to patch up the difference. But D'Ache would not even see them at first and merely replied, in an inexplicable fit of petulance; "what is it to you whether I go to Mauritius or some other place? I shall do as I think best and will neither inform you, nor listen to your words." Then when he was asked whether he would go and attack the English ships remaining at Negapatam, he replied "whether I attack or not, what has that to do with you? I will do as I please and shall sail to-night."

D'Ache did not allow his men to land, but even recalled those who had come ashore. On the September 18th, the Diarist wrote that D'Ache had set sail the previous night with his fleet. He was really unwilling to reveal his designs to Lally, though he averred later on that he had not intended to quit the coast, but only planned to sail northward and seize Masulipatam and that he had merely kept the project secret from every one for fear of the enemy's spies. D'Ache returned to Pondicherry on the 23rd in consequence of the protest sent to him after his departure, in time to threaten out of the neighbourhood the English fleet, which appeared in the Pondicherry roads on the 26th night. He disembarked on the 29th, only to sail away two days later.

The Dasara festival which fell at this time, was not at all observed with any signs of festivity and rejoicing. All that the Diarist would say was that the town was in a state of affliction, there was mourning in every house and many householders had gone away to Tirupati on pilgrimage; while others, including a large number of Brahmans, had gone to Mayavaram to bathe in Kaveri. He wished that the ships of D'Ache had remained for at least a fortnight so that trade could be stimulated. Lally and D'Ache, he remarked, quarrelled like "cat and rat."

Towards the end of September the Diarist wrote of a rash attempt of the English to seize Wandiwash in which their losses were, in reality, twelve officers and 195 rank and file. D'Ache had finally landed about 800 European sailors and 400 coffres; but he retired from the coast on October 1st. Bussy was appointed second in command and ordered to proceed to Wandiwash with the European and cofre troops. The middle of October witnessed an open threat at desertion to the enemy by the soldiers of the Lally and Lorraine regiments,¹ a number of whom marched out of the camp at Wandiwash towards the site where the English had been previously encamped. On receipt of this news Lally sent over a lakh of rupees, which had then been got ready with considerable difficulty. The next day, the Diarist heard that the mutinous soldiers who had deserted at Wandiwash, attacked the place, plundered the camp and the country, ravishing women and inflicting other losses, on which Taqi Sahib, the killedar of the fort,

1. Orme (II, p. 528) tells us that the mutineers elected their own commanders and spread the discontent to Bussy's men at Arcot. A general amnesty quelled the movement in time.

closed the gates and remained within the walls together with some French officers and sardars.

In November, there was an exchange of prisoners between the English and the French sides. By the middle of that month the Diarist exclaimed that if Lally should continue to govern the town like this for another two months, not a single Tamil family would remain and perhaps he himself would also be forced to leave; and then Lally would be left alone with the soldiers and even they would be probably deserting him. Orders were given towards the end of the month to collect as much as possible of the property of the rich families and the Europeans living in the town, because the Company was on the point of sinking and had no money to pay even the *sibbandhi*. News also reached the Diarist of an attack by the French troops sent to reoccupy Srirangam, on the English near Samayavaram and their assault on the Srirangam temple and their merciless plundering of two streets therein. The Diarist heard that just as the French had attacked Srirangam, the English threatened and surrounded Wandiwash, plundering a street and setting fire to a few houses, with the hope that the French troops would be thereby recalled from Srirangam.

The beginning of December saw that rice could not be had in the town even at $1\frac{1}{2}$ measures a *fanam* and many were starving. Lally thereupon issued desperate instructions, asking the merchants to bring paddy and other grain from outside somehow, without any hindrance and duty to pay. It being the time of the Karthigai festival, many pilgrims who set out for Tiruvannamalai, had to return as a battle was threatening in the neighbourhood. On the 1st of December Lally received the news of the English capture of Wandiwash. Thereupon some soldiers and coffres were dispatched with powder and shot from Pondicherry to strengthen Gingee and other places. In Madras the prevailing famine in rice had been averted by the importation of two or three shiploads from Bengal. Famine conditions prevailed also in Cuddapah and the country to its northward. The inevitable march of English arms resulted in their occupation of Cheyyur, Chūnāmpattu and Alambarai and their tying *toranams* in these places in token of their occupation. In the Council meeting that was held on the 6th, there was an open quarrel between Lally and De Leyrit following an exchange of violent words. De Leyrit who had been quiet and restraining himself so far, now began to say that Lally had not the power to restrain or punish him.

II. DISASTERS LEADING TO THE BATTLE OF WANDIWASH

A lone ray of hope was entertained by the Diarist, who heard that the French had beaten and driven off the English troops who attacked Karunguzhi. With regard to the capture of the fort of Wandiwash, the Diarist heard that the English took away Taqi Sahib, the killedar, along with his property in the fort worth 400,000 rupees, including numerous small chests containing jewels and other valuables. The truth was, that when the English entered the fort, owing to the surrender of the French party there, Coote was waiting to see whether the killedar would carry out all this promises and when the troops claimed all the contents of the fort as their prize, the English Commander had to issue a special order. Taqi Sahib seems to have sent off all his valuables before ever the siege was begun.²

2. "Colonel Coote, who had been appointed to the command of the army in the Carnatic, arrived at Madras on the 27th October 1759, and joined the troops, who were in cantonments for the rains at Conjeevaram, on the 21st November. His arrival at once put a better complexion on the state of affairs. On the 25th November, he marched towards Arcot, with a view to deceiving the French as to his intentions, while on the same day he detached Major Brereton towards Wandiwash. Brereton captured the petta at Wandiwash by assault on the 27th November, and Coote, who had seen nothing of the enemy in the neighbourhood of Arcot, made a forced march and joined Brereton on the 28th. On the 30th, the fort was delivered up without the necessity of assaulting it, the casualties of the British during the short siege only amounting to five men wounded."

"As the French, who were at Chettupattu had made no attempt to interfere with his movements, Coote next resolved to attack Karunguli, another fort, which was commanded by Colonel O'Kenelly, an Irishman in Lally's regiment. On the 4th December, the petta was occupied, and Coote opened fire on the fort on the 6th. On the 10th, the garrison surrendered, the French marching out with their arms, whilst the sepoys were disarmed and set free. The British loss was only one officer and three men killed." (Page 8, Murland's *Baillie-Ki-Paltan, being a History of the 2nd Battalion, Madras Pioneers, formerly the IV Madras Pioneers, 1759-1930*).

The Madras Council's despatch of February 16, 1760 says that 2 batteries were opened on the 29th November; and the next day, a breach being made, the old killedar, Taqi Sahib, offered to pay a sum of money and deliver up the French garrison on condition of being continued in his government. But before the offer was accepted the French troops surrendered at discretion, including 6 officers and 53 privates. "The place though so often threatened was never before captured." Taqi Sahib was confined at Madras and Nawab Muhammad Ali insisted that he should be made to pay up ten lakhs of rupees, being the arrears of tribute due to himself and should not be released.

Moracin, who had been sent to Ganjam and had quarrelled with Kalingattu Narayana Das of Mohirry, his principal ally in the Circars, had to return to Pulicat from whence he arrived at Pondicherry on the 12th of December.³

The whole expedition of Moracin was unlucky from start to finish. The Madras trading house of Tawker which till very recently had been a very prosperous firm, is mentioned by the Diarist as having sent a merchant from Madras, who bought the diamonds taken from the English ship, Grantham, for 54,000 pagodas, payable in forty days.⁴

3. The circumstances that led to his failure may be briefly summarised. Moracin went over to Ganjam at the northern extremity of the Chicacole Sarkar, where the French had a trading station and persuaded a neighbouring chief, by name, Narayan Deo of Mohirry who was the enemy of Raja Vijayaram Raz, to help him in attacking Vizagapatam and Vizianagaram. The preparations of Moracin were not satisfactory, while his ally was not seriously inclined to help him. Scarcely had Moracin's miserable expedition begun its march and reached Berhampur when Narayan Deo openly deserted it and forced it to return to Ganjam. Soon there was open hostility between the French and their ally who actually besieged Moracin in the factory at Ganjam and even wrote to Clive in Bengal that he would help him in the destruction of Moracin's force, if a detachment should be sent from Calcutta. Actually Clive sent a body of 60 Europeans by sea, who reached Ganjam and persuaded Moracin to go away with his European troops. But he landed at Cocanada where Jagapati Raz of Samalkotta, another enemy of Ananda Raz, joined him with promises of support which however came to nothing. Moracin had therefore to sail away to Pondicherry, and his troops at Ganjam who could not do anything further had to follow in his wake. Only 150 returned, out of the 500 that went.

4. Prof. Dodwell has this very interesting piece of information regarding the past history of that house. The Tawkers, to whom Nilakanta belonged, are a subdivision of the Baj Khedaval sub-caste of Gujarati Brahmans [Enthoven, *Castes and Tribes of Bombay*, i. 322]. From documents and information communicated by the courtesy of Mr. Nanabhoy Davay and Mr. Mallikarjuna Dugget, the second of whom is himself descended from a brother of the Nilakanta Tawker in question, it appears that Nilakanta and two brothers traded jointly in precious stones at Madras, Poona and Muni-madugu. They opened a joint house at Madras in 1761, though from the reference above they must have traded in Madras earlier; Nilakanta survived both the other brothers and died in 1779. In the following generation, the family died out in the male line; and the widows of two of Nilakanta's nephews founded in 1807 a temple and charity at the village of Ayanavaram, alias Viswanathapuram, near Madras. This charity still exists, and is under the management of Mr. Mallikarjuna Dugget. Besides maintaining temple-worship and feeding Brahmans, the charity is also intended to feed and lodge Gujarati travellers." (P. 454, *Ananda Ranga Pillai's Diary*, Vol. XI).

Even now hopes were entertained that the French Company would soon be sending large sums of money and a number of ships. Murari Rao's horse, numbering 1,500, reached Arcot, nominally for the help of the French; and as usual, they plundered Conjeevaram. The French troops also left Srirangam, posting there a small body of Europeans and coffres. The unhappy year 1759 ended with the compulsory exaction of 1,000 pagodas from the *mahānāttars* of Pondicherry, this claim being urged as the last balance due on account of the previous demand on them, with the assurance that they would not be made to pay any more contribution. Thus the Diarist felt comforted for the moment and wrote "the evil from which the town has been suffering is declining and will disappear this month."

The fateful year 1760 begins with the Diarist's complaint that not even 100 looms were at work in Pondicherry where there were previously as many as 1,500 looms. The body of troops left by Moracin in Ganjam returned to Pondicherry in a condition of complete starvation. The Maratha horse plundered the Poona-malle, Tiruppachur and Mylapore countries and created further unrest.

There is a gap in the diary from January 11 till the end of the February—a period marked by the great victory of Coote at Wandiwash over the French.⁵

5. The loss of Karunguli and of Wandiwash fort taught Lally the necessity of concentrating his forces and he consequently assembled his army at Arcot by calling in all detachments. Early in January 1760, Coote also arrived in the neighbourhood of Arcot and both sides were busy for some days out-bidding each other for the services of Murari Rao and the body of horsemen that he commanded. These latter were ravaging the whole country as noted by the Diarist; and they did it with such success that cattle were sold at the time at the rate of 7 or 8 per rupee. At last, the Marathas to the number of 3,000, joined the French; and thereupon Lally moved about the 10th of January from Arcot to Tiruvattur; and halting at the latter place he returned north, made a dash for Conjeevaram, hoping to seize large supplies therein. Meanwhile, Coote sent his baggage to Kaveripakkam and when he heard of Lally's dash on Conjeevaram, hastened to that place soon after the French had withdrawn from it to Tiruvattur. Lally's plan was now to divert the attention of Coote with a part of his army while he attempted to capture Wandiwash with the remainder. Consequently, he left Bussy with the main body of his army at Tiruvattur and himself marched towards Wandiwash where he began to prepare batteries to reduce the Fort. Coote moved from Conjeevaram to Uttaramerur and

III. THE SITUATION AFTER THE BATTLE OF WANDIWASH

The Diarist, writing again from March 1st, tells us that six ships with powder and shot were on their way from Madras to attack Pondicherry and that the English troops had occupied places about Gingee and were marching towards Pondicherry by way of Perumukkal killa.

Next day he heard that Perumukkal was being actually attacked. Perumukkal was almost halfway between Chettupattu and Pondicherry; and the French troops stationed at Mortandi Choultry, an outpost of Pondicherry, retreated towards the town.

There now began an exodus of the citizens from Pondicherry including Christians, Labbais and Tamils who were given ready money in exchange for their goods, silver etc. De Leyrit and the Councillors were put in charge of the inner fort, while the other

in his turn planned to wait until Lally should become fully engaged in the siege operation, when he could either attack the besieging or give battle to the covering force of Bussy. Bussy saw through Coote's design and urged Lally vainly to desist from the siege and to keep together all the French forces. Lally however gave Bussy a free hand and the latter at once joined him before Wandiwash. Batteries were opened against the French on the 20th of January. On the 21st, Coote marched from Uttaramerur with his cavalry for reconnaissance. Soon, finding that the main rampart was breached, he ordered his infantry to join him at once; on the morning of the 22nd, Coote assembled his troops for battle in three lines, the last being all the cavalry and the first time being composed entirely of two European battalions with sepoys equally divided on either flank.

Orme tells us that when the cannonade once commenced, the brunt of the fighting fell entirely on the Europeans in both the armies; and the Sardars of the sepoys of the English side complimented Coote on his victory, and "thanked him for the sight of such a battle as they had never seen." The English took 24 pieces of cannon, besides large quantities of ammunition and stores. The French lost 200 Europeans besides 160 taken prisoners, among whom was Bussy, who was permitted by Coote to proceed to Pondicherry on parole. In Madras, the victory caused "joy, almost equal to that of Calcutta on the victory of Plassey." The French troops fled to Chettupattu and thence to Gingee and shortly afterwards retreated to Pondicherry. Coote secured the surrender of Chettupattu on the 29th of January and a week later, began the siege of Arcot which fell after a resistance of five days. On the last day of February Tiruvannamalai surrendered to a detachment of English troops under Captain Smith and Coote marched to Perumukkal, which finally submitted on the 4th of March, though the first assault made on it was unsuccessful.

Europeans were to guard the battery at the corner of the sea-wall and Lally himself was to guard the outer defences. The panic-stricken people were allowed to go out freely, to the extent of nearly half the town as the Diarist says; but he records, with pride, the fact, "my own relatives and family remain here."

A party of the English force before Perumukkal attacked the French troops and drove them to the Perumbai Hill and even to the Vāḷudavur Gate. And even the Europeans stationed at the several outposts and being unwilling to resist the enemy, retired to the bounds.

Lally, for fear that if people departed in further numbers provisions would not be brought in, tried to prevent a further exodus and to induce bazaar people to open their shops. The English troops alarmed Perumbai and the neighbouring places on the 8th March. Bussy,⁶ who had given the parole after Wandiwash, was now asked by Coote to surrender himself. Lally offered to ransom him in accordance with a cartel arranged in Europe; but Coote declined the ransom and insisted on the surrender of Bussy and of two other officers, who had likewise given the parole. Bussy departed from Pondicherry for Madras on the 9th. The European households sent away their women and children from the place.

Chanda Sahib's son was put in charge of the corner battery of the west wall of the town and the adjacent ditch and was asked to guard it with 500 sepoy who were to be maintained at his own cost, till French ships should arrive with supplies. The Diarist himself was asked to guard a rampart on the walls of the fort with a body of 50 sepoy at his own expense and to entertain further sepoy for the protection of the Tamils. He querulously complained, reiterating all his old grievances that he had been unduly deprived of his

6. Coote had allowed Bussy and two other French officers to return to Pondicherry on parole. Lally had even in the previous September forwarded to Pigot the cartel for the exchange of prisoners concluded between the French and the English at Sluys (in February). In November 1759, there was a general exchange of prisoners. The English would not deliver up the prisoners subsequently taken, to the number of 400, unless the French should discharge the accounts of expenditure for the maintenance of those prisoners. Pigot said that Lally obliged all his officers at Pondicherry on parole to carry arms in the late action and regretted that Bussy should have been allowed to return to Pondicherry as his arrival as a prisoner in Madras should have had a great effect on Indian opinion.

jaghirs and made to suffer other losses. But he agreed to do his duty at the critical time, saying that he should not fail "when the Company is on the verge of ruin, for I have lived here 50 years under the French flag, serving the Company and eating its food so that the very blood in my veins is the Company's." But he insisted that he could not control the sepoy who might be employed and offered to pay the money for their maintenance, though it might reduce him to the necessity of selling his houses and property. The Diarist tells us further that the European troops committed all sorts of atrocities and the English horse advanced in two's and three's, plundering upto the bound-hedge of the town. He compared the condition of Pondicherry to the times of the deluge and wrote that "it is beyond the power of the *dorais* (Europeans) to save us, God alone can." News was recorded by him that the Alambarai fort, 20 miles north of Pondicherry, was captured and the Europeans in it were sent prisoners to Madras and the English troops were marching from that place against Valudavur. (Entry for March 13. Alambarai surrendered on the 12th March.

The Nāttārs of the different castes like the Vellālas, the Kōmuttis, the Chettis and the Elavāṇians and the Agamudayāns were asked to bear the pay of bodies of sepoy proportioned to their interest; but they expressed their difficulties.

When the European residents were asked by Lally to prepare for marching to battle, two of them said it would not be decent for them to go and they would not leave the fort, whereupon Lally got infuriated, ran at them with a horse-whip and ordered their imprisonment. A few others were also fettered. The soldiers of the Regiments of Lorraine and Lally, 300 or 400 in all were set to guard the houses in the Fort; and the Diarist says that while the inhabitants of the Tamil streets were not particularly alarmed, the Europeans were more afraid of their houses being plundered and therefore they intended leaving the town with their children. Lally is said even to have threatened De Leyrit and the Councillors with summary punishment, told them that he could deal (by virtue of the King's commission) with the Governor and the Councillors as he pleased, remarking: "be careful in future; or I will apply the adze to you. Till now you were all ignorant of my authority. Now at least know it." Lally marched on the 23rd of March as far as Kunimedu in order to attack the English at Alambarai. He made a desperate attempt to invite those who went away from the town to return and live quietly.

IV. LOSS OF KARIKAL AND VALUDAVUR

The English army proceeded from Alambarai on their way to attack Gingee which the French still continued to hold. The Madras Council proposed to attack Karikal next, by landing marines and joining them to a detachment from Pondicherry. Karikal was first raided by a small party of Englishmen that landed from some English ships in the roads; and soon batteries were raised in order to be ready for attack, and by the end of the month the English had occupied the villages round the settlement with a view to a final assault on the fort.

