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Journal of Indian History

Srirangarayalu

The Last Emperor of Vijayanagar

By

DEWAN BAHADUR S. KRISHNASVAMI AYYANGAR, M.A., HON. PH.D.,

THE empire of Vijayanagar came into existence under stress of circumstances which necessitated the need of a strong power which could bring together all the united resources of South India and interpose itself against the oncoming tide of the Muslim invasions which threatened to overwhelm the existing order. Having been founded under favourable auspices for carrying out this great purpose, it was able to battle successfully against the Muslim state of the Bahmani kingdom, which had established itself in the Dakhan just a little after the establishment of Vijayanagar itself. The purpose of the latter was obviously expansion, and quite naturally that of the latter was just to prevent this expansion of Muhammadan rule into the south. During the first century of its existence, Vijayanagar was able to hold its own against the Musalmans with considerable difficulty, by sheer dint of perseverance and whole-hearted devotion to the cause. By a successful reorganisation of its own resources, it was able ultimately to turn the tables upon the Muslims, and successfully kept the Muhammadan power within its own limits of authority till the advent of a new dynasty in Orissa which started on a career of expansion to the south, and operated along with the Muslim power from the north. This naturally brought about a crisis, and Vijayanagar had to make special efforts to get over it. This was done successfully by the usurper Sāluva Narasimha, and, after him, by his own general, Narasa and his sons who succeeded to the throne. In many respects the Hindu empire reached the height of its prosperity and achievement under Krishṇadēvarāya, the son of this famous general, who was mainly responsible for the maintenance of the empire in undiminished glory. Krishna not merely beat

back the enemy, but came, as near as circumstances would permit, to a definitive frontier in the north, and an understanding with the Islamic powers. The very success of the effort carried along with it the seed of its destruction. Krishna's efforts were well meant and provided against the ordinarily foreseeable emergencies and had the best chances of success. But misfortunes came thick, and upset his calculations almost from the moment of successful accomplishment. He probably built his hopes upon a little boy of a son succeeding him and carrying out to full fruition the policy which he inaugurated, under the guidance of the capable officers that had gathered round him. That was not to be. The son died, perhaps a natural death. The doting father suspected foul play and, by drastic action, alienated loyal sympathies. This led to rebellions and disturbances, and ultimately to a solution which promised success, in that the rebellions were overcome at last, and a younger brother of his, who had some experience of administration already, succeeded to the throne. During the first few years he kept the empire well in hand by bringing the rebels back to their loyalty, and otherwise ordering the administration satisfactorily. As often does happen in such cases, the actual authority gradually passed into the hands of two officers, who were the king's brothers-in-law, and that relationship was enough to make the administration unpopular. To add to this, Achyuta's accession to the throne in succession to his elder brother was itself matter which was not pleasing to another party at court led by a son-in-law of Krishna, and two brothers of his who held important places in the administration. This party was, however, kept out of mischief more or less so long as Achyuta lived. His death and the accession of his young son, coupled with the unpopularity of the ministers brothers-in-law, brought about a crisis, which ended practically in another usurpation, Krishna's son-in-law, Rama coming to the head with the assistance of his brothers though the actual occupant of the throne was Sadāsiva, nephew of Achyuta and Krishna. They were able to overcome all opposition and establish themselves in power, and conducted the administration efficiently with a well understood foreign policy which kept the Muhammadan neighbours within their bounds during the first quarter of a century of Rama's administration.

Rāmarāya appears to have been a man of great ability, but seems to have exhibited early some of those features of character which were undesirable features in a great man. He is described in clear terms as a person who, as 'the son-in-law of the reigning emperor, was already given to the royal vices of dice, drink and

women,' which stamped him at once as a man of a very different character from his father-in-law Krishna, during whose reign he had the responsibility to carry on the administration after the death of prince Tirumala. Possibly Krishna did not form a very good opinion of him, and so let the succession pass on to Achyuta, his brother. It is even stated that Krishna actually crowned Achyuta to carry on the administration. Perhaps it was this that threw Rama into opposition, and ultimately brought him to the leading position only as the result of a revolution. He had therefore to carry on the administration perhaps under difficulties to begin with, but managed gradually to gain the mastery to the extent of being recognised as the unquestioned ruler of Vijayanagar, notwithstanding that the actual emperor on the throne was Sadāsiva as the scion of the royal family. The position of affairs at the time that he came to the throne necessitated the pursuit of a policy against his Muhammadan neighbours, which would keep them from doing any injury to the empire, for which there was an opportunity now, if ever there was such. In this matter Rama pursued a policy which was on the whole satisfactory to the empire generally, by holding himself in readiness for any war that his neighbours might bring about, and also by actively taking part in the relations between those powers so as gradually to enhance his influence and establish an ascendancy over them. He was so successful in his efforts that he got to think so little of them, and even assumed an overbearing attitude towards them in keeping with his own general character. His treatment of the Nizam Shahi ruler and his capital on the occasion of a successful occupation of Ahmadnagar showed to them clearly that he held them in little esteem. This seems to have led ultimately to their adopting a policy of united action when next the chance should offer itself for doing anything against Vijayanagar. Opportunities were not likely to be wanting for long, and excuses even of a trifling character were enough to provide an occasion for invading the enemy's territory. It seems to have been an understanding between the Nizam Shahi and the Golkonda Sultans to go to war against Rāmarāya, and they were able to bring in into the scheme the Adil Shahi Sultan for the time being who was generally more friendly to the ruler of Vijayanagar. The other Musalman states of Bidar and distant Berar fell in with the scheme readily. A joint invasion of Vijayanagar territory by all these naturally followed. Rāmarāya had information of it betimes, and prepared himself accordingly even against the united strength of all the Muhammadan states together. As usual he and his two brothers took command of the army and marched forward, and, at the end

of the first stage the main army under Rama reached a place called Tāvarekerē on the high road towards the Bijapur border. The nearest of course was the Bijapur territory, but the most active enemy was the Nizam Shahi Sultan. The Nizam Shahi troops marched early and encamped themselves at a place called Talikota about 25 miles from the north bank of the Krishna, the Golkonda troops occupying the banks of the river further down. In the course of the next march, the Vijayanagar troops were met by the enemy while yet on this side of the Krishna, which his Muhammadan enemies are said to have crossed after a considerable effort, as the fords were found to have been carefully guarded. The actual place of battle seems to have been two neighbouring villages which went by the name of Rakhasgi and Tangaḍgi, which combined give the name of the battle as Rākshasatangaḍi, which is the name given in Hindu reports recording the battle. The Musalman historians on the contrary named it from the main camp on the Nizam Shahi frontier at Talikota, which, as was said before, was about 25 miles on the northern side of the Krishna, whereas the actual field of battle was more than a march on the other side of the river Krishna. This battle certainly was intended, at any rate as far as the united Muhammadan powers were concerned, to be a decisive battle, in so far as a battle could decide the relations between powerful states placed in opposition to each other. A decisive battle in those circumstances would mean the crushing to extinction of the one power or the other as a result of the battle. This battle between Vijayanagar and the united Bahmani states did not produce any such decisive result. After a day long battle as it is described, the advantage seemed to lay with the Hindus, when, as the result of a stampede brought about by a small body of the Nizam Shahi troops dashing in into the van of the Hindu army, the elephants got into a stampede which upset the palan-keen in which old Rāmarāya was being carried. He is said to have been taken prisoner and immediately brought before the Nizam Shahi and beheaded according to one version. According to another, he was taken before the Adil Shah at his own request whom the persuaded to cut off his head to save the disgrace of ill-treatment by his enemy, the Nizam Shah. Whatever was the actual course of events, Rāmarāya was dead, and the Hindu army broke up and fled to Vijayanagar from the field.

The victory thus won left the field open to the Bahmani Sultans to pursue the defeated army and completely annihilate it and put it altogether beyond mischief. They might have marched upon the capital immediately without giving time for the defeated army

to rally again, which might well have happened, as they knew that Tirumala, the brother of Rama, had fallen back upon the capital with the forces under his command. They appear to have taken no steps in either of these ways. They quietly let Tirumala return to the capital, collect together all the moveable wealth, and carry them all in safety at the head of his own army to the fortress of Penugonḍa. The victorious army marched into the capital somewhat later and took possession of the capital more or less empty, and were in occupation for a period of six months, causing some petty damages said to have been brought about more or less in their search for treasure rather than to make any attempt to destroy the town. A foreign traveller Ceaser Frederick, who visited the capital two years after the great battle has put it on record definitely that he found the capital and its buildings intact only empty of inhabitants, so that the magnificent buildings were occupied by wild beasts rather than men. It thus seems clear that the victory won by the united Sultans was not quite so damaging to Vijayanagar as it is generally supposed. It had this bad effect upon the empire that it made the capital city no more the capital of the empire, as it seems to have been deliberately abandoned by Tirumala, whether his reasons were good or no. This definite retirement from the frontier capital certainly opened the way for the advance of the Muhammadans southwards. We do not hear of such invasions frequently. The only ones that the historians of the period have thought it worth while noting is an invasion of the eastern part of that frontier by the Golkonda forces a few years after the battle. This invasion Tirumala is said successfully to have beaten back. Otherwise Tirumala seems to have been left more or less to himself to recover such territory and rebuild the position of Vijayanagar, so that during the time that he was ruler, Vijayanagar continued to be a power that the Sultans of the Bahmani kingdoms had to take seriously into account in all their calculations.

The death of Tirumala and the accession of his son Śrīranga offered another opportunity which Golkonda did not fail to take advantage of. The Golkonda invasion this time was so far successful that it turned the Vijayanagar forces into Penugonḍa, laid siege to the capital and took even Śrīranga prisoner. This defeat seems to have been so thorough that the territory intervening the southern frontier of Golkonda and the capital city of Penugonḍa seems to have passed under the authority of Golkonda. Some years later, however, Śrīranga recovered the conquered territory through the good offices of a feudatory Hanḍē chieftain who was induced to undertake the dangerous enterprise by the Vaishṇava

pontiff of Ahōbālam, which holy place was among those occupied by the Muhammadans. This was in A.D. 1578. Thereafter the frontier of Vijayanagar remained intact, though Golkonda invasions had become more or less a regular disturbing factor to the peace of the northern frontier. Śrīranga was followed by his younger brother Venkaṭapati, another brother by name Rama, who was viceroy at Seringapatam, having died in the meanwhile. Venkaṭa who, under the father, and the elder brother, was superior viceroy of all the south, with his headquarters at Chandragiri, now succeeded, and made an effort to bring back the empire to its ancient position of united strength and glory. Golkonda made two efforts in his reign and so far succeeded as to lay siege to Penugonda itself. These invasions were successfully beaten back, some of the greater viceroys bearing an honourable part in this effort of the empire. When Rama his elder brother died leaving two minor sons, Venkaṭa let the elder son Tirumala succeed to the viceroyalty nominally, making arrangements for the conduct of government by deputy. As soon as Tirumala came of age, he was sent on to his viceroyalty. Tirumala somehow or other seems to have got into disaffection for the uncle, and the coolness terminated in a local Mysore chieftain managing to overthrow the viceroy at Seringapatam and setting himself up in his stead. This event seems to have taken place in A.D. 1610. This Mysore chieftain, Rāja Wodeyar, was waiting for an opportunity and obtained in A.D. 1612 a charter from Venkaṭapati recognising his claims to rule practically all the territory under the Seringapatam viceroyalty. It is not clear whether the recognition was as a viceroy or as conqueror of the territory. In either case, he was allowed to rule the territory that he took over from the last viceroy of Seringapatam, Tirumala. It seems possible that Rāja Wodeyar earned the approbation of Venkaṭa by assisting Venkaṭa to beat back the Golkonda troops who laid siege to his capital, and brought the empire to a critical condition. That was the foundation of the kingdom of Mysore, and marks the first block of the territory of the empire of Vijayanagar which separated itself from the empire in a way, and thus may be held to mark the beginning of the dismemberment of the empire.

Notwithstanding this, the empire continued intact under Venkaṭa till his death in A.D. 1614 when a new trouble arose. Venkaṭa had four queens, but he is generally taken to have had no children. One of the queens, however, belonging to the influential family of the Gobbūri chiefs, who, according to the stories current even at the time, was childless, was nevertheless anxious for a son who, in the circumstances, would succeed to the empire.

It is generally believed that she took hold of a new-born baby, and, putting it forward as her own child, brought it up in the palace without Venkaṭa taking steps either to confirm or contradict the claim. What seems more understandable in his behaviour is, he seems to have all along made up his mind that the young nephew whom he had been bringing up in the family, his brother Rama's son, was designed by him for the succession, and was even called *Chikkarāya*, indicating thereby that he was recognised as heir-apparent. At his deathbed accordingly Venkaṭa nominated him for the succession, the prince's own protestations notwithstanding. This apparently did not please Gobbūri Jaggarāya, the Emperor's brother-in-law, who seems to have held high office and exercised considerable influence at court. Jagga seems nevertheless to have felt that he could do nothing against the nomination of the emperor, and had to let Chikkarāya Ranga succeed Venkaṭa. Differences seem to have arisen immediately between the ruler and the powerful official, and Jagga gradually gathered together sufficient support for him to make Ranga more or less a nominal ruler, the real power and authority all being in his own hands. Not satisfied with this, he went further and felt it necessary to imprison Ranga and his family of five children, as it is said. Even that apparently did not please him enough, probably because there was a powerful party against him. He therefore resolved upon a massacre of the whole of the royal family which he actually arranged to bring about. This however got to be known, and the party in opposition to him headed by the Velugoṭi chief Yāchamanāyaka managed by a rouse to secure possession of one of his sons out of the prison. The eldest son of Ranga seems to have been a young man and was old enough to be married, and his wife was in the family at the time. It was therefore the second, a much younger boy that was smuggled out of the palace by the washerman taking out soiled clothes for the wash. The massacre however was brought about by Jagga compelling Ranga and his family to put themselves to death. Having done this, he fell upon Yāchamanāyaka to gain possession of the other prince. Yāchamanāyaka succeeded in repelling the attack and, along with the prince, escaped for safety from the vicinity of the capital to the Nayak of Tanjore, Ragunātha, who offered protection. It soon became clear that the other viceroys, such as the Nayak of Gingee who showed himself already discontented under Venkaṭa himself, and the more powerful Nayak of Madura would throw in their lot with Jagga. The Mysore ruler does not figure in these transactions. It therefore became a question of a war of succession, in which there were two persons to succeed to the throne, and the more important gover-

nors and viceroys dividing themselves in support of the one party or the other. It appears from the information available that excepting the Nayak of Tanjore and Yāchama himself, almost all of the other governors of provinces joined the party of Jaggarāya, even the Portuguese sending him a contingent. The war was waged seriously, success attending the efforts of the royalists. A battle fought at Toppūr, now Tōhūr in the vicinity of Trichinopoly, decided the fate of the empire in favour of young prince Rama, the survivor of the massacre of the royal family. Rama succeeded to the throne, almost as the ward of Yāchmanāyaka, and Ragunatha Nayaka of Tanjore who celebrated his anointment at Kumbakonam building the Ramaswami temple there as the memorial of the great event. The date generally ascribable to this battle is A.D. 1616, and Rama could hardly have been more than twelve years of age. Jaggarāya fell in the battle, and that gave a certain amount of respite. His position however was taken by a brother of his by name Yatirāja, whose name figures in the transactions of the following years. For the first time, we find the great Nāyaks or viceroys taking each his own line of action, the authority of the empire being confined to the block of territory round the capital, so that during the years following, the activities of the empire are confined to the region extending from the frontier of Golkonda down to those of the Nayak of Gingee, the block of territory which came subsequently to be known as the Carnatic.

During the reign of this ruler Rama, the European trading companies founded their settlements on the Coromandel Coast, among them chiefly it was the Dutch and the English that had settlements in Masulipatam, from which they moved southwards. The Dutch had founded their factory at Pulicat and fortified it with the permission of the emperor Venkaṭa under a treaty concluded in A.D. 1610, although the permission was granted a few years earlier. So within the Carnatic coast, there was this Dutch settlement at Pulicat, to which the English had also moved by the time when Rama succeeded to rule there. We find therefore the letters of the Dutch Company from Pulicat to their headquarters at Bantam making references to what took place round about them, and throwing a certain amount of welcome light upon the events that took place in the reign of Rama.

The English Company finding Masulipatam undesirable because of oppressive demands of the Golkonda governors of Masulipatam, and Golkonda officials generally, changed to Pettapoli; and, finding that again unsatisfactory, accommodated themselves temporarily in Pulicat under the hospitality of the Dutch, subse-

quently opening a factory of their own at a place a little further to the north called Armagon. The three extracts from the correspondence of the East India Company's servants explain how the change came about.

Thomas Joyce and Nathaniel Wyche at Masulipatam, to the Company, October 25, 1634:—

"They sent him, some presents at their departure, but he returned half of them. Will now say somewhat about Armagon, whither the Agent intends to repair about the beginning of December next. The maintenance of this station has been much discussed, some declaring that it is "a poore indefensible heape of mudd"; and certainly it was 'scarse worth the name of a fortification when we first beheld it.' Mr. Norris has probably given the Company full information concerning it. 'Questionles he saw some great defect therein, or else would never have resolv'd to a given the Nague of that countrey to the valew of 1,000 pagodes for his licence to a built it stronger.' Captain Altham has now brought it to a somewhat better pass, though he was wrong in doing so without the Agent's permission. 'He, observinge a time (as he tells us) when the Nague was far from thence, busied in warre, pull'd downe the small weake for that was the first built (and of itselfe ready to fall), and in the roome thereof raised another with a round body of a farr greater strength and altitude, wheron is mounted 12 peeces of ordinance; so as, by report of your sea commanders and others that have seene it, 'tis now able to defend itselfe against any suddaine assault that may be practized by the poore blacke soldiers of that countrey; but whether fitt to repulse a seige or noe, we are yet to learne.' The praaise or blame for this action is entirely Altham's."

(The English Factories in India, 1634-36, pp. 47-48).

The Company to the Agent and Factors at Masulipatam, October 27, 1636:—

"And notwithstanding this boasted grant of freedom of trade throughout that kingdom, it appears from a Masulipatam letter of November 4, 1635 (as reported from Surat) that Joyce had then gone to Armagon 'for the composing of some troubles of that place, where the Naycke had taken prisoner Raya Chitty (Raja Chetti) and others whoe are our greate debtors, and demaunded ransomes beyond reason or their power to paye; notwithstanding, it is thought that our estates must disburse it, to hedge in or secure our greater debts; hee demaunds likewise besides 1,000 pagodas promised (he saith) by Mr. Norris (as) satisfaction for some late buildings erected without his leave.' 'Wee supposed you had soe settled our trade and busines for all that coast that wee should have found none that would have done us anie damage; but by this Naicks accions it seemeth to be otherwise, and that wee are in noe better condicion then formerly before you spent that greate summe.'"

(The English Factories in India, 1634-36, pp. 318-19).

* The Court appears to have been unaware that Armagon was outside the authority of the King of Golkonda.

The Company to the Agent and Factors at Masulipatam, October 27, 1636 :—

"This appears to be a dangerous practice, and it would surely be better to pay on receipt of the goods. Cannot see what advantage the fort at Armagon is, if the Nayak can extort from them what he pleases. The President and Council at Surat 'crye it downe and wish the demolishing thereof', while others affirm that its maintenance is a necessity; require the opinion of the Agent and factors on this point in their next."

(The English Factories in India, 1634-36, p. 320).

That again proved unsatisfactory and they began looking out for a better place further to the south. During the reign of Rama therefore extending from A.D. 1616 to A.D. 1630, may be just a year or two later, the principal feature of concern was the dying echoes of the war of succession and the beginning of Golkonda advance into what became the Carnatic, the Coromandel coast extending southwards of the present-day Nizam's Dominions to a little south of Madras. During the earlier part of the reign, however, Rama and those officers who were managing affairs for him were fully occupied in an effort to bring back the territory of the empire in this central block under Rama's authority. The most troublesome among those that set up against him were the Gobbūri chiefs intimately connected with the royal family. The mantle of Jaggarāya fell upon his brother Yatirāja, as he was called, and the territory that he governed extended to take in Armagon and Pulicat, and subsequently his activities affected the position of these Companies because of Rama who still seems to have been championed by Yāchamanayāka.