To pass on to a personal reflection of the Diarist:— The Diarist completed 51 years of his life on the last day of March. Of course, as usual, he indulges in a lot of interesting speculation about his future based on astrological calculations of his horoscope. He still believes that his fortunes would improve and that from that day and from the year, *Vikrama*, i.e., 1760-61, prosperity would daily increase for 54 years in the place of the adversity that has been seen till now. According to his horoscope and according to the *Simsumara Chakra*, an astrological chart drawn in the shape of a crocodile, showing the god's planets and stars, with the sun controlling the affairs of kings, the moon controlling the affairs of the nobles, the planets influencing the fortunes of the officers of state and the stars controlling the destinies of private individuals. The Diarist lost a tooth on the right of his lower jaw and, with that, was freed from his diseases. He expected that, perhaps, good things would emanate from the influence of the *Savya Chakra*, literally the right hand side, meaning the Sun's passage from Aries to Virago in the dexter direction, compromising 54 years, 9 years being allowed for each of the six signs.⁷

7. The Sun's passage, which has just been completed, from Libra to Pisces, also comprising 54 years, allowing nine years for each of these six signs, forms the night or *Apasavya Chakra*. In the first three signs of the *Apasavya Chakra*, prosperity decreased, but was not severely felt; but in the three signs following, ending with Pisces, there was a progressively evil influence which exhibited itself in famine throughout the land and a decrease in riches and revenues owing to the troubles among the Rajas. So all the prosperity which was seen here on each during the *Savya Chakra* gradually declined by Pisces, the last of the signs in *Apasavya Chakra*. From to-day and from the year *Vikrama*, prosperity will daily increase for 54 years in place of the adversity that has been seen till now, according to my horoscope and according to the *Simsumara Chakra*. From Tuesday the 23rd

At Karikal the English seized the old fort on the bank of the river and the people in the town were asked either to depart quietly or to have their houses sealed up, if they could not remove their goods and they were further assured that the houses so sealed would be carefully guarded by sepoys, both when the French continued to be in occupation of the place and when the English should come to occupy it. After some indifferent fighting, the French troops became unable to endure the shells of the English besiegers, made terms and delivered the place to the enemy on the 5th of April. The capture of Karikal by the English was well worth the trouble, because it afforded a constant and certain inlet into the territories of Tanjore and its revenue including the farming of the numerous villages dependent on it and the customs of the port was more than sufficient for the expenses of the garrison.⁸

Early in April, Coote appeared near Valudāvur, a good country fort, 9 miles to the west of Pondicherry, with a large body of horse and foot, for reconnoitring purposes and began to raise batteries against the fort, while the French army, though encamped on the neighbouring Perumbai Hill, only looked on and even allow themselves to be attacked and to retreat to Olukarai, Reddipalayam and the Bound-hedge.⁹

The *mahānāttārs* in Pondicherry were again pressed for contributions and additional tax-levies and even imprisoned on their demurring in the dungeons of the walls. On April 16th, the Diarist

Panguni, commences the (dark half of the lunar) month of Chittirai of the year *Vikrama*. According to the mundane figure and according to the solar year calculations of those who prepared almanacs, good and bad are to be seen from Wednesday, the first of Chittirai, when the Sun enters Aries. (*Ananda Ranga Pillai's Diary*, pp. 28-29, Vol. XII).

8. According to the Engineer John Call, writing to Col. Draper, the place should have defended itself for a month at least. For an account of the operations at Karikal, see Orme, Vol. II, Book XII, pp. 617-624; and also appendix to Vol. XII of *Ranga Pillai's Diary*, pp. 409-11, containing the letter from Call to Draper, taken out from the Newcastle Mss. by Prof. Dodwell. Major Monson commanded this expedition. Men from Alambarai and troops from Trichinopoly co-operated. The garrison contained 7 officers, 91 soldiers and 250 sepoys. On his way back the English commander took Cidambaram on the 19th and Vriddhachalam on the 27th, securing the surrender of the garrison at both places.

9. A thick-set hedge of palmyra, prickly pear and thorny bushes preventing the passage of men and horse. Such bound-hedges encircled Madras and Cuddalore also. The bound-hedge usually linked block-houses defending the fort on the land side.

reported that Coote captured the Valudavur fort by escalade, taking the French soldiers and sepoys thereon as prisoners and hoisting the English flag, though on that day the garrison was only summoned to surrender by Major Robert Gordon who conducted the siege and agreed to do so the next morning.

The English seized also the Villianallur country, hoisted the flag on the Villianallur Gōpuram and tied *tōranams* (as a token of their occupation) right up to the bound-hedge. On April 17, there was a battle between the English and the French troops at the Perumbai Hill, from which the French retreated, allowing the victors to tie *tōranams* of occupation in Ariyankuppam. Ranga Pillai mourned that all the villages in the vicinity of Pondicherry should have thus come to be occupied by the enemy; the only exception was Kalapattu to the north. In Pondicherry itself, the people being continuously pressed to pay taxes, were further alarmed. De Leyrit told the *māhānāttārs* that the Company most urgently needed two lakhs of rupees for immediate expenses and even asked them to sell ear-rings and rings. After a great deal of protestation, the *māhānāttārs* and the Company's merchants were duly imprisoned in the dungeons of the west gate of the fort. The Diarist, in his capacity as the *Courtier* of the Company, was asked to testify to the property of the towns-people, but categorically replied that he could not do so, as all the previous demands for assessment had not been successful; but he promised to try whether a smaller sum could not be collected. Even De Leyrit was convinced that further compulsion would merely result in further exodus.

At last, the *Māhānāttārs* were persuaded to agree to pay Rs. 50,000 on the condition that only gentle measures should be adopted towards them. Lally was even now not satisfied and presented to the Council a list containing demands of contributions from the principal persons of the several castes classified in three categories. The Diarist was asked to examine the list and make out impartially an assessment for two lakhs of rupees, having due regard for each man's present means and difficulties. After a great deal of haggling and bargaining, the men contrived to mount up the assessment to two lakhs, after having been kept in custody for nearly 24 hours, not having been supplied with even drinking water and having been threatened to be put in the dungeons and to be shipped off to Mascareigne. Thus the month of April ended, when 10 or 12 English ships were in the Cuddalore roads and the

Maratha sardar, Bulwant Rao, had approached Cuddapah with 20,000 or 30,000 horse, while the English themselves indulged in frequent and almost daily assaults from Valudavur and the Council was desperately anxious to secure the help of Hyder.¹⁰

V. THE ALLIANCE WITH HYDER ALI

To anticipate the narrative and trace the operations of the English against the Mysore troops, the following account is given:—

Lally finding no other means of procuring relief, immediately sent two more officers to Hyder begging his help early in 1760. It was agreed that Hyder should immediately send a body of 2,000 horse and 3,000 sepoys with artillery, and on their arrival at Tyagadrug they were to be given both the forts of Tyagadrug and Elavanasore, with the dependencies of both which were to remain in the possession of Hyder in perpetuity as long as the flag of France existed in India. This army was to be paid at the rate of 100,000 rupees a month, from the day of their arrival at Tyagadrug. Ten eighteen pounders were to be given as a present to Hyder exclusive of the artillery in the two forts. His troops were to be furnished with ammunition, while serving for the French, who, after Carnatic should be cleared of the English, were to assist him in conquering the southern countries of Madura and Tinnevely. Besides the number already stipulated, Hyder Ali engaged to supply 1,000 horse and 2,000 sepoys more in consideration of which half the countries which should be recovered in the Carnatic were to be given over to his government, excepting the French Company's dominions of Villianallur, Valudavur, Bahur and Alam-

10. At that time, Hyder Ali realised his danger from the minister, Khande Rao, who was plotting against him, and cast about to get some place of refuge immediately for his own treasures, and consequently for his own person. He preferred Tyagadrug, a strong fort in the Carnatic about 8 miles east of Kallakurichi, for reason of the difficulty of access to it from Mysore, and the impregnable nature of its fortifications.

About this time a French emissary, styling himself as the Bishop of Halicarnassus arrived at Trichinopoly with proposals to Hyder to join the French in expelling the English from Arcot. He further told Hyder that the convention agreed upon between the English and the French in 1755 was a mere truce; and both proposed to themselves separate advantages from acceding to it. This emissary was Antonio de Noronha (1720-76) who was appointed by Chanda Sahib as governor of San Thomé in 1749 and subsequently arrested by Admiral Boscawen. He later went to Europe and got the titular bishopric of Halicarnassus. He was a pseudo-nephew of Madame Dupleix.

barai, "the territory of Vellore, as belonging to Mortizally, their ally, and the districts dependent on Trincomalee, having been granted as an appanage to Rajasaheb, the son of Chanda Saheb were likewise exempted and whatever portion of the Carnatic should fall into the hands of the Mysorean was to be delivered back to the French in proportion to the progress of the acquisition in the southern countries".¹¹

The whole negotiation was kept strictly secret; but on the 24th May, 1760, Colonel Coote received intelligence of this alliance by a letter from one of his correspondents in Pondicherry telling that M. Lally was preparing a considerable detachment to march and join Hyder Ali at Tyagadrug.

Sir Eyre Coote was of the firm opinion that Hyder Ali was at Seringapatam busy with his own affairs at the Mysore court; anyhow to console himself, he sent out his men to reconnoitre the whole field of that rumoured activity. But nothing happened for several days to confirm the news; and Coote began to think that it was a mere rumour thrown out by M. Lally himself to frighten him. But all of a sudden, he was dislodged from this pleasant fancy, when he received a confirmation of it, from Krishna Rao, whom he had despatched to Volconda (Valikandapuram) to find out the truth of the rumour.

On the 4th June 1760 the first division of the Mysore troops under Makhdum Ali, the brother-in-law of Hyder, consisting of 1,000 horse and 2,000 sepoy arrived at Tyagadrug and began roaming the country in their attempt to collect cattle, when they were met by Krishna Rao and his men near Valikandapuram. Some sharp skirmishes ensued between the two armies; Krishna Rao was utterly routed and he now applied to Coote for help. At this time he was further informed that a large force of the Mysoreans was in Tyagadrug. This new fear added to the defeat which he had already suffered, made poor Krishna Rao hurry back to protect the district of Vriddhachalam, which had been entrusted to him and to safeguard which he urgently wrote to Col. Coote for fresh reinforcements.

Early in June 1760, the Mysore troops stationed at Dindigul, had commenced hostilities against the Poligars depending on Trichinopoly and it was reported that they intended to get posses-

11. Orme, *British Military transaction in Hindustan*, Vol. II, pp. 637-638.

sion of the pass of Nattam which would preclude any immediate communication between Trichinopoly and Madura. The Nawab, getting scent of Hyder's activity in his own country, immediately sent a detachment to Madura with instructions to attack Hyder's troops at Dindigul and thus divert his attention. Another detachment was sent to the help of Krishna Rao who was seriously hampered by Hyder at Valikandapuram. This corps immediately marched on the 10th June 1760 accompanied by 24 coffres, two companies of sepoy, 1,000 block horse, and an iron gun with five European gunners.¹²

Col. Coote had by this time captured every French fort of importance in this province, Tyagadrug and Gingee excepted and had completely surrounded Pondicherry with his forces.¹³ The Mysorean army now augmented by the French troops from Tyagadrug appeared before Tirukovilur on the 10th June and threatened it. The few sepoy who were kept as its garrison refused to surrender, whereupon the enemy opened a sharp fire and obliged them to surrender. After capturing this place, the victorious troops marched against another fort, a few miles to the east whose garrison of sepoy took flight on their approach.¹⁴

The Mysorean now left for Trichinopoly. In the meantime Col. Coote had detached a corps under Major Moore to encounter this new danger. As Moore's ill luck would have it, the renters and heads of villages in the land not knowing how soon they might have new masters, gave no assistance to his detachment which now finished for want of provisions; misled by false intelligence, they advanced from Villupuram towards Tirukovilur and arrived at Tiruvati on the 23rd June, where they halted for the day. Apprised of the English approach, M. Lally at once detached 50 of his European cavalry to join the Mysorean army who were on their way to Pondicherry. Col. Coote was equally sharp, and immediately getting intelligence of the French, sent the whole of his remaining cavalry under Vasserot.¹⁵ The Mysorean immediately got the news of the arrival of Col. Coote's troops and skulking away from his place of encampment, set off along the Vanar, and towards the evening reached Ariyankuppam, three miles in the rear of the French camp at Perumbai.

12. Orme, II; p. 641.

13. Wilks, *History of Mysore* (2nd ed.), I, 414.

14. Orme, II, p. 641.

15. Orme, II, p. 642.

The terms of the agreement between the French and the Mysorean having not been finally settled, the Mysoreans now sent an officer appointed by Hyder to the French court. At this juncture they heard that M. Lally was called back to France. Hence they insisted that Mr. De Leyrit and all the members of the Council should sign the treaty and if they did not do so they would not help them in future. The French Council was in such a desperate plight and so much in utter need of help at this critical moment when their very existence in Pondicherry was threatened by Col. Coote, that they signed the treaty anyhow on the 27th June, whereupon the Mysorean officer returned to the camp promising to give all the help for him.

On the 30th June, Col. Coote detached another small body of soldiers to Major Moore, who had by this time joined Krishna Rao, with the explicit order that he might strengthen himself in his encounter with the whole body of the Mysoreans on their approach to Pondicherry. Poor Moore was once again misled in his calculations by the village people who, as we have already seen, had grown to hate all the Europeans as tyrants, and he came to know of the exact location of the Mysorean army only after they had passed out of his reach.

M. Lally who was reported to be leaving India, anxiously awaited the arrival of the Mysore army. Col. Coote also remained silent for a period of 20 days at the end of which he went to Madras on the 6th July and returned immediately on the 14th. On the very next day of his arrival he received intelligence from Major Moore that the Mysoreans had started from Tyagadrug with a very large convoy of provisions. This intelligence was confirmed the next day, and Coote immediately despatched Colonel Monson, who took possession of Perumbai directly opposite Villiyanallur. The English were now safely stationed. The army possessed the whole space in front of the river of Ariyankupam; and nothing was feared from the rear except the fact that the Mysoreans were coming. But in order that the Mysorean could join the French, they had to pass the English camps.

Unfortunately for the English, both the detachments of the Mysoreans and that of Major Moore arrived at the same moment in front of Tiruvati.¹⁶ The Mysoreans had 4,000 horses well mount-

16. Orme, II, p. 645.

ed, 1,000 sepoy and 200 Europeans, with Moore, were 180 European infantry, 30 coffres, and 50 horses and a small body of Krishna Rao's sepoy. Unmindful of his decided inferiority and being elated with the spirit that the English were victorious wherever they went, he engaged the Mysore troops in a pitched battle at Tiruvati on July 19, the result of which was an utter rout to the English. Orme gives the casualties as 15 killed and 40 wounded.¹⁷ But Ananda Ranga Pillai says in his report of the battle that "the English have lost 100 or 200 killed 100 or 200 wounded and 50 taken prisoners and that 200 or 300 of the English have retreated to a nearby fort."¹⁸ The loss on the side of Mysore he says was only about 100 men, Hyder was much elated with the intelligence of this success, and sent reinforcements, considerably exceeding the stipulated number.

The sad news reached Coote, the next day, when he immediately determined to wipe out this failure by wresting Villiyanallur from Lally. On the 20th July at 10 O'clock, the English anyhow captured Villiyanallur fort and hoisted their flag and fired 21 guns as a demonstration of victory.¹⁹ Orme remarks that had the French commander at Villiyanallur fort delayed a bit or held out the siege for a bit longer, the disaster would have been averted for Lally was advancing to its relief with his own troops and that of the Mysorean.²⁰

VI. THE WORSENING OF THE SITUATION.

In the month of May, the situation became worse. Even Appavu, the nephew of the Diarist, was imprisoned in the dungeon on the 27th of April and threatened with transportation to Mascareigne, in spite of very earnest pleadings. The Diarist was shown a list of 60 persons peremptorily assessed for a total of nearly 6 lakhs. On the 4th May, an English ship ventured inshore and was met by the guns of the three French vessels inshore and the fire from the ramparts. A body of English horse also appeared near the bound-hedge on the west. The Diarist was in his own turn threatened with punishment and obliged to agree to pay Rs. 10,000 in a month's time. Other merchants were even treated

17. Orme, II, p. 645.

18. Ananda Ranga Pillai's Diary, XII, p. 235.

19. Ananda Ranga Pillai's Diary, XII, p. 236.

20. Orme, History of Mysore (2nd ed.), III, p. 640.

worse. Every day prominent citizens were either compelled to pay large sums or put in the dungeon for default or even delay.

When Tanappa Mudali, the younger brother of the famous *courtier*, Kanakaraya Mudali, was threatened with imprisonment in the dungeon, the Diarist, forgetting all his old jealousies and dislike of that family, said; 'His family has been great and respectable for three generations, for his grandfather, father, and elder brother have been the Company's *courtiers*, so he should not be treated disrespectfully, to say nothing of his state of health. Moreover, although with Europeans it is no rare thing for a man, however high in office, to be imprisoned, you should not ignore our Tamil feelings, for we regard it was a disgrace. Besides he does not refuse to pay anything at all, but offers Rs. 10,000, so that he is not guilty of any serious misdeed and should not be put in the dungeon.' (Entry for May 10th.)

On May 11th, the Diarist heard that when Lally's soldiers and sepoy's attacked Cuddalore on the previous day, many of the Indian merchants who had taken refuge there, perished by drowning in the river, and the town itself was plundered²¹ while the European soldiers and sepoy's who were lying wounded in its hospital, were carried off.

The Diarist mentions that on the 20th, the English who lay in ambush at Cuddalore in expectation of a further French attack, opened fire, when the French advanced with a much larger body of men arranged in five divisions. The French had to retreat; and among their slain was the commandant of the European Regiment of Lorraine.

In the meanwhile, the imprisonment of citizens in the dungeons of Pondicherry went on merrily. In the third week of May, news was received that Hyder Nayak accompanied by Berki Venkat Rao, had reached Anandagiri with 3,000 horse, 5,000 foot and 11 pieces cannon.

21. The French had abandoned Cuddalore on its capture and demolished the parapets of the bastions, torn down the gates and made several breaches in the ramparts. Lally perhaps intended to retake the place and the English officer in charge, was asked to keep a special guard. This French attack mentioned by the Diarist, took place on the night of the 10th of May. The next day, the English were reinforced by two companies of sepoy's and a few European horsemen. On the 12th, French force stronger than the preceding one again attacked Cuddalore but had to retreat to Fort St. David and thence across the Pennar.

Rice	1¼ or 1⅜ measures a fanam;
Dholl	1⅞ measures a fanam;
Pulse	1¾ measures a fanam;
Green gram	1⅞ do.
Ragi	1¾ do.
Black gram	1¼ do.
Gingelly oil	3 fanams a seer;
Castor oil	2¾ fanams a seer;
Ghi	2 rupees and 4 fanams a tūkkku (i.e., 6¼ seers);
Tamarind	2 fanams a tūkkku;
Pepper	1 rupee and 2½ fanams a tūkkku;
Chillies	3 fanams a tūkkku;
Tumeric	1¼ do.
Mustard	2½ do.
Cumin	1 rupee and 6 fanams a tūkkku;
Fenugreek	2½ fanams a tūkkku.

The prices rose still higher in the succeeding weeks. Thus, according to the Diarist, the prices prevailing on September 6, were as follows:—

Lamp oil	5 seers a pagoda.
Gingelly oil	6 seers a pagoda.
Ghee	1 seer for five fanams.
10 areca nuts	1 fanam.
Dried nuts	1 palam for 1 fanam.
Chillies	3 palams for 1 fanam.
Paddy	1 big measure for 1 fanam.

He added also that ghee, vegetables, grain and oil could not be had at all and the others only in small quantities. If, in the next eight days, things were not brought in, nothing would be left for sale in the town. Small quantities at least could still be got, as goods were being brought in by stealth both at night and by day.

Bishop Noronha went to meet the Mysore troops at Tiruvati and Tyagadrug, to bring escort them. Imam Sahib's son who was at Tyagadrug had been urging that Hyder could not be trusted as he had betrayed his former master and was now secretly helping the English and that the fort should not be entrusted to him. He was, however, suspected of sowing discord, because he wanted to enjoy Tyagadrug as his jaghir. The Bishop was sent with a body of troops to see that Tyagadrug was duly delivered over to

Mysore and to make terms with the Mysore captain. All the while, there were frequent skirmishes from the English troops at Valudavur and attacks on the Villiyannallur fort, wherein provisions were diminishing. So great was the danger of an imminent English attack that all the town-gates round the fort were closed except the Villiyannallur gate alone. The only consoling fact was that the Mysore troops which were advancing towards Pondicherry, made a sudden attack on the English encamped at Tiruvati and put them to flight. An advance body of 1,500 Mysore horse arrived at Ariyankuppam. Nevertheless, the English captured the Villiyannallur fort on July 20th, though the whole body of the Mysore troops had by that time reached Ariyankuppam. The English capture of Villiyannallur was a very cruel surprise. It took away all hopes of final relief from the Europeans of Pondicherry. Orme tells us that just on the eve of the capture of Villiyannallur, Lally was preparing for a general action with the English army and had in fact begun to advance for its relief with his own troops and with the Mysoreans.

Makhdum Ali, the brother-in-law of Hyder, who was at the head of the Mysore troops, was received, along with Bishop Noronha, by Lally with presents and a salute (July 21). The next day the Diarist reported continuous fighting between the English and the French troops at Olukkarai. The presence of Mysore troops only increased the severity of the prevailing famine conditions and rice was available only at eight small measures per rupee. Sick horses were killed and cut out for meat by Pariahs and topasses as rice could not be had at all. A wild attempt was made by a body of the German hussars accompanied by 600 or 700 of the Mysore horse to march northwards, in order to bring back the French prisoners guarded in St. Thomas Mount. The Diarist heard and recorded a rumour that they had captured Governor Pigot of Madras and fifty others when they were at play in a garden near St. Thomas Mount; and even Lally believed this rumour and was elated for the time. At last, the Diarist heard on July 30th of Pigot's actual arrival at the English camp, in the vicinity of Pondicherry, in order to urge a more vigorous and quicker offensive.

In the beginning of August, the situation had become so bad that there were only about 10 or 15 bazaars still open in the whole town; and everyone had sold whatever paddy he had and only one-eighth of a *marakkāl* could be had for a fanam. The Mysoreans seized the choultry in the Diarist's Tiruvengadapuram Agrabaram which was founded by his father more than 50 years ago and

carried away therefrom the red-wood pillars, rafters, reapers, beams etc. Ranga Pillai grieved over this loss most bitterly and remarked that they would only plunder and ruin the town still further and not at all win any success. He wrote that "the Mysoreans and even the Pariahs among them, treat French officers and people of the Government more like dogs than men; this is the result of M. Lally's seeking the assistance of the Mysoreans, who value the French as naught."

Makhdum Ali complained of lack of sufficient provisions for his troops; he even threatened to depart to Gingee and Villupuram and demanded that enough rice should be given to him at the rate of one pakka measure per head and horse-gram for the horses. Consequently rice was allowed to be carried out of the town to the Mysore army without any hindrance. Then Makhdum had an ugly interview with Lally, in which he demanded the payment of two lakhs of rupees and said that the two months, time mentioned in the agreement had expired and he would be departing the next day. Lally contrived to pacify Makhdum by saying that the Europeans had been assessed of a tax of several lakhs of rupees which they would be paying in a week. The assessment on the Tamils was attempted to be exacted with more than the usual amount of oppression. Meanwhile the English were raising batteries on every side for the final operations against Pondicherry. The Mysore troops plundered Karukudikuppam, Pakkumudaiyanpattu and other places destroying and plundering the houses on the plea that they had nothing else to subsist on. The Diarist grieved over the hanging of a Brahman by Lally on the complaint of some sepoys of the Mysore army, after his nose and ears were cut off. The Diarist writes that all these years since the town was founded, no Brahman had been hanged. The Mysore army was at last allowed to go to Gingee whence they should send provisions here and prevent provisions from reaching the English. De Leyrit told the Diarist on August 14th that so little was left in the town that the provisions would not suffice for the people for more than a few days. On the same day, the Mysoreans marched away to Gingee as they had been threatening to do and many of the townspeople went along with them. The English raised batteries by the Chunnambaru in order to capture the Ariyankuppam fort. An Assembly Nationale consisting of all Europeans high and low was convened for the 18th of August to consider the desperate financial situation at which Lally blamed De Leyrit for not having laid in provisions enough to last a year as he was asked to do from

Wandiwash and it was feared that the sepoys would desert the enemy and means must be found to give the officers and men their pay. He asked the great Council to concert measures to find the money. It was decided to tax the Europeans and Moracin and Court in were to visit their houses, demand the tax and receive whatever their means permitted them to pay.

VII. THE DEATH OF THE DIARIST AND THE END OF THE FRENCH DOMINION.

Pigot the Madras Governor arrived at Valudavur with a body of 1000 sepoys and 200 horse, as the Diarist wrote, "in order to blacken the faces of the French men, who had formerly announced that they had captured him. Pigot went over to Cuddalore and then to Perumukkal, where a Council, of the English was held to decide whether, after so much expenditure, Pondicherry should be attacked or not. On August 26th, 30 sepoys threatened to desert the enemy because they have received no pay and one of them selected by lot was blown from the cannon's mouth. The English were everywhere raising fortifications close to Pondicherry. Pariahs and Europeans entered the houses of the Tamils on the pretext of orders given to them to drive off all the cattle available. Another Great Council of Europeans, which met on the last day of August, is said to have been told that Lally was not desirous of continuing in command and had decided to resign. De Leyrit was very much put out; and the Diarist tells us that he sent his goods to the house of a friend in order to move away from the fort, at the last movement and everything now depended upon the arrival of the expected squadron. The fort itself appeared deserted. Soon news came that four English ships had arrived at Cuddalore with 500 soldiers and some sepoys and it was feared that the town would fall within 15 days.

In September, there was an attempted attack on the English batteries at Mortāndi Chāvadi but resulted only in retreat. On the 9th, Lally himself sent word to De Leyrit saying that four English ships, 500 soldiers and some sepoys had landed at Cuddalore and Pondicherry would have to be surrendered to them in about 15 days. On the 9th, there was heavy firing from the English batteries at Mortāndi Choultry. The English had occupied the ground up to the bound-hedge. Gingee was rumoured to have been captured on September 12th. The scarcity of paddy was so great that Lally threatened to drive out every Tamil and asked the soldiers to break open the houses and a proclamation was issued that every-

one should declare the amount of paddy in his house. At last the Diarist planned to send to Sadras some of his moneys and jewels under the protection and in the name of an English prisoner who had obtained a passport and was sailing for Madras.

The Diary breaks off on September 24th when Ranga Pillai sent off his goods. It is begun again from Saturday, January 10, 1761, shortly before the end, not by Ranga Pillai himself, but probably by his nephew who continued to keep a diary after Pillai's death. The entry for that date tells us that Ranga Pillai was too ill to sail by the chelinga arranged for him and he could only travel by road. The next morning, Pillai complained of difficulty in breathing. At 1 o'clock in the afternoon he took a little food. In the evening he felt greatly fatigued and very thirsty. Throughout the night, he suffered and perhaps felt that death was slowly coming upon him. The next day Ranga Pillai signed his last letter in which he said to the addressee, "you may not see me hereafter"; and when signing it, added "this must be considered my last letter." At last, four days after Ranga Pillai had been carried to the burning place, Coote's English grenadiers replaced the French guard at Valudavur Gate and the English flag was hoisted over the Fort Louis. He was only 52 when he died; but the misery of the times and his own decline hastened his end. Thus disappeared an acute Indian observer who was better informed on political matters on any other Indian of the times and his diary contains more authentic detail of a political nature than that which any other Indian at Pondicherry could have kept. He knew most intimately all that was going in the Indian quarter and was very accurate and valuable in watching the course of the trade and feeling the pulse of the popular sentiment.

(Concluded.)

The Press Before the Mutiny*

By

RAM NIHORE CHATURVEDI, M.A.

THE modern press is the blessing of the British to India. It first sprung up during the régime of Warren Hastings, when the "Hicky's Gazette" was set-up in 1780; and since its birth to the outbreak of the mutiny, the press had a long and chequered history. The following analysis would be useful for a convenient understanding of the development of the press till the Mutiny.

(A). 1780-1818. The press was subject to preventive rather than punitive measures and rigorous Government supervision and control were exercised over it.

(B). 1818-1823. The censorship was abolished, Government control relaxed and prohibitory regulations issued throwing much more responsibility upon the editors and printers.

(C). 1823-1828. The stringent regulations were restored and the press was stifled.

(D). 1828-1835. The road towards the freedom of the press.

(E). 1835-1857. Complete freedom of the press and the Heyday of its prosperity.

A. 1780-1818.

With the establishment of the "Hicky's Gazette" on the 29th. January, 1780 begins the history of the press in India. During the period under review the press was generally subject to rigorous government supervision and control. Stringent regulations were passed for the guidance of the conduct of the press which were preventive rather than punitive in character. Several factors were responsible for this. Firstly, the Home-Government: i.e., the Court of Directors were opposed to any freedom of the press. They raised great hue and cry against the diffusion of knowledge and spread of light in India. Secondly, the character of the press itself deprived it of its freedom. The members of the European society were engaged in great scandals of making money out of

* The press established, owned and carried on in India both by the natives as well as the Europeans.

extortion and were reduced to the lowest standard of morality. The Press would at once criticise and attack their conduct and thereby be made subject to rigorous supervision. Thirdly, the political state of India during the period was such as would not allow a free discussion and expression of views and opinions. The British had to struggle for their existence. The French were to be driven out for ever and the native princes to be subdued so that the British might become the supreme authority and Lord Paramount in India. Any fair or foul means were to be adopted to achieve the above object; and if the press was left free to reflect on the Government policy and measures, any possible evil might come out. Fourthly, even in England the freedom of the Press was only nominal and not real. Large sureties,¹ high stamp duties and large amount of advertisement tax were levied on the press.

The early career of the papers in India showed that indulgence was abused, that they (Papers) were useless as vehicles of local information of any value, and were filled with indecorous attacks upon private life and ignorant censures of public measures. The papers generally "teemed with the scurrility of the worst kind and there was little real vitality in them." The leading members of the European community of Calcutta were the object of the malignant commentaries of the press. Libels were published on the life of Warren Hastings, whose Government remedied this evil by confining the circulation as much as possible, by frequent prosecutions for libellous matter and by establishing another paper in opposition.

The Calcutta Press applauded the appointment of Lord Cornwallis as the Governor-General of India and later on spoke highly of his lordship's reforms—effected in the sphere of Justice, Revenue and the Services. These reforms improved the moral tone of the Europeans; and both during his and his successor's régime there was steady progress made by the press. They were now more concerned about public affairs than private scandals. They had nothing to say against Cornwallis' Government. But even then, Lord Cornwallis, in 1791, arrested and ordered deportation of Mr. William Duane, editor of the Bengal Journal, in consequence of an offensive paragraph reflecting upon a French Officer. The editor filed a suit in the Supreme Court which, however, did not terminate till 1794. In a private and secret letter to Rt. Hon. Henry Dundas dated December 31, 1794, Sir John Shore wrote, "Our news-papers in Calcutta have of late assumed a licentiousness, too dangerous to be permitted in this country. I have ordered one of the editors to be sent

1. Condition of the Anglo-Eastern Empire in 1832, p. 182.

to Europe ; his name is William Duane, and I think, you will agree with me, that his conduct did not entitle him to the protection of the Company."² Ultimately this case terminated in the unanimous decision of the Judges recognising the right exercised by the Government.

The political condition of India and the publishing of offensive and libellous matters compelled Lord Wellesley to subject the Press to "rigorous supervision", strict censorship and stringent regulations. The condition of India was "critical if not alarming". The whole atmosphere was full of the French intrigues at the native courts. The policy of Non-intervention followed by Wellesley's immediate predecessors had rendered the friend into foe and soiled the British prestige. It was thought that pernicious results would accrue from careless and unwary publications. The Governor-general-in-Council, therefore, for the guidance of the editors and proprietors of the papers, formulated regulations³ on May 13, 1799 the violation of which was punishable with deportation. (i) Every printer of a newspaper should print his name at the bottom of the paper. (ii) Every editor and proprietor of paper should deliver in his name and place of abode to the Secretary of the Government. (iii) No paper should be published on Sunday. (iv) No paper should be published at all, unless and until it was previously inspected by the Secretary to the Government, or by a person authorised by him for that purpose, and the objectionable matter struck out.

The Court of Directors approved of these. The newspapers were prohibited from giving any general orders or naval intelligence*—arrival and departure of ships unless such articles had already appeared in the Gazette. These restrictions were meant for preventing the orders of the Government coming before the public before they had been given an official form, and to protect the commercial interests of the British and those of the states from the enemies—the French privateers. To maintain absolute power this preventive measure was better than the punitive in a country like India where punishment was severe.⁴ This control gave to the

2. Furber's *Private Records of an Indian G. Generalship* (1793-98), p. 63.

3. Miss and Wilson: *History of India*, Vol. VIII, p. 581. N.B.—Some of these rules were applicable only to a state of war ; the operation of others had not been uniformly or rigidly enforced.

* This order was strictly to be observed at Madras and Bombay.

4. Malcolm's *History of India*, Vol. II. p. 297.

Indian chronicles "a new character and rendered them respectable, if not very authentic vehicles of public information."⁵

Lord Minto like his predecessors, followed a policy of vigilant superintendence over the Press. It is a well known fact that the Christian missionaries had long before reached the South. But it was not till the last decade of the eighteenth century that an Englishman was found to carry the Gospel to the people of Bengal. William Carey was the first English missionary to Bengal ; he settled at Serampore. There he preached in the native language, formed schools for the young and set up a printing press. The publications of the Serampore Missionaries were undeniably calculated to offend and alienate the feelings of the native population, containing as they did offensive attacks on the Hindu mythology and the Prophet of Islam. Once Lord Minto, in a letter to the Secret Committee, cited an excerpt from a religious pamphlet published by Mr. Buchanan, the chief of the Serampore missionary : "The Mahommedans profess a religion which has ever been characterised by political bigotry and intemperate zeal. In this country that religion still retains the character of its bloody origin.... Whenever the Mahommedan feels his religion touched, he grasps his dagger. This spirit was seen in full operation under Tippoo's government and it is not soon extinguished."⁶

In an official letter addressed by Mr. Edmonstone to Dr. Carey it is stated that "the issue of publications of the nature above alluded to, are evidently calculated to produce consequences in the highest degree detrimental to the tranquillity of the British dominions in India, and it becomes the indispensable duty of the British Government to arrest the progress of any proceedings of that nature."⁷ The Court of Directors had declared in a despatch, dated May 29, 1807, "when we afforded our countenance and sanction to missionaries..... for the purpose of propagating the Christian religion it was far from being in our contemplation to add the influence of our authority to any attempts they might make ; for on the contrary we were perfectly aware that the progress of such conversion will be.... arising more from a conviction of the principles of our religion itself, and from the pious examples of its teachers, than from any undue influence or from the exertions of authority, which are never to be resorted to in such cases."⁸

5. Mill and Wilson, Vol. VIII. p. 581.

6. Countess Minto's *Life and Letters of Lord Minto*, 1880 publication, p. 76.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 65.

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 63-64.

In accordance with these instructions the Governor-general-in-Council at once followed a "firm and moderate" policy, and arrived at a resolution to place the press, besides the existing censorship and regulation, under additional restrictions. All the presses in general, and the Serampore Missionary Press in particular, were prevented from publishing any religious works which were offensive to the natives. The names of the printers were directed to be affixed to all works and papers etc., and not only "the newspapers, notices, handbills, and all ephemeral publications, should be sent to the Chief Secretary for revision, but that the titles of all works intended for publication should be transmitted to the same officer, who had the option of requiring the work itself to be sent for his examination, if he deemed it necessary."⁹

In reply to the memorial presented by the Serampore Missionary, Lord Minto justified his policy thus:—"the precautions which the Government deemed it necessary to adopt against the unlimited employment of the press, proceeded exclusively from the duty imposed on Government of reserving to itself the authority of determining what publications may or may not, expose the public tranquillity to hazard, or involve a violation of public faith, instead of leaving the decision of such important questions to the judgement of others."¹⁰

The condition of the Press throughout the reign of Minto and the earlier reign of Lord Moira remained miserable; and since the office of Censor was established, there did not occur, from 1801-1820, one occasion on which the Government was compelled even to threaten to send any individual to England.¹¹

B. 1818-1823.

Lord Moira, popularly known as Lord Hastings, was a man of some liberal views and had an inherent liking for effecting reforms. He pursued a sort of middling policy towards the Press, which neither imposed strict censorship and strained regulations nor granted complete freedom of expression and publication. On August 19, 1810 the Office of Censorship was abolished, but the Directors did not sanction this change. They wrote in a Despatch, "After the fullest consideration which we have been able to give to the subject, it is our decided conviction that neither the

9. Malcolm's Political History of India, Vol. II, p. 239.

10. Countess Minto's Life and Letters of Lord Minto, pp. 69-70.

11. Malcolm, Vol. II, p. 300.

Government, nor the public, nor the editors, will benefit from the change.¹² As a substitute, regulations for the conduct of editors were issued. "The editors of newspapers are prohibited from publishing any matter coming under the following heads¹³ :—

(a) Animadversions on the measures and proceedings of the Honourable Court of Directors, or other public authorities in England, connected with the Government in India; or disquisitions on political transactions of local administration; or offensive remarks levelled at the public conduct of the members of Council, of the Judges of the Supreme Court or of the Lord Bishop of Calcutta.

(b) Discussions having a tendency to create alarm or suspicion, among the native population, of any intended interference with their religious opinions.

(c) The republication from English or other newspapers of passages coming under any of the above heads, or otherwise calculated to affect the British power or reputation in India.

(d) Private scandal and personal remarks on individuals tending to excite discussion in society."