"Trust that these goods, which cost first penny 18,017 pagodas 10 (6/11 fanams, equivalent to 24,774 rials 6) will give satisfaction. Could not procure all the 'tappie grandes' and 'tappie chinds' desired, owing to the recent hostilities. The natives complain that they gain nothing by the woven cloths, especially the 'camgoulows, tappie grandes and tappie quechills', and probably this is correct. Think that the merchants deserve some increased benefit, particularly as they have to be responsible for the money advanced through them to the weavers, and painters, 'which oftentimes pays them with a farewell'. If the English had to deal direct with these persons, 'att the years end, when wee expected to be invsted of our goods, wee should undoubtedlye come shorte of half our quantitye, besides undergoes a hazard of their running away wher ther were no hope for us to fynd them out or recover our monies.' Moreover, as the water here is so bad and brackish that cloths washed in it 'have noe good lustre', the natives have to carry them to 'Slaves, att the least six Jentes (Gentoo) leagues, and being in another government are forced to pay junkan uppon every cloth or painting.' This year, however, they were obliged to remain within limits of Pulicat, for fear of the enemy. Some of the native merchants express astonishment at the English quitting Peta-poli to come and live at Pulicat at much greater expense, affirming that cloth

made at the former place is far better and cheaper than that of the latter; 'the only difference in the sorts of each fardell not their performed (as?) heer, neyther the borders and richcos so neatly and clearly wrought, 'though perhaps the provision of patterns might induce them to remedy this."

(The English Factories in India, 1622-23, pp. 104-5).

We note in the Company's letters both of the Dutch and of the English complaints of the constant wars between these two. The effort of Yāchamanayāka was to take possession of the districts round Pulicat and of Yatirāja's to retain the region in his own hands. That state of things appears to have continued longer, and we learn from the correspondence of the Company's servants that about the year A.D. 1629 Rama had gradually come into his own by securing sufficient control over the subordinates of the empire to make his authority obeyed.

"Our old friend Chemenique† (see p. 139), as we understand hath adjoyned his forces and is sett forward with two or three thousand men towards these partes; the brute of whose cominge hath strocken such a feare in theese countrey people hereabout that makes them flie to Pallicatt with bag and baggage, and within these seven dayes here are retired above two thousand people. What will ensue hereupon we are yet ignorant, but must leave it to the triall of time. Here hath fallen within this eight days great store of raine; inso-much that wee remaine incirculed with water, which is a sufficient defence against the enemie and hath brought no small content to the inhabitants of Pallicatt."

(The English Factories in India, 1622-23, p. 133).

† Yachama Nayaka.

Apart from the mere fighting he seems to have secured this as we learn from other sources by placating rival claims to some extent. There is some little evidence of his having recognised two members of the royal family, two descendants of the great Rāmarāya, who died in the battle generally called Talikota, the first of them named Venkaṭa or Pedda Venkaṭa for distinction, a grandson, and his nephew Śrīranga, the son of a brother of this Pedda Venkaṭa, as his successors, and the date given is A.D. 1622 for this arrangement which is just about the time that we hear the Company's people complaining of the wars in the neighbourhood of Pulicat between Yāchamanayāka and Gobbūri Yatirāja.

"Much rain has fallen and more is anticipated, 'by the demonstration of the heathenes.' The cowardlie enemie is com on forward with a small force, but durst not visitt in Pallicatt, he begininge his pranckes as he did the last yeare, and yesterday sett upon an emptie village within three miles of Pallicatt and sett it on fire, the inhabitants beinge two dayes before fled hether. They have but a cold time of itt, all the countrey beinge all over with water; wherefore I suppose sett thosepoore houses on fire to warme themselves."

(The English Factories in India, 1622-23, p. 134).

It looks therefore as if Rama made an effort by war as well as by diplomacy to bring about an understanding among the rivals with a view to the establishment of peace. His marriage with the daughter of Yatirāja probably was a part of this scheme. It looks a diplomatic marriage, as she is described to be his second wife, and he himself in A.D. 1622 could not have been very much more than a young man of about 20. So by main effort Rama was able just to do what it was possible for him to do to secure the allegiance of the central part of the empire of Vijayanagar leaving the great viceroyalties of the south alone for the time. Tanjore remained loyal to him, but Raghunātha Nāyak as heir apparent in the war of succession died in A.D. 1626 in the course of Rama's reign and was succeeded by Vijayarāghava. This does not appear to have effected much of a change of policy. But Gingee seems to have remained doubtful, and the more distant Madura viceroy perhaps pursued his own path. From what appears of their doings, they conducted themselves more or less independently, though they seem to have recognised the imperial connection in public documents. About the end of his reign therefore came the great famine which seems to have been widespread in the Dakhan, and the sufferings of the people in Rama's empire seem to have been quite as bad as those of the inhabitants of the Dakhan farther north so graphically described by Hawkins. The letters of the Company's servants both English and the Dutch in this region describe in graphic terms the sufferings, and this account is confirmed by what Methwold wrote regarding it.

"The greate king of the Gentewes is now in his wares growne soe powerfull that he hath conquered and regayned all his former dominions save only our Naigue of this place, who (it?) is supposed cannott long subsist; wherefore perforce must leave his country. What alternations these proceedings will bring out our masters affayres in this place wee must refer unto tyme, and with that smale force wee have vigilently to stand upon our owne gards untill God send us more force; yet wee have noe cause to doubt butt that hee wilbee conformable to reason, as this our Naige hath formerly bene. But in whatt manner the Dutch will proceede with the King upon these alterations wee knowe nott, but have reason to doubt of them by reason of there former underhand dealing."

(The English Factories in India, 1624-29, pp. 346-47).

The region was hit very hard one way and the other, and Rama's reign therefore could not have been one of any prosperity or happiness generally speaking. When he died in A.D. 1630 or in the year or two following, Pedda Venkaṭa succeeded to the throne without dispute, thanks to his early recognition; but Rama's nomination of

another along with him not for joint rule, but as presumptive heir did introduce an element of difficulty.

Pedda Venkaṭa succeeded to the empire such as it was, and, during the first few years of his reign, continued to rule quietly in the unhappy condition of the empire. During this period as well as in the whole of the reign of Rama there has been no systematic effort on the part of the Golkonda ruler to conquer any of Vijayanagar territory. Both Golkonda and Bijapur had to keep watch on the activities of the Mughal emperor, and his armies in the Dakhan for putting an end of the Nizam Shahi rule and extend the viceroyalty of the Dakhan southwards. After a protracted series of wars he succeeded ultimately in overthrowing the Nizam Shahis in A.D. 1635, and in the following year he dictated a treaty of peace with the southern rulers of Golkonda and Bijapur to bring about peace in the Dakhan. Bijapur at any rate was playing an active part, sometimes as an ally but occasionally as a possible enemy of the empire, and, in recognition of some assistance that Bijapur rendered the emperor, Shah Jahan was willing to leave Bijapur independent provided Bijapur comported herself as subordinate to the empire. The same consideration seems to have been extended to the neighbouring state of Golkonda as well, and both of them were put on a position of nominal subordination to the empire, with freedom to extend their territory if they cared, not within the limits of the Nizam Shahi territory in the north but the Hindu territory of Vijayanagar in the south. It is this that introduced a new element of disturbance of a serious character for the empire of Vijayanagar, and hereafter, Bijapur and Golkonda are constant factors that have to be considered as influencing the course of history of the empire of Vijayanagar. One minor factor, though it proved to be very important, is that emperor Shah Jahan permitted Shahji, the Mahratta chieftain to take service under Bijapur as he showed himself actively hostile to the empire in his efforts in behalf of the Nizam Shahi princes before the end of the period. His accession to Bijapur officialdom contributed to enhance Bijapur activities, as we shall see.

With this treaty of Shah Jahan of A.D. 1636, the preoccupation of those responsible for the government of Vijayanagar becomes the northern frontier to guard against the invasions of these Muhammadan neighbours. Almost immediately after this date, we find Golkonda armies on the move, and the northern part of the region, called Carnatic after this date, becomes the bone of contention between Golkonda and Vijayanagar. We hear of the Golkonda armies in occupation of territory as far south as the

frontier of Pulicat even, and the provincial Governor of Vijayanagar in this region had to operate against these armies. It is in this affair that the name of Śrīranga first comes to notice, actively engaged in the affairs of the administration of the empire.

By about this time some of the European Companies had established themselves on the Coromandel coast with factories of their own, some of them even fortified for safety. The Portuguese had a fortified position in San Thome or Mylapore. The Dutch had fortified Pulicat from A.D. 1610 onwards, and the Danes had a position in Tranquebar farther south; both the Dutch and the English had their factory at Masulipatam, and found the place more or less inconvenient chiefly for political reasons. They found it rather difficult to get on with the administration at Golkonda and their officials nearer afield. The English Company being in many respects weaker than the Dutch found it really difficult to get along with these and moved out from there to a really good place for their purposes, Pettapoli to the south. Finding it not to their satisfaction as this was also in the territory of Golkonda, they wanted to find a place farther south. In the meanwhile, they were offered accommodation in Pulicat by the Dutch to which they removed their factory to a house which the Dutch placed at their disposal; but very soon they discovered that, having no voice in the management or in the actual arrangements in the place, they were at a great disadvantage even to ply their trade, not to speak of disturbances because of the constant wars.

"After paying their debts and reserving a sum for Fort charges, they have invested the rest of the money sent. Hope that Batavia will soon receive a further supply. The Dutch refuse to allow then a voice in the engagement or disposal of the garrison; they have added to the common charges, and evidently 'their proceeding is more to weary us then otherwise, which on our partts wee wish might shortly come to pass.' The end of the Dutches government is approaching, haveing but 19 mont(h)s to come*; and the said government bestowed on greatt Nayco (Nayak) of the countrey, who is to send (serve?) the sayd Itteraj (Itiraja), lord of this place, uppon all his occasions, who remaine as fearfull of the succeeding tymes; which Nai (c)o is to furnish likewise 4,000 men att all commands. What alterations their may be by this change wee are to attende, butt may feare wilbe worse for our negocyations. Ther is doubted their wilbe such polling and taxing of the poore, I meane weavers and painters that have imployment in our afares, that will peradventure cause them forsake the placce, which is common in theise sorte of people to exacte."

(The English Factories in India, 1622-23, pp. 106-7).

* Mr. Heeres (*Corpus Diplomaticum Neelando-Indicum*, p. 159 prints the grant by 'Itteragie to the Dutch, dated August 28, 1620 (N. S.). In this the former is stated to be governor over forty 'Jentjshe' miles of land. From L. C. D. Van Dijk's *Zes Jaren uit het Laven van Wemmer Van Berchem*, p. 30, we learn that 'Itteragie' was brother to 'Jaggeragie' (Jaga Raja), the principle noble of King Venkata I.

It was in this state of affairs that they thought they found a place suitable to them, and secured possession of the open roadstead of Armagon, a little to the north of Pulicat, and went about fortifying it by spending their own money, without even the permission of the authorities at home. Notwithstanding this expenditure, for which the Company's chief factors, Joyce and Capt. Altham were held responsible, Armagon was again found unsatisfactory, although it had the advantage of being outside the dominions of Golkonda. They were therefore under the necessity, rather imperious necessity, to move further down the coast and find a place suitable to their requirements. The English company being a private company had not the support of their government to back them up and were not even so well placed as the Dutch with respect to resources, and therefore they wanted particularly two conditions necessary for a satisfactory position for them. The first was that it should be in a locality on the coast where there was much weaving industry in the interior with good water for purposes of dyeing. The next, the government of the locality must be strong enough to guarantee peace and security for their transactions, particularly the advances that they made to the weavers and dyers for the goods that they should finish and sell them. Excepting Tranquebar and Mylapore, both of which they did not like because of the Danes and the Portuguese being already there, they were delighted when the offer of a place near Madras was made to them by the chief minister of the empire, whose government of Wandiwash included the town of Madras very recently founded in his father's name. The site offered satisfied the conditions requisite to the English East India Company, and Francis Day who was on the move from Armagon to look out for a suitable site was quite pleased with it. He had the support of Cogan as the chief factor at the time, and, ultimately Madras was founded. The position of Damarla Venkaṭa as the chief minister of the empire and the governor of the locality, gave a double guarantee in respect of the security, etc., of the place. Damarla Venkaṭa therefore secured a cove for them in the first instance, probably dated 22nd August 1639, and that date marks the foundation, not of Madras, as a whole, but of the East India Company's fort at Madras, which was named afterwards Fort St. George, and which gave the name to the Government and the Presidency ever since it achieved a position of importance, three generations later.

Francis Day at Armagon, to (Agent Ivy and Council at Masulipatam), August 27, 1639 (O.C. 1690) :—

Att your being here I acquainted you with many kind invitations and larg priviledges by the Nague of (sic) Vincatadra, whose territories lyes betweene Pullacatta and Santomee, the only place for paintings, soe much desired at southwards, and likewise great store of long cloath and morrees which is there procurable. Muster of the later now accompanyes these. I had your consent to make a voyag to the Nague, and therefore sett sayle for those parts the 23rd July, and arived the 27th; where I was entertayned with much honour by the Nague himself etc. merchants, painters, and weavers. After some parlay with the Nague, I had free leve to viz.(i)t his townes and soe discourse with the merchants, painters, and weavers, whoe brought mee musters of all their sorts of cloth. I was not furnisht to buy, but only to inquire of their prizes; which with sorrow I heard. Haveing compared boath sorts and prizes with ours at Armagon, beleve mee, I lament our masters great losses and cannot blame our friends at southwards for their often complaints. The Dutch may well undersell us, when wee overby them 20, 30 and in some sorts 40 per cent. It is a misserie to know a grevance, if possabillityes for remedies bee wanting. You must pardon mee if I say it hath been usuall in such kinds to make so many doubts when faire oportunityes for our masters benefitt offered itselfe. I neede not tell you that Armagon is only chargeable. The place affords nothing of itselfe; not soe much as a peece of whit cloath but comes from other places. As for merchants, how miserable poore they are, by the Nagues continuall forceings, there complying with us and the cloath sent to the southwards speakes loude in confirmation of the misserie of the place, with their backward performances. The common arbitrator, Time, hath now made a beneficiall discovery. If you shall please to imbrace such large and secure offers, which the inclosed copple of the firman granted by the Nague will demonstrat, it may give encouragement sufficient; and Francis Day, who accompanyes these, wilbe readie to give you a verball relation of the hoped benifit that will attend if a residence were there once settled. Oppertunity of time is to bee followed when such occasions for our masters benefite offers itselfe. Changes of time are fickle and, if you suffer this opportunitye to pass over, you shall perhaps in vaine afterwards persue the same when it is fledd and gone. Our envighous neighbours, the Dutch, I dout not but will beestirr themselves to their power in hindering of us what lyes in them; yett lett not that discourage you, for all their Machivillian pollicyes will not prevaile. If it should, the Company can bee noe loaser, for they runn noe hazard. If you will not follow this course, you quite forgoe the way which promiseth assurance, leaving firme securitye mearely to change and hazard..

(The English Factories in India, 1637-1641, pp. 154-155).

[The Grant for Madras (O. C. 1690)]

'Firman granted by Domela Vintadedro Nague¹ unto Mr. Frances Day, Cheife for the English in Armagon, in behalfe of the Honorable Company, for their tradeing and fortifeing² at Medrasapatam, to this effect as followeth:

1. 'Lamela Vintuttedro Nague' (O.C. 1695); 'Damela Vintadedo Nalque' (O.C. 1751). In O.C. 1705 the name is given as '(Damela) Vincatedree.' For the correct form see the introduction.

2. The other two versions read 'in and att.'

Whereas Mr. Francis Day, Captain of the English at Armagon, upon great hopes by reason of our promices often made unto him, hath repaired to our port of Medraspatam and had personall conference with us in behalfe of the Company of that nation, concerning their trading in our territories and freindly commerce with our subjects, wee, out of our spetiall love and favour to the English, doe grant unto the said Captain, or whomsoever shall bee deputed to dgitate the affaires of that Company by vertue of their³ firman, power to lirect and order the building of a fort and castle in or about Medraspatam, as they shall thinke most convenient; the charges whereof, until fully and wholly finished, to bee defrayed by us, but then to bee repaied when the said English shall first make their entrance to take possession thereof. And to nake more full expression of our effection to the English nation, (wee) doe confirme unto the said Mr. Francis Day, or whatsoever other subjects⁴ or agents for that Company, full power and authority to governe and dispose of the government of Medraspatam for the terme and space of two yeares next insueing after they shall be seated⁵ there and posesest of the said fortifications; and for the future by an equall division to receive halfe the custom and revenewes of that port. Moreover, whatsoever goods or mercha(n)dize the English Company shall either import or export, for as much as concernes the duties and customes of Medraspatam, (they) shall, not only for the prementioned two yeares in which they enjoy the government but for ever after, be custom free. Yett if they shall transport or bring any comm(oditi)es up into or through my countray, then shall they pay halfe the duties that other merchants pay, whether they buy or sell the said commo(diti)es either in my dominions or in those of any other Nague whatsoever. Also that the said English company shall perpetually enjoy the priviledges of mintag, without paying any dewes or duties whatsoever, more then the ordinary wages or hire unto those that shall quoyne the moneyes. If the English first acquaint us before they deliver out any money to the merchants, painters, weavers, &c., which are or shall hereafter reside in our prementioned port or teritories, and take our word for their sufficiency and honest dealeing, then doe wee promise, in case those people faile in their performances, to make good (to) the English all such sumes of money as shall remaine upon their acco(unts), or else deliver them their persons, if they shalbe found in any part of my teritories. That whateoever provision the English shall buy in my country, either for their fort or ships, they shall not be liable to pay any custom or duties for the same. And if any shipp or vessell belonging to the English or to any other countrey whatsoever which tradeth⁶ at that port) shall by misadvernture suffer shippwrack and bee driven upon any part of my teritories, they shall have restitution upon demand of whatsoever can bee found remaining of the said wrack."

(The English Factories in India, 1637-41, pp. 156-58).

3. 'this' in the other two.

4. 'inhabitants' (O.C. 1751); 'substitutes' (O.C. 1695). The last is the most probable reading.

5. The other copies have 'settled.'

6. O.C. 1751 adds: 'or shall com to trade.'

The Agent and Council at Masulipatam to (the Company), October 25, 1639 (O.C. 1718) :—

"Next thinge which comes to memory is to shew Your Worships that when Mr. Ivey ettcetera merchants were at Armagon, Francis Day was in-

ordered to goe towards St. Thomay, to see what payintings those parts doth afford, as alsoe to see whether any place were fitt to fortifie upon; which accordingly he did. And the (...) August last the said Francis Day, haveinge dispatcht what hee had done. And first hee makes it appeare to us that at a place called Madraspatam, neere St. Thomay, the best paintings are made, or as good as anywhere on this coast; likewise excellant long cloath, morrees, and percalla, of which wee have seene musters, and better cheape by 20 per cent. then anywhere else. The Nague of that place is very desirous of our residence there, for hee hath made us very fayre proffers to that effect. For first, hee profeers to build a forte, in what manner wee please, upon a high plott of ground adjoyneinge to the sea, where a shipp of any burthen may ride within muskett shott, close by a river which is capeable of a vessell of 50 tonns;* and upon possession given us by him, and not before, to pay what charges hee shall have disbursed. Secondly, hee gives us the whole benefite of a towne neere by for two years, which toene may bee at present worth about 2,000 pagodas per annum; but after two years the proceede of that towne to be equally devided between him and us. Thirdly, wee to be custome free continually at the port of Madraspatam; and yf wee carry any (of) our goods through his countray, to pay half the custome usually (paid) by other merchants. Fourthly, wee to injoye the priviledg of mintage, without payinge any duties. Fifthly, that for all such moneyes as wee shall deliver out to workmen, hee the said Nague wilbe liable to make it good, allwayes provided hee be made acquainted with the delivery. Sixtly, what provisions soever wee shall buy, either for fort or shippinge, to pay noe duties at all. And lastly, if any shipp or vessell shall happen (belongeing to us or our freinds) to be cast away upon any his territoryes, all whatever is sav'd upon demand shall be restor'd. They are fayre priviledges, and (it) may be questioned why hee should make us these fayre proffers. His answered by himselfe; first, he desires his countray may flurrish and grow rich, which he conceives it will be draweing merchants to him; secondly, hee desires (for his money) good horses from Persia; thirdly, that yearly upon our ships hee may send a servant into the Bay Bengalla to buy him hawks, ap(e)s, par-ratts, and such like batles, and that when he shall have occasion to send a vessell of his owne there, or to Persia, a man of ours may proceed upon her; and lastly, the fort, being made substantiall and strong, may bee able to defend his person on occasion against his insultinge neighbours. Yf Your Worships intend to continue this trade, as wee are confident you will (for without this your pepper trade is of small vallew, espetially where you shall buy all for redde moneyes), the above said proffers are not to bee refus'd".

(The English Factories in India, 1637-41, pp. 183-84).

* These are obvious exaggerations.