This measure has erroneously been inferred as equivalent to the establishment of a free-press. The inhabitants of Madras, in a memorial (July 24, 1819) hailed his lordship as a staunch supporter of liberal measures by granting liberty of discussion. No doubt this measure abolished "an invidious office of censor and freed a public functionary from the responsibility of printing offensive matter; yet it placed that responsibility on the author or editor; but this change, so far from rescinding any of the restrictions upon the press, in reality imposed them in as strong, if not in a stronger degree, than any measure that had before been adopted."¹⁴

Replying to the address presented by the people of Madras Lord Hastings gave expression to his policy. "My removal of restrictions from the press has been mentioned in laudatory language. I might easily have adopted that procedure without any length of cautious consideration, from my habit of regarding the freedom of publication as a natural right of my fellow-subjects, to be narrow-

12. Quoted in Mr. B. B. Mazumdar's History of Political Thought, Vol. I, p. 58.

13. Asiatic Journal (Monthly), June, 1820. p. 610 and Malcolm, Vol. II, p. 301.

14. Malcolm, Vol. II, p. 301.

ed only by special and urgent cause assigned. The seeing no necessity for those invidious shackles might have sufficed to make me break them. I know myself, however, to have been guided in the step by a positive and well-weighed policy. If our motives of action are worthy, it must be wise to render them intelligible throughout an Empire, our hold on which is opinion. Further, it is salutary for supreme authority to look to the control of public scrutiny; while conscious of rectitude that authority can lose nothing of its strength by its exposure to general comment."¹⁵

Mill makes certain interesting remarks on Moira's policy. He says that the bulk of the Indian society was formed of the salaried servants of the Government; already bound by their engagements to furnish it with information, and to execute its commands. The remainder of the Indian public consisted of a very few merchants, traders or artisans, residing in India upon sufferance, having no acknowledged place in the constitution of the government; no voice in its proceedings, no permanent stake in the welfare of the country, and little, if any, knowledge of its condition or realities. "Therefore", adds Mill, "much benefit could not be anticipated from the comments of a few hundred persons . . . forming a body of no weight or influence, and in no essential point corresponding with a public."

These reflections cannot go unchallenged, for, as we shall see, due to the birth of the native Bengali press during the time of Lord Hastings, the government actions were exposed to the "public scrutiny and general comment"; which were of "weight and influence"; and those who were opposed to the least liberty of press viewed it as a greatly dangerous engine of "the most serious mischief". Sir Thomas Munro in his famous minute¹⁶—*Danger of a Free Press in India*—of April 12, 1822 wrote that the British power in India was not based upon the liberties of the people. Only the Europeans could be granted such freedom. If it was given to the natives, they would soon overthrow the British yoke. He went on to argue that the supporters of a Free press deemed two advantages—improvement of the British system of Indian government and that of the minds of the people. But they (supporters) ought to have considered two things, that "the British sovereignty should be prolonged to the remotest possible period; and secondly the native

15. Asiatic Journal (January, 1820) and Beveridge's *Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. III, p. 131.

16. Arbuthnot's *Life of Sir Thomas Munro*, Vol. II, pp. 290-295.

improvement should be to such an extent that they might be able to govern themselves peacefully." These objects, he said, could only be accomplished under a restricted press. He was of opinion that a free press would frustrate all the improvements whatsoever. Consequently there should not be the least liberty of press in India. If it was there, it would "spread among the people the principles of liberty and stimulate them to expel the strangers (British) who ruled over them; and to establish a national government." He enunciated that a native army, a foreign government and a free press—all these were "quite incompatible" things; and could not be left "free with any regard to British safety." It was opined that a free press would revolutionise the army, which would imbibe the spirit of liberty and freedom. Under this "quite incompatible and unnatural state", the army would hasten, joined by the masses, "for the overthrow of the government and recovery of their national independence." Sir Thomas Munro's view of a free press was that it would undermine among the natives all respect for the European character and authority. He said that it was only as regards the natives that the press could be viewed "with apprehension." For it would prepare a "tremendous revolution" in India, which would result in the "premature and violent overthrow" of the British power; and throw her into a state more hopeless than the British first found her. His conclusion was that "the press was dangerous in the highest degree to the existence of the British in India."

On October 10, 1822 Mr. W. B. Bayley, Secretary in charge of the Press, delivered a lengthy Minute¹⁷ in the Calcutta Council, regarding the tendency of the Native press. He pointed out that the Native press was an engine of "the most serious mischief" and that the government should be vested with "legal power to control the excesses of the Native as well as of the European Press." "The liberty of the press", he added, ". . . is not in my judgment consistent with the character of our constitutions (the government being "substantially and necessarily despotic")—in this country.

But be that as it may, the first germ of native journalism (papers published in native languages) was laid down during this period, and there was an increase in the number of English journals and periodicals too. Prof. Dodwell surmises¹⁸ that the first

17. "An Early chapter of the Press in Bengal"—*Modern Review*, November, 1928.

18. Cumming's *Political India*, p. 35.

Bengali periodical seems to have been printed in 1816. But this conjecture is somewhat ambiguous and misleading. If by 'Bengali periodical' Prof. Dodwell means a periodical published in Bengali language, he is not correct; but, if he means a periodical owned and published by a native of Bengal (whatsoever the language of the periodical—English or Bengali) he is correct. For it was in 1816 that the first Indian owned periodical in Bengal, the 'Bengal Gazette',¹⁹ was published by Gangadhar Bhattacharya. This paper existed for about a year. As regards the language it was published in, its very name shows that it must have been published in English, for during those days 'Gazette' was not a word to be used by a man-in-the street. But on the basis of the reports and other publications before us it can be inferred that the first Bengali periodical (published in Bengali language)—'Digdarshan'²⁰—was published in April 1818. It was a monthly journal and 'Sumachar Durpan' or 'Mirror of Intelligence' (which is generally believed to be the first Bengali newspaper) was brought out one month later on May 23, 1818 by J. C. Marshman, a Serampore Missionary. It was a weekly paper for which Lord Hastings had much regard. Besides, a number of other Bengali periodicals were started. 'Sambad Kaumudi', a Bengali weekly appeared on December 4, 1821; and in 1822 was started 'Sumachar Chandrika' or 'Moon of Intelligence' under the editorship of B. Bhawani Charan Bannerji. A Persian weekly—Mirat-ul-Akhbar—under the editorship of Raja Rammohan Roy was started early in 1822. In the Presidency of Madras there was no native publication till 1830. But in the Bombay Presidency there were established certain native publications. 'Monthly Magazine' by Maulvi Ferozbin and Guzerattee Newspaper' by Furdoon Jee Muzban Jee were set up. It is to be borne in mind that no Hindi paper was published till then.

There was an increase in the number of English papers and periodicals too. In Bengal, in addition to the Calcutta Government Gazette, four papers more were set up—'The Bengal Harkara', 'The India Gazette', 'The Calcutta Monthly Journal', and 'The Calcutta Journal'. In Madras, in addition to the already existing ones,* three more papers were started—'Commercial Circulator', 'Madras Advertizer', and Mr. Brown's Oriental Magazine'. In Bombay the number of English periodicals remained as before.

19. Prabhat Kumar Mukhopadhyaya's *Bharat Parichaya*, p. 371.

20. *Ibid.*

* In 1814 there existed in Madras—'The Madras Courier', 'Madras Gazette', 'Madras Government Gazette', 'Madras Army List', and 'Madras Almanack'.

In 1814 there existed in Bombay—'Bombay Gazette', 'Bombay Courier', 'Bombay Army List', and 'Bombay Calendar'.

C. 1823-1828.

The so-called freedom of the press was only short-lived. The *ad interim* government of Mr. John Adam 'smote heavily' at the press. He was a "high-minded" man whose conviction was that the interest of the state demanded an immediate suppression of the licentiousness of the press. His interim government is remembered but for his illiberal proceedings against the press, and his vindictive persecution of Mr. James Silk Buckingham, the Proprietor of the "Calcutta Journal" established late in 1818. It was "the ablest newspaper which had ever appeared in India, and gave a higher tone and a deeper interest to journalism." The paper was extraordinarily popular and successful. The editor, availing himself of the abolition of the censorship commented on the public measures with great boldness, and sometimes with a degree of severity which was considered dangerous. But the great offence of the Journal consisted in the freedom of its remarks on some of the leading members of the government. The official complacency was rudely disturbed by the sarcasms inflicted on them. Madras had been unfortunate to have very incompetent governors and at this time, Mr. Hugh Elliot a second-rate man, was appointed as the governor of Madras. The 'Calcutta Journal' made some remarks about Mr. Elliot's appointment, which was registered as an offence. A Presbyterian clergy man was nominated as the clerk to the well-paid office—Government Stationary Office.—The nomination was condemned by the church and revoked by the Court of Directors at home. The 'Calcutta Journal' too ridiculed the incongruity of the union of the two offices. For this venal offence Mr. Adam at once came down on Buckingham, and a notice was served to the latter that, "in consideration of his (Buckingham's) disrespectful expression" the Governor-General passed an order that Mr. Buckingham should leave India for England "within the period of two months from the date of the receipt of this order, and that after the expiration of that period he is not allowed to remain a single day in India." Mr. Buckingham, at last, was deported; the legality and justice of which were confirmed by both the Court of Directors and King-in-Council.

In his minute of August 14, 1822 Mr. Adam had already suggested that the local governments should be vested with the power of licensing printing offices. Now having received the countenance of Mr. Bayley and Sir Thomas Munro Mr. Adam promulgated his rigorous press Ordinance on March 14, 1823, which was applicable to all classes—European, Anglo-Indian and Natives—alike. Firstly, every printer was obliged to have a license before he was autho-

rised to print newspaper, pamphlet, or work of any description whatsoever. Secondly, these licenses were to be withdrawn on the transgression of press restrictions. These regulations took all "the pith and manhood" out of the journals of the day; and the authority of the Supreme Court was called in to give them full effect.

It was on this occasion that Raja Rammohan Roy and his friends addressed a Memorial,²¹ against the Press Regulations, to the Hon. Sir Francis Magnaghten, the Sole acting Judge of the Supreme Court. It was submitted therein that the natives of this country had "unshaken loyalty" and "unlimited confidence" in the British government of India. If they were granted the freedom of expression, there was not the least "apprehension of the government being brought into hatred and contempt, or of the peace, harmony, and good order of the society, being destroyed." The memorialists were of opinion that the freedom of press was "one of the most precious rights" of the people, which they never abused. Since the art of printing became known to them numerous publications were circulated in the native languages—both Bengali and Persian—which "served greatly to improve their minds and ameliorate their conditions." Pointing out the evils and disadvantages of strict regulations they added that "a complete stop would be put to the diffusion of knowledge and mental improvement" of the natives. They (natives) would be kept in complete darkness about the "admirable system of government, and strict and impartial justice established by the British Government". Further it would also "preclude the natives from making the government acquainted with the errors and injustices committed by the executive officers." It was a "short-sighted policy", if the Government adopted the maxim that "the more a people were kept in darkness, their rulers would derive the greater advantage from them." Such policy would be disadvantageous to the government, for an ignorant people were apt to revolt against their rulers; whereas, an enlightened people were apt to attack themselves and appreciate their rulers.

Lord Amherst, during whose régime the above Memorial was written, had not much sympathy with the arbitrary measures of his predecessors; but he did not repeal them and they did remain on the statute book. It was only the mildness of his lordship's character which tolerated the "free expression" of public opinion; and on the eve of his departure was complimented by the journals in Calcutta "on the liberality and even magnanimity with which he

21. English Works of Raja Rammohan Roy, Vol. II, pp. 431-432.

had tolerated the free expression of public opinion on his own individual measures when he had the power to silence them with a stroke of his pen."²²

D. 1828-1835.

Thus, although the stringent regulations remained on the statute book, the freedom of the press was timidly foreshadowed under the regime of Lord Amherst. It was in the reign of Lord Bentinck that the press, with certain limitations, enjoyed the practical, though not the legal, freedom. The latter was a man of strong-will and liberal sentiments. He thought that there was "no subject which the press might not freely discuss." He regarded it as a friend and as "an auxiliary to good government." Therefore, without repealing the previous regulations, he granted practical freedom to the press. A passage from the Bengal Regulations ran, "the rules impose no irksome restraint on the publication and discussion of any matter of general interest, relating to European or Indian affairs, provided they are conducted with the temper and decorum which the government has a right to expect from those living under its protection; neither do they preclude individuals from offering, in a temperate and decorous manner, through the channel of the public newspapers or other periodical works, their own views and sentiments relative to matter affecting the interests of the community."²³

Let us have a glimpse of his lordship's liberality towards the press from the following notice, released by Bentinck for publication in the several journals of the Presidency:—"The Governor-General invites the communication of all suggestions tending to promote any branch of national industry,—to improve commercial intercourse by land and water,—to amend any defect in existing establishments, to encourage the diffusion of education and useful knowledge, and to advance the general prosperity and happiness of the British Empire in India."²⁴

Only on one occasion Lord Bentinck departed, though with much reluctance, from his policy of non-interference towards the Company. The Company had been placed under pecuniary embarrassments and the First Burmese War had heavily told upon the Company's coffers. With a view to economy the Court of Directors

22. Marshman's History of India, Vol. II, p. 411.

23. Condition of the Anglo-Indian Empire in 1832, pp. 182-183.

24. *Ibid.*

thought of reducing the allowance given to the army officers. Consequently the 'Half-Bhatta-Order' abolishing the allowance, was received in September 1830 which was characterised by Lord Bentinck as "extremely unwise and inexpedient, fraught with mischief, and unproductive of any good." Great hue and cry was raised and a rising became imminent. The army officers published denunciatory articles in the papers and the "newspapers offices were deluged with letters from all ranks and all branches of the service." Therefore to give effect to the Directors' order, "it was necessary... for the public safety, that the press in India should be kept under the most rigid control." The press was gagged and an order was issued on September 6, 1830 forbidding the press to comment upon the Court's decree concerning the subject of bhatta. It might be inferred, by implication, that the September order greatly affected the independence and freedom of the English papers—the native ones enjoying comparative freedom—for the 'Half Bhatta-Order' had heavily touched the pocket of the European officers, which the natives had nothing to do with.

Sir Charles Metcalfe, who was at that time one of the members of the Supreme Council, recorded a minute²⁵ of dissent on September 6, 1830, wherein he criticised and condemned Bentinck's measure. He pointed out that no doubt the freedom of the press was "hostile to the permanency of the British rule, yet ultimately beneficial to the people of India to overthrow the foreign yoke." Lord Macaulay, in his minute²⁶ for the removal of this modified censorship, wrote that "if any inconvenience arose from the liberty of political discussion to those inconveniences the British were already subject." According to him the danger of a free press in India was exaggerated and "overrated". He opined that it was madness on the part of the government to make itself unpopular and incur the popular odium, by introducing stringent measures. Macaulay concluded that Bentinck's measure was despotic and offensive in form.

Be that as it may, during the reign of Lord Bentinck, the press became the friend and auxiliary to good government. Both the European and native presses co-operated with Lord Bentinck in his campaign against 'Suttee', 'Thuggee', 'female infanticide' and other barbarous practices that had crept in the Indian society. The press proved to be an effective instrument in carrying on the propaganda for the introduction of English education in India.

25. Kaye's Life of Metcalfe, Vol. II. p. 121.

26. Trevelyan's Life and Letters of Macaulay, p. 282.

In the Annual Return of 1830 we find a rapid increase in the number of both English and native periodicals. In Bengal there were in all thirty-three English papers, which included the papers we have already alluded to. Amongst the newly established ones the most important were 'John Bull', 'Asiatic Observer', 'Quarterly Oriental Review' and 'Bengal Herald' etc. In Madras the number of the English Journals and periodicals remained as before. But in Bombay there was an increase in the number of English papers; and in addition to the above four papers eight fresh ones were established—'The Chronicle', 'Commercial Advertiser', 'Oriental Christian Spectator' being the most important ones. Some of the English journals were daily, some semi-weekly, some weekly, some monthly, some quarterly and some ones were annual. The total number of subscribers to the English papers in Calcutta was estimated to be 2205, being confined mainly to the civil, military, medical, mercantile, legal and clerical classes. The native journals too had advanced at a rapid stride. In the same Annual Return we find eight native papers established in Calcutta—'Sambad Sarsangroh', 'Sambad Sudhakar' etc.—four papers in Bombay—'Na Samachar', 'Bombay Harkara' etc.

The following extracts²⁷ from the Minutes of Evidence before the (Public) Committee on East Indian Affairs (1832) give a glimpse of the then existing condition of the press and the idea prevailing about it. Sir John Sullivan said, "The press of Calcutta and Bombay is now quite as free as the press of this country. At Madras it remains under the most rigid restrictions." Mr. C. Lushington pointed out that "Lord William Bentinck has allowed a system of the press totally licentious and free; by licentious, I mean that he has given it full license." Mr. James Sutherland said that "the liberty of the press in Calcutta depends on the views of the government for the time-being. Under the administration of Lord William Bentinck a very great latitude is allowed to it; it is virtually as free as it is here in fact." Mr. Holt Mackenzie stated, "I think the discussion of what may be termed public measures, by the press, has been useful. I do not remember any instance in which it has been injurious. But some of the discussions about military patronage... may... have done harm to the discipline and feeling of the army. The Bengal native press showed... with the English the discussions regarding suttee, and some other matters of general interest... and one or two other matters of detail... of which the extended exposition seems much to be desired, as giving to the

27. Reproduced in Asiatic Journal, Vol. X, p. 328.

government a new access to the notions of the people, in regard to the effects of their system."

The following view²⁸ was held by two of the eminent personalities of the day. Mr. Edmonstone, the highest authority in the Court, maintained that "the unrestricted discussion of public subjects and public measures, and latitude of observation on the Directors and persons high in office, must necessarily diminish that deference and respect in which it is of so much importance that the government should be held." Elphinstone maintained that "if all (both English and Native) presses be free, we shall be in a predicament such as no state has yet experienced. In other countries the use of the press has gradually extended along with the improvement of the government and the intelligence of the people; but we shall have to contend at once with the most refined theories of Europe, and with the prejudice and fanaticism of Asia, both rendered doubly formidable by the imperfect education of those to whom every appeal will be addressed. Is it possible that a foreign government, avowedly maintained by the sword, can long keep its ground in such circumstances?"

In spite of all these oppositions, Sir Charles Metcalfe stuck firm to the idea of complete freedom of the press which he had once whispered in 1825, to his friend that "were he the sovereign lord and master he would let the press have its swing." Having received the countenance of Lord Macaulay, Sir Charles Metcalfe granted legal and complete freedom to the press by passing an Act on September 15, 1835, which repealed the Press regulations of 1823 in Bengal and of 1825 and 1827 in Bombay. It ordained that every person having a printing press on his premises was to make declaration thereof; that every book or paper was thenceforth to bear the name of the printer and publisher; and that, within the Company's territories, the printer and publisher of all periodical works containing public news, comments on public news, should appear and declare, when it was to be printed or published. The Act was known as the Act XI of 1835. "The editors of the newspapers or other periodical works in the English language were required to lodge one copy of every newspaper, regular or extra, in the office of the Chief Secretary to the government; and the editors of the newspapers and periodicals in the languages of the country....to lodge one copy....in the office of the Persian Secre-

28. Marshman, Vol. III, p. 93; Beveridge, Vol. III, p. 252; *Asiatic Journal*, Vol. XIX, pp. 152-153.

tary to the government. For these copies they received payment at the usual rate."

The Act was received with the feelings of enthusiasm by the European community and principal inhabitants of Calcutta presented an Address of congratulation to Metcalfe. In reply²⁹ to the address he justified his policy as follows:—

"....although laws of restrictions existed in Bengal which gave awful power to the government, they had ceased to operate for any practical purposes. They were extremely odious. They gave to the government arbitrary power which British subjects in any part of the world detest. No government could now have carried them in effect, without setting universal opinion at defiance.Even supposing them to be good, they were utterly useless, and as they brought unnecessary odium on the government it would have been absurd longer to retain them." Thus having proved the futility of the existing regulations, Metcalfe added, "there can be no doubt, that freedom of public discussion, which is nothing more than the freedom of speaking aloud, is a right belonging to the people, which no government has a right to withhold.it must be admitted to be one of the most imperative duties of a government to confer the incalculable blessings of knowledge on the people, and by what means can this be done more effectually than by the un-restrained liberty of publication?If India could only be preserved as a part of the British Empire by keeping its inhabitants in a state of ignorance, our domination would be a curse to the country, and ought to cease." Continuing Sir Charles said, "I look to the increase of knowledge with a hope that it may strengthen our Empire; that it may remove prejudices....; that it may unite the people and their rulers in sympathy; and that the differences which separate them may be gradually lessened and ultimately annihilated." In answer to the question that different and separate laws ought to have been framed for the English as well as for the native papers, Sir Charles pointed out, "to legislate in distrust of our native fellow-subjects or to legislate differently for them and for Europeans, in matters of right and liberty, would be extremely unwise and unjustifiable policy." He concluded his speech, "we must submit to the attendant evil for the sake of the predominant good; and the Act evinced to the world that the government of the Company desired no concealment, that it was happy to have the most minute particulars of its Indian

29. *Ibid.* Thornton's, Vol. IV, pp. 57-58.

administration scrutinised...and did not wish to rule India as a conquered, ignorant and enslaved, but a cherished, enlightened and free country."

Metcalf's measure has been bitterly attacked and fiercely defended. It has been eulogised by Marshman, Kaye and C. F. Trevelyan for its liberality and condemned by Thornton, Beveridge, the Court of Directors and other contemporary writers for its imprudence. The measure was stigmatised as "precipitate, hasty and premature" and the theory of freedom of press as "wild and impracticable." Thornton says that Metcalfe had only temporary authority and he had no power to take such a drastic step; and even if he took, he ought to have intimated the Home authorities. Beveridge points out that if the press regulations were practically obsolete, if they were not and could not be enforced and were virtually dead, "there could be no use to slay the slain." Metcalfe became the scapegoat of the Court of Directors and had to incur the popular odium and displeasure of the latter; as a consequence of which, when he had the chance of promotion, Metcalfe was prematurely recalled.

The press has, "in fact, been found to be rather the handmaid than the antagonist of government; and the efficiency of the public administration has been indefinitely promoted by the freedom and independence of its remarks....By permitting a more unrestricted publication of opinions in a conquered country than is enjoyed in many of the European states, the ruling power has afforded an unequivocal proof of the benevolent spirit of its intentions and measures."³⁰ Replying to the question as to being a temporary holder of power why did Metcalfe take such a serious step, Mr. C. E. Trevelyan said before the Select Committee on the Government of Indian territories in 1853, "the experiment had been fully worked and tried in the time of Bentinck. He was a mature man with Indian experience and the step that he took was quite sound. It would have been cowardice on his part, being entrusted with full powers, if he had not passed, and it was desired by the public."³¹

E. 1835-1857.

During this period the press enjoyed complete freedom due to the establishment of the easy means of communications it saw the heyday of its prosperity. A large number of both English

30. Marshman, III, p. 93.

31. Report of the Select Committee (1853), Vol. I. pp. 160-161.

and native newspapers were established. The "Times of Bombay" (now "Times of India") was established in June 1838. The "Calcutta Review," a "powerful periodical" representing all shades of opinion—political, civil, social, theological and moral—was first published in May 1844. Its "grand object was to raise up the whole of India from its sunk and degraded position of ages."³² In its very first issue Dr. Alexander Duff published his articles on the horrible and inhuman customs of "Suttee" and "Female Infanticide" existing in India. The "Hindu Patriot," which later on played an important role in the Indian politics, was started in 1853. Bengal was flooded, as it were, with a large number of fresh Bengali newspapers—the most important ones being "Sambad Prabhakar" (1836), "Sambad Saudamini" (1838), and "Banga Doot" (1839).

The period is of supreme importance for it saw the birth of the first Hindi newspaper³³—"Benares Akhbar"—published in 1845 under the editorship of Govind Raghunath Thatte. Raja Shio Prasad 'Sitare Hind' was closely connected with this paper. The Second Hindi periodical was "Sudhakar" brought out by Tara Mohan Mittar in 1850. The most obvious reason for the birth of Hindi Journalism at such a late hour was the backwardness of Hindi prose. Hindi still lacked a standard prose style, so necessary for journalism.

Let us point out some of the general characteristic features of both English and native presses during the two decades preceding the Mutiny. The English owned newspapers bitterly criticised the Charter Act of 1833—emphatically the clause for the greater and larger employment of Indians. The N. W. Frontier policy of Lord Auckland and the annexationist policy of Lord Dalhousie found their critics in the English owned papers. They advocated and eulogised the cause of western learning and civilization to be ingrafted through the medium of English language. The English newspapers prepared the ground and elicited the public opinion for social reforms and they tried to prepare a much-too-loyal class in India.

"In the words of the 'Asiatic Journal,' 'not the English newspapers but the native played an important part in bringing revolution in India—social, moral, religious, educational and material—' The presses fought out against the non-employment of natives in

32. Smith's Life of Dr. Alexander Duff, Vol. II, p. 89.

33. Braj Ratnadas's Bhartendu Harischandra, pp. 200-201.

high judicial, revenue, magisterial and even legislative functions. One of the Calcutta native papers wrote in 1840, "Why should they (Indians) be confined to those inferior employments, which furnish merely the means of subsistence, while they possess powers which might be brought into effective and advantageous play at the Council Board, in the Law Commission, on the Judicial and Magisterial benches?" ; nay he takes yet a more soaring flight and cares to assert that "if the respectable natives were in power through the country, the condition of its population would, without a shadow of doubt, be superior to what it is."³⁴ The efficacy of the native press is estimated by the "Asiatic Journal" as having succeeded "in awakening the slumbering energies of the natives of the soil, by producing in their mind a conception of public spirit, and creating national sentiments; in educating them to feel and exercise their civil capabilities, indoctrinating them with just principles in the sciences of government and political economy, and imbuing them with right views of public morals and national character."³⁵

Standing at the threshold of the Mutiny we find English owned English newspapers and native owned vernacular and English newspapers in close co-operation mainly for humanitarian and liberal reasons. Sometimes we find them at logger-heads due to their diametrically opposed and conflicting interests. But just immediately before the outbreak of the Mutiny none of them is viewed with apprehension. But on the contrary when the early incidents of the Mutiny occurred i.e., when the nineteenth regiment of Native Infantry misbehaved at Barhampur, both the English and native newspapers warned Lord Canning, a firm believer in the freedom of press, for vigorous action. But Canning knew that an honest government had no better corrective than a free and outspoken public critic. The outbreak of Meerut changed the tone of the native press. It began to speak out against the government and sympathised with the mutineers. The English journals advocated a policy of vigorous repression and published inflammatory articles and unguarded statements, which were apt to spread disaffection towards the British Government, both among its native subjects and among dependent and allied states. Therefore Lord Canning was driven to resort to severely repress. emergency measure against the press; and thereby check the

34. Asiatic Journal, Vol. XXXII (1840), p. 55.

35. *Ibid.*

growing tide of disaffection. On June 13, 1857 the Gagging Act³⁶ was passed. This was "an Act to regulate the establishment of printing presses, and to restrain in certain cases the circulation of printed books and papers." Every printer was to obtain a license from the government; and the executive was empowered to suppress any publication without warning, whenever it might see fit.

The European community took great offence for they claimed extra-territoriality in India. "The action of muzzling the press was undoubtedly a mistake."³⁷ It severed the confidence which ought to exist in a great crisis between the rulers and the ruled, and increased the distrust which the tardiness of their repressive measures had till then inspired.

Homes³⁸ points out that the measure as a matter of policy was "unnecessary" for the disloyal native press was less dangerous than the loyal but headstrong English journalists. It would have been better for the Governor-General had he given a friendly warning to the press. Secondly, the unpopularity which the Act brought upon the government weakened the hands of anyone who was concerned in the suppression of the Mutiny. He adds that the Act was a "blunder" simply because it aroused the indignation of the press.

In conclusion the press, since its birth in the early eighties of the eighteenth century to the outbreak of the Mutiny, had a long and chequered history of more than three quarters of a century; and far from instigating or abetting any mutinous spirit in the country, it played a very important part in the early history of Modern Indian Renaissance.

36. For the Text vide Henry Mead's The Sepoy Revolt, Appendix "A."

37. Kaye and Malleon, History of the Indian Mutiny, III, pp. 11-14.

38. History of the Indian Mutiny, pp. 164-166.

Editorial

OBITUARY

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

It is with the deepest regret that we have to record here the passing away, on the 28th September last, of W. H. Moreland, C.S.I., C.I.E., late of the United Provinces Civil Service. He was born in 1868, entered the U.P. Civil Service in 1886, and held the office of Director of Land records and Agriculture from 1898 to 1912 and retired from the Civil Service two years subsequently in 1914. Our acquaintance with him, apart from his publications, goes back to the early years of the *Journal of Indian History*, to which he was a fairly frequent contributor, his contributions being about as frequent as research work would admit. He was a very careful scholar and devoted himself to his work with a whole-heartedness, very rare even among serious students of research. Exceedingly careful in collecting his facts, he was to some extent pertinacious in holding to his conclusions so carefully arrived at. At the same time, we can testify to his having been the most open minded of scholars of that kind, ready to accept even opposite conclusions when proved satisfactorily. He was so eminently devoted to his work and sincere that it would be long before one comes upon his like again. His works are many and well known and hardly need enumeration here. He was devoted entirely to Indian economic history, of which, as Sir Richard Burn says, "he was such an ornament and an example."

N. G. MAJUMDAR

The late Mr. N. G. Majumdar was born on the 1st December 1897 and was at the time of his death in his 41st year. He was a brilliant scholar of the suburban school at Bhawanipur and the Presidency and Sanskrit Colleges, Calcutta. From his college days he was attracted towards the subject of Archaeology, and when the Calcutta University under the late Sir Ashutosh Mukherji formulated a course of studies for Ancient Indian History and culture, he was among the first batch of enthusiasts who joined the classes. His academic career was crowned by the award of a Gold Medal and prize for standing first in first class in his M.A., and the Premchand Roychand studentship. Then he took up the lectureship in the Ancient History Department under Dr. D. R. Bhandarkhar. Even while he was working in the University as a lecturer his

ambition was to do Field-work in archaeology. Later he joined the Varendra Research Society as the Curator of their Museum. While there, he brought out the very carefully edited volume of the Inscriptions of Bengal. The President of the Varendra Research Society helped him in continuing his archaeological studies by deputing him to Mohenjodaro, where he had his first real training in the methods of Archaeological excavations and research. After two years' work at Mohenjodaro he was selected for the post of Superintendent in the Archaeological Survey. His discoveries and researches in Sind extending over 4 years brought to light a mass of material which formed the subject matter of Memoir No. 48 of the Archaeological Survey of India published in 1934.

The retrenchment campaign of 1931 forced him back to Calcutta. During the last seven years, he made efforts to improve the Museum, rearranged the galleries, brought out the results of his Sind discoveries in a thoroughly painstaking and scholarly manner. He published two valuable Guide-books to the earliest Bharhut and the Gandhara galleries which are models of their kind. He also conducted excavations at various places in Bengal and at Kosam and Bihta near Allahabad. Placed on special duty in Sind on the 1st of October he made plans for continuing the work of excavation which he had conducted with such success in the years 1930-31. Cruel fate awaited him soon after he assumed his work in Sind. He was engaged in exploring the hilly country north of the Manchar lake and his camp was 36 miles from Dadu Railway station. Here he spotted some sites which were expected to throw a good deal of light on the age of Mohenjodaro culture. It was on the morning of the Armistice Day he was shot down by a gang of murderers, who were back from a decoity committed in the next village nearly forty miles to the South East.

Mr. Majumdar was thoroughly qualified to deal with every aspect of Indian Archaeology and his death while in pursuit of the most important work of explorations, which he alone had done and was capable of doing, ought to arouse India to a sense of responsibility for continuing such work and producing scholars imbued with the same zeal for conducting field research with enthusiasm, knowledge and training.

R. G.

THE INDIAN HISTORICAL RECORDS COMMISSION

The fifteenth session of the Indian Historical Records Commission met in the Council Chamber in Poona on the 16th December 1938 for the opening meeting, and continued in session the following

day. Sir Girija Shankar Bajpai, K.B.E., C.I.E., I.C.S. Ex-officio President attended the session, and the session was opened by His Excellency Sir Roger Lumley, the Governor of Bombay. The President welcomed His Excellency, and in opening the session His Excellency laid stress upon the importance of historical research under all circumstances, the more particularly in the present condition of India when she appears to be emerging into a new horizon. He pointed out that there were few great movements in the world which have not drawn inspiration at least in part from the past history of the country with which the movement was concerned. This was the third session of the Indian Historical Records Commission meeting in Poona. His Excellency passed in review what the Bombay Government had done to meet the demands of the Indian Historical Records Commission, particularly as the President of the Commission complained at the outset that historical research in which the Commission was deeply interested was the first to suffer whenever the Government felt the need for effecting economy in its expenditure. Having regard to that, His Excellency pointed out that Bombay had done a great deal, in the compilation of a source book of Mahratta History by Professors Patvardan and Rawlinson, and a great deal more has since been done in making the sources of Mahratta history available to research students. In accordance with a resolution passed at the 1925 session of the Commission, the Peshwa Daftar was examined and 46 volumes covering 8,000 pages of documents have been published. There have been published five volumes of a hand list of the Residency Records in Poona by Mr. Franks. Another item of importance is in regard to the Parasnis manuscripts. These were housed in the museum newly built in Satara at an expenditure of 1½ lakhs of rupees. But since Satara is hardly a central place, they have recently resolved to transfer the collection to Poona where the Dakhan College, which was abolished under a Government resolution, is going to be revived as an institution for higher research in history, literature, etc., and the Parasnis records would be transferred to that institution. In regard to the preservation of the Secretariat records, about which the Commission adopted a resolution in the Lucknow session, an arrangement had been made by the Bombay Government to preserve the records from destruction by copying these by the micro film process, and about 2,500 papers have been thus filmed at a cost of Rs. 35,000. The Bombay Government have also made arrangements for providing facilities for research students in respect of Government records, particularly in regard to the Alienation Office records. They have again provided a scholarship of £200 for two years to a member of

the Bharat Itihasa Samshodaka Mandala to depute a research scholar to collect historical material relating to Indian History in the various European countries on condition that the material thus collected be made available to research workers through the Mandala. The Bombay Government again have made provision recently for promoting the study of the languages and history of Karnataka and Gujarat, and revived the Dakhan College in Poona as a centre for post-graduate study in linguistics, history, and experimental psychology. His Excellency concluded his speech by pointing out that "history, true history, can do much for the living generation. In particular it can inspire and it can teach. There have been few great movements in the world which have not drawn at least part of their inspiration from the past." This record of achievement by the Bombay Government in support of Indian historical research is indeed matter for great satisfaction, and it is to be hoped that other Governments will do likewise. At the conclusion of His Excellency's speech, Sir Girija Shankar Bajpai thanked His Excellency and pointed out that the main purpose of the Commission was to unfold the facts of history as enshrined in old records. He pointed out that "if facts of national history were to be scientifically studied, then all Governments, at the centre, in the provinces, and in the Indian States must take a keener interest in the activity of the Commission and lend more generous and more constant support." It is well that he drew attention to this aspect of the question, and the pooling of the resources that he called for is timely. It is to be hoped that there would be more sustained effort in this direction and more useful results.

As many as twenty-six papers were presented on a variety of topics of interest, papers which were most of them illustrations of the history that could be reconstructed from the material recently made available. At the business meeting several important resolutions were adopted, of which a certain number had already met with sympathetic response from the Bombay Government. There was a further resolution to take steps for the preservation of records both in English and in the languages of the country in the District offices. A further resolution recommended the introduction of the film process for the copying of records in the Imperial Record Department. Another resolution called for the general calendaring of all records in the various Record Offices of India with a view to provide students interested in research work a knowledge of the material that is available for these purposes in the Record Offices of India, and gradually arrange for their publication. The proposition was

moved and ultimately accepted, though some members raised objections on the ground of the financial implications, which would be supererogation so far as the Indian Historical Records Commission is concerned. The Commission as an expert body certainly should advise the Government of India as to what is needed to be done in respect of historical records and historical research. It is for the Government of India and the provincial governments to consider how far they could meet the wishes of the Commission financially and otherwise. It is very much to be hoped that the Government will take it in a sympathetic view, and, having regard to the importance of recent Indian History in all its aspects, would take a very sympathetic interest in the matter and provide for the encouragement of historical research in a spirit of liberality.

INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS, ALLAHABAD

The Indian History Congress held its session in Allahabad from the 8th to the 10th October 1938 under the presidency of Professor D. R. Bhandarkar, Carmichael Professor of Indian History, Calcutta University, Retired. Excursions to the ruins of Kausambi, Bhita and other places had been arranged for on the two proceeding days. There was also an exhibition of historical objects which was opened on the 8th instant by the Hon'ble Mr. Sampurnanand, and remained open for about a week. The Congress was inaugurated by His Highness the Maharaja of Benares at noon on the 8th of October 1938, and held its sessions in sections on the two following days. There were as many as 92 papers presented in the various sections, and the number of delegates that attended was about as large as could be. The session was brought to a close with a business meeting held on the afternoon of the 10th instant.

The session was an important one as the movement actually started with an Indian History Congress, over which the Editor of this Journal presided at Bombay in 1931 under the caption of the Bombay Indian History Congress. It was expanded into an All-India modern Indian History Congress, as it was called, which met in Poona under the presidency of Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan, Professor of Modern Indian History, Allahabad. It was there resolved to change the name of the Congress so as to make it an All-India body and take into its province the whole field of Indian History instead of only the modern side. It was considered desirable to give the Congress a permanent organisation, as it were, and a committee was appointed to submit a report therefor. This report was brought up at this meeting in Allahabad.

This business meeting transacted important items of business of general public interest, apart from the actual business of the session. The first item of business was the adoption of the report of the Committee appointed in 1935, and the draft rules, with slight modifications were adopted. After adopting the rules of the constitution generally, an executive committee was constituted of the following members:—

President.

1. Professor D. R. Bhandarkar, President of the Session
2. Dewan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar
and
Professor D. V. Potdar of the Bharat Itihasa Samshodaka Mandala, Vice-Presidents.
3. Professor Sri Ram Sharma of Lahore, Treasurer.
4. Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan of Allahabad, Secretary.
5. Dr. Surendranath Sen of Calcutta, Joint Secretary.

Members of the Committee.

1. Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Dacca.
2. Professor Muhammad Habib, Aligarh.
3. Professor Sitaram Kohli, Punjab.
4. Professor C. S. Srinivasachariar, Annamalai University.
5. Rev. Father H. Heras, S. J. of Bombay.
6. Professor S. V. Puntambekar, Benares
and
Professor H. K. Sherwani of the Osmania University.