It must be remembered that the founding of Fort St. George is not synonymous with the founding of Madras. In the later charter granting the site of Fort St. George, it is clearly stated that the site marked out was distinctly to the south of Madras, which itself is said to have been to the South of Chennapatam of Chennapatnam. As far as the description of Madraspatam as such goes, it seems to have been a mere pretty suburban annexe to Chennapatam, and the real town is this last. The site which was granted,

even after the fort was built upon it, remained a mere out-hangar upon the town for a considerable length of time, and when we speak of the foundation of Madras, we have to bear in mind that it is rather the foundation of the town, while the fortification of the little islet which became Fort St. George is but an incident in the history of the town itself.

Śrīranga, we have stated above, was the nephew of Pedda Venkaṭa, the ruling emperor at the time when Madras was founded. As being joint nominee for succession, he had a distinct position, and as such was regarded as occupying a position higher than that of a mere governor or even a viceroy. The emperor seems generally to have resided in Nārāyanavanam, and Śrīranga was allotted Chandragiri and Tirupati, where he seems to have resided. Śrīranga's duty therefore brought him into contact with the activities of Golkonda in the north, and the efforts of Śrīranga's for a more active policy almost about the same time, gives us a clear indication that he understood the situation and wanted to take such action as would save the empire from destruction then imminent. Śrīranga's efforts were therefore primarily to bring about an understanding among the greater viceroys and bring them under direct imperial control, so that the resources of the empire as a whole might be put against the aggressions of the Muhammadans as the only possible means of saving the empire. This was the great effort of Śrīranga's, and he struggled for thirty years to carry this noble ambition of his into actual execution. The Jesuit Father Proenza in his letter of 1659 from Trichinopoly says:

"But, after his death, the new king, far superior to his father in talents and courage, hastened to vindicate his rights; without losing time in futile negotiations, he collected a formidable army (p. 43) and declared war. The Nayak of Madura enlisted in his defection those of Tanjore and Gingi, by concluding with them a league against their common sovereign. The latter, informed of everything through the Nayak of Tanjore, who had the meanness to betray his allies, marched at the head of his army and advanced on the territory of Gingi. Swayed only by fury and desire for vengeance, Tirumala Nayaka secretly addressed the subah of Golkonda, and requested it to invade the kingdom of Vellore. The Muhammadan did not require more; at once he entered this opulent kingdom and delivered it to devastation. Narasinga, obliged to suspend his march, turned round and attacked his enemy, who was repulsed with loss."

(Nayaks of Madura, p. 264).

It is true, however, that, notwithstanding his great activity in such a good cause, the country sources of information regarding him are not many, and we are driven to the comparatively scanty resources of having to pick up stray details mostly from hostile sources in regard to Śrīranga's imperial career. Among these the

European records stand out as being not definitely hostile to the emperor, and may be regarded as more or less impartial records of events that came to the notice of the Company's servants, located in the very midst of the empire, the English at Fort St. George, the Portuguese at San Thome, the Dutch at Pulicat, the Jesuits at Madura and Trichinopoly and the Danes at Tranquebar. Excepting the Danes there are records left by the other four, though all of them are as yet not available to us in a form for use. Referring to the years 1638 onwards, though the emperor was Venkaṭa, the administration is clearly said to have been in the hands of Dāmarla Venkaṭa. The following statement occurs in a list compiled in Fort St. George in 1750 of documents of which the firman conveying the grant of Madras is noted as having been given by Dāmarla Muddu Venkaṭapa Nāyaka, son of Dāmarla Chennama Nāyaka, the grand Vizier of the aforesaid sovereign (i.e., the Chandragiri Raja) and lord general of Karṇāṭaka.¹

The Dutch Dagh-Register for 1643-44 notes it that he was governor of a district round Madras, the yearly income of which is set down as six lacs of Pagodas, according to another account nine lacs. He had a brother, by name Ayyappa Nāyaka, who is stated in an earlier volume of the same series as the brother-in-law of the king. So

1. It is probably at the basis of this that the Cambridge History of India, V, 88, notes that the Charter was obtained from the local ruler. There is ample evidence that the charter was granted by the Emperor, of course through the intervention of the local ruler.

Dāmarla Venkaṭa, who was responsible for securing the grant of land on which Fort St. George was built, is generally described by the name Dāmarla Venkaṭa, Dāmarla Venkaṭa, Venkaṭapati and other variants of the name. The first part, however, Dāmarla has an obviously Telugu look and stands clearly for the name Dāmal, a village near Conjivaram, from which this family seems to have come to notice. In a grant relating to this family, these brothers are described as the sons of Channamanāyaka, son of Dāmal Venkaṭa Nāyaka, thus making it clear that the family originally came from Damal. Channappa was a man of importance, as he was appointed governor of the territory dependent upon Vellore and the region round captured from the rebel Lingamanāyaka, son of Chinna Bomma by Venkaṭapatirāya, some times about A.D. 1605 or 1606. It is in his name that the town of Madras was called Chennapatani. There are other memorials in his name, such as the Chennasāgara and so on. That the Venkaṭa who was responsible for the grant is Dāmal Venkaṭa is perhaps inferable from the way that the name is written both in the grant of Madras, as it has come down to us and the letters written in connection therewith. The name given there is "Domela Venkatadri Nague," and the first part of the name Domela is as near as we can expect it to Damal and Dāmarla comes in only as a result of a process of Teluguising." (A.S.R. 1911-12. Note 2 and references therein).

in the last years of Venkaṭa's rule, these brothers-in-law carried on the administration in the name of the emperor. The elder brother was governor of the province called Wandiwash, while the younger brother held a subordinate government under that elder brother. Venkaṭa's government of Wandiwash included both the British Fort St. George and the Dutch Pulicat, not to mention the Portuguese San Thome. There is an interesting record which finds note in the English Factories in India, volume for 1642-45:—

"The Golkonda army had overrun part of his territory and the rest including Armagon itself had been occupied by a neighbouring Nayak*, to whom apparently, the defence of the frontier had been entrusted by his uncle, Venkaṭapati, the king of Vijayanagar. At the beginning of October, the king died and after a short delay, this nephew was elevated to the throne as Srirangarayalu, though many of the other Nayaks were opposed to his succession and gave him great deal of trouble."

* Obviously Sriranga.

This is followed by another passage where the Golkonda forces are seen to be in occupation of the territory round Armagon:—

"The fear is expressed that the whole of the region might soon become subject to Muhammadan rule. The Nayak of Armagon is absolutely beaten out of all his country, it being possessed part by the king of Golkonda people and the major part by the Rayalwar. The Moors have encamped themselves, or rather seated themselves for the war, at a place called Cowle Geldancke, the chiefst place in all that country and Rayalwar hath a strong garrison in Venkatagiri and Armagon. Indeed, we are of opinion that the Moors will have all this country ere many years; for what with the King of Bijapur on one side and the Kings of Golkonda on the other the Gentues themselves being divided among themselves, it is even impossible their country can continue."

The English Factories in India, 1642-45, p. 44.

This information is also found in other records of the time. A letter dated November 5, 1642, contains the following statement. Speaking of the investments of the Dutch at Bantam, Cogan and others at Fort St. George wrote to the Company at home that

"they will not be as large as was expected, as they could not sell some of the commodities by reason of the wars, which now upon the matter is ended among the Jentues within themselves, by the death of the old King. What the Moors and Jentues will do, time must show."

The English Factories in India, 1642-45, p. 76.

In regard to the death of the king, the following note is extracted from the Batavia Dagh-Register, 1643-44, recording² receipt of intelligence from Pulicat that

2. The English Factories in India, 1642-45, p. 67.

"the Karnātak king Venkaṭapati was dead after lying sick of a fever for five or six days, and that his body had been burnt on October 12 (N. S.) at Narrewarom (Nārāyaṇavanam, fifty miles west of Pulicat); that he left no children except an illegitimate son, who by the law of the land could not succeed; and that after much dispute his brother's son Sriranga Rayalu, had been elevated to the throne on October 29 (N. S.); but many of the chiefs were displeased at this choice."

A letter from Pulicat to the commander of the Dutch fleet off Goa (Hague Transcripts; series i, vol. xii, no. 402) gives the date of Venkaṭapati's death as October 10 (N. S.). This extract from the Dagh-Register gives us precise information as to the date of the death of Venkaṭapati and the circumstances under which Śrī Ranga Rāyalu succeeded to the throne as emperor of Vijayanagar.

The conditions under which Śrīranga came to the throne were hardly propitious for a peaceful and successful reign for him. The very accession of this prince was displeasing to an influential party at court, notwithstanding the fact that he was one of the two nominees who, along with the old ruler, was selected by emperor Rama to succeed him. He seems already to have developed a policy of his own to counteract the advance of Golkonda forces, and we have already noted from his inscriptional records that, as early as 1638,³ he is given the titles of ruler in his own right in the districts on the northern frontier to which he had been appointed governor. This should have made him objectionable certainly to those who were exercising authority and occupying positions of importance under Venkaṭa, particularly the Dāmarla brothers, Venkaṭa and Ayya. These brothers could not have welcomed a masterful successor like Śrīranga. They probably made use of their position to undermine Śrīranga's authority by intriguing with Golkonda which Śrīranga could hardly be expected to condone. Śrīranga naturally threw Venkaṭa into prison, and his brother Ayyappa raised forces and collected together all those feudatories who were friendly to bring about the release of his brother, and the Company's servants expected Venkaṭa to be released on this account. A letter dated December 29, 1642 notes:—

"The wars and broils increasing in this country, and now (by reason of our great Naick's imprisonment) drawing near to us, we lately raised a third bulwark of turf; and wanting guns to mount thereon, have resolved that the Advice shall spare us four minion for that purpose, because there is no danger of enemy in her way to Bantam, and when she comes there she may be again supplied."

The English Factories in India, 1642-45, p. 70.

3. Vol. VI, No. 23, Tirupati Dēvastānam Inscription.

In regard to the imprisonment itself, the Dutch Dagh-Register makes the following plain statement:—

† "Damarla Venkatappa had been detected in intrigues with Golkonda and had thereupon been imprisoned by the new king and deprived of all his territory, with the exceptions of Poonamallee and the surrounding districts."

† *Ibid.*

Another letter from Fort St. George dated January 4, 1643 recounts the difficulties for advancing money:—

"This country being all in broils, the old King of Karnatak being dead. So is the Naick of Armagon, whose country is all in the hands of the Moors, and (sic) who will ere long by all likelihood be masters of all this country; for our Naick, not finding the respect from the new King as he expected, did make profer to assist the Moors; but ere he could bring his treason about, it was discovered (and) he was apprehended by the king, who hath seized great part of his country. But we believe he will be forced suddenly to restore it again and release him, for our Nayak's brother and kinsmen are levying an army for his rescue; who, with the help of the Moors on the other side (who are within half a day's journey of each other) will force his liberty or ruin the whole kingdom."

The English Factories in India, 1642-45, p. 80.

We find an explanation of this as usual in the Dagh-Register, which just reports that the Muhammadans had just occupied Venkaṭagiri and that Dāmarla Venkaṭa had already been released. The same letter quoted above follows with what took place subsequently:—

"From Pulicat about a month since, a piscash was sent by the hand of their merchant Moileya (Mallaiya, *alias* Chinana Chitty) unto the present King of Karnatt, estimated to be worth 4,000 (pagodas). The Portugauls from St. Thoma have likewise been with their piscash with the king; but it comes far shorter of the former, for all that they carried could not amount to full 200 pagodas. Somewhat is expected from us; but until our Naique and the King be either reconciled or absolutely outed, we intend to stand upon our guard and keep what we have."

The English Factories in India, 1642-45, p. 81, note 1.

From the same Dagh-Register, Sir William Foster extracts the following:—

"The Wars in these parts made them glad to entertain some of their men as soldiers; for the Moores but five weeks past had advanced with their armies within three miles of Pulicat, and sent unto the Dutch Governor to surrender up the castle; and we did suddenly expect the same. But shortly after the Jentues came down with a great power, gave the Moores battle, routed their army and put the Moores to flight beyond Armagon where they are now agathering ahead again."

The English Factories in India, 1642-45, pp. 193-94 and note: Date Sep. 8th, 1644.

Some explanation of this is found in a letter from the governor of Pulicat to Batavia a few months later. He reported that on returning to Pulicat from Masulipatam on July 15 (N.S.) he found that the forces of the King of Golkonda, under 'Casy Aly (Kasim Ali), had subdued the whole of the neighbouring towns without opposition and were demanding the submission of Pulicat itself, promising at the same time that the Dutch should retain all their privileges. Of this demand no notice was taken, and the invaders, finding the fortress amply equipped, contented themselves with a demonstration at a safe distance. The Nayak of Gingi, who was then in rebellion against Sri Ranga, advanced with the intention of joining the Golkonda army; whereupon the King recalled Kistappa Nayaka, who was operating against the Gingi chief, and restored Chinnana to favour.⁴ Kistappa fell unexpectedly on the Moors and completely routed them, killing their commander and several other men of importance. In explanation of this comes in the following statement indicating how Mallaiya came into the position of influence almost in the place of Dāmarla Venkaṭa :—

"Our neighbours the Dutch have been long a projecting and now they have wrought it that Mollay, their merchant, is like to be as powerful with this King as the Serkayle (Sar-i-Kel) is at Golkonda; and, to ingratiate him thoroughly into his favour, they have assisted Mollay with men and guns for the subduing of castles of our Nague for the King, or rather their own use; by which means our Nague is cashiered and he substituted, and is also made his treasurer and does even in a manner command all."

Ibid, p. 154.

It thus become clear that, on Śrīranga succeeding to the throne, Dāmarla Venkaṭa intrigued with Golkonda, and was thrown into prison first and ultimately dismissed. Mallaiya, the merchant doing the work of broker between the Dutch company and the country was, through the Dutch influence, advanced to his position. For the time being the Golkonda forces which had come as far as Pulicat had been defeated and turned back to a certain extent. All these transactions are referable to the years 1643 and perhaps early 1644. We might now regard Śrīranga as having established himself in power, and had succeeded in his first effort at keeping back the Golkonda forces. This state of things was not likely to continue.

4. *The English Factories in India, 1642-45*, pp. 193-94 and Note: (Date Sep. 8th, 1644).

The Jesuit letter quoted above contains the following relating to a somewhat later date :—

"(P. 45) The Golkonda army, resolved to add to the conquest of Narasinga's dominions that of the kingdoms of his tributaries, advanced on the territory of Gingi. The Nayak of Tanjore knew that he could not give pitched battle to an enemy, whose mere number had created so much terror; but, he could no longer count on his ally of Madura, whom he had scandalously betrayed. Obligated to take sides, he did what one would always do, under the influence of terror; he decided on the most senseless and disastrous step; he delivered himself up to the king of Golkonda and concluded with him a treaty by which he surrendered at discretion."

The Golkonda forces were likely to look to their own advantage and make incursions again, and unless they were permanently disabled from doing so, there was not much chance of a permanent peace. A letter from Fort St. George dated 25th August 1643 contains the following statement.

"This country hath been, and still is at present, all in broils, one Nague against another, and most against the King; which makes all trade at a stand. But the king, by means of the King of Vizapore, who for 15 lacks of pagodas and 24 elephants hath sent some thousands of horse for his assistance, is like to have the better."

The English Factories in India, 1642-45, pp. 115-6.

But apparently Śrīranga took action accordingly with the assistance of these Bijapur troops and assured himself of some little peace. It is recorded in a letter dated October 1645. As soon as Śrīranga had established himself in power, the Fort St. George company thought it time to get the charter of Dāmarla Venkaṭa and Venkaṭapati renewed by Śrīranga. They report that for securing this they had almost resolved upon sending Greenhill and four others to the king at Vellore, from whom they obtained a charter dated September 25, 1645. Śrīranga also negotiated successfully for the English Company buying the goods that Mallaiya was able to take from the Dutch in the course of the wars. It is after this that we find the Dutch correspondence referring to the defeat of Śrīranga within the walls of Vellore by a Bijapur army, and forced to pay a war indemnity. This was brought about through the intrigues of Mir Jumla, who, after suffering the defeat referred to before, negotiated both with Bijapur and with Kanṭhīrava Narasa Rāja Uḍaiyār of Mysore to bring about an attack upon Vellore.

THE GRANT FROM SRI RANGA RAYALU REGARDING MADRAS¹A. The Contemporary Version (O. C. 1696).²

"In the yeare Parteewa, the month Cartida, the moone in the wane,³ the King over all Kings the Colliest (Holiest) and amongst all cavileers the greatest, Sree Renga Raga, the mighty King God, give(s) this cowle unto Agent Thomas Ivie, cheife captain of the English, and the Company of that nation.

For as much as you have left Armagon and are come to Zree Renga Ragapatam,⁴ my towne, at first but of small esteeme, and have there built a fort and brought trade to that port: therefore that you may bee the better incouraged to prosecute the same and amplifie the towne which beares our name, we doe freely release you of all customes or duties upon whatsoever goods bought or sould in that place appertaining to your Company. Also we graunt unto your Company halfe of all the customes or duties which shalbe received at that port; and the rents of the ground about the village Madraspatam, as also the Jaccall ground,⁵ wee give you towards your charges, by way of piscash. Moreover, for the better manning your bussines, we surrender the government and justice of the towne into your hands. And if any of your neighbours of Pundamolee (Punamallee) shall injure you, we promise you our reddy assistance. And for what provisions shalbe brought out of that cuntry, we will that no junckan (toll: Tamil *Chungam*) be taken thereon. If it fortune that any of your Companies shippes shall by accident of weather or otherwise be driven ashore at that port, whatsoever can be saved shall remaine your owne. And the like touching all merchants that trade at that port, if the owners come to demand it; but if the owner be not to bee found, then our officers shall seize on the same to our behoofe. We alsoe promise still to retayne the towne in our protection and not to subject it to the government of Pundamolee or any other Nague. And whatsoever merchandizes of yours that that shall pass through the country of Pundamolee to pay but halfe custome. In confidence of this our cowle, you may cheerfully proceede in your affairs; wherein if any of our people shall mollest you, we give you our faith to take your cause into our owne hands to doe you right and assist you against them; that your port and this cowle may stand firme as long as the sunn and moone endureth

ZREE RAMA.

1. This grant was the outcome of Greenhill's mission, referred to on p. 290.
2. Endorsed by the copyist: 'Copple (of) Kings cowle given to the Agent concerning priviledges reconfirmed.' I am inclined to think that it was copied at Madras. There are two other transcripts at the India Office, viz., O.C. 1697 and No. 1696 in the *Duplicate* O.C. series; but both are copies made at Surat and sent home from thence in 1646. The second of these has been printed in *The Founding of Fort St. George* (p. 32). All three versions are practically identical.
3. i.e., the second half of the month *Kartika*, in the year *Parthiva*. This agrees with the date in the later version (November 15), except that in that the year is, by a slip, given as 1643 instead of 1645.
4. 'Zree Renga Rayapatam' and 'Zree Renga Rayapatna' in the other two copies.
5. Possibly the 'jackal-ground' was a waste piece of land between the Fort and Madraspatam.

(The English Factories in India, 1642-45, pp. 305-6.)

As a result of this defeat Śrīranga found some of the rebel Nāyaks of the empire return to their proper allegiance and promised to support him as against his enemies. This defeat of Bijapur was taken advantage of by Mir Jumla to renew his invasion, and this time he made Udayagiri the object of his attack. There is a note concerning this:—

"Ever since the seige of Pulicat, which was begun the 12th August last, the King hath been in wars with the King of Vizapore (Bijapur) and in civil wars with three of his great Nagues; so that he to this time never had opportunity to send a considerable force against Pulicat, more than 4000 soldiers that lay before it to stop the ways that no goods should go in or out. And now the king of Golkonda hath sent his general, Mir Jumla, with a great army to oppose this King; who is advance (d) to the Jentues country, where the King hath sent Mallay, who hath got together 50,000 soldiers (as report saith), whereof 3,000 soldiers he sent for from Pulicat, to keep the Moors from in-trenching upon this King's country."

The English Factories in India, 1646-50, pp. 24-25.

As usual again, an extract among the Hague transcripts from a Diary at Pulicat supplies the illuminating information as to when this took place. It sets down that

"The three rebellious Nayaks were those of Tanjore, Madura, and Sinsider (Gingi?), who inflicted a severe defeat on the royal forces in December, 1645."

The English Factories in India, 1646-50, pp. 24-25.

This note also refers to the mission sent by the English with presents of the value of 1,000 pagodas and obtaining a renewal of the cowle. This same is noted in a subsequent letter dated January 21, 1646, and another dated 26th February following:—

"This country is at present full of wars and troubles, for the King and three of his Nagues are at variance, and the King of Vizapore's army is come into this country on the one side and the king of Golkonda upon the other, both against this King. The Meir Jumlah is General for the King of Golkonda, who hath already taken three of the King's castles, whereof one of them is reported to be the strongest hold in this kingdom; where Molay was sent to keep it, but in a short time surrendered it unto the Meir Jumlah, upon composition for himself and all his people to go away free; but how he will be received by the King we shall advise you by the next, for this news came unto us but yesterday."