The next important resolution adopted was relative to the question of writing a comprehensive History of India, on the motion of Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, who pointed out that the time has arrived when the material collected and the research work carried on both in India and elsewhere might well be incorporated in a comprehensive History of India by the co-operative effort of all scholars interested in the subject. After an interesting discussion, in which several members took part, a resolution appointing a committee with power to co-opt, to consider and draw up a scheme in detail for a comprehensive History of India with instructions to report at the next session of the Congress, was adopted, and the committee was composed of the following persons:—

1. Professor D. R. Bhandarkar;
2. Sir Jadunath Sarkar;
3. Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar;

4. Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit;
5. Professor Muhammad Habib;
6. Professor C. S. Srinivasachariar;
7. Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri;
8. Professor D. V. Potdar;
9. Dr. M. H. Krishna;
10. Dr. Surendranath Sen;
11. Professor Sriram Sharma;
12. Professor Balakrishna;
13. Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan;
14. Sri Jayachandra Vidyalkar;
15. Mr. R. V. Poduval of Trivandrum
and
16. Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao of Rajahmundri.

Among the other important resolutions adopted was one moved by Dr. Balakrishna that arrangements may be made for the establishment of well equipped Record Offices in the provinces and states which do not have these offices, to provide adequate facilities for the use of the historical records in those places by scholars engaged in Indian historical research. Another resolution had relation to the preservation of historical monuments, collections of paintings and other historical material, for which an International organisation had been established by Dr. Nicholas Roerich. Other resolutions asked for the provision of books published in India in the public libraries of Government to make them accessible; and that arrangements be made for the acquisition in type-scripts or photographs of all historical material of importance to Indian History in foreign archives, such as, Holland, Portugal and France.

On the invitation made personally by the Hon'ble Mr. Aziz-ul-Haq, Speaker, Bengal Legislative Council, and Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University, the next session of the Congress will meet in Calcutta.

The session was on the whole a very successful one, and came to a close with a vote of thanks to the local Reception Committee, presided over by Sir Digby Livingstone Drake-Brockmann, and the Organising Committee with Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan as its Secretary.

AN INDIAN ACADEMY

There are various All-India bodies each with its own sphere of work clearly marked out and doing work each in its sphere. It is a part of their programme to hold periodical sessions for reading papers, comparing notes, and discussing matters of interest to themselves. Among these last, it has been felt for some years that, there is need, as in various other countries, for a central body to organise all this research work and bring it on a common platform for the better information of the country. This need has been felt for some time in respect of the Oriental Conference, which, of all these bodies, is one with comparatively wide interests. It was felt at the last session of the Oriental Conference in Trivandrum that the idea be specifically discussed and considered with a view to bring into existence this common organisation. The Philosophical Conference in their session at Nagpur adopted a resolution which had the same object in view. The Indian History Congress in its Poona Session, and in the session that met in Allahabad in October last, adopted resolutions for bringing into existence an All-India historical society analogous to the Royal Historical Society of Great Britain and Ireland. The project before the Oriental Conference is an academy, such as the British Academy or the French Academy, somewhat narrowed in this case, as the scientists of the country have already organised themselves in their own academies, and the Executive Committee of the Conference is considering a scheme for bringing into existence, under proper auspices, an Indian Academy of Arts and Letters. For a vast country like India and the large mass of varied material that it provides for a really comprehensive and scientific study of its culture it is none too soon that the idea is receiving consideration. It is to be hoped that the idea would soon take material shape and effectuate in the organisation of a body, such as is contemplated, which could stand before the world as a recognised All-India body in matters coming within its purview. We wish the movement all success, and would invite the widest sympathy and support.

Reviews

ALL INDIA MODERN HISTORY CONGRESS FIRST SESSION—POONA—PROCEEDINGS; PARTS I—III—SPEECHES, PAPERS AND SESSIONS—WITH PLATES. Published by Prof. D. V. Potdar General Secretary, Poona. (1938) price Rs. 3.

This publication of the Proceedings of the All-India Modern History Congress held at Poona in June 1935, by dint of the organising genius and energy of Professor Potdar and his collaborators was published on the occasion of the succeeding session of the Congress, rechristened The Indian History Congress, held at Allahabad in October last. The volume contains the full texts of the welcome speech of the Chief of Bhore, the presidential address of Sir Shafa 'at Ahmad Khan and the address of Diwan Bahadur Dr. S. K. Aiyangar on the opening of the historical exhibition as an auxiliary to the Congress, besides 12 papers read at the session, summaries of the other papers presented and the report of the sessions.

The Chief of Bhore dwelt on the importance of Poona as a cultural centre and on the necessity of compiling a thorough, comprehensive and scientific history of India, on which, as a sort of commentary, H. E. Lord Brabourne who opened the proceedings, said that the immediate and urgent need is a thorough and scientific study of that history which should precede its writing. Sir S. A. Khan warned the student of the conflict of cultures and objective standards facing him and recommended to him the *archive* method of research and objective presentation. He surveyed the fields of work awaiting the researcher and the gaps to be filled up by him and stressed on the necessity of the publication of manuscript material and the need for starting a manuscripts commission that would utilise the services of expert archivists. Dr. S. K. Aiyangar evaluated the correct location of works of art in their true cultural position, urged the necessity of discerning between the regular materials of history and accessory aids where artistic side should be deemed only subsidiary in this respect and stressed on the faculty for collection and digestion of material, based on a proper appraising of the value of different sources.

Among the papers published there are some interesting ones like the Diversion on Arcot in 1751. Its Genesis; Diwan Purnayya as a social legislator, Mahmud Gawan's Campaigns in Maha-

rastra; Humayun's religion; and Early British relations with the Poona Durbar. The Conference prepared a draft constitution for the formation of an All-India History Congress Association that served as the basis of action at the Allahabad session.

C.S.S.

KAVYAJIVITAVRITTI, VOLS. I AND II. Madras University Malayalam Series, No. 4.

Kavyajivita is an erudite and exhaustive treatise on the principles of literary criticism in Malayalam, published in two volumes as No. 4 of the Madras University Malayalam Series. The author of the book is Mr. P. Krishnan Nayar, Vyākaraṇa Sāhitya-Śirōmaṇi, Junior Lecturer in Malayalam in the Oriental Research Institute of the University, who has already earned an enviable name for himself for wide learning, accurate thinking, and clear and pointed expression. The two volumes now published cover three chapters, the first of which is introductory, while the second and the third deal respectively with *Śabdāṅkāra* and *Arthāṅkāra*. The introductory chapter passes in review several preliminary problems connected with literary criticism, and aims at a comparative estimate of the methods and standards adopted in the East and the West in that respect. The author points out in this connection that, although western critics have many truths to impart, they have not laid so much emphasis on *dhvani* (implied meaning) as Indian critics have done, and that here India stands on a distinctly higher level than Europe. This is no doubt true to a great extent although of late symbolism and suggestiveness have been receiving prominent attention in the West also.

Mr. Krishnan Nayar's treatment of *Śabdāṅkāra* and *Arthāṅkāra* is full and leaves nothing to be desired. The method adopted is the traditional one of *Kārikā cum Vṛtti*, the *Kārikā*s being the verse and the *Vṛtti* in prose. Both the verse and the prose portions are remarkably well-written. The author has laid under contribution all the great authorities on *Alankāra* from *Bhāmaha* and *Dandin* to *Appayya-Dikshita* and *Jagannātha-Pañḍita*. He has discussed, with a mastery of detail which excites admiration, the view-points of the several *Āchārayas*, pointing out which among the opinions held by them is the most acceptable, and has not hesitated to arrive at original conclusions wherever he has thought it necessary to do so. Profuse illustrations have been given from ancient and modern Malayalam works in support of the positions taken up. One can hardly fail to be struck by the erudi-

tion, intelligence and industry which Mr. Nayar has brought to bear on the preparation of this momentous work. He has placed the whole Malayalam speaking world under a deep debt of obligation, and I am sure that every Malayali will be grateful to him for this monumental gift. Malayalam had no great work on *Alankāraśāstra* until now, the only book on that subject which could be considered authoritative on the subject, viz., *Bhāshābhūṣaṇam* of the late Mr. A. R. Raja Raja Varma, being only of an elementary nature. "Poetry" as has been aptly said by Mr. G. F. Bradby "is an emotional and metrical appeal to the understanding which awakens in us, in some form or other, a consciousness of beauty." The greater the training, the quicker such consciousness. The critic no less than the poet, according to authorities like Hēmachandra, requires such training in an abundant measure, and it is only works such as Mr. Krishnan Nayar's *Kāvyaajivitavṛtti* that can put him in the way and refine his taste for appreciation.

Other portions of the subject such as *rasa*, *dhvani* *guṇa* and *doṣha* remain to be dealt with and I have not the least hesitation that they will be treated in the same lucid and comprehensive manner as those comprised in the volumes now published. I wish god-speed to Mr. Nayar and look forward with eagerness to the early publication of the remaining portions of the work also. When *Kāvyaajivitavṛtti* is thus completed there is no doubt that it will easily hold the first place among the works on literary criticism in modern Indian languages and eloquently invite early translation into both Sanskrit and English.

ULLUR S. PARAMESVARA AIYAR.

PANDAI TAMIL ELUTHUKKAL (Ancient Tamil Alphabets) in Tamil by T. N. Subrahmanyam with a foreward by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Professor of Indian History and Archaeology, University of Madras, printed at the Madras Law Journal Press, Mylapore, Madras.

The history of palaeography of South India is a subject of absorbing interest. Some attempts have been made in this direction by indologists like Bühler, Burnell and Gopinatha Rao, but a detailed and connected study of the same has been a hard felt need. This has been supplied in a measure by Mr. T. N. Subrahmanyam in the book under review. He has based his studies not only on the earlier works on the subject but also on the copies of many inscriptions collected by the Madras Epigraphy Department.

The earliest inscription found in South India are in Brāhmi. The Tamil Grantha inscriptions are not anterior to the seventh century A.D. which shows that Brāhmi was used till about that period. Though the Brāhmi of South India largely belonged to the Asokan type yet it had its own peculiar features. The evolution and growth of Grantha and Tamil are discussed in two chapters; their growth is divided into four distinct periods each having its distinctive characteristics. They are the archaic variety, transitional variety, middle variety, and the modern variety, the last of which may be said to date from A.D. 1250. The evolution of the *vaṭṭeluttu* and its characteristics in the different periods of its development are examined in a chapter followed by another dealing with the mixed alphabets. The different methods of connoting numbers are next explained. Mr. Subrahmanyam then traces the evolution of the script and shows how different methods were adopted by the people in the different countries to convey their ideas. The origin and history of Brāhmi are examined at length in another chapter and the author agrees with earlier writers that it was indigenous in origin. But its relation to the Mohenjodaro script is hard to find unless that script itself is satisfactorily studied.

The value of the publication would have been enhanced if a series of copies of inscriptions of the different periods had also been given, so that the differences between the character of the scripts of one period and another can be comparatively studied by the reader. We welcome this useful publication, which we hope will be followed shortly by an English version which would meet the needs of a wider circle of scholars.

V. R. R. DIKSHITAR.

JOURNAL OF THE INDIAN SOCIETY OF ORIENTAL ART:
Dedicated to A. K. Coomaraswami on his sixtieth birthday:
(published by the Editors, Calcutta).

This special number of the Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art is a fitting honour and tribute to a distinguished indologist of the standing Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswami. This scholar whose researches in indology are too well known enjoys an international reputation in the oriental world. Though Ananda Coomaraswami has specialised in unravelling the beauty and grandeur of Indian arts and crafts, his knowledge in other fields of oriental subjects is wide and exact. Sir William Rothenstein truly

says : " India, and those who have come to value the genius of India, owe much to Ananda Coomaraswamy."

In this number there are several contributions some of which are learned and original. Norman Brown's essay on 'Stylistic varieties of early W. Indian painting about 1400 A.D. is highly interesting. Among the western scholars who have contributed to this volume, mention may be made of A. B. Keith, G. Coedes, Betty Heimann, Heinrich Zimmer, and J. Przyluski. Professor Keith very convincingly refutes the untenable theory of Prof. Przyluski that the Gandharvas were unitively conceived under the shape of asses, replaced later on by the horse as the nobler animal. G. Coedes points out in a brief note on the Pillar at Sarnāth that there has been many a study on the symbolism of the lion-pillar ; but everything has been conjectural. The fact seems to be that the symbolism may be Hindu rather than Buddhistic. The article on "the Polarity of the Indefinite" by Betty Heimann is an interesting study of an important aspect of Indian Philosophy. Zimmer's article on temples and true cults is more popular than learned. J. Przyluski examines the existing theories about Angkor Wat and concludes that it is likely it was a tomb rather than a temple. In this examination he brings to bear the principles which determined the Hindu ritual symbolism.

Among the Indian contributors figure the names of Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Dr. S. K. Aiyengar, and others. There is an informed note on 'Śiva of Prehistoric India' by Dr. Bhandarkar. Equally interesting is an iconographic note by Dr. S. K. Aiyengar on a sculpture of a Venugopala image found in the ruins of Hampi. 'Paintings from Lepakshi' by C. Sivaramamurti is another interesting paper. Last but not least is the searching examination of Dakṣiṇ-citra by Stella Kramvisch the term occurring in a rock-cut inscription of the Pallava King Mahendravarman. This article and the volume in general is very richly illustrated. We dare say that this number will be much appreciated by oriental scholars and especially by students of Oriental Art.

V. R. R. DIKSHITAR.

MEMOIRS OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA.

No. 57 : The " Numeral-Signs " of the Mohenjo-Daro Script by Alan S. C. Ross Leeds University. Price Rs. 2 or 3s. 6d.

Ever since the discovery of Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa finds containing numerous seals and inscriptions, scholars have been

busy with a study of the script. The able studies on the subject in the valuable volumes presented to us by Sir John Marshall and J. R. Hunter's special study on the script can be particularly mentioned. Recently the Rev. Father Heras S. J. has been at it, and his investigation has led to the conclusion that the base language of the Indus script is the Dravidian language, Tamil. No reference is made to the attempt in this direction by Professor Father Heras.

In the memoir under review, Professor Ross is concerned only with the Numeral signs of the script. He has collected exhaustive data, collated them and presented them in a scientific method. His researches in the interpretation of the signs have led him to an important conclusion, and this is that the base-language of the Indus script, it is unlikely, is primitive Dravidian, primitive Munda or primitive Burushaski ; but it is likely that it is primitive Indonesian. But the Professor is certainly cautious in his statement. For in a footnote on p. 20 where he summarises the results of his study, he tells us that 'this of course involves no pronouncement on the question whether it actually is Primitive Indonesian'. It is hoped that more light will be thrown on this intricate question in the near future.

V. R. R. DIKSHITAR.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA. Annual Report 1935-36.

This Official Report of the Archaeological survey sustains the same interest to students of archaeology as the previous volumes. As usual the first section is devoted to the conservation of monuments in the different circles and provinces including native states. The more important part of the Report is the section dealing with exploration and research. The progress of excavations at different places like Taxila, Harappa, Nalanda and Pataliputra is noted. Particular interest is aroused by the discovery of more finds at Chanku-daro, about which Dr. E. Macky contributes an informing note. The same interest is evoked by a study of N. G. Majumdar's note on the excavations at Lauriya Nandangarh, well known for its Asokan Pillar, situated in the Gandak valley. In re-examining the mounds at Lauriya which lie in three district rows, and which are generally described 'Vedic burial mounds,' Mr. Majumdar points out that they are not to be regarded as of the Vedic age, and that the female figure found there represented the survival of a pre-Buddhist divinity, perhaps identical with the Earth Goddess.

Under the section, Epigraphy, Dr. N. P. Chakravarti's examination of the Sanskrit inscriptions adds very much to our existing knowledge of Sanskrit epigraphy. The work that has been turned out by the Museums in different places is dealt with in a separate section. But the section (VIII) affords by far greatest interest. There are three instructive notes, (1) on Siri, a city of Delhi founded by Alauddin Khalji by Khan Bahadur Maulvi Zafar Hasan, (2) on a Buddhist Sculptural motif at Hampi by C. R. Krishnamachari, and (3) on Persian sanads preserved in an ancient family of Brahman Joshis at Erandol by Z. M. Moneer. The illustrations are rich and profuse.

V. R. R. DIKSHITAR.

MEDIAEVAL JAINISM WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE VIJAYANAGAR EMPIRE. By Dr. B. A. Saletore. Karnatak Publishing House, Bombay 2. Pages 426.

Dr. Saletore is a very prolific writer and enthusiastic researcher. It was only about a couple of years ago that he brought out his 'History of Tuluva'; and now, in accordance with a suggestion made to him on the occasion of the sixcentenary celebration of the foundation of Vijayanagara, he has brought out this study of the Jainas and their services under the mediaeval Hindu monarchs in South India. He has treated the subject from a non-religious stand-point and attempted to trace the influence exerted on Jainism and by Jainism on secular forces. He starts from the acceptance of the traditional migration of the Jainas to the south about the beginning of the third century B.C., passes through the long period of Ganga rule when Jainism was a most potent force in Karnataka and stresses on the services of Acharya Simhanandi, whose impetus enabled it to flourish vigorously for centuries during which the Ganga dynasty was in power. He also points out how the Kadamba line, though essentially Brahmanical in religion, gave a few monarchs who were devoted to Jainism and of the Rashtrakuta patronage of Jaina Acharyas and works. The Western Chalukya monarchs had marked Jaina leanings; and the age of Jayasimha was rendered illustrious by Vādiraja, among other great men. The question is discussed whether Someswara Ahavamalla and even the great Vikramaditya VI could be held to be Jainas on the evidence of their patronage of and grants to Jaina *bastis* and scholars; but the evidence for proving their Jaina filiations is slender. The Hoysala kingdom itself is held by our author to be the second supreme creation of Jaina wisdom. Vishnuvardhana is

shown to have been devoted to a Jaina guru even so late as 1125, i.e., several years after his conversion to Vaishnavism. King Narasimha I and his general Hulla exhibited great piety for the Jaina religion. Even under the later Hoysala kings, the capital Dorsamudra continued to be a strong hold of Jaina teachers and learning.

In Chapter III, our author traces in outline the chief exemplars among the princely feudatories of the period who patronised the Jaina faith, and marks particularly for notice the family of Jinadatta Raya and of the Kongalvas and the Changalvas, of whose Jaina leanings there cannot be much doubt.

The next section deals with the men of action in the Jaina community who rendered their names famous by great deeds, like Chāmundaarāya, who is rightly extolled as a celebrated warrior and the personification of liberality. Sāntinātha, a minister of the Chalukyas in the eleventh century, was one example of lesser men of this type. It is held that Gangaraja, the great Jaina general of Vishnuvardana, has not received full justice in the epigraphs of the period. He was a loyal soldier in the first place and next a devout Jaina. Of him a record of 1117 A.D. speaks thus: The Kondakunda line of the Mula Sangha is the most ancient in the Jaina creed and the promoter of that line is undoubtedly the general Gangaraja." Numerous other military leaders who flourished then and later are noticed by Dr. Saletore, who next proceeds to describe the worth of great women in Jaina history, like Attimabbe, daughter of Mallappa and Lakshmimathi, the wife of the famous Gangaraja. The Jaina Dharma was supported by the mass of the people also is the next thesis taken up; and the chief strong-holds of the faith like Sravana Belgola, Talakad, Humccha and Vanavase and also lesser places are traced in their vicissitudes. In an excursus, the Ajivikas are proved to be different from both the Jainas and the Yāpaniyas who were an unorthodox Jaina sect; while the different stages in the growth of Jainism in the Tamil country to the east of Karnataka are attempted to be outlined on the basis of information culled from different sources. It is held that the downfall of Jainism in Karnataka was brought about, unlike as in the Tamil country, by some peculiar political factors like the decline of the royal patrons, the rise of Vira Saivism and the conversion of the trading classes to the latter faith, due to the indifference of the Jaina teachers themselves. Under Vijayanagara rule, we have got the example of the famous inscription of 1368 A.D. of teaching toleration, which is called the great charter and which Bukka gave to the Jainas of the empire. This action of

Bukka is held to have had a permanent effect on the wide outlook of the people of Vijayanagara, which persisted on even the days of Krishnadevaraya. The tracing of Jainism at the provincial courts and of the transition in the character of the religion that began to manifest itself from the fifteenth century are shown to be the results of a synthetic appreciation of the appeal made by Jainism to the common people, particularly in Karnataka.

Our author says, among other things, that Jaina influence was powerful in Sringeri, the strong hold of Advaitism in its early days. On the whole, we have a mass of useful information culled together and given in good classified form in this book, and we are to be thankful to Dr. Saletore for tracing the fortunes of Jainism and its reactions on kings and peoples through the centuries.

C.S.S.

SARDESAI COMMEMORATION VOLUME. Edited by Shripad R. Tikekar—Publisher—Keshav Bhikaji Dhawle, Shri Samarth Sadan, Bombay 4, 1938. Pages 310.

This volume was presented to Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai on the 1st of October 1938 by the Hon'ble Mr. Justice M. R. Jayakar Judge of the Federal Court, as a tribute of respect for and appreciation of his long career of useful activity in the field of Indian historical research, and in particular, in the advancement of the study of Maratha History on a scientific basis. This volume, along with another similar volume containing papers in Marathi, was prepared by the Sardesai Memorial Committee, under the very capable and enthusiastic lead of Mr. S. R. Tikekar and Mr. B. V. Jadhav, Secretary and Chairman respectively of the Committee. The handsome format and the substantial size of the volumes added to the very good fare contained in them, pertaining to matters concerning topics of Maratha History, as well as other historical subjects are indicative of the zeal of the editor, Mr. Tikekar and the energy he brought to bear upon his task.

In the English volume, there are thirty papers contributed by representative historical scholars, both Indian and European. In the latter category we have Mr. C. A. Kincaid, so well known for his wide studies in Indian History and his genial stories, Prof. H. G. Rawlinson, Mr. Edward Thompson and the Rev. H. Heras, S. J.; on the Indian side we have the veteran Dr. S. K. Aiyangar and other scholars like Dr. S. N. Sen, Dr. K. R. Quanungo, Dr. Balakrishna and the rising scholar-prince, Raghubir Sinh. Sir

Jadunath Sarkar, besides contributing a valuable paper on the earliest available Persian account of Panipet, written, only eight months after the famous struggle, by the last Mughal Diwan of Gujarat, gives a very good and readable biographical sketch of Mr. Sardesai, picturing him in his personality as a scholar and in his methods of work and mental outlook. In Sir J. N. Sarkar's opinion, Mr. Sardesai is entitled to very great credit on account of both work and method. He thus writes of Mr. Sardesai:—"His tireless striving after accuracy, passion for going down to the root of things, cool balance of judgment and unfailing commonsense in interpretation—have marked his historical works and marked him off from the common herd."

Mr. Sardesai was entrusted with the sifting and selection of valuable material from the Peshwa Daftar, after a great amount of persuasion of the Bombay Government by a number of scholars for their analysis and publication. The work of selection and publication of these records was realised in 45 printed volumes of Marathi letters, each letter being accompanied by a short explanatory note in English and the letters being arranged subject-wise in their respective volumes. Mr. Sardesai has also carefully sorted and rearranged the unprinted material for the benefit of future workers. This might be justifiably regarded as his *magnum opus*; we wish and pray that he will be blessed with many more years of activity in presenting to the student further archival material of Maratha history and other mellow fruits of his ripe scholarship.

Going into the papers themselves comprehended in the Commemoration volume and relating to Maratha history, we have, first, Mr. Rawlinson's description of the military side of the battle of Kirki; then, a picture of the Marathas in Malwa in the period 1707-19 by Dr. R. Sinh who attempts to throw new light on the events of these critical years, on the basis of Jaipur records unearthed by him; a stress on the projection of Maratha dominion and administrative and cultural influence into South India under Shahji by Mr. C. S. Srinivasachari; an account of the diplomatic negotiations that preceded the battle of Panipat by Dr. S. L. Srivatsava; an anonymous document preserved in the India Office describing Maratha institutions of civil government as they existed at the time of the extinction of the Peshwaship which perhaps formed one of the bases of the famous report of Elphinstone; a stress on the value of Kannada sources for Maratha history by Dr. B. A. Saletore; a new interpretation of Shivaji's annexation of Jawli by Dr. S. N. Sen; Mahadaji's Sindia's invasion of Jaipur in 1787; and the crowning article of all—Sir J. N. Sarkar's valuable paper

on 'The Earliest Persian Account of Panipet' already referred to. These furnish a substantial amount of contribution to Maratha History. Mr. Kincaid's 'The Quest of the Golden Fleece' is interesting to read and is couched in pleasing language. Mr. R. N. Salletore discovers trends of regular policy adopted by Maratha rulers towards the wild tribes like the Bhils, the Minas etc., and sees in this policy a continuance and an adaptation of the rules given by classic writers like Kautilya. The account of Kanhoji Angria by Mr. Dighe gives us a picture of one of the great personalities of Maratha History, who built up an aspect of activity and greatness that was unfortunately neglected. The 'Ballad of Bhao' given by Dr. Qanungo along with an English translation, a glossary and historical notes enables the reader to understand one phase of Maratha ambition entertained on the eve of the crisis of Panipat.

Dr. S. K. Aiyangar's paper on 'Rama Raya of Vijayanagar' takes us to a disturbed period of South Indian History which corresponded to the epoch of the struggle of the English Company to get out of Masulipatam and seek a site for settlement which ultimately led to the choice of Madras. In his own scholarly way, he weaves into the narrative, the woof of the struggles of the Europeans for getting a foot-hold on the coast and the warp of the continuous effort made by Rama to bring back his rebel vasals to loyalty. Mr. Nilakanta Sastri, who deals with almost the same period utilises contemporary Dutch records of treaties between their company and the court of the Raya concerning Pulicat and he shows how the Hindu kingdom had lost all control of the sea board.

The Rev. Father Heras, S. J. gives us a paper describing the representations of God as found in the course of the excavations of Mohenja Daro and Harappa; he mentions the trident as a symbol of God even in those early days and would conclude that the prototype of Shiva could be found in the representations and the people of that age were basically monotheistic. There are other interesting papers in the volume treating of other subjects, like the Mysore War of 1767-69, the extinction of the Nizam Shahi of Ahmadnagar and the caste name of Gabit.

The Marathi volume contains several papers of an interesting character and is equally well got up with its English companion. We are not able to go intensively into the papers, but can pick out a few as being of particular value, like *Rājanīti* by V. B. Kolte; the Rajput—Maratha War of 1754-56 by M. V. Gujar; the second marriage of Nana Sahib Peshwa by Y. K. Deshpande; the Poet Parmanand by K. N. Deshpande; Maratha Judicial Administration by

N. G. Chapekar; and a sketch of Mr. G. S. Sardesai's life and activity by Mr. S. R. Tikekar, the editor.

The personality of Mr. Sardesai and his place among historians of present day India have received a fitting tribute in these two volumes, which we commend to all students of Indian History and culture.

C. S. S.

THE RISE AND FALL OF MUHAMMAD BIN TUGHLAQ. By Dr. Mahdi Husain, Agra College (This is approved for the degree of Ph.D. in the University of London, 1935)—London, Luzac and Co., 1938, pp. xvi and 274. Price 15/-.

This monograph aims to dispel the popular notions prevailing about Muhammad bin Tughlaq and to throw new light on his attitude towards Hinduism and his relations with his Hindu subjects on the one hand and with Muslim jurists and saints on the other. He has made use of, in addition to the existing sources, (1) two Sanskrit inscriptions of 1327 and 1328 A.D. to prove that the mass of the Hindus were not affected by the forced emigration to Devagiri and enjoyed peace and protection and were favourably inclined to the emperor; (2) The *Futūh-us-Salātin of Isāmi*, dedicated to the first Bāhmani ruler of the Deccan, which was openly hostile to the Sultan and throws light on many phases of his reign, besides revealing the source of some of the stories recorded by Ibn Battūta; and (3) a fragment of the *Memoirs of Muhammad bin Tughlaq*, contained in a manuscript of the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri* at the British Museum, which enables the student to understand many obscure passages in Barani regarding the mind and religious views of the Sultan, his attitude towards the Khilji dynasty and his own father and the causes of his complete surrender to the Abbassid Caliph at Cairo, besides the nature of the difficulties confronting the Sultan and the weakness of the empire. Thus Dr. Mahdi Husain claims, with justifiable academic pride, to present here "a true account of the life and policy of that emperor who was an enigma to Barani, an enemy of Islam and friend of Hinduism to Isāmi, and a mixture of opposites and a freak of nature to others." In an exhaustive and critical survey of the sources, he gives a very good summary of the value of Isāmi's work, which he calls the *Shāh Nāmā* of mediæval India and which he brings into effective use in the section on Review and conclusions (Ch. X.). The translation of the Sultan's *Autobiography* fragment given on pp. 172-4, is very useful as giving an idea of the mentality of the Sultan who wrote

that "the general chaos became such that one would have preferred (in despair of Islam) to become an idolater." This and Isāmi's suggestion that the series of rebellions in the empire was due to the influence of the aggrieved Qazis or Ulamā exercised over the provincial governments, would explain why the Sultan evolved a new plan to thwart the enmity of the Ulamā and turned to the Abbassid Caliph, submission to whom would regain the confidence and support of his subjects. At the same time the Sultan introduced new economic and administrative measures, in the form of a code, including the creation of a new agricultural department and the setting up of a new regime in Mahārāshtra, worked by new employees of humble extraction. The attempt failed, particularly in the last respect; and the result was the outbreak of new rebellions which overwhelmed the Sultan and ended in his death.

Our author would hold that the crisis caused by the recruitment and maintenance of large armies for the Khurāsān and the Qarādhil expeditions and the shortage of silver were the most reasonable motives for the introduction of the token currency which enabled the Sultan to avoid the experiment of Ala'u'd-din Khilji, viz., the fixing of the prices of all commodities. Anyway the experiment was not followed by harmful consequences. The Deccan problem was the most formidable of all the troubles. One thing reacting from it was the supposed abandonment of Delhi for Devagiri, put into classic form by Barani. Dr. Husain tries to prove that the Sultan did not mean to replace Delhi by Devagiri, but only to make the latter a new or second capital by taking it under his personal charge; and the methods adopted for the execution of the plan were "constructive and philanthropic rather than destructive." The eventual failure of the plan undermined the prestige of the Sultan and increased the opposition to him. Delhi was not depleted; and the Hindus in it were not disturbed, the nobles and men of note being the emigrants.

Likewise, an attempt is made to exculpate the Sultan from the charge of parricide; and the situation is proved to be such that there was no cause or factor impelling him to this action. The charge was largely due to Isāmi, while Barani, the other contemporary authority, completely exonerates the Sultan.

The Deccan revolt was the most formidable; but that of Ma'bar in 1335 forms a landmark dividing the earlier risings of individual governors from the later ones which were far more

widespread, covering the whole land right up to the Sutlej. These rebellions numbering 21 on the whole are carefully analysed in Chapter VIII with reference to their root-causes, repercussions and provenance. However much the Sultan tried to consolidate Devagiri and Maharashtra, the difficulties in the way were great; and the mischief of the *amirān-i-sadah* (centurions) was very important as a disintegrating factor. Attention to this has been drawn by earlier writers on the Deccan revolt like Sir T. W. Haig, and Dr. S. K. Aiyangar. The Sultan knew the inevitability of disintegration and wrote on his death-bed:—"We strutted about this world a good deal: till, at last, we sank, and became hump-backed like the new moon."

Discussing the Sultan's personality, our author makes bold to conclude that "the whole of his life fails to give any instance of unkindness to his non-Muslim subjects on the ground of religion," and that "his zeal for the spread of Muslim culture there (at Devagiri) can hardly serve as a proof of his zeal for the propagation of Islam." He was "neither visionary nor impractical, nor inherently unsound"; but he was far in advance of his age and could not exploit religion for his purposes. The Ulamā whom he antagonised paralysed the right arm of the state and helped not only his fall, but the break up of his empire.

Dr. Husain has a useful chapter on the Sultan's administrative system, including the army, revenue and other departments which show signs of progress, compared with those of the Khiljis. His coinage is shown to be superb and to reflect every important change in his policy and the five different phases discernible in it. He has furnished elaborate notes on the origin of *Tughlaq* as a term. The book is a proper companion to and improvement on previous studies of the Sultan and his age, made by Gardner Brown, Sir Wolseley Haig and Ishwari Prasad. Its chronological scheme is clear.

C. S. S.

✧ THE CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY OF INDIA (FROM THE ADVENT OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY TO THE PRESENT TIME). By K. V. Punniyah, M.A., (Hons.) Allahabad: The Indian Press, Ltd., 1938—pp. ix & 409—Price Rs. 6.

This book endeavours to be useful to both the University student and the general reader and follows both the chronological and topical methods of treatment. The first nine chapters trace

the evolution of the British Indian Administration and constitution down to the operation of the Act of 1938. The 'double government' in Bengal is said to have soon produced a 'double government' at home; and Parliament itself is held to be guilty of confusing the Company's authority as the agent of the British Crown on the one hand and as an office-holder of the Mughal Emperor on the other. The Parliamentary acts concerning India passed from 1784 to 1858 developed also the Indian administrative system and promoted centralisation that became prominent as a line of growth from 1833. The centralisation of the administration helped in its turn the progress of a nation-wide political consciousness. Mr. Punniiah devotes detailed attention to these features and to the policy of combining reform and repression—and the darkening idea of *divide et impera*—that animated Morley at the India Office. The later stages of Indian Constitutional progress are then traced with the definite conclusion that the primary purpose of dyarchy was not realised anywhere, not even in Madras.

The public services are traced in their evolution in Chapter X; and the following chapter contains a resumé of the development of the Judiciary in its main phases down to the constitution of the Federal Court. The District Administration and its apex institution of the Collector-Magistrate have been affected by the gradual transition of the Provincial Government from a paternal to a constitutional basis; and our author remarks that "it seems therefore no longer unjust to compare the position and functions of the Collector with those of the French Departmental Prefect;" only the former has not yet fully adopted his character and procedure to the new situation. He is not very eager to see the separation effected between the Collector and the Magistrate and says that many of the arguments formerly adduced for such a separation have lost all point and force now. He also justifies the excessive amount of governmental control exercised over local bodies on the analogy of other countries and in the interests of purity and efficiency. The treatment given to the Indian States is rather thin, particularly as concerns their joining the Federation. But his delineation of the forces leading to Federation and the distribution of powers, functions and resources between the centre and the parts are clear and helpful to the student. He would condemn the proposed scheme of federal government as embodied in the Act of 1935, but would not countenance any direct or open attempt to wreck it, though he admits that "non-co-operation and civil disobedience movements have no doubt still their own use and

value in the Indian States" (p. 409). The book lacks an index, a very necessary feature of such manuals. The style is easy and the documentation is not heavy.

C. S. S.

EUROPEAN BEGINNINGS IN WEST AFRICA (1454—1578).

By J. W. Blake (Royal Empire Society, Imperial Studies, No. 14). Published by Longmans Green and Co., London, 1937. pp. xi and 212.

This monograph deals with the first stage of European enterprise in West Africa and is largely based on manuscript material in the British Museum and the Public Record Office. It is a first browsing in a verdant field of research which would lead scholars to ransack various European archives, and in particular, the Torre do Tombo at Lisbon. The author rejects the French claim to the honour of prior discovery in Guinea. Their occupation of Ceuta led the Portuguese directly to the attempt to find Guinea; and it is their settlement in and possession of Guinea, after a struggle with Castile and the efforts of France and England to destroy their monopoly that form the subject-matter of the book. The Castilio-Portuguese struggle ending in 1480 was largely the Castilians' attempt to prevent the creation of a monopoly by their rivals. Portugal busied itself with securing international recognition of its exclusive possession of Guinea and suppressing the activities of the interlopers. The contract system of trade-leases was a familiar feature. The entire gold trade of Mina was in royal hands. With regard to slaves there was a decreasing volume of traffic, just before the opening up of the market of the New World for West African Negroes. Slave-trade was the most important branch of the traffic of Guinea and provided a steady revenue for over two centuries.

It is a pity that the Guinea enterprise of the Portuguese was overshadowed by the interest in the slave trade between Angola and Brazil and in the glory of the Indian Empire. The monopolistic organisation of the Guinea trade provided both Spain and Portugal with precedent, example and experience when they began to build up their empires in the West and East Indies respectively. Moreover, Guinea enjoyed an independent and vigorous life down to 1578. Mainly owing to French aggression, Guinea ceased to be a Portuguese possession in the years 1530-53 and became the commercial playground of an ever-growing number of foreign pirates, filibusters and traders. English enterprise in the region began in

earnest after 1559 ; and English Protestants, French Huguenots and Dutch Calvinists combined for the mortal struggle over trade and territory in Guinea ; and enterprise in that region " ceased to be a story of beginnings and became one of acute rivalry ". And obsolete theories of monopoly gave place to an active struggle for partition. The bibliography, both of documentary and printed sources, is a careful compilation.

C. S. S.

A **POLITICAL HISTORY OF PARTHIA.** By Neilson C. Debevoise of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago. 1938. pp. xliii and 303. Price, \$ 3.00.

The author has made use of classical writers, Armenian sources, Arabic writers and the extensive and well published Parthian coinage. The Indian sources for Parthian history are largely concerned with numismatics and create, in their eras, as many problems as perhaps they solve. The most difficult period of Parthian history is that prior to the invasion of Mesopotamia in 141 B. C. Dated coinage forms the primary basis for parthian chronology; but there are difficulties arising from very few of these bearing the king's name.

Mithradates I (acc. 171 B. C.) established Parthia as a world-power. Its eastern contacts made the Sakas prominently and closely associated with the Parthians. Parthian influence in India has necessarily to be regarded as an Indo-Iranian culture in which other elements, such as the Hellenistic, are present. Our author accepts Rapson's arrangements of the Indo-Sythian kingdoms and their relations with the feudatories of S. E. Iran—all of which however depend upon numismatic evidence of unknown provenience. There were three contemporary rulers of royal rank in Eastern Iran and N. W. India, a king of kings in Iran ; his associate king ; and a king of kings in India; and the associate ruler in Iran usually became the supreme ruler in India. Thus Gondopharnes (*lit.*=winner of glory) left Arachosia to assume supreme command in India and ruled certainly till 45 A.D. After him the Saka power dwindled away. The view that the Kushanas were also of Saka origin, as put forth by Sten Konow, is not pointed out by the author.