The English Factories in India, 1646-50, pp. 25-26.

In another Dutch document the fort referred to is Udayagiri undoubtedly, the famous fortress in the Nellore District, which Sir William Foster considers too far north, which perhaps is not quite the case. This pusillanimous surrender of Udayagiri threw Mallaiya into disgrace in turn, the necessary dismissal of this

officer in the face of the enemy giving the advantage to those enemies. Vellore was now besieged by the joint armies of Bijapur and Golkonda, which is referred to in the following extract from Sir William Foster's introduction:—

"Then comes a long silence, but from the Dutch records we learn that Sriranga, after suffering a severe defeat under the walls of Vellore, was forced to pay a heavy indemnity to the leader of the Bijapur army, and that the Nayaks, sobered by the successes of the Muhammadans, returned to their allegiance, and promised to assist the King in maintaining the independence of his country. The siege of Pulicat ceased with the fall of Malaya from power; and in May a fresh lease of the town and district was obtained from Sri Ranga."

The English Factories in India, 1646-50, p. xxii.

It was about this time that Śrīranga's authority should have extended northwards well into the Kurnool District where we have a duplicate record of his reign of a date in May 1647. This grant comes from a small modern temple of Venkaṭeśa at Nandiyāla.⁵ It refers to a voluntary contribution raised by the various classes of inhabitants of the district round Nandiyāla and made over to a certain Timmaiya, son of a *Chapparam Dāsari* Saruvaiya, and this service was rendered for the merit of Hazarati Khān Khāna Sahēbulavāru (the Hon'ble Khan-i-Khanan Saheb), and the record refers itself distinctly to the reign in Vira Pratāpa Śrīranga Rāyalu-dēva-Mahārāyalu ruling from Penugonḍa, thus showing that Śrīranga's authority prevailed over the region, though the actual rule was still under the Muhammadan general. It looks as though in popular estimation, the ruler is still Śrīranga although the territory might actually have been under the Kan-i-Khanan and that this latter is no other than Mir Jumla from the actual style of reference. The festival of the decorated car provided for seems likewise intended for God Venkaṭeśvara at Tirupati, as the person to whom the collected money was handed over is set down as the son of a *Chapparam Dāsari*, which would mean a wandering non-Brahman Vaishṇava, who collected monies for various purposes of service in the temple at Tirupati usually. In 1647 therefore, Śrīranga's authority stood high even over that locality falling well within the limits of the more recent Golkonda conquests.

"Tirumala Nayaka, seeking safety in his unsound (p. 46) policy, committed a second folly, which brought about the ruin of all these kingdoms. His ambassadors went, in his name, to treat with Idal Khan (the Adil Shah) or the king of the Dakhan, who sent him seventeen thousand horse. With

5. M.E.R. 1915-16. App. A. 15 and 16.

this imposing cavalry and thirty thousand infantry of his own, he marched to Gingi. But the Muhammadans of the two armies easily came to an understanding among themselves. The *subah* of Golkonda concluded a treaty with the general of Idal Khan, and retired to the kingdom of Bisnagar to consolidate its conquest; while the seventeen thousand cavalry of Idal Khan, along with some regiments of infantry, continued the siege of Gingi, which they were called for to defend. The thirty thousand Madura infantry entered into the place and joined the troops of the king of Gingi. The fortress, protected by its advantageous position, was, besides, defended by good fortifications, furnished with a strong artillery and by a numerous army, provisioned for a considerable time; it could, accordingly, defy all the efforts of the besiegers. But soon disagreements and divisions sprang up among these men (the besieged) so diversified in nationality and manners. A revolt broke out; in the midst of the general confusion, the gates of the citadel were thrown open to the enemy, who rushed into it and delivered the town, the richest in all these countries, to pillage. The booty was immense, consisting of silver, gold, pearls, and precious stones of inestimable value." (The Jesuit Letter already quoted.)

This is illuminating in the face of the advance of Mir Jumla and his successful occupation of the territory all round Fort St. George, thus bringing him within a couple of days' march of Gingee, perhaps on his way up to Gingee as noted in a letter of January 4, 1647:—

"The wars and famine doth still furiously rage in these parts, and we think that there will be a period set unto the former before the latter; for the Anna Bobb Meir Jumlah hath taken the government of Pulicat and St. Thome, setting the country all in order as he goeth along, and is now within two days' march of the King's court and nobody commeth to oppose him, the famine having almost destroyed all the kingdom; for out of our little town there hath died no less than 3,000 people since September last in Pulicat, as report saith, 15,000; and in St. Thome no less."

The English Factories in India, 1646-50, p. 70.

But soon after came a revulsion, and we find Śrīranga being pushed back, and Mir Jumla advancing again to occupy the country round Madras effectively to lead the Company's servants to get a renewal of the charter by him, as is recorded in a letter dated October 9, 1647:—

"We had almost forgotten to advise you that the 16,000 rials of eight President Baker left us indebted at the coast at his going to Bantam was lent us by the King of Gulcondah (s) Generall, who hath almost conquer'd this kingdom and reigneth as King under the title of Annabob (see p. 70). This 16,000 rials he lent us for one twelve months gratis; which debt we discharged at the arrival of the Farewell. So, in requital of the Annabob's curtezie, we gave him one of the two brass guns you sent out by the Mary, which he would not be denied of, whither he had lent us this money or no; other wise he would not have confirmed our old privileges formerly granted us by

the now fled Jentue King. So upon the delivering of this gun he gave it us here under his hand that he received the gun in full and contentable satisfaction for the loan of 16,000 rials of eight to the Company the whole space of one twelve month, and never here after would desire any thing else for the same; and withal confirmed under the King of Golconda (s) great seal all our former privileges in ample manner, as it was granted unto us by the aforesaid fled Jentue King. Soe by this means the gun hath saved you three times the value of it, by accomplishing too good acts at once."

The English Factories in India, 1646-50, pp. 166-7, October 9, 1647 and also Letter by Ivo Bantam, same vol. p. xxx, August 19, 1648.

The letter further declared that food was dear and cotton goods were difficult to obtain, as the country was being harried by fresh incursions of the Golkonda and Bijapur armies, with the result that Porto Novo and Pondicherry were 'in a manner ruined,' while Tegnapatam, the other chief centre of the piece-goods trade in that region, had to buy immunity from a like fate by 'continual presents.' This perhaps was the beginning of Mir Jumla's advance towards Gingee against which he was invited by the Nayak of Madura, who called him in for his own ulterior purposes. Before the walls of Gingee, the Bijapur army which was with Tirumala Nayak, deserted to the Golkonda general who was quite inclined to let the Bijapur troops occupy Gingee. The Bijapur army then went into occupation of Gingee and took Tegnapatam, and the region round Cuddalore.⁶

"Masters of Gingi, the Muhammadans marched against the Nayaks of Tanjore and Madura. The former hid himself in inaccessible forrests; the latter shut himself up in his fortress of Madura, whose distance appeared to screen him from the enemy. But when they saw him overrunning their dominions and carrying devastation everywhere, they opened negotiations and submitted to the law of the (P. 47) conqueror. Thus, after conquering a vast country, subduing two powerful kings, and gathering incalculable treasures, without being put to the necessity of giving a single battle, and almost without losing a single soldier, the Dakhan army returned to Bijapur, where it made a triumphal entry."

This made Śrīranga's position untenable, and he had to retire to Mysore for the time being. This is noted by Sir William Foster chiefly from the Dutch records:—

"On the eastern side of India, at the beginning of the period under review, the Carnatic was still being harassed by the incursions of its Muhammadan foes, and by their constant dissensions and conflicts. The forces of the King of Bijapur had conquered the whole of the district centring in the famous fortress of Gingi, including the seaboard round Tegnapatam, of which Malaya was made Governor; and the Dutch promptly took advantage of this to obtain (August 1651) a grant of trade at that and the neighbouring ports

6. *Nayaks of Madura*, pp. 265-266.

(Hageu Transcripts, Series i, vol. xvii, No. 532; vol. xviii, No. 539. The unhappy Raja of the Carnatic had taken refuge with the Nayak of Mysore, who was at war with Bijapur.* Meanwhile, to the northwards, the Nawab Mir Jumla, as general of the Golconda forces, was busy consolidating his position."†

* *Nayaks of Madura*, p. 265.

† The Hageu Transcript, Vol. XVIII, No. 518.

The Jesuit letter quoted above continues:—

"Narasinga had more wisdom; encouraged by the good reception and help of the king of Mysore, he took advantage of the absence of Kanakan (Khan-i-Khanan), Idal Khan's general, to recover his kingdom. Accordingly, with an army of Mysoreans, he entered the field, reconquered a part of his provinces, and repulsed the army of Golkonda, which advanced to attack him."

The taking of Gingi is dated 1649, and its occupation by Bijapur could not have been to the satisfaction of Mir Jumla.

"(The king of) Bisnagar, betrayed a second time by his vassal, succumbed to the contest, and was obliged to seek refuge, on the confines of his kingdom, in the forests where he led a miserable life....prince (made) unhappy by the folly of his vassals, whom his personal qualities rendered worthy of a better fate. Kanakan did not wish to leave the country without levying ransom on Tanjore and Madura; he raised large contributions and returned to Bijapur full of riches." (The Jesuit letter quoted above.)

Hostilities soon broke out therefore between the erstwhile allies of Bijapur and Golkonda, as the following note dated January 14, 1652 would indicate:—

"Wars being commenced between the Moors of Goncondah and Vizapore, who, having shared this afflicted kingdom, are now bandying against each other, whilst the poor Jentue, hoping their destruction watches opportunity to break of his present miserable yoke. In the interim many bickerings have been within two days' journey of this place, and it is reported that the Nabob with his whole army is besieged among the hills of Golcondah, whither he retired for the more safety, by the Vizaporias; which hath so distracted this country that we could not adventure your monies abroad without too much hazard."

The English Factories in India, 1651-54, p. 99, Jan. 14, 1652.

Mir Jumla got the worst of it ultimately and had to conclude a treaty with Bijapur on payment of a heavy indemnity. This treaty between the two must have been not much earlier than January 27, 1652, as the following note indicates:—

"Have already advised the troubles arising from the quarrel between the Vizapore and Golcondah Moores; but lately peace is concluded between the two Kings, being bought by the last for 600,000 (some say 900,000) pagodas;

for which sum he is again restored to possession of his late conquests, part whereof had in this bickering been surprised by the Vizaporeans, whose King for these many months was reported dead, though now resuscitated and said to be in better health than for diverse passed years."

The English Factories in India, 1651-54, p. 111, Jan. 27, 1652.

The difference between the two states of Bijapur and Golkonda probably was the outcome of the division of territory recently conquered from the Vijayanagar empire between them. The successful occupation of Gingi by Bijapur naturally would furnish cause of quarrel, and we hear that very soon after this treaty, Bijapur took possession of Penugonda, the titular capital of the empire of Vijayanagar and asked leave to march through Golkonda territory to Gingi. Mir Jumla declined to grant this freedom of passage and now made overtures to the ruler of Mysore and even made direct overtures to emperor Śrīranga. This is noted by Sir William Foster chiefly from the Dutch records:—

"The war in the Carnatic was continued as strenuously as ever. According to the Dutch records, the Bijapur commander-in-chief, having mastered the important fortress of Penn-ukonda in March, 1653, thereupon requested permission to pass through the districts held by the Golconda troops on his way to Gingi; but this was refused by Mir Jumla, who alarmed at the success of the Bijapur troops, was animating the Nayak of Mysore against them and also making overtures to the Carnatic Raja. The latter, relying on Mir Jumla's promises, returned to Vellore and raised a large army, hoping to drive the Bijapuris out of the country (Hague Transcripts, Series i, vol. xix, No. 550 (1)). The issue of all this is told in a letter from Batavia of November 7, 1654 (N.S.), which states that the Bijapur general had, after a long siege, captured Vellore and concluded a treaty with the Raja, by which Chandragiri was left to the latter, with the revenues of certain districts. (*Ibid* No. 551). Meanwhile the Dutch were endeavouring to live as peaceably as possible with both contending powers. This was not easy in the case of Mir Jumla, who (as we have seen) was much irritated by their refusal to grant passes to Indian ships desirous of trading with Ceylon, Achin, and all districts in which the Dutch were striving to establish a monopoly."

The English Factories in India, 1651-54, p. xxxiii.

These transactions probably relate to the year 1652-53, as we find that the Bijapur armies marched to Vellore, attacked and took possession of the fort and left emperor Śrīranga with Chandragiri for his capital and the districts dependent thereon, as set down in these records. This took place soon after March 1653:—The Company's servants complain as early as September 23, 1648 just before the fall of Gingi that

"The body of this kingdom is harried by two foreign nations, who lie within two days' journey one of another with powerful armies, watch all advantage upon each other, yet both strive to make a prey of this miserable and distracted or divided people. These are the Gulcandah and the Vizapore

(Bijapore) Moores, the latter of which hath brought in 8,000 freebooters, who receive no pay but plunder what they can; whose incursions, robberies, and devastations hath brought a dislocation on a great part of the country round about, especially the three prim cloth ports, Tevenapatam, Porto Novo, and Pullacherey (Pondicherri), of which the two last are in a manner ruined the other hardly preserving itself in a poor condition with continual presents."

(The English Factories, 1646-50, pp. 215-16).

The year 1653 therefore marks the lowest that Śrīranga's fortune had reached as yet.

It was immediately after this date 1653, that Mir Jumla gave cause of dissatisfaction to Abdulla Qutub Shah of Golkonda, and the suspicion of the Sultan that Mir Jumla was attempting to set up independently, led the latter to look for aid elsewhere. He made an effort to play Bijapur against Golkonda, and, failing there, applied to prince Aurangzeb, who was in the Dakhan acting in behalf of his father. This is found recorded in a letter of September 18, 1654, and another of February 4, 1656, and summarised by Sir William Foster in the English Factories in India, 1650-55, page xxxiv:—

"In September, 1654, the English factors reported a fresh development in the unstable politics of the Coast. The King of Golconda, Abdulla Quth Shah, had long been jealous of the power wielded by his servant, Mir Jumla and an open breach had now occurred between them (p. 290). The latter was suspected of an intention of making himself an independent sovereign of the territory he had conquered in the Carnatic; but he was well aware of the difficulty of standing alone, and after making overtures to the King of Bijapur, he finally succumbed to the intrigues of Aurangzeb, who, as Viceroy of the Deccan, was eagerly watching for an opportunity to interfere. Mir Jumla agreed to enter the service of the Mogul Emperor; but rumours of his intention so alarmed Abdullah Quth Shah that he sought to win back the friendship of his former minister, and the latter hesitated until the imprisonment of his family at Golconda towards the end of 1655—an act provoked by the haughty behaviour of his son—precipitated the crisis and drove Mir Jumla into the arms of Aurangzeb, with disastrous results to the Golconda kingdom."

The English Factories in India, 1651-54, p. xxxiv.

"In the booke of transactions with the Nabob (you will read how hee hath intrenched on our privileges (in Madras)patam, which was begunn by the Braminees mentioned in Mr.) Bakers tyme, who would take no notice of their (actions, but) supported them.... In the meane tyme wele str(ive to keep what) wee have, until better tymes. The said Nabob is (in opposition) to the King his master; nor can wee divine the i(ssue of this un)certain warr from such various reports as pass in (these parts; but) suppose, if the King oremaster him, heele fly to the (Mogull for) shelter, who already begins to take his part."

The English Factories in India, 1655-60, Feb. 4, 1656, p. 46.

The suspicion against Mir Jumla was aggravated by the indiscreet behaviour of the son which led the Qutub Shah to throw him into prison and thus hurried up what was going to follow. Mir Jumla had to go away from Golkonda to the protection of Aurangzeb's camp and was despatched therefrom to the court of Shah Jahan at Delhi. The absence of Mir Jumla from Golkonda was the opportunity for Śrīranga to take the tide at the flood. Now that Mir Jumla was away, that part of the territory of Vijayanagar which he had taken was under dispute between him and his sovereign master, the Qutub Shah. Mir Jumla could not be quite so active in this region, and anything that Śrīranga might do to recover his territory would have the countenance of the Qutub Shah, if not the active support that it gained later on. This is found recorded in a Dutch letter from Batavia about the end of January 1657 which shows that Śrīranga captured Tirupati and was planning out the conquest of the districts round about, which constituted the central block of his territory all the while :—

"This long imprisoned King at last returned to his citty, after (by reports) the receipt of good news from the Mugull, who they say keepes the Nabob by him and will not permit him to return to these countreys againe, and hath given him all the Curnatt (Carnatic) country to his disposall and yeares tribitt free. This is reported for truth; whither soe or noe (I) knowe not. But for certaine hee (i.e. Mir Jumla) hath lately sent an army of neare 10,000 horse to take possession of Carnatt, and at his comeing into the citty had not lesse then 50,000 horses and foote, richly accountred, which are all in pay, that marched before him."

The English Factories in India, 1655-60, August 2, 1656, p. 91.

The story regarding the disposal of the Carnatic was in effect, true. Abdullah Kutub Shah had done his best to retain that rich province, which had been conquered on his behalf by the Nawab; but Shah Jahan decided that it must be treated as Mir Jumla's *jaghir*, held directly from the Emperor, and the Golconda monarch was ordered to recall his officers from the province.⁷ As a Madras letter of July 7, 1656 (written, it is true, before the decision was known there) says :—

"As for this country about us, tis indifferent quiett; continuing yett under the Nabob government, whose officers still remaine in theirre places of command, though the army bee much lessened by his departure."

He hardly succeeded in this effort. The dispute between the Qutub Shah and Mir Jumla reached a head when, on his report, Shah Jahan intimated to the Qutub Shah that the Karnatic territory must be regarded as Mir Jamal's to be held under the Great

7. See Professor Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, Vol. I, p. 245.

Mughal's authority, and warning the Qutub Shah from making any claims therefore. This naturally would lead the Qutub Shah not merely to countenance but to actually encourage Śrīranga in his efforts. We find this recorded in the Coast correspondence (the English Factories in India, 1655-60, page 91). This is found recorded again in a number of places which are set down below followed by a letter written on January 28, 1657, by Greenhill and Chamber, which summarises the whole :—

"In which respect wee have not as yett broake their seales, but deferre their opening until wee bee better informed to whome they belong, or the country settled in the Gentue Kings possession which would not only secure us from future trouble but much advance your affaires in these parts, for some good service wee have done him in assisting Conar Cittee (Koneri Chetti), his generall for these quarters; which business, if the success be suitable to the beginning, this place will bee better worth your owning then ever."

Alsoe it was reported that 'the king of Gulcondah had lett the countrey of Carnaticum again to the Royalaes; upon which the Kinge of the Jentues father-in-law, called Vengum Rajah, with a partye of souldiers tooke parte of the country and came to Peddapollinudu; which news when Sidelee heard, not raising the siege nor comeing hither, returned to Pullacatt. (Possibly Peddanaikpetta (a ward of Madras) is meant.

And all the country hereabouts (Punnamallee castle expected) rendered to the Jentu King's obedience, who now, in the Nabobs absence, is up in armes for the recovering of his kingdom, and hath already recovered a large part.

Next from a letter sent by the Madras factors to Bantam, dated November 5, we learn that—

'All these countries that were formerly conquered by the Nabob are now of late (in his absence at the Moghulls court) upon the revolt, the Jentue King with diverse Nagues being in arms; some of whose forces are now at the seidge of Paleacatt, where tis said most of the Nabobs riches are stowed. Here is nothing but takeing and retaking of places, with parties of both sides, in all places; soe that tis very dangerous giving out monies for goods in these tymes. But wee hope ere long 'twill be settled, especially for us, if the King recovers his countrey.'

And finally we have the report made to the Company by Greenhill and Chamber on January 28, 1657.

'The warres in these parts have been an exceding hinderance to the progress of your business in this place; and the more through the treachery of Conarcity, whom the Jentue King made his generall in these parts about Punnomalee; which castle might have been easily brought in subjection, but hee delayed the time until the Nabobs party had united their forces and formed a body to overpower him; whereupon hee basely fledd to this towne with his army.'

'Nor are our Dutch neighbours in Pullecatt altogether secure, for all their strength, should the Gentue King overcome, who yet is able to counter-

poize the Nabobs party and may happily get the day at last, if the Nabob come not in person to conserve his conquest; which is much to be doubted, though his party report that hee is on the way from Agra as farre as Brahm-pore with a formidable army; but tis supposed Vizapore (Bijapur) will take him up by the way. As for Conarcittee, he rendered himselfe up to the Moores as a prisoner, but was received in state by the comandars with more than accustomed honours in such cases; which, considered with his alliance and neere relation to Topa Kistnappa, the Nabobs generall, together with other circumstances and observation in his present deport and continued respect from ditto Kistnappa, are sufficient to ground the generall suspicion of his betraying the king's army.'