With carrhae, Parthian activity definitely goes to the western frontier; and the effect of the Roman disaster was to place

Parthia on an equal, if not superior, plane with Rome in the minds of men from the Mediterranean to the Indus. Another supplementary effect was that the Palestinian Jews turned their eyes towards Parthia for deliverance from oppression. The long-drawn campaigns in Syria and its hinterland between the Parthian and Roman powers lasting from the time of Antony to the last quarter of the first century A.D. are traced in the course of several chapters with wearisome detail. Parthian control over the silk-route from China to the west and the increasing demand in Rome for eastern luxuries led to the growth of references in Roman commerce and literature, which became more and more stereotyped in course of time, like the Parthian bow, the feigned retreat, the parting shot, etc.

Trajan's campaign in Armenia and Mesopotamia followed the pattern set by Caesar. The activities of his successors were contemporaneous with the decline of the Parthian kingdom whose end is shrouded even yet in mystery and whose heritage fell to the Sassanians. Little firsthand information is available for the administrative machinery of the Parthian empire, except for areas on its periphery. The form of government of the dependencies varied from time to time. The pattern of the Hellenistic city-state was preserved wherever possible, though the Parthian revolt was a reaction against Iranian Hellenism. Stress should also be laid on the Parthian compound bow and complete scale armour for man and horse—both of which were so formidable to the Roman legionaries. The author purposely confined the treatment to the political history of Parthia as a mass of cultural material culled from Dura—Europus and Seleucia will soon be presented.

C. S. S.

HUMĀYŪN BADSHAH— by Dr. S. K. Banerji, M.A., Ph.D., (Lon.) Lucknow University with an introduction by Sir. E. Denison Ross, Oxford University Press, 1938. pp. xxi and 284—price Rs. 8.

The materials for the history of Humāyūn are very rich; and the period dealt with concerns really not one, but three Mughal principal actors, the Mughal Humāyūn, the Afghan Sher Shah and the Gujarati Bahādur Shah. The author threads together the events of the stirring decade ending with the battle of Kanauj and the institutions which formed to some extent, the background for these. He perceives the germs of Irani-Turāni rivalry in Muhammad Khalifa the

minister, attempting to supersede Humāyūn by Mahadi Khwāja and accepts Nizāmuddin's version in full. The Afghan opposition was rightly the most serious problem which Humāyūn had to face; and he ignored the difficulty for reasons arising more from lack of vision than out of want of strength. Sher Khan's attitude towards the Mughals in the critical years 1532-33 is explained with convincing logic to have been directed to get Mughal countenance and secure freedom from Mughal interference in the coming years. Again Kāmran is held to have had no rupture with his brother for the first eight years of the latter's reign; and the coins of the period attest the loyalty of the younger brother who neither disputed the Delhi throne, nor aimed at independent rule.

Humāyūn's building of the Dīn-Ranāh (Purāna Qila) is described as announcing the new policy of toleration and fairness to all and encouraging the learned from all parts of the Muslim world, though, perhaps, it cannot be totally held that "in his time the centre of Muslim culture was Delhi and not any town of Persia, Turkey or Central Asia and that every aspirant to literary or philosophic fame sought the patronage of the Mughal court." (p. 63). His attitude towards Bahādur of Gujarat is traced with great clarity and detail; and we are treated to the very prominent part played by Rūmi Khan, the master-gunner, first for, and then against his master Bahādur who was spurred by two sets of men, respectively Afghan and Mughal, each with the ambition of recovering Delhi.

In the excursus into the political attitude of the Muslim victor towards the Hindu vanquished, made by our author in chapter X, he would say that the picture of Muslim fanaticism has been generally overdrawn and offers four explanations for "the occasional outbursts" of Muslim iconoclastic zeal. With considerable skill he describes Humāyūn's movements against Bahādur, his victory at Mandesor and advance to Bhāmpānir. He condemns Humāyūn's cruelty at Mandu and, later, at Cambay, as a direct negation of his general character and of the usual conciliatory policy of the Mughals and also as partly explanatory of the loss of the two provinces of Gujarat and Malwa soon after they had been conquered. Humāyūn is criticised for proceeding to apportion Gujarat among his nobles before completing the conquest of Kathiawad. No proper settlement of Malwa was made, nor any arrangement was made to preserve the continuity of the Mughal system of administration. If he had befriended Bahādur, he could have easily secured the recognition of Mughal suzerainty over Gujarat, broken up the secret alliance between him and Sher Khan,

and built up an alliance between Delhi and Gujarat as against the Portuguese. One result of the Gujarat campaign was the recovery of Chitor by the Rajputs of Mewar which the Mughal emperor did not resent.

Turning now to Dr. Banerji's account of Sher Shah's rise, he puts him down as one of the finest specimens of the Jaunpur culture and stresses on the value and significance of his land-assessment and his respect of group-opinion, even in his early management of his jaghir. Indeed he is full of admiration for the Afghan and says that his remarks are justified, though they may appear to be mere *obiter dicta* in this work.

Sher Shah's rise to prominence is traced in detail down to 1536; and then we are taken through Humāyūn's campaign in Bengal in 1537-38 and retreat to Chausa (1538-39) through Sher Khan's break of the successive links in the Mughal chain of communication, through the sedition of the Mughal princes and the unfortunate diversion of the Mughal return to the southern bank of the Ganges which gave the enemy an advantage. Mughal squabbles at Agra and Kāmran's departure for Kabul were the signal for Sher Shah's advance to victory at Qanauj. The reasons given here for Humāyūn's loss of the Delhi throne give prominence to the hostility or indifference of his brothers and to Sher Shah's assimilation of all the good features of the Mughal system of rule.

Dr. Banerji says that a scientific evaluation of contemporary sources makes Humāyūn emerge as "a scholar and lover of the arts, intensely humane, morally unimpeachable, possessed of soldierly qualities and of a general's strategy" and that his very failure was an account of the defects of his qualities. His work fully justifies his conclusion. He is very scholarly and balanced in the sifting of evidence, weighing arguments for and against views quoted in his authorities and delightfully flowing in narrating even tedious marches, skirmishes and battles. He has not sacrificed, as he says, manner to matter; and his style is both direct and simple. The documentation is very full and thorough; and only very rarely does the reader come across refutations of previous views couched in a rough manner. We eagerly await the promised supplementary volume dealing with the rest of Humāyūn's life and the culture of his age.

C. S. S.

Select Contents from Journals

Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. 14, 1938.

H. D. Velankar—Rgvedic Similes.

W. Ivanow : Tombs of Some Persian Ismaili Imams.

W. Ivanow : An Ismaili Poem in praise of Fridawis (emissaries of vengeance against persecutors).

The Rev. H. Heras, S. J. The Tiraiyars in Mohenjo Daro—(a brief survey of records held to describe the Tiraiyars, suggesting that they were of 5 sections and traded across the sea on the eastern coast.

Journals of the Royal Asiatic Society, London, October 1938.

The Instructions of the East India Company to Lord Macartney on his embassy to China and his reports to the Company, 1792-4—Part III: Later Reports and a statement of the cost of the embassy: edited by E. H. Pritchard (concluded).

W. H. Moreland—The Pargana headman (chaudhri) in the Moghul Empire—The *deshmukh* of the south can be equated with the chaudhri of the north. On the basis of this equation and with the stock phrases occurring in *farmāns*, *nishāns* and *parwānas* issued to the *deshmukhs* of Berar etc, preserved in the Revenue Office of Hyderabad, the headman's position, emoluments and obligations are summarised. On the eve of the establishment of British rule his executive functions had disappeared and his connection with revenue had for a time been emphasized.

H. Chatley—The date of the Hsia Calendar Hsia Hsiao Cheng (officially in use from 104 B.C. to 1927 A.D. and deemed to be later than 700 B.C.

E. H. C. Walsh—The Image of Buddha in the Jo-wo-Khank Temple at Lhasa (held to be Indian and Buddha expounding the Law and not Buddha as a youth).

J. de Somogyi—Ibn ab-Jamzi's Handbook on the Makkan Pilgrimage (being an ample repository of all kinds of information about the pilgrimage to Makka). The author was a celebrated Baghdad polyhistor of the 12th Cent. A.D.

E. H. Johnston—The Gopalpur Bricks (inscribed with Buddhist *sūtras* and discovered over 40 years ago—Brick I is amended in its readings and Bricks II and III contain portions

of the *sūtra* in which the Buddha describes how he attained to a knowledge of the causal chain on the night of his enlightenment. It is suggested that Asvagosha knew this *sūtra* in this or in a very similar rescension. The date is in the neighbourhood of A.D. 500.

Journals of the University of Bombay (History etc.—No. 13).

The Rev. H. Heras S. J.—The Origin of the Sumerian writing; (holding that the Mohenjo Daro signs were the original pictographs from which the Sumerian signs are derived and to some extent Chinese writing also).

B. A. Saletore—The *Sthāṇikas* and their historical importance (The writer discusses the status and functions of the *sthāṇikas* according to Kautilya and contrast them with their position in later times, as managers and trustees of temple lands. He distinguishes them from the different classes of temple servants like Siva Brahmanas and Jiyars; and the office being common to the Jainas, Sri Vaishnavas, Kālamukhas and Saivites, the holders were regarded as public servants with privileges. Their position is examined by an exhaustive study of inscriptions through the centuries from the 9th to the 18th, with reference to their powers over the temples and their relations to the state.

R. N. Saletore—The significance of *Cauthai* in Maratha history (not to be regarded as only a military levy but also as a well-known civil charge recovered from several sources of state interference.

Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XXII; Part VIII. (October 1934)—1938.

No. 37. Chirava Inscription of the time of Samarasimha of Mewar (Vik. Sam. 1330) by R. R. Haldar—(re-edited, with notes on historical places and persons on the original edition in the *Vienna Oriental Journal*, Vol. XXI.

Index to Vol. XXII by B. Ch. Chhabra.

Journal of the Oosmania University, Vol. III—

Nadir Shah's Invasion and Nizamu-l-Mulk's Role of a Meditor by Yusuf Husain.

Bijdragen Tot De Taab-landen Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Inde (1938)—

E. Wong—Boschnegers van Suriname. A. C. Kruyt—Het Schommelen in de Indische Archipel.

R. A. Kern—Kabajan.

Man in India—Vol. XVIII. Nos. 2 & 3.

S. C. Roy—Caste, Race and Religion in India.

K. P. Mitra—New year Festivals.

D. Roy—The place of the Khasi in the world (that he stands in the middle of the world).

E. H. Hankin—The Bactericidal Action of the Ganges Water.

P. K. Mitra—A Munda Folk-Tale.

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B. N. K. Sarma—The Date of Umāpati's Pauskara—Bhāṣya.

D. B. Diskalakar—Some unpublished Inscriptions of the Chalukyas of Gujarat.

(Abu Vimala-vasahi Inscription of Śārangdeva of V. S. 1350; and Mangrol Inscription of Karna II of V. S. 135 and (who reigned up to 1360 V. S.).

M. M. Patkar—Muhurtaratna (a religio-astrological treatise completed in 1663 A.D.); and Pratāpakalpadruma (a rare work on medicine composed in 1792).

Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, (Vol. XXIV—Part III) (September 1938).

A. Banerji Sastri—Punch-marked copper band from Patna (containing most of the marks on the coins on plate II of Cunningham's *Coins of Ancient India*, under Coins of Taxila; p. li.).

J. C. Ghose—Antiquity of Gaya (suggesting that Vishnupāda in Gaya has nothing to do with the Pauranic mythology but is based on vedic tradition and perhaps the first or rising step of Vishnu the Sun-God; perhaps this Vedic Vishnu was displaced between the 11th and the 14th centuries).

V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar—Paternal Despotism in Ancient India.

A. K. Coomaraswamy—The Pilgrim's Way—A Buddhist Recension (referring to the Buddhist adaptations of the story of Rohita in the *Nikayas*.)

Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. Vol. XVI. Part I—July 1938.

C. N. Maxwell—Language affinities (showing how the technique of Malay speech supplies the key to a real understanding of the secrets of the Sanskrit speech of India, the Bantu dialects of Africa and the modern languages of Europe).

C. E. Wurtzburg—A Letter from Captain Light to Lord Cornwallis, dated June 20th, 1788 (containing remarks on the general state of politics and commerce in Malaya) supplementary note on the regions surrounding the Prince of Wales Island.

R. J. Wilkinson—Bencoolen (story of that unfortunate settlement).

J. V. Mills—Two Dutch-Portuguese Sea-fights (in 1603 and 1606).

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T. P. Morris—Copper and Bronze Antiquities from Burma.

R. R. Langham—Charter—Archives of an Arakan family.

U. Aung Thein—Intercourse between Siam and Burma. (II part of the translation of the Siamese Chronicles and dealing with pre-Alaungphya times).

Z. D. M. G. Band 92 (1938).

H. V. Glasenapp—Hermann Jacobi.

H. Luders—Dasanāmaka

J. Fr. Kohl—Der Zodiak des Siva-Temples in Fort von Trichinopoly.

N. Abbott—Arabic papyri of the reign of Ga'far al-Mutawakkil (847-861 A.D.).

H. H. Rowley—Some Hebrew Prepositional Forms.

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G. V. Acharya and R. G. Gyani—A Resume of Numismatic Research in India.

M. C. Martin—Coins of Kidāra and the Little Kushans.

Durga Prasad—Observations on different types of silver punch-marked coins, their periods and locale.

K. N. Dikshit—A new Andhra coin (of Śivaśrī apilaka, who was probably a scion of the Andhra family, ruling over a principality at the n.e. limit of the Andhra empire at the end of the 2nd or the beginning of the 3rd Cen. A.D.).

G. V. Acharya—Two Notes, on Western Kshatrapa Coins and on Valabhi coins.

A. S. Altekar—The Attributions of the Chandragupta—Kumaradevi type (holding that these were issued by Chandragupta I himself in his own reign and not commemorative medals struck by Samudragupta).

A. Ghose—The rare copper coinage of Kumāragupta I.

Prag Dayal—Two gold coins of Siddaharaja.

C. R. Singhal—On certain unpublished coins of the Sultans of Malwa.

R. B. Whitehead—Three coin collections (of Col. C. S. Guthrie, Dr. J. G. Cunha, and Pandit Ratan Narain, all of the latter half of the 19th century).

H. Goetz, *Sher Shah's Mausoleum at Sasaram*, (Ars Islamica, V, pt. 1, pp. 97-99, 2 ill., University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor 1938.) Description, historical and artistic appreciation of the tomb of the great Suri sultan and of related buildings.

H. Goetz, *Oriental Types and Scenes in Renaissance and Baroque Painting*, (Burlington Magazine, LXXIII, nos. 425-26, pp. 50-62, 105-115, 17 ill., August-September 1938). A detailed analysis of the representations and misrepresentations of Chinese, Indians, Persians, Turks, Byzantine Greeks, Arabs, etc., and of Eastern places in Italian, German and Dutch painting of the 14th—17th centuries.

The Journal of the Greater India Society, July 1938:

Contributions from the *Mahavamsa* to our knowledge of the mediaeval culture of Ceylon (Wilhelm Geiger).

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Some Indian Parallels of Lokeshvara types in Indo-China (U. N. Ghoshal).

Rastrapālā-nāṭāka of Aśvaghōṣa (E. H. Johnston).

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Epic Studies VII: The Oldest Extant MS. of the Adiparvan by Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, M.A., Ph.D.

Non-Aryan Contribution to Indian Music by O. C. Gangoly.

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Prabuddha Bharata or *Awakened India*—June 1938:

Where Hinduism and Islam meet—by the Editor.

Woman's place in Hindu Religion—by Dr. A. S. Altekar, M.A., LL.B., D.Litt.

Mahatma Gandhi and Hindu Tradition—by Rabindra Nath Bose, M.A., B.C.S.

The essentials of Bhakti—by Prof. Mathendranath Sircar, M.A., Ph.D.

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The Date of the Rebellions of Tilang and Kampila against Sultan Muhammad Bin Tughlaq-I—By Dr. N. Venkata Ramanayya, M.A., Ph.D.

The Bedars in Maratha Times By Mr. R. N. Saletore, M.A.

Early (Organized) English Traders in Bengal: Their Motives—By Mr. J. C. De, M.A. (Cal.), M.A. (Cantab.).

The Aryan Colonies of Kiskindha and Lankha—By Dewan Bahadur K. S. Ramaswamy Sastri, M.A.

On the date of Visnupuri—By Dr. S. K. De, M.A., D.Litt.

Gopala Bhatta—A Review—By Rai Bahadur Amarnath Ray, B.A.

Gopala Bhatta—A Rejoinder—By Dr. S. K. De, M.A., D.Litt.
The Non-Posthumous Charter of the Mehrauli Iron Pillar Inscription—By Mr. Dasharatha Sharma, M.A.

Some Sunga Coins—Hitherto Misread—By Miss Bhramar Ghosh, M.A.

What was the original Gospel on 'Buddhism'?—By Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., B.L., Ph.D.

Mediaeval Jainism with special reference to the Vijayanagara Empire—By Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., B.B., Ph.D.

Gauthama Buddha—By Dr. Dines Chandra Sircar, M.A., Ph.D.

History of Pre-Musalman India—By Dr. Dines Chandra Sircar, M.A., Ph.D.

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Purana Literature as known to Ballalasena—By Dr. R. C. Hazra, M.A., Ph.D.

Historical Notes on the Mudraraksasa—By Prof. R. Sathianathiar, M.A.

Chidambaram Inscription of Acyutadeva Raya—By S. R. Balasubrahmanyam, M.A., L.T.

Ma'bar (from 1311 to 1323 A.D.)—By Dr. N. Venkatramanaya, M.A., Ph.D.

Sri Purambiyam—Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri.

The Balakrishna Coin of Krishna Raya—By C. Sivaramamurti, M.A.

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The Inverted Tree—By Ananda K. Coomaraswamy.

Poligars of Mysore and Their Civilisation: A Study—By P. B. Ramachandra Rao.

The Malayalam Representatives of the Tamil Nuttugaram—By L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar, M.A., B.L.

The Conquest of Citradurga by Hyder Ali—By R. N. Sale-tore, M.A.

Studies in Bird Myths, No. LIII—Sarat Chandra Mitra, M.A., B.L.

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A pre-Mughal Cittapata from Gujarat—By Dr. Hirananda Sastri, M.A., D.Litt.

The Title Dasavaikalika Sutra—By A. M. Ghatage, M.A.

Origin and Early History of Caityas—By V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, M.A.

Identification of the Siddharaja-Saras—By P. K. Gode, M.A.

Hathigumpha Inscription of Kharavela—By Prof. B. M. Barua, M.A., D.Litt.

Chinese-Indian Contacts prior to the latter half of the first Century—By Prof. Elmer H. Cutts, M.A.

Glimpse into the Ancient History of Cochin—By Prof. K. Rama Pisharoti, M.A.

Army and War in Mediaeval Ceylon—By Prof. Dr. Wilh. Geiger, Ph.D.

The Early Home of the Imperial Guptas—By Dr. D. C. Ganguly, M.A., Ph.D.

The Dutch in Bengal after Bedara—By Dr. Kalikinkar Dutta, M.A., Ph.D.

Nawab Muhammad Ali and the Siege of Arcot (1751)—By Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari, M.A.

Gujarati or the Western School of Mediaeval Indian Sculpture—By M. R. Majumdar, M.A., LL.B.

Kulatattvarnava—a spurious work?—By Promode Lal Pul, M.A.

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