During 1656 therefore Śrīranga had regained much of the lost provinces and was practically master of what was his own territory before. Even the Dutch found their position difficult as Śrīranga laid siege to their principal fortress of Pulicat. As usual Śrīranga was badly served, and it is the faithlessness and disaffection of his own officers that are again responsible for his not having achieved the measure of success that he should have. Notwithstanding the defection of his general Koneri Chetty going over to Mir Jumla's side, Śrīranga had gained back much of his territory. Early in the year 1658, however, Śrīranga's forces were ambushed successfully by Tuppākki Krishnappa, and this gave him a set back. Then follows the revolt of Poonamallee as against Mir Jumla and in favour of the king of Golkonda, and the Golkonda ruler was expected to send assistance. Early in the year 1659, there is a note that the Golkonda forces under Kuli Beg inflicted a defeat upon Tuppākki Krishnappa in October 1658. These wars brought about a stringency in respect of prices, which is found referred to in the English Factories in India, 1655-60, page 257. Such was the commercial history of the Agency during the year. Of political events we hear nothing, except for a reference in a letter to Bengal of 8th August to the relief afforded by the rains, which had mitigated the previous scarcity and had brought down the price of grain. 'This scarcity had been partly due to the feeding of two great armys near us'—presumably the troops of the King of Golconda and of the Raja of Chandragiri respectively; and the effect of these disturbances is seen in that for much of the cotton goods sent home in 1659, it was necessary to go to Porto Novo and Pondicherry. Concerning the relation with the former ruler we have more information:—

From the Dutch records we learn that in October Quli Bg, commanding the Golkonda forces, inflicted a serious defeat on Tupaki Krishnappa, who was wounded and taken prisoner. The victor subdued all the district round Madras, and the Dutch at Pulicat found themselves obliged to come to terms

with him while San Thome also submitted (Hague Transcripts, sec. i, vol. xxiii, No. 639).

The English Factories in India, 1655-60, p. 257.

What took place in the rest of the Empire is explained in the following extract from the Jesuit letter quoted above:—

"His departure was the occasion for a new war, more furious than the previous ones. The king of Mysore took Tirumala Nayaka to task for his disloyal conduct. To wreak just vengeance and compensate himself for the cost of the war, he despatched an army to seize the province of Satyamangalam which borders on his kingdom. The general entrusted with this expedition did not experience any resistance, and made himself master of the capital, where he found considerable booty. Encouraged by the facility of the conquest, he exceeded the orders of his king and advanced to the walls of Madura without coming across the enemy. His unexpected arrival threw the Nayak into such a consternation that, neglecting the means of defence in his hands, he was inclined to run away, without any following, and hide himself in the woods. It would have been all over with Madura but for the unexpected help of the Maravas. This warlike people, well known for the wars that they had conducted more than once with advantage against the Europeans of the sea-coast, gave their name to (the country) Maravas situated between Madura and the (p. 49) sea. The king of the Maravas, informed of the danger that threatened the Nayak whose vassal he is, collected twenty-five thousand men in one day, marched at their head, and placed himself between the walls of the town and the army of besiegers. A help so opportune emboldened the Nayak, who, on his part, raised an army of thirty-five thousand men, and thus found himself superior in number to his enemy.

The Mysore general, too weak to hazard a general action and informed of the approaching arrival of reinforcements, which his king had sent him, temporised and, by his presents, won the Brahman commander of the Madura forces. The traitor sought to repress the ardour of his soldiers and put off, from day to day, the time of attack. But the Maravas, impatient at this delay, conceived suspicions, cried treason, threw the Brahman into a dungeon, pounced on the enemies, and cut them to pieces. The remains of the defeated army took refuge in a neighbouring fortress, where, after some days, the expected reinforcements of twenty thousand men joined them. The combat again began with such fury that each army left nearly twelve thousand dead on the battlefield.

The advantage remained with the Nayak, who utilized his superiority to return to the Mysoreans the evils which they had inflicted on his kingdom, and transport the theatre of this bloody war to their provinces. A special circumstance characterised its ferocity. The king of Mysore had ordered to cut off the nose of all the prisoners; his soldiers, to distinguish themselves, executed this barbarous order on all those who fell into their hands, men, women, and children, and sent to Mysore sacks full of noses, as so many glorious trophies. The Nayak, resenting this procedure, which, in the opinion of the Indians, added the most humiliating outrage to cruelty, ordered (p. 50) reprisals; and his troops burst out into the provinces of Mysore, seeking not enemies to fight, but noses to cut. It is this which has given to this inhuman war the name of 'hunt for noses'. The king of Mysore, the first contriver of this

barbarity, himself lost his own nose, and thus suffered the penalty which he deserved.

Tirumala Nayaka had not the time to enjoy this victory; he was called to answer before God for the evils which his treacherous policy had brought on his people and neighbouring kingdoms. He died at the age of seventy-five after a reign of thirty years."

There are two extracts which seem to throw light upon subsequent events. They relate to the doings of Shahji and his taking possession of the territory round Gingi. The Company's servants seem to be exercised about the possibility of shifting away from Fort St. George, which is noted in the English Factories in India, 1661-63, page 53:—

"... having then such large priviledges graunted by the Gentue Nague, then Governor of this countrey, which have bin confirmed by the Gentue King, Nabob, and all Vice-Roys since, it is soon answered whither 'twere better to make a place anew or continue in that you have already made; for to have a towne with fortifications as this is, in any of the King of Golconda's dominions, if 'twere now to doe, it would not bee money that could purchase it; and for to have any fortification already built to your hands, unless St. Thoma and Trincombarr (Tranquebar), there's none.... And for St. Thoma, the Dutch have bin endeavouring to gripe it into their hands, if the King of Golconda would consent unto it; having att severall times piscahsed him with large presents that hee would stand newter. But a place of that circuite as is St. Thoma cannott bee sufficiently guarded without five times the number of souldyers as are enterteyned in your Fort St. George. For the scituation of either, there cannot bee much difference, being but two miles asunder."

The English Factories in India, 1661-64, p. 53.

Another letter in the same volume, page 174, is more hopeful in its tone, and speaks of the Jentue king having some power about the Tanjore country, and making efforts to recover his possessions again:—

"According to your Worship, &c., order, wee have lawed aside and are provideing necessaryes for defence of the Fort. But wee hope, and upon probable grounds conjecture, that they will not trouble us here; for the Gentue is something powerfull about the Tangore countrey, and if hee overcomes Balle Gaun (Bahlol Khan), the Vizapore's servant, 'tis thought hee 'il meete with little or noe opposition in all these parts; to which purpose Raja Cooly's camp is fix'd about Trivaloore (Tiruvallur), and the consequence will prove too dangerous to spare any of his force to beseidge us".

The English Factories in India, 1661-64, p. 174.

His success is reflected in another letter on page 382 of the same volume:—

"... Besides, the Gentues are now gathering to a head against the Moores; and if they should be victorious, they would endeavour to doe us a discourtesy, in regard by the help of our guns and gunners (which formerly

hath byn lent them (i.e., the Moors) by your Agents here) they (i.e., the Gentues) lost their countrey; and therefore it is of concernement to bee alwayes in a posture of defence . . ."

The English Factories in India, 1661-64, p. 382.

About the end of the year 1668 we find that the territory under dispute hitherto is almost definitely under the authority of the Nabob of Golkonda. The officers of the Golkonda Sultan have had to be negotiated with, and the Company's servants took the necessary steps to do so. This is noted on page 291-92 of the English Factories in India 1668-1669:—

It appears that towards the end of 1668 the Agent dispatched a Brahman named Venkatapati, who paid a visit to 'Chenapelle Meirza' at 'Trepettee' and was by him sent on, with a letter to the Nawab (Neknam Khan) at Golconda. The latter received the Brahman affably and told him that what he wanted was to 'keepe one of his people in the towne, as there was formerly, and that the government of the towne should be acted by his people, as at Pollecat.

The English Factories in India, 1668-69, pp. 291-92.

'He further said that when he first tooke possession of the Cornutta (Carnatic) country and he being then with his army at Neglapuram, that Verona, with an Englishman and myself, we went to visit him at that time and carried him a letter from one of our former Captains, wherein was mentioned that the towne was rented by the English and that they would have it in the like manner to be allwaies continued; and besides this, that he at that time had one called Ancapa Nague, unto whom was given the title of Ser-lascareen of all those countries, whom we then brought before him, and we made him speake how Cinapatam was formerly made in his fathers name and that, if the Nabob should give leave that the said towne should remaine under the English government, that he would be accomptable for the yearly rent, taking that charge upon him. Also the Nabob told me that at that time he could not only give his consent to his present petition, but if he should have desired then to have Pollecat, Chinapatam, or any other place, he should have given his consent freely, for it was necessary to doe so then.'

"He had since, however, changed his mind and had decided to place a representative in Madras. Of this he had informed the Agent several times, without receiving a satisfactory reply. The Brahman replied that the English Company never allowed any changes to be made without their express consent; whereupon the Nawab desired him to write to the Agent to obtain the necessary permission. In making this report (1 March, 1669), the Brahman added that he and his five or six attendants were all sick; that food was very dear, rice being 'at 7 great cash per veece (Viss) and 16 cash for every bundle of grass for the horse; and that he had no money to fee the Nawab's porters and bakerdarrs. He requested, therefore, a supply of money and also of articles for presents."

With the year A.D. 1668 we may definitely mark the passing of the Carnatic from the Vijayanagar empire into the possession of Golkonda definitely, and Śrīrangarāya had to shift for himself

outside of this region. We have a note however in the Jesuit letters relating to the year immediately before A.D. 1662. When speaking of the accession of Chokkalinganāyaka in Madura, Father Proenza makes the following remarks :—

“The young king, helped by his Brahman, conceived a daring project, whose execution did not transcend the resources of his talents. He attempted to drive the Mughals from all the countries they had invaded and to re-establish the ancient king of Bisnagar in his country, to give Gingi to its Nayak, and thus to remove the evils that had resulted from the mistaken policy of Tirumalanayaka.”

As a result of this, he managed to extend his authority into Tanjore, defeat the Nāyak, and reduce him to submission; and turning back the Bijapur generals Maula and Sagosi, as he is called (Shahji), he drove them into the territory of Gingi. This must have been before the year A.D. 1662. Then followed a great invasion by the Bijapur troops, and Chokkalinga was effectively disabled from doing anything against them by the treachery and disaffection of his own officers. He had therefore to march against Tanjore again, take possession of Vallam and impose harder conditions upon the Nayak of Tanjore. He similarly reduced the Marava country to subjection also. Unfortunately the next few letters of the Jesuit priests are lost and there is a gap, during which comes the effort, the last effort of these southern rulers, among them Chokkalinga Nayaka, to restore Śrīranga to his position by a combined invasion of the territory of Mysore, some time about A.D. 1668. With that Śrīranga passes out of view in these southern transactions.

Srīranga's inscriptions and grants are many and rather widespread, ranging in point of time from the beginning of his reign to A.D. 1678 for certain, and some even later, although the last date given, A.D. 1692, may have reference to a grant not by Śrīranga III but perhaps by a successor of the name. The earliest grant in his name is the Tirupati grant,⁸ already referred to, of the year A.D. 1638 where he is described as ruling in his own right, though actually his uncle Venkaṭa was ruling. The earliest known grant otherwise is one of A.D. 1644 known as the Kāsāram grant, making over the village Kāsāram to the temple at Kāḷahasti.⁹ The next is the famous Kaḷḷakurichi¹⁰ grant. There is also another grant of the same date similar to the above. The year A.D. 1645 is

8. No. 23 of Vol. VI of the Tirumalai Devasthanam Inscriptions.

9. M.E.R., 1911, Appendix A. 22.

10. E.L., Vol. VII, 545.

the year of the grant of the site in Madras. Of the same year, there is also another grant¹¹ to the Āvaṇi Maṭha in the Kolar District. We discussed a duplicate grant from Nandiyāla of A.D. 1647 already. For the following year, as a matter of fact, for the year A.D. 1647-48, there is a grant to the temple at Śrīrangam, called the Uṭṣūr grant being a grant of the village in Chandragiri Rājya to one Anantachārya, full details being given as in the Kaḷḷakurichi grant. The next grant of importance is of A.D. 1655 coming from Kannāḍiputtūr in the Coimbatore District. It is a grant by Tirumala Nāyaka, and recognises the overlordship of Śrīranga.¹² The next one is of date A.D. 1659, recording the grant of a village in Belūr Śīrmai by Śrīranga to Vyāsarāya Maṭha. Śrīranga is here described as being seated on the diamond throne as usual. The same year there is a reference to Śrīrangarāya coupled with Dēvarāja Ooḍeyar, probably the Mysore ruler.¹³ There is another of the same date.¹⁴ This is to the Vyāsarāya Maṭha at Kundāpūr in South Kanara. For the year A.D. 1660 there is a copper plate grant¹⁵ conveying the grant of a village in Belūr Śīrmai to the Smārtha Maṭha at Muḷbāgal. The genealogy of Śrīranga is given in full in this. Another copper plate of the same year from Penugonḍa records the grant to a Brahman named Venkaṭēśa. This same person is the recipient of another grant two years after for constructing a canal at Gorūr. These two are grants¹⁶ made from Belūr. There is a copper plate grant of date A.D. 1661 to the Śringeri Maṭha, conveying the village of Belavāḍi in North Mysore with its twelve hamlets. Śrīranga is said there to be ruling from Vēlāpura, Belūr. There is another one of A.D. 1662 providing a grant¹⁷ for a car festival at Belūr. There is another grant¹⁸ of a more or less similar character, but not to Śringeri. There are two grants¹⁹ of A.D. 1662-63 coming from the Vyāsarāya Maṭha at Sosale in the Mysore District. These grants are said to be made in the presence of Channakēśava at Vēlāpuri on the banks of the Viṣṇu Samudra. The villages are in the Belūr Śīrmai. A copper plate grant²⁰ of A.D. 1662 comes from Śrīrangam. It

11. E.C. X, Muḷbāgal 60.

12. Sewell's List of Copper Plates, No. 190.

13. Sewell's List of Copper Plates, No. 20 of 1910.

14. M.A.R. 1927, No. 10.

15. M.A.R. 1919, Para 94.

16. M.A.R. 1910-11, paragraph 123.

17. M.A.R. 1910-11, paragraph 123.

18. M.A.R. 1926, No. 5.

19. M.A.R. 1911-12, para 114.

20. Sewell's List, C.P. No. 51.

is a grant by Chokkanātha of Madura, and recognises the overlordship of Śrīranga. Another grant of A.D. 1662 comes from the Bellary District and is a grant²¹ by Śrīranga in Bēlūr. There is one²² of A.D. 1665, a copper plate grant conveying grant of land as *Karṇika mānya* in the Kolar District by a Mahānāyaka Āchārya Rāmappa. Another copper²³ plate of the same year comes from Kaniyūr in the Coimbatore District. This is a copper plate grant of Chokkanātha recognising Śrīranga's overlordship. Another copper plate grant²⁴ of the same date by Chokkanātha from Kannādi-puttūr recognises Śrīranga as emperor. There is a copper plate grant²⁵ from Kumaralingam, Coimbatore District, a grant of Chokkanātha recognising Śrīranga's overlordship. The year A.D. 1678 has a copper plate grant also from Madura by Muddu Aḷagādri, grandson of Tirumala Nāyaka referring to the reign of Śrīranga.²⁶ There is another grant of A.D. 1692 from Kanakagiri by Śrīranga-rāya to a Musalman for the maintenance of a mosque. This is made in the reign of Vijayaranga Chokkanātha Nāyaka, and recognises the overlordship of Śrīranga. This grant may perhaps be too late for Śrīranga III as stated above. We thus see that Śrīranga as suzerain of South India continued to be recognised, formally at any rate, for ten years beyond A.D. 1668. His recognition as ruler in the years previous, perhaps did not mean any exercise of substantial authority in a great many cases. It appears therefore that after the definite loss of the Carnatic and its effective occupation by Golkonda, Śrīranga lived in Bēlūr, his authority being recognised over the extent of the empire though nominally.

Śrīranga succeeded to the empire at a time when the empire had reached a crisis in its affairs. He possessed qualities which the high position called for, and attained to the position with sufficient experience to have acquired a conception of the needs of the empire and a will to pursue the course of action which would achieve success. He had formed his own ideas even when he was a prince coadjutor with his predecessor, and when he actually succeeded to the throne, he had formed a clear idea of the danger that overhung the empire in the two Musalman states, set free from their pre-occupations in the north and ready to throw themselves upon the

southern empire and bring about its dismemberment, if not complete destruction. This had to be counteracted and could be done efficiently only by bringing about unity within the empire, which was clearly wanting and which it was certain did not exist in the last years of his predecessor. Coming to the throne at the end of the year A.D. 1642, he managed in the course of the three years following more or less to set the affairs of the empire in order, defeat the aggressive troops of Golkonda by securing the assistance of Bijapur, and taught the great feudatories of his empire the lesson that, in their co-operation, lay their own safety and that of the empire. That year marks the first stage in the fulfilment of the promise, which finds such an eloquent expression in the duplicate popular records of A.D. 1647 to which reference has been made. If everybody concerned continued exactly the policy that had thus been formulated, the empire would not have been jeopardised. But Tirumala Nāyaka of Madura played the evil genius, and brought about the intervention of the Musalman powers of the north. In his own anxiety to conquer Gingi for himself, he brought in both the Muhammadan powers, and had the immediate reward of his having been mulcted of his prey by the occupation of Gingi by Bijapur. This was the first nail effectively driven into the coffin of the empire. Once in occupation of Gingi, it requires no special foresight to understand that Bijapur would make efforts to extend its authority into Tanjore and ultimately into Madura. Maula and Shahji first, and the great Bijapur army under Vanamiyan, next tried to carry out this policy of extension into the empire, which had to be resisted by the southern powers alone as the empire stood crippled to render effective assistance, because of the emperor having been abandoned by these great feudatories at the critical time. So we see that the occupation of Gingi only led on to the further occupation of the southern provinces of Tanjore first and a fairly large part of Madura next. The final catastrophe in respect of this was postponed more or less through the activities of Mysore to some considerable extent, and the activities of the Mughal armies ultimately.

During the next decade therefore from A.D. 1649, the date of the fall of Gingi, Śrīranga's activities as emperor were called for to maintain his position in the Carnatic against Golkonda and retain the empire by holding out in Vellore against the constant attacks of Bijapur. He achieved success against both of these, and circumstances appear to have favoured him, so that just about the time when Mir Jumla was taken away from the field of his activities, Śrīranga was able to assert himself again and regain a considerable

21. *Ibid*, No. 128.

22. M.A.R. 1924, No. 5.

23. Sewell's C.P. 396.

24. Inscriptions in the Madras Presidency, No. 396.

25. Sewell's C.P. No. 188.

26. Sewell's List of C.P. No. 70.

part of his dominions, which had recently been lost to him. Even then the effective co-operation of the southern viceroys would have brought about complete success for the empire, particularly as the Muhammadan danger from the north was likely to cease as it seemed. But the changes that came over the Mughal empire in the illness, and ultimately in the death, of Shah Jahan and the following wars of succession, released these Muhammadan states from their preoccupation in the north and prepared the way for another period of active aggression into the empire. Even in these circumstances Śrīranga failed to have the co-operation of the more powerful feudatories of the empire and much energy had been lost in the wars between Mysore and Madura even when it happened to be in behalf of the emperor. This futile policy culminated in the failure to bring Mysore into co-operation.

Simultaneously with these, the activities of Golkonda, as distinct from that of Mir Jumla, increased and resulted for the second time in the complete exclusion of Śrīranga from the Carnatic. We cease to hear of him any more in the region below the Ghats, which effectively passes into the hands of Golkonda which was left free because of Aurangzeb's preoccupation in the north. It is during this period, and in his operations against Golkonda, that we see how badly Śrīranga was served by those whom he chose for the command of his forces, another fatal weakness of the empire at the time, either because Śrīranga was a bad judge of character, or because, in the circumstances of the time, loyal service and capable generals were alike impossible. He happened to be badly served, and that made his position impossible for carrying out effectively the policy of preventing Golkonda aggression and giving a further lease of life to the empire. Thereafter Śrīranga continues to be nominal emperor, and inscriptions continue to recognise him as the emperor throughout the whole extent of the empire. Nevertheless his actual power had shrunk to very narrow dimensions and perhaps he actually exercised authority over just a part of what is now the state of Mysore in the north-east and a comparatively small part of the neighbouring districts. In that reduced condition, he continued perhaps for another decade as his last certain inscription seems to be of date A.D. 1678; it comes from Madura, and belongs to the time of the grandson of Tirumala Nāyaka. The one inscription following of date A.D. 1692, we cannot be sure belongs to his reign. His name does not figure in a battle that was fought at Hassan in Mysore, obviously in the interest of the Vijayanagar empire against Chikka Deva Raja Wodeyar of Mysore, just a few years after his accession in A.D. 1672. That is the tragic end of Śrīranga, who came to the empire at a critical time possessed of

great qualities and ambitions worthy of his imperial position, adopting a course of policy which was perhaps quite suited to the circumstances of the empire. He was baulked at every stage by disloyalty, both in his great feudatories, and in those on whose active service he had to depend directly as officers he employed to conduct his wars. The empire passes out of existence with him, as he passes out of view almost unobserved. We do not hear Śrīranga's name in the course of the invasions of Shivaji through the Golkonda-Carnatic in A.D. 1677. Shivaji had an unobstructed march to Tanjore and the capture of Vellore on the return journey marks the last step perhaps in the extinction of the empire. Śrīranga issued the charter confirming the grants of Fort St. George from Vellore as perhaps the first effective imperial act of his, and the fall of Vellore to Shivaji in 1677-78 marks the extinction of his power, and along with that, of the empire of Vijayanagar more or less.

The Revised Chronology of Kasmira Kings

By

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"THAT meritorious (poet) is alone worthy of praise whose word, like that of a judge, keeps free from love or hatred in relating the true facts."¹—*Kalhana*.

The chronology of Kāsmīra is of great importance for the historians of the world. Mr. A. Troyer and Dr. M. A. Stein and many other distinguished antiquarians extended their hands to improve its historicity. But in spite of their untired zeal, continued hard-work and praiseworthy scholarship, many and especially Dr. Stein were disappointed. The learned doctor says, 'we cannot expect critical judgement in matters of chronology from an author who bases his reckoning on a legendary date like that of Yudhiṣṭhira's coronation'.² But historians need not be disappointed in the least. Every historian who reads and contemplates upon it very carefully, finds out something new according to his capacity. The humble writer has tried to set forth a lengthy revised chronology of Kāsmīra for the impartial judgment of the learned orientalists capable of separating milk from water.

According to Kalhana 'the Kauravas and the Pandavas flourished on the surface of the earth when 653 years of Kali had passed away'.³ All the Indian paṇḍitas, and even Kalhana himself, do admit that the Kaliyuga Era started from 3101 B.C. But according to the erudite bard of the pleasant valley, the Mahābhārata War took place in c. (3101—653)=2448 B.C. But this statement of Kalhana cannot be accepted as there are many strong reasons

against this statement.⁴ He is compelled to note that 'that calculation of time of these (kings) had been considered wrong by many who were misled by the statement⁵ that the Bhārata (war) took place at the end of the Dvāpara (yuga)'. Further he says in the Rājatarangīni or the River of Kings :—

Āsan maghāsu munayaḥ śāsati prthivīm yudhiṣṭhire nṛpatau |
Ṣaḍdvikapañcadviyutaḥ śakakālastasya rājyasya ||
R.T. I. 56.

[when King Yudhiṣṭhira ruled the earth, the Munis (the Great Bear) were in the Maghā⁶ (Nakṣatra). The epoch of his reign was 2526 years before the Śaka Era.] This statement of Kalhana would place the Great Indian War (1860 [A.D. 1938]+2526)=4386 years ago or in 2448 B.C. This Āryā metre has puzzled many scholars and given them ample scope to imagine far-fetched meanings and bring down the date of the Bharata War upto even 222 B.C. The phrase ṣaḍdvikapañcadviyutaḥ has been variously taken to mean (12 × 25) = 300 or (26 × 25) = 650, or (66 × 25) = 1650, or 2512, or 2526, or 2566, or (22222 × 25) = 555550, or (22222 × 22222) = 4938217284. But all these hair-splittings have been simply to bring down the Indian culture and civilization to a

4. (a) The Date of the Mahābhārata War, 3137 B.C. Tribune (daily), Lahore, 14th January, 1936.
- (b) Mahābhārata yuddhakālāḥ, Saṁskṛtaṁ (weekly), Ayodhyā, 21st July 1936.
- (c) Mahābhārata yuddha ki tithi, 3080 B.V., Ārya Mahilā (monthly), Kāśī, August 1936.
- (d) Āja sē pāñcha hazāra varṣa pahalē—Mahābhārata ki larāi, Vijnāna (monthly), Allahabad, Siṁhārka, 1993 V.S.
- (e) Five Thousand Years Ago—The Mahābhārata War, Journal of Indian History (tri-annual), Madras, Vol. XVI, pp. 239-48.
- (f) Mahābhārata yuddha kā samaya, Sāhitya (quarterly), Patna, Vol. II. Part IV. pp. 37-47.

5. Bhārataṁ dvāparāntā-abhūt bārtayēti vimohitāḥ |
Kēcidēsaṁ mṛṣā tēṣāṁ kālasamkhyāṁ prachakrīrē ||
Rāj. Tar. I. 49.

6. This statement of Kalhana is supported by other sources also :—
(b) Tē tvadiyā dvijā kālē-adhunā chāsṛitā maghāḥ ||
Śrīmadbhāgavata, XII. 2. 28.
- (a) tēnaite ṛṣayo yuktāstīṣṭhantyaabdaṣataṁ nṛnām |
yāvaddevaṛṣayaḥ sapta maghāsu vicharantī hi |
tadā pravṛtastu kali rdvādaśabdasatātmakah ||
Śrīmadbhāgavata, XII. 2. 31.

1. Ślāghyaḥ sa ēva guṇavān rāgadvēṣabahiṣkṛtaḥ |
Bhūtārthakathanē yasya sthēyasyēva sarasvatī || Kalhana. I. 7.
2. Rājatarangīni, edited by M. A. Stein, Westminster, M.D.C.C.C., introduction, p. 31.
3. Śatēsu ṣaṭṣu sārddhēsu trayadhikēsu cha bhūtalē |
Kalērgatēsu varṣāṇāmabhavan kurupāṇḍavāḥ ||
Rājatarangīni, I. 51.

recent date as far as possible without paying the least regard to the rules of grammar⁷ or to the context.

Many scholars take the Śaka Era to mean the Śalivāhana Era or the wrongly advanced theory of Kadaphises I or Kaniška's Era which started in 78 A.D. But others, e.g., Rao Bahadur C. V. Vaidya—a veteran scholar, in whose recent sad demise India lost a precious jewel—takes it to mean the Buddhanirvāṇaka Era⁸ (the Era of Buddha's Nirvāṇa). This opinion of Paṇḍita Vaidya cannot be accepted; for the date of Gautama Buddha⁹ itself is very controversial and it has been nowhere used as a Śaka Era. He also points out that the phrase *ṣaḍdvikapañcadviyutāḥ* should mean 2566 according to the strict rules of Panini. But there is nothing to warrant such a conclusion. The context and the grammar prove satisfactorily that it should be taken to mean 2526.

Kalhana has quoted the said Āryā literally from his predecessors Gargāchārya and Barāhamihira.¹⁰ According to the European scholars Gargacharya¹¹ flourished in 153 B.C. Professor A. K. Mazumdar of the Dacca University says¹² that there had been five Barāhamihiras, namely, (a) the author of the *Brahatsamhitā*, 57 B.C.; (b) the author of the revised *Brahmasiddhānta*, 80 A.C. (c) the author of the modern *Brahatsamhitā*, 285 A.C.; (d) the

7. The Sūtra (anatyanta gatau ktāt) Pāṇini, V. 4. 4. denotes *svārthē kan*. The next sūtra *na sāmivachanē*, Pāṇini, V. 4. 5., occurs just after it and thereupon Bhaṭṭojī Dīksita comments:—*idamēva nisēdhasūtramatyantasvārthīkamapi kanam jñāpayati*. But here the addition of *kan* seems simply to complete the stanza. We may safely take it to be *dvē ēva dvikam*. Thereafter we take the pada in its simplest way according to the rule *Añkānām vāmato gatiḥ* to mean 2526. My teachers M. M. Pt. Gopinātha Kavirāj, ex-Principal, Sanskrit College, Benares and Pt. K. Chaṭṭopādhyāya of the Allahabad University and others told me many times to grasp and accept always the easiest possible meaning and avoid vagaries and far-fetched meanings to exhibit simply one's scholarship. We get *yutāḥ* by adding *ka* to *yu* which is used in the sense of *miśraṇē amīśraṇē cha* (adding and not adding). Others just fancy in it the sense of multiplication and hence the meaning of the verse has become very controversial. I take it in the simple sense of addition.

8. *Mahābhārata*—A Criticism, by C. V. Vaidya.

9. The Date of Lord Buddha, 1885 B.C., *Daily Herald*, Lahore, 27th January 1936.

10. *Brahatsamhitā*, XII. 3.

11. Frazer's *British India*, London, 1908, p. 7.

12. *Hindu Period*, 3000 B.C. to 1200 A.D. by Dr. A. K. Mazumdar, Dacca, 1920, p. 67.

author of the *Pañchasiddhāntikā*, 6th century A.C.; (e) and the fifth lived in 1600 A.C.

Therefore, neither in the time of Gargāchārya nor in the time of the famous Barāhamihira who, according to the Indian tradition, was courtier of the so-called legendary Vikramaditya of Ujjayini, the widely used present Śhaka Era could not have come into existence. Moreover, Kālidāsa, the poet-laureate of Vikramāditya, who composed his *Jyotirvidābharaṇa* in 3068 Kali Era¹³ or in 33 B.C., gives the rule to find out the Ayanāṁśa precession. According to Kālidāsa,¹⁴ to find out the Ayanāṁśa, one should subtract 445 from the Śhaka Era, and then divide it by 60; but according to Ganeśhadaivajña,¹⁵ the author of the *Grahalāghava* in the sixteenth century A.C., we should subtract 444 and then divide it by 60 to find the same. It shows that the calculation of Kalidasa is prior to Ganeśha. Kālidāsa did exist in the first century B.C.¹⁶ There is also a tradition¹⁷ prevalent among the paṇḍitas that once Barāhamihira made fun of Kālidāsa in the open court that he knew only to describe the coqueties of women and he was totally devoid of scientific learning. Thereupon Kālidāsa composed the *Jyotirvidābharaṇa* in the course of a single night. Undoubtedly there is much of sexual science along with some pondering over astronomy in this book. This book could not be written but by a poet well-versed in love affairs. Therefore the Śhaka Era used by Kalhana should be different from the use of the modern Śalivāhana Era.

Moreover, according to Kalhana, the Laukika Era started when 25 years of Kali^{17a} had already passed, i.e., in $(3101-25)=3076$ B.C. It is certain that the Kauravas and the Pandavas flourished before

13. Varṣe śiṇdhuradarāṇāmbaraṅgūṇē yātē k'alēḥ sammitē |
Māsē mādhava sajjñitē-atra vihitō granthakriyopakramah ||
Jyotirvidābharaṇam, XXII. 21.

14. Śakah śarāmbhodhīyugātī hatamānaṁ khatarkairayanāṁśakāḥ
Smṛtāḥ. *Ibid.* I. 18.

15. Vēdābdhyabdhanyūnaḥ kharasāḥṭaḥ śāko-ayanāṁśaḥ |
Grahalāghava, II. 23.

16. The Date of Kālidāsa, by Pt. Kṣētrēsachandra Chaṭṭopādhyāya, Allahabad, 1926.

17. I am indebted to my brother and friend Pt. Jagannātha Pāṭhaka, Astrologer, Bhadain, Benares, for this information.

17a. Kalergatē sāyakanētravarṣaiḥ (25)
Saptarṣivaryastridivam prayātāḥ |
Loke hi samvatsarapatrikāyām
Saptarṣimānaṁ kathayanti santaḥ || R. T.

the Kali. If we add 78 or the Buddha Era to 2526, we do not get the Laukika Era 24 in any case. $(2526 + 78 + 1070) = 3674/100 = 74$ Laukika Era, or $(2566 + 542 + 1070) = 4178/100 = 78$ Laukika Era, or $(2566 + 78 + 1070) = 3714/100 = 14$ Laukika Era, or $(2526 + 542 + 1070) = 4138/100 = 38$ Laukika Era. We divide the Laukika Era by hundred and write the remainder only leaving aside the quotient, the hundreds are supposed to be understood just as instead of 1938 we write 38. So in no case do we get the Laukika Era by the above calculation, but at the same time it is proper to justify the statement of Kalhana.

The initial year of the Shaka Era should be 550 B.C. According to the historians of Persia, the Shakas invaded India for the first time in 550 B.C. under the leadership of Cyrus. Cyrus died in 528 B.C.¹⁸ According to Herodotus his mother's father dreamt that his daughter's son would be the ruler of Asia. He attacked Astyages (585 B.C. to 550 B.C.) the last ruler of Media in 550 B.C. and defeated him in the battlefield. Although he subjugated his capital and even dethroned him, he treated his captive kindly. He started his era from this 550 B.C. to commemorate his victory.

H. G. Wells says¹⁹:—‘The internal struggle of the Medes and the Persians ended at last in the accession of Cyrus, the Persian, to the throne of Cyaxares in 550 B.C. In that year Cyrus was ruling over an empire that reached from the boundaries of Lydia to Persia and perhaps to India.’ The *Encyclopædia Britannica* says^{19a}:—‘From the beginning of 538 Cyrus dates his years as King of Babylon and of countries (i.e., of the world). His death occurred in 528 B.C. as we have a Babylonian tablet from the Adars of the tenth year of Cyrus, i.e., Feb. 528, for in Babylone the first year of Cyrus began in the spring of 538 B.C.’

All the scholars are unanimous that the year 550 B.C.²⁰ is of great importance in the history of Persia. There seems to be no importance whatsoever of the year 538 B.C. Therefore the epoch of the Shaka Era should be 550 B.C. I have no knowledge if this era has been used in any book of Eran or Persia. I enquired in vain from various sources. The late Prof. E. J. Rapson in his letter dated the 2nd September 1936 kept quiet on the point and left the problems

18. *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Cyrus.

19. *An Outline of World History*, by H. G. Wells, 1932, p. 302.

19a. *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11th edition, Cyrus, p. 707-8.

20. (a) *Nelson's Encyclopædia*, Vol. II, p. 334 and Vol. VII, p. 476;

(b) *Cyrus the Great and the Indian Śaka Era*, by Prof. Gulshan Rai, the Punjab University Historical Society, Vols. I, II, 1932.

of Indian chronology to be discussed by enthusiastic young men. I hope the learned scholars of Zoroastrian, Arabic and Persian literature would kindly try to find out this reference and point out if there was any era in use before the Prophet except the Elephant one.

Cyrus was born in Sacia (Shakadvipa) a province of Persia and so the Era was named Śhakakāla. Later he invaded India and spread his era. But this era was specially used in Northern India only. The Indian astronomers adopted this era for the sake of simplicity and to be in close contact with the astronomers of Arabia and Persia.

If we add 2526 to 550 we get 3076. It was exactly in 3076 B.C. that the Laukika Era was started for the calculation of the Great Bears and to commemorate the purifying name of Yudhiṣṭhira, the Great. Yudhiṣṭhira, hearing the evil news of Kṛiṣṇa's death, left the throne immediately and wandering from place to place attained emancipation in 3076 B.C. along with his family after 25 years from the date when he abdicated the throne. If we subtract 427 from 550, we easily find out that Barāhamihira was born in 123, B.C. and by the time of Vikramāditya's rule, he had become very famous (khyāta). Hence it would be proper to accept 550 B.C. as the epoch of the Śhaka Era.

Hasan²¹ who wrote his *History of Kashmir* in Persian says, Zainulabdin who ruled Kashmir from 1423 A.D. to 1474 A.D. got the *Rajatarangini* translated into Persian by his court-poet Mulla Muhammad. This translation was based on the authority of Kalhaṇa, Kṣhemendra, Vacchulakara, Padmamihira's *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* and Paṇḍita Ratnākara's *Ratnākarapurāṇa* which was very authentic. The *Ratnākarapurāṇa* and Mullā Muhammad's translation can nowhere be traced. But Hasan says that he got his description of his 35 kings from the translation of Mullā Muhammad. It is said that Hasan got a copy of the translation from a Kashmiri gentleman at Ravalpindi, but while going to Kāśhmīra on a boat, it foundered. Hasan was rescued but the book was lost in the river. Therefore Hasan must have written afterwards from memory.

The Kings of Kāśhmīra are nowhere mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*. Of course there is mentioned one Gonand²²—who must be

21. *History of Kashmir* by Pt. Ananda Kaul, *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1910, p. 195 et. seq.

22. *Priyakaśchaiva nandaścha gonandaścha pratāpavan | Mahābhārata, Śalyaparvan XL. 65.*

different from the first of Kāśhmīra—in the army of Skanda or Kartikeya. But Kalhana is bent upon making Gonanda the contemporary of the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas. He says²³ 'after Gonanda, who was contemporary of the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas in Kaliyuga, fifty-two kings are forgotten.' Kalhana further says,²⁴ 'Gonanda I fought Balarāma near Mathura and was killed at his hands.' 'When invited by his brother (brother-in-law) Jarasandha for help, he besieged Mathura of Kamsa's enemy with a large army.' After Gonanda I, Damodara I was placed on the throne of Kāśhmīra by Kṛṣṇa. After the demise of Dāmodara, there was a great rebellion in Kāśhmīra. Kṛṣṇa was compelled to interfere and he placed his queen Yaśovati on the throne. He reminded all that Kāśhmīra is essentially the region of Gauri (women) and there should be no interference in it. After Yaśovati, her son Gonanda II came to the throne, but being in his infancy he was taken for help neither by the Kauravas nor by the Pandavas.²⁵

Hasan places Gonanda I's accession to the throne 20 years before the Kali, but his view cannot be accepted. According to the Rajatarangini, Gonand II was the contemporary of the Great Indian War. The war was fought on the famous battlefield of Kurukshetra in 3137 B.C. So we should frame the chronology of Kashmir from the time of the Bharata War. According to Hasan, Gonanda II ruled for 40 years only. But since he came to the throne in his infancy, I have taken the duration of his reign to be 55 years. Hasan further says that Harnadeva, the second son of Parikshita, got Gonanda II assassinated. Harnadeva quarrelled with his eldest brother, Janamejaya, for the throne, but being defeated fled into the jungle. There in the guise of a mendicant he got himself enlisted in the army of the King of Kashmir and due to his capacity rose to the high position of the prime minister and the commander like Hyder Ali in later ages; and like the astute Sunga commander Pushyamitra assassinated his master and acquired the throne for himself. But the statement of Hasan that

23. Tatra Kauravakauntēyasama kālabhavān kalau |
Agonandāt smaranti sma na dvāpañchāśataṁ nṛpān ||
Rāja Tara. I. 44.
24. Sahāyakārthamāhūto Jarāsandhēna bandhunā |
Sa samrurodha Kamsārēr Mathurām pṛthubhirbalaiḥ ||
Rāja Tara. I. 59.
25. Iti Kāśmīrako rājā vartamānaḥ sa śaiśavē |
Sahāyakāya samarē na ninyē Kurupāṇḍavaiḥ ||
Rāja Tara. I. 89.

Harnadeva was the son of Parikshita cannot be accepted, although the story may be taken historically to be true.

According to the Shrimadbhāgavata, Parikshita had four sons from his queen, Irāvati. According to the Shatapatha Brahmana and the Vishṇupurana, Parikshita had four sons,²⁶ namely, Janamejaya, Bhimasena, Ugrasena, and Shrutasena. Perhaps Pandit Anand Kaul forgot to find out the names of Parikshita's son and therefore he unknowingly called the family of Harnadeva the Pandava family.

FIRST WAVE.

No.	Name of Kings.	Duration of reign in years.	In Kali Era.		In Christian Era.	
			From	To	From	To
			B.K.	K.E.	B.C.	B.C.
1.	Gonanda II.	55—0—0	36	19	3137	3082
2.	Hārṇadeva (Haranāma).	30—0—0	19	49	3082	3052
3.	Rāmadeva.	69—0—0	49	118	3052	2983
4.	Vyāsadeva.	56—0—0	118	174	2983	2927
5.	Droṇa.	58—0—0	174	232	2927	2869
6.	Siṃhadeva.	54—0—0	232	286	2869	2815
7.	Gopāladeva.	13—3—0	286	299	2815	2802
8.	Vijayadeva.	25—0—0	299	324	2802	2777
9.	Sukhadeva.	44—0—0	324	368	2777	2733
10.	Ramānanda.	57—0—0	368	425	2733	2676
11.	Sandhimān I.	65—0—0	425	490	2676	2611
12.	Mahārṇadeva. }	55—0—0	490	545	2611	2556
13.	Kāmandadeva. }	52—0—0	545	597	2556	2504
14.	Chandradeva.	28—0—0	597	625	2504	2476
15.	Ananda.	51—0—0	625	676	2476	2425
16.	Drupadadeva.	39—0—0	676	715	2425	2386
17.	Harṇāmadeva.	28—0—0	715	743	2386	2358
18.	Sulkandadeva.	17—0—0	743	760	2358	2341
19.	Senāditya.	39—0—0	760	799	2341	2302
20.	Maṅgalāditya.	66—0—0	799	865	2302	2236
21.	Kshemendra.	61—7—0	865	927	2236	2174
22.	Bhīmasena.					

26. (a) Abadhnāśvam sārāgam Janamējaya iti (2) ētē ēva pūrvē ahani |
Jyotiratirāstrastēna Bhīmasēnamētē ēva pūrvē ahani gaurati-
rāstrastēnōgrasēnamētē ēva pūrvē ahani āyuratirāstrastēna
Śrutāsēnamityētē Pārikṣitīyāstadētadgāthayābhigītam Pārikṣitāḥ
yajamānā aśvamēdhaiḥ paro avaramajahuḥ karmapāpakam puṇyāḥ
puṇyēna karmanā (3). Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, XIII. 5. 4.
- (b) Pārikṣito Janamējayaśrutāsēnōgrasēnabhīmasēnāśchatvāraḥ putrāḥ
Viṣṇu Purāṇa, IV. 20. 9.

No.	Name of Kings.	Duration of reign in years.	In Kali Era.		In Christian Era.	
			From	To	From	To
23.	Indrasena.	46—0—0	927	—973	2174	—2128
24.	Sundarasena. ²⁷	41—0—0	973	—1014	2128	—2087
25.	Lava.	60—0—0	1014	—1074	2087	—2027
26.	Kuśa.	7—0—0	1074	—1081	2027	—2020
27.	Khagendra.	30—0—0	1081	—1111	2020	—1990
28.	Surendra.	43—0—0	1111	—1154	1990	—1947
29.	Godhara.	37—0—0	1154	—1191	1947	—1910
30.	Suvarna.	35—0—0	1191	—1226	1910	—1875
31.	Janaka.	32—0—0	1226	—1258	1875	—1843
32.	Suchināra.	40—0—0	1258	—1298	1843	—1803
33.	Gālavendra.	45—0—0	1298	—1343	1803	—1758
34.	Baladeva.	43—0—0	1343	—1386	1758	—1715
35.	Nalasena.	25—0—0	1386	—1411	1715	—1690
36.	Gokarṇa.	36—0—0	1411	—1447	1690	—1654
37.	Prahlāda.	11—0—0	1447	—1458	1654	—1643
38.	Bambrubhrura. (Babhruvāhana).	8—0—0	1458	—1466	1643	—1635
39.	Matapaśila.	36—0—0	1466	—1502	1635	—1599
40.	Samgrāmachandra.	1—4—0	1502	—1503	1599	—1598
41.	Laḍikachandra.	31—0—0	1503	—1534	1598	—1567
42.	Virāmachandra.	45—0—0	1534	—1579	1567	—1522
43.	Vibhiṣaṇa I.	17—0—0	1579	—1596	1522	—1505
44.	Bhagvanta. ²⁸	14—0—0	1596	—1610	1505	—1491
45.	²⁹ Aśoka. ³⁰	36—0—0	1610	—1646	1491	—1455

27. After Sundarasēna, there was no king in Kāśmīra for 2 months. The public of Kāśmīra, thereupon, elected Lava who was a relation of the ruler of Mālavā and a feudatory chief of Kāśmīra. The 23 kings from number 2 to 24 are amongst the 35 kings 'submerged in the ocean of forgetfulness.' According to Kalhaṇa, these 35 kings are between Gonanda II and Lava. But according to Hasan who wrote on the authority of Ratnākara it is not so. After Sundarasēna 7 kings, Lava and others ruled in Kāśmīra and thereafter 12 other kings followed.

28. The twelve kings from number 33 to 44 are amongst the 35 lost kings. Thus we get the total 35 (23 + 12) lost kings. According to Kalhaṇa the duration of these lost kings is 1266 years. cf. Varṣānām dvādaśasati ṣaṣṭiḥ ṣaḍbhiścha saṁyutā. Rāja Tara. I. 54. But according to Hasan their total period is 1307 years. The period of each king from No. 2 to 44 has been taken from the article of Pt. Ananda Kaul already referred to, as he has written on the authority of Kāśmīra History in Persian as written by Hasan.

29. The duration of kings from Aśoka to Abhimanyu has been taken from A. Somayajulu's 'The Ancient History of India,' Vizigapaṭṭam, 1935.

30. From the Chronology of Magadha, as prepared by me, which will be published in the subsequent issues of the *Journal of Indian History*, the duration of Aśoka's reign is 36 years only. See also Magadha rājāoni kī nayī varṣāvaḥ, Sāhitya, Patna, Vol. III, Part II, pp. 37-52.

No.	Name of Kings.	Duration of reign in years.	In Kali Era.		In Christian Era.	
			From	To	From	To
			B.K.	K.E.	B.C.	B.C.
46.	Jalauka I.	22—0—0	1646	—1668	1455	—1433
47.	Dāmodara II. ³¹	15—0—0	1668	—1683	1433	—1418
48.	Huṣka.	28—0—0	1683	—1711	1418	—1390
49.	Juṣka.	34—0—0	1711	—1745	1390	—1356
50.	Kaniṣka. ³²	50—0—0	1745	—1795	1356	—1306
51.	Abhimanyu. ³³	30—0—0	1795	—1825	1306	—1276
52.	Gonanda III. ³⁴	35—0—0	1825	—1860	1276	—1241
53.	Vibhiṣaṇa II. ³⁵	53—6—0	1860	—1913	1241	—1188
54.	Indrajit. ³⁶	35—6—0	1913	—1949	1188	—1152
55.	Rāvana.	30—0—0	1949	—1979	1152	—1122
56.	Vibhiṣaṇa III. ³⁷	35—6—0	1979	—2013	1122	—1086
57.	Kinnara. ³⁸	40—9—0	2015	—2056	1086	—1045
58.	Siddha. ³⁹	60—0—0	2056	—2116	1045	—985
59.	Utpalākṣa. ⁴⁰	30—6—0	2116	—2147	985	—954
60.	Hiraṇyākṣa. ⁴¹	37—7—0	2147	—2185	954	—916

31. Dāmodara II belonged to another dynasty. cf.
Aśokakulotpanno yadvānyābhijanodbhavaḥ |
Bhūmim Dāmodaro nāma jugopa jagatipatiḥ || Rāja Tara. I. 153.
32. Huṣkajuṣka kaniṣkākhyāstrayastatra pārhivāḥ | Rāja Tara. I. 168.
33. Babhuvābhimanyuḥ śatamanyurivāparaḥ | Rāja Tara. I. 174.
34. Rājārtiya gonardaḥ prāptarājyastadanantarē | Rāja Tara. I. 185.
35. Nṛpatiḥ kāśyapim varṣān pañchavimsatimanvaśāt | Rāja Tara. I. 191.
36. Varṣaṣaṣṭim ṣaṁmāsaiḥ ṣaḍbhirvarṣairvivarjitām |
Vibhiṣaṇabhidho arakṣat kṣitim gonardanandanāḥ || Rāja Tara. I. 192.
37. Indrajidrāvaṇāvēstām pitāputrau nṛpau kramā |
pañchatrisatsahārdhañcha varṣāstrimsadyayoryayuh || R. T. I. 193.
38. Pañchatrisadabdnām kṣmām būbhoja mahābhujah |
Rāvaṇakṣaunibhrtsūnuḥ sārddhamanyo vibhiṣaṇah ||
R.T. I. 196.
39. Kinnarāparanāmātha kinnaraigītavikramah |
Vibhiṣaṇasya putro abhunnaranāmā narādhipah ||
R.T. I. 197.
40. Chatvārimśatamabdn sa māśaiśchonām tribhiḥ samām ||
R.T. I. 274.
41. Rājā Siddhābhidhaḥ so aṭha. Rāja Tara. I. 277.
42. Ṣaṣṭimabdn praśāsyorvim. Rāja Tara. I. 283.
43. Utpalākṣa iti khyātim pēśalākṣatayā gataḥ |
Tatsūnustrimsatam sārddhān varṣānāmanvaśānmahim ||
Rāja Tara. I. 288.
44. Tasya sūnurhiraṇyākṣah svanāmāñkam puram vyadhāt |
Kṣmām saptatrimśatam varṣān saptamāsāmscha bhuktavān ||
Rāja Tara. I. 289.

No.	Name of Kings.	Duration in years. of reign	In Kali Era.		In Christian Era.	
			From	To	From	To
			B.K.	K.E.	B.C.	B.C.
61.	Hiranyakula. ⁴²	60—0—0	2185	—2245	916	—856
62.	Mukula.	60—0—0	2245	—2305	856	—796
63.	Mihirakula. ⁴³	70—0—0	2305	—2375	796	—726
64.	Baka. ⁴⁴	63—0—13	2375	—2438	726	—663
65.	Kṣitinandana. ⁴⁵	30—0—0	2438	—2468	663	—633
66.	Vasunanda. ⁴⁶	52—2—0	2468	—2520	633	—581
67.	Nara. ⁴⁷	60—0—0	2520	—2580	581	—521
68.	Akṣa.	60—0—0	2580	—2640	521	—461
69.	Gopāditya. ⁴⁸	60—0—6	2640	—2700	461	—401
70.	Gokarna. ⁴⁹	57—11—0	2700	—2758	401	—343
71.	Narendrāditya ⁵⁰ or Khimkhila.	36—3—10	2758	—2794	343	—307
72.	Yudhiṣṭhira I ⁵¹ the Blind.	34—0—0	2794	—2828	307	—273
Total.		2868—10—29	36	—2828	3137	—273

42. Hiranyakula ityasya Hiranyākṣasya chātmajaḥ |
Ṣaṣṭim ṣaṣṭim cha mukulastatsūnurabhavat samāḥ || Rāja Tara. I. 290.
43. Tasyātmajo abhūnmihirakulaḥ kālōpamaḥ nṛpaḥ | R.T. I. 291.
Sa varṣasaptatim bhuktṛvā bhuvam bhūlokabhairavaḥ | R.T. I. 314.
44. Sa bakesambakaḥ śvabhre bakavatpāpagām tathā |
Kṛtvā puram parārdhyaśrīrlavaṇo sābhidham vyadhāt || R.T. I. 334.
Tatra triṣaṣṭirvarṣāṇām sa trayodaśavāsarān | R.T. I. 335.
45. Dēvyāḥ kulataroḥ kandaḥ kṣitinando avasēṣitaḥ |
Tatastasya sutastrimsadvatsarānnavasānmahīm || R.T. I. 341
46. Dvāpañchāśatamabdān kṣmām dvau cha māsau tadātmajaḥ |
Apāsīd vasunandākhyāḥ prakhyatasmaraśāstrakṛt || R.T. I. 342.
47. Naraḥ ṣaṣṭim tasya sūnustāvato akṣaścha tatsutaḥ | R.T. I. 343.
48. Jugopa gopādityo atha kṣmām sadvipām tadātmajaḥ | R.T. I. 344.
Sa ṣaḍḍinām varṣa ṣaṣṭim pālayitvā cha mēdinīm || R.T. I. 350.
49. Gokarnastatsutaḥ kṣoṇīm gokarṇēśvarakṛddadē |
Aṣṭapañchāśatam varṣām strimsadahnām vivarjitān || R.T. I. 351.
50. Sūnurnarendrādityo asya khimkhilānyābhidho abhavat |
R.T. I. 352.
Bhūtvā ṣaṭtrimsatam varṣān śatam chāhnām vibhurbhuvāḥ ||
R.T. I. 354.
51. See Rāja Tarangiṇī Samgrahaḥ, Calcutta, 1835.
Andho yudhiṣṭhirastasya putro gotrabhidaḥ samāḥ (Va. 34).

SECOND WAVE.

No.	Name of Kings.	Duration of reign in years.	In Kali Era.		In Christian Era.	
			From	To	From	To
			B.K.	K.E.	B.C.	B.C.
1.	Pratāpāditya. ⁵²	32—0—0	2828	—2860	273	—241
2.	Jalauka II.	32—0—0	2860	—2892	241	—209
3.	Tunjina. ⁵³	36—0—0	2892	—2928	209	—173
4.	Vijaya. ⁵⁴	8—0—0	2928	—2936	173	—165
5.	Jayendra. ⁵⁵	37—0—0	2936	—2973	165	—129
6.	Samdhimān II. ⁵⁶	47—0—0	2973	—3020	129	—81
Total.		192—0—0	2828	—3020	273	—81
			B.K.	K.E.	B.C.	B.C.

52. Atha Pratāpādityākhyatairānīya digantarāt |

Vikramādityabhūharturjñātiśābhyaśichyata || R.T. II. 5.

Here Vikramāditya refers to Chandragupta II styled Vikramāditya in whose reign Kālidāsa, the author of the Kāvyaṭrayī—the Mēghadūta, Kumāra-sambhavam and Raghuvaṁśam—flourished. C. V. Vaidya of Poona rightly calculates the date of Kālidāsa along with that of the Apastamba Sūtra as follows:—Tataśchatuṣṭu māsēṣu āśāḍhyām śrāvanyām vodavasāya varuṇa-praghairayajate | Apastamba Sūtra. VIII. 12. This shows that while in ancient times of the Samhitās the rainy season commenced with Śrāvāṇī Pūrṇimā (a time still observed by Brāhmaṇas for Śrāvāṇākarma or stoppage of studies on account of the rains), in the days of the Sūtras the rainy season had shifted back and commenced usually about Āśāḍhī Pūrṇimā. Whether we take the month-names as amānta or pūrṇimānta, both systems in vogue then as now, the pūrṇimā day is fixed and definite. Now in Kālidāsa's days, the rainy season usually commenced on the Pratipadā of Āśāḍha (cf. Āśāḍhasya prathamadivase mēghamaśliṣṭasānum—Mēghadūta. I. 2.); while in our days it commences usually on Suddhapratipadā of Jyēṣṭha. Now Kālidāsa wrote his Mēghadūta on the Rāmākūta hill which being in the south, the amānta system must prevail there. So his rainy season would commence 30 days earlier than to-day in the south. This precession would take place about 2167 (30×72%). years and the date of Kālidāsa comes about 247 (2167—1920) B.C. See History of Samskrta Literature, by C. V. Vaidya, Poona, 1930, Section I, pp. 23-29 and Section III, pp. 73-74, for the basis of the above calculation.

According to me the so-called Piyadaśī inscriptions belong to Chandragupta II and they represent the tenets of the Bhāgavatadharma on which I wrote my thesis in Samskrta for the Ph.D. degree of the All-India Samskrta University, Benares.

Bhuktṛvā dvātrimsatam varṣān bhuvam tasmin divam gatē |

Jalaukastatsuto bhūmērbhūṣānam samapadyata || R.T. II. 9.

piturēva samam kālam vṛddhihētoḥ sa didyutē | Rāja Tara. II. 10.

53. Varṣaiḥ ṣaṭtrimsatā śāmtē patyau virahajo jvaraḥ | R.T. II. 57.

54. Tato anyā kulajo rājā vijayo aṣṭāvabhūt samāḥ | R.T. II. 64.

55. Saptatrimśativarṣēṣu yātēṣvasminniranvayē | R.T. II. 81.

56. Pañchāśatam trivarṣonāmatyakraṁat sa vatsarān | R.T. II. 142.

Tanmantri sandhimānāryarājō abhūd dhṛta jivitaḥ (Va. 47) R.T.S.

THIRD WAVE.

No.	Name of Kings.	Duration of reign in years.	In Kali Era.		In Christian Era.	
			From	To	From	To
			K.E.	K.E.	B.C.	A.C.
1.	Meghavāhana. ⁵⁷	34—0—0	3020	3054	81	47
2.	Pravarasena I. ⁵⁸	30—0—0	3054	3084	47	17
3.	Toramānya ⁵⁹ or Hiranya.	30—2—0	3084	3114	17	13
4.	Vikramāditya I. ⁶⁰	36—0—0	3114	3150	13	49
5.	Matrgupta. ⁶¹	4—9—0	3150	3155	49	54
6.	Pravarasena II. ⁶²	60—0—0	3155	3215	54	114
7.	Yudhiṣṭhira II. ⁶³	39—0—0	3215	3254	114	153
8.	Narendrāditya. ⁶⁴	13—0—0	3254	3267	153	166
9.	Ranāditya. ⁶⁵	337—0—0	3267	3604	166	503
10.	Vikramāditya II. ⁶⁶	42—0—0	3604	3646	503	545
11.	Bālāditya. ⁶⁷	37—0—0	3646	3683	545	582
Total.		662—11—0	3020	3683	81	582

57. Śrīmēghavāhano amātyairgāndhārādēśajāḥ kṛtaḥ |
Svāmī rājyasya sarvatra prāṇihimsābahiṣkṛtaḥ || (Va. 34). R.T.S.
58. Tataḥ pravarasēno abhūt pāṛthivo digjayī kalau (Va. 30) R.T.S.
59. Tatsūnuṣcha Hiranyo abhūt pālayan bhūmimaṇḍalam |
Aputro agāt kṣayam soatha mitapunyatayā kalau
(Va. 30, mā. 2) R.T.S.

60. See my article 'Vikramāditya and his Era' Daily Herald, Lahore, 22nd April 1936. There have been more than one Vikramāditya, for which see my article Vikramāditya, Saraswatī, Prayāga, February, 1933. From the chronology of Hastināpura prepared by me, I learn that Vikramāditya died in 54 A.C. When Tormāṇa died issueless, there was a great disorder in Kāśmīra about the succession to the throne. Vikramāditya pacified them and brought Kāśmīra under his rule. Thereafter he placed Mātṛgupta on its throne, cf. dattarājyas-tēna Śakāriṇā. As long as Vikramāditya was alive, none dared interfere in the affairs of his Viceroy Mātṛgupta, but no sooner Vikramāditya fell a prey to the jaws of death, than Pravarasēna II raised the standard of rebellion. Mātṛgupta on his part being afraid and disappointed on account of the sad death of his patron and master, Vikramāditya, abdicated the throne and took up the role of a recluse. About Kālidāsa and Mātṛgupta being the same, see Journal, Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society, 1861. Dr. Bhāu Dāji's article. Mātṛ=Kālī and Gupta=Dāsa. The author of the Nāṭakatrayī is the same Kālidāsa who flourished in the reign of this Vikramāditya.

61. Mātṛgupto abhavat (Va. 4, mā. 9) R.T.S.
62. Digantam tadbhayādyātē Mātṛguptē atha bhūpatau |
Rājyam chakāra Kāśmīramaṇḍalē Pravaraṣṭataḥ || (Va. 60) R.T.S.
63. Sūnustasya mahārājo dvitīyo atha yudhiṣṭhiraḥ. (Va. 39) R.T.S.
64. Dyām trayodasabhirvarṣairāruroha mahābhujāḥ. R.T. III. 387.
65. The period of Ranāditya's reign is given to be 300 years by Kalhana.

FOURTH WAVE.

No.	Name of Kings.	Duration of reign in years.	In Kali Era.		In Christian Era.	
			From	To	From	To
			K.E.	K.E.	A.C.	A.C.
1.	Durlabhavardhana. ⁶⁸	36—0—0	3683	3719	582	618
2.	Durlabhaka. ⁶⁹	50—0—0	3719	3769	618	668
3.	Chandrāpīḍa. ⁷⁰	8—8—0	3769	3778	668	677
4.	Tārāpīḍa. ⁷¹	4—0—24	3778	3782	677	681
5.	Lalitāditya. ⁷²	26—7—11	3782	3809	681	708
6.	Kuvalayāpīḍa. ⁷³	1—0—15	3809	3810	708	709
7.	Vajrāditya. ⁷⁴	7—0—0	3810	3817	709	716
8.	Prithvyāpīḍa. ⁷⁵	4—1—7	3817	3821	716	720
9.	Samgrāmāpīḍa I. ⁷⁶	14—0—0	3821	3835	720	734
10.	Jayāpīḍa. ⁷⁷	31—0—0	3835	3866	734	765
11.	Jajja. ⁷⁸	3—0—0	3866	3869	765	768
12.	Lalitāpīḍa. ⁷⁹	12—0—0	3869	3881	768	780
13.	Samgrāmāpīḍa II. ⁸⁰	7—0—0	3881	3888	780	787
14.	Chimpatajayāpīḍa. ⁸¹	12—0—0	3888	3900	787	799
15.	Ajitāpīḍa. ⁸²	26—0—0	3900	3926	799	825
16.	Anaṅgāpīḍa. ⁸³	3—0—0	3926	3929	825	828
17.	Utpalāpīḍa. ⁸⁴	15—0—0	3929	3944	828	843
Total.		260—5—27	3683	3944	582	843

But the round numbers are always doubtful and this duration of 300 years is said to be on account of yogic power. But historians are not prepared to accept such an absurd idea. The date of Durlabhavardhana is almost certain for he was a contemporary of Harṣavardhana of Kanauj. The chronology has been prepared keeping it in view. Scholars have no objections in increasing or decreasing a round figure. So to adjust the chronology I have taken the period of his reign to be 337 years. Many have supposed the existence of a republic during the intervening period.

66. Tatputro vikramādityaḥ (Va. 42) R.T.S.
67. Bālādityastadangajaḥ (Va. 37) R.T.S.
68. Anyavamśodbhavo dēśam rājā Durlabhavardhanaḥ (Va. 36) R.T.S.
69. Varṣān pañchāśatam bhuktṛvā bhuvam Durlabhabhūpatīḥ |
R.T. IV. 44.
70. Chandrapīḍabhidhastasya sūnuḥ kṛtanropamaḥ |
Yo dṛṣṭaprāya doṣajño bhūmipālāsikhāmanīḥ || (Va. 8, mā. 8) R.T.S.
71. Tārāpīḍo abhavattasya sodaro durmatistataḥ (Va. 4, di. 24) R.T.S.
72. Dvitiyo Lalitādityo bhrātāsya prthivipatīḥ ||
Yajñājnānām śatam yātam tridivam puṇyakarmabhiḥ ||
(Va. 26, mā. 7, di. 11) R.T.S.
73. Rājā kuvalayāpīḍaḥ putro asya bhāgyavān kalau |
Jīvanmuktīpadam yātaḥ śrīparvatavanādiṣu || (Va. 1, di. 15) R.T.S.
74. Vajrādityo dvitiyo api putro rājyapadē sthitaḥ |
Saptabdhān vasudhām bhuktṛvā jagāma tridivam tataḥ || R.T.S.

FIFTH WAVE.

No.	Name of Kings.	Duration of reign in years.	In Kali Era.		In Christian Era.	
			From K.E.	To K.E.	From A.C.	To A.C.
1.	Avantivarmā. ⁸⁵	27—0—0	3944	3971	843	870
2.	Śankaravarmā. ⁸⁶	18—0—0	3971	3989	870	888
3.	Gopālavarmā. ⁸⁷	2—0—0	3989	3991	888	890
4.	Samkata. ⁸⁸	0—0—20	3990	3991	890	890
5.	Sugandhā. ⁸⁹	2—0—0	3991	3993	890	892
6.	Nirjitavarmā. ⁹⁰	8—0—0	3993	4001	892	900
7.	Pātha. ⁹¹	15—0—0	4001	4016	900	915
8.	Chakravarmā. ⁹²	14—0—0	4016	4030	915	929
9.	Śaṅkaravardhana. ⁹³	2—0—0	4030	4032	929	931
10.	Śūravarmā. ⁹⁴	1—0—0	4032	4033	931	932
11.	Unmattāvantī. ⁹⁵	2—0—0	4033	4035	932	934
Total.		91—0—20	3944	4035	843	934

75. Prithivyāpīḍasamgrāmapīḍavastām mahābhujau

(Va. 4, mā. 1, di. 7) R.T.S.

76. In the fourth taraṅga the period of the 17 kings is stated to be 260 years, 5 months and 20 days. But by adding the regnal periods we get 246 years, 5 months and 27 days only. Therefore, I have taken 14 years for the reign of Saṅgrāmāpīḍa.

77. Jayāpīḍo atha bhūpalah samudratrayapālakah (Va. 31) R.T.S.

78. Kāśmīramāṇḍalē jajastatsyālo bhūpatistvīha (Va. 3) R.T.S.

79. Lalitāpīḍasamgrāmapīḍāvanyau cha pārthivau (Va. 12) R.T.S.

80. Samāptim saptabhirvarṣaiḥ sāmraṇyasya samāsadat. R.T. IV. 479.

81. Bhuktakṣitau dvādaśābdāmstasmin vyāpādītē tathā. R.T. IV. 491.

82. Bhrātuh putro Ajitāpīḍo Jayāpīḍasutātmaṇah (Va. 26) R.T.S.

83. Anaṅgāpīḍanāmātha Saṅgrāmāpīḍajastataḥ. (Va. 3) R.T.S.

84. Śrīmadutpalapīḍascha rājā Kāśmīramāṇḍalē (Va. 15) R.T.S.

85. The chronology of III and IV taraṅgas has been adjusted taking into consideration the date of Bhīmagupta.

Avantivarmā sāmraṇyam prāpya pātitaṅṭakah (Va. 27) R.T.S.

86. Kāśmīramāṇḍalam ramyam bhuktam Śaṅkaravarmanā. (Va. 18) R.T.S.

87. Gopālavarmā prthivim pālayan (Va. 2) R.T.S.

88. Saṅkatastathā (Di. 20) R.T.S.

89. Rājñi Sugandhā kāśmīrasāmraṇyapadamāśritā. (Va. 2) R.T.S.

90. Paṅgur Nirjitavarmā atha (Va. 8) R.T.S.

91. Tatputrah pātha ēva cha (Va. 15) R.T.S.

92. Chakravarmā tato bhūpah (Va. 14) R.T.S.

93. After Chakravarmā, Śaṅkaravardhana forcibly came to the throne. His total period is given at one place. In the Rājatarāṅginīsamgraha the num-

SIXTH WAVE.

No.	Name of Kings.	Duration of reign in years.	In Kali Era.		In Christian Era.	
			From K.E.	To K.E.	From A.C.	To A.C.
1.	Yasaskaradeva. ⁹⁶	9—0—0	4035	4044	934	943
2.	Varṇaṭa. ⁹⁷	0—0—6	4044	4044	943	943
3.	Saṅgrāmādeva I. ⁹⁸	0—6—0	1044	1045	943	944
4.	Parvagupta. ⁹⁹	1—4—0	4045	4046	944	945
5.	Kṣemagupta. ¹⁰⁰	8—6—0	4046	4054	945	953
6.	Abhimanyugupta. ¹⁰¹	13—10—0	4054	4068	953	967
7.	Nandagupta. ¹⁰²	1—1—0	4068	4069	967	968
8.	Tribhuvanagupta. ¹⁰³	4—0—0	4069	4073	968	972
9.	Bhīmagupta. ¹⁰⁴	5—0—0	4073	4078	972	977
10.	Diddā. ¹⁰⁵	23—0—0	4078	4101	977	1000
Total.		66—3—6	4035	4101	934	1000

ber of the kings is 11 and their duration 83 years 4 months; but by adding the given regnal period of each king we get 91 years and 20 days. To adjust the chronology I have taken 2 years for the reign of Śaṅkaravardhana.

94. Śūravarmā tataḥ param (Va. 1) R.T.S.

95. Unmattāvantīnāmātha Pāthaśūnurdurāśayaḥ (Va. 2) R.T.S.

96. Śrīyasaskaradēvasya rāṇyamāsīt kalauyugē (Va. 9) R.T.S.

97. Varṇatasya tato rāṇyam svapnatulyamabhūdyugē (Di. 6) R.T.S.

98. Tato vakrāmghridēvasyāsi chchhriyah padam (Mā. 6) R.T.S.

99. Tataḥ Śrīparvaguptasya (Va. 1, mā. 4) R.T.S.

100. Kṣemaguptasya cha prabhoh (Va. 8, mā. 6) R.T.S.

101. Rājno Abhimanyuguptasya rāṇyam śubhakaram tadā (Va. 13, mā. 10) R.T.S.

102. Tataḥ śrī Nandaguptasya kāśmīrānsāsataḥ sataḥ (Va. 1, mā. 1) R.T.S.

103. Gupta Tribhuvanākhyasya (Va. 4) R.T.S.

104. Bhīmaguptasya chātha vā (Va. 5) R.T.S. About the date of Bhīmagupta, cf. Vasumunigaganodadhisamakālē (4078 K.E.) yātē kalestathā | Dvā-

pañchāśēvarṣē rachitēyam Bhīmaguptanrpē || The colophon of Dēvisataka's

commentary. See J.R.A.S. 1911. The K.E. 4078 corresponds to 977 A.C.

(4078—3101) and 52[(977—25)=952/100=52] Laukika Era.

105. Rāṇyāsampachchhubhāchārāddiddāyāstadanantarar (Va. 23) R.T.S.

In the book the given period is 64 years and 23 days for the sovereigns of VI taraṅga.

SEVENTH WAVE.

No.	Name of Kings.	Duration of reign in years.	In Kali Era.		In Christian Era.	
			From	To	From	To
			K.E.	K.E.	A.C.	A.C.
1.	Samgrāmadeva II. ¹⁰⁶	24—0—0	4101	4125	1000	1024
2.	Harirāja. ¹⁰⁷	52—0—0	4125	4177	1024	1076
3.	Anantadeva.	0—4—7	4177	4177	1076	1076
4.	Kalitapauruṣa. ¹⁰⁸	8—1—0	4177	4185	1076	1084
5.	Wutkarṣa. ¹⁰⁹	0—0—23	4185	4185	1084	1084
6.	Harṣa.					
Total.		84—6—0	4101	4185	1000	1084

EIGHTH WAVE.

No.	Name of Kings.	Duration of reign in years.	In Kali Era.		In Christian Era.	
			From	To	From	To
			K.E.	K.E.	A.C.	A.C.
1.	Ucchala. ¹¹⁰	10—4—2	4185	4195	1084	1094
2.	Śaṅkharāja. ¹¹¹	0—0—0¼	4195	4195	1094	1094
3.	Sahla. ¹¹²	0—1—27	4195	4195	1094	1094
4.	Sussala. ¹¹³	16—0—0	4195	4211	1094	1110
5.	Bhikṣāchara. ¹¹⁴	0—6—0	4211	4211	1110	1110
6.	Sussala. ¹¹⁵					
	(Re-accession).	16—0—0	4211	4227	1110	1126
7.	Jayasimha. ¹¹⁶	22—0—0	4227	4249	1126	1148
Total.		63—11—29¼	4185	4249	1084	1148

106. Rājyē Samgrāmadevo atha bhrātrjo antē nṛpaḥ kṛtaḥ (Va. 24).
Rājñyā tathā buddhibalāt kāśmīreṣu kalau purā | R.T.S.

107. Harirājānantadēvāvēstām tasyātmaṇau tataḥ
(Va. 52, mā. 4, di. 7) R.T.S.

108. Rājā bhūmēḥ sukhānandakaraḥ Kalitapauruṣaḥ (Va. 8, mā. 1) R.T.S.

109. Utkarṣaharṣanāmānau tatsutau pārthivau tataḥ (Di. 23) R.T.S.

In this VII taraṅga the total period of 6 kings given is 89 years 3 days, but by addition of the regnal years of these kings we get 84 years 6 months only.

110. Mallābhīdhānādudbhūtaḥ prthivīm Uchchalo abhajat
(Va. 10, mā. 4, di. 2) R.T.S.

111. Śaṅkharājānyanāmābhūt Raddākhyāḥ kṣaṇiko nṛpaḥ | R.T.S.

112. Gaggēna nihatē tasmin Sahlo dvai māturo abhavat
(Mā. 1, di. 27) R.T.S.

113. Sussalākhyo agraḥidrājyam mālināśchalasodaraḥ (Va. 16) R.T.S.

114. Śaṇmāsān Harṣadēvasya naptā Bhikṣācharābhīdhaḥ (Mā. 6) R.T.S.

Thus 140 kings ruled for 4285 years, 1 month and 21¼ days and from 36 before Kali Era to 4249 Kali Era or from 3137 B.C. to 1148 A.C. We get on the average for each king 30.3 years only.

The Raja Tarangini of Kalhana—the son of the Prime Minister, Canyaka was completed in 1148 A.C. or 1070 Saka Era.¹¹⁷ I hope the learned readers and scholars would very kindly oblige me with their kind opinions and learned criticisms.

115. Punarnirvvāsyā tam prāptarājyē sussalabhūbhujī R.T.S.

In this VIII taraṅga the period of the 5 kings given is 47 years, but by addition of the regnal years we get 26 years 11 months 29 days only, perhaps Sussala ruled peacefully after being restored to the throne. According to Kalhana, Jayasimha had been already ruling for 22 years in 1148 A.C., but from Jonarāja's chronology we learn that Jayasimha ruled for 22 years only and hence the accession of Jayasimha to the throne must be placed in 1126 A.C. Therefore we have to take 16 years for the second reign of Sussala.

116. Tataḥ śrījayasimho abhūd dvitīyam bhūmibhūṣaṇam |
Sussalasyātmaṇaḥ sarvvalokānandakaraḥ sudhīḥ || (Va. 22) R.T.S.

In this article the extracts in the footnotes are taken from the *Rāja-taraṅgiṇī*, Calcutta, Baptist Mission Press, 1757 Śaka Samvat or 1835 A.C.

117. Laukikābdē chaturvimsē śakakālasya sāmpratam |
Saptatyadhikam yātam sahasram parivatsarāḥ ||

R.T. I. 52.

The Identity of the Gupta and the Vikrama Eras

By

DHIRENDRA NATH MOOKERJI

ONE item of epigraphic evidence to prove the identity of the era introduced by the Gupta Vikramaditya with the well-known Vikrama era of 58 B.C. will be put forth in this short paper.

Recently a copper plate inscription has been found at Gokak in the Belgaum district of the Bombay Presidency. This plate has been published by Mr. N. Lakshminarayana Rao, M.A., in the *Epig. Indica*, Vol. XXI, pp. 289-92 under the heading *The Gokak Plate of Dejjā Maharaja*.

The inscription records grants to Āchārya Āryanandin of Jambukhaṇḍa-gaṇa 'Jambukhaṇḍa - gaṇasthāya jñāna-darsana - tapas sampannāya Āryanandyācāryāya.'

The donor was Adhiraja Indrananda, the son of Vijayananda Madhyamaraja of the Śēndraka family. Indrananda is stated to have been the favourite of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Dejjā Mahārāja 'Rāshtrakūṭanvaya-jāta Sree Dejjā-mahārājasyālhi-matah ?

The grant registered was made when 845 years of the Āguptāyika kings had expired. These Āguptāyika kings belonged to the spiritual lineage of Vardhamāna, the 24th Tīrthankara of the Jainas 'Vardhamānasya saniāna-santatāvālyuṇṭāyikānām rājñām aṣṭasu varṣa-śaṣṭeṣu panca-catvāriṃśad-agreṣu gateṣu'

Mr. N. Lakshminarayana Rao, the Editor of the plate, places the Āguptāyika era with Maurya Chandragupta (313 B.C.). Consequently the date of the inscription is equivalent to A.D. (845-313, or) 532. But Mr. Rao himself admits—'But considering the palaeography of the record, the date appears to be somewhat too early.' It did not strike Mr. Rao to consider these Āguptāyika kings to be the Early Imperial Guptas. For, on Fleet's epoch of the Gupta Era (A.D. 318-19) the resulting date comes out to be (845+319, or) A.D. 1164 which is obviously too late. Hence Mr. Rao remarked 'But I am unable to suggest any other era which can give us a date that would suit the writing of the document even approximately.'

The meaning of 'Āguptāyikānām rājñām' seems to mean in the reckoning of those kings whose names end in 'Gupta', an expression, similar to 'Sree Samyutānām-Guptānvayānām nrpa-sattamānām rājyē' of the Udaiyagiri cave inscription of (Gupta) Samvat 106 written by a follower of Jina. This is not true of the Maurya kings—only the first Maurya king's name ended in 'Gupta'—whereas it is true of the Imperial Gupta kings, all of whose names end in 'Gupta.'

Elsewhere I tried to prove from various types of evidence that the era introduced by the Gupta Vikramāditya is the well-known Vikrama era of 58 B.C. Assuring this to be true the date of the Gokak plate comes out to be (845-57, or) A.D. 788, and this date of Dejjā falls exactly within the period (A.D. 757 to A.D. 812) proposed for Jejjā or his brother by Kielhorn, while editing Jejjā's grand-son Parabala's inscription dated (Vikrama) Samvat 917 (= A.D. 861). From palaeographic consideration the date of the Gokak plate should belong to the 8th century A.D. Mr. Rao has shown that the characters of the plate resemble the Aihole inscription of Pulakēśi II (dated A.D. 634) and that Pulakēśi's maternal uncle's name was Sēnānanda. This resembles the names Vijayananda and Adhirāja Indrananda of the Gokak plate. Dr. M. H. Krishna of the Mysore University kindly informs me that palaeographically the date of the Gokak plate may be about A.D. 700.

It is stated in the inscription that these Āguptāyika kings belonged to the spiritual lineage of Mahāvīra, the 24th Tīrthankara of the Jainas. That this cannot be true of the Maurya Chandragupta will be apparent from a little reflection. Āchārya Bhadrabāhu (I) was pontiff from 156 to 170 years after Mahāvīra. The next pontiff was Āchārya Sthūlabhadra from 170 to 219 years after Mahāvīra and he died the very year in which the last Nanda king was slain by Chandragupta and Chāṇakya, 49 years after the death of Bhadrabāhu I. Hence it was impossible for Chandragupta the Maurya to repair to Śravaṇa Belgolā in company with Bhadrabāhu (I) as stated in the Śvētāmbara jaina tradition.

That the Maurya Monarch Chandragupta did not leave the crown and become an ascetic will also be evident from this that none of the Greek ambassadors in the Mauryan courts ever mention such an important event in case it did really happen. In reality it was Upāṅgi Āchārya Bhadrabāhu II who was pontiff from 54 to 31 B.C. (= Vikrama year 4 to 27) with whom the Gupta Monarch Chandragupta (I) Vikramāditya after installing his son Yuvarāja Samudragupta to the throne repaired to Śravaṇa

Belgoḷa in Mysore. Dr. Fleet rightly remarked 'Bhadrabāhu Svāmin (of the inscriptions) came after an interval of unspecified duration but plainly a long one after the Śrutā kevalin Bhadrabāhu. He is undoubtedly Bhadrabāhu II, the last but one of the Minor Angis (*Upāṅgi*), becoming pontiff in 53 B.C.' (I.A. Vol. XXI, pp. 156-60 and *Epig. Indica*, Vol. IV, pp. 22-28). We know that according to all Jaina tradition Vikramāditya was the follower of the Jaina Āchārya Siddhasēna. The reason why the Jainas honour so much (Chandragupta I) Vikramāditya and exclusively use his era in their books is now plain.

Now an epigraphic evidence to show the identity of the era of the Gupta kings as found in the Gokak plate with the well-known Vikrama era will be put forward.

From the Paṭhāri (in Bhopal Agency in Central India) pillar inscription of the Rāshtrakūṭa King Parabala we know that formerly there was a King Jejja, under whom the Rāshtrakūṭa varṇa was flourishing and whose (unnamed) elder brother, after defeating thousands of Karṇāṭa soldiers with their array of elephants obtained the Lāṭa kingdom. Jejja's son was Karkarāja who put to flight King Nāgāvaloka and invaded his home. And Karkarāja's son was Parabala, represented as ruling the land when the inscription was composed in Samvat 917.

We know that the Gauḍa King Dharmapāla married Rālla Dēvi, the daughter of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Parabala, and that Dharmapāla flourished in the ninth century A.D. Hence Parabala's inscription is evidently dated in Vikrama Samvat 917 (=A.D. 861) as admitted by all. Moreover, Parabala's inscription is dated 'Samvat 917, Chaitra Sudi 6, Śukkre' which is astronomically verifiable and this has been done by Kielhorn who found that the date corresponds to 'Friday, 21st March, A.D. 861' thus proving that the inscription is dated in Vikrama Samvat 917. The late Prof. Kielhorn who edited Parabala's inscription in the *Epig. Indica*, Vol. IX, pp. 248-56 remarked that judging from the date of the present inscription we should have to place Jejja and his elder brother between A.D. 757 and A.D. 812 (= Vikrama years 814 and 869) in Lāṭa. But up to his time he could not get any evidence of Jejja or his brother in Lāṭa between A.D. 757 and 812.

Now we know that in Northern India, the word 'Daśaratha' is usually pronounced 'Jasaratha' and the word 'Duryodhana' is usually pronounced 'Juryodhana,' and so on. Hence it is quite natural for 'Dejja' of Southern India to be pronounced 'Jejja'

in Northern India. The interval between the dates of the inscriptions of Dejja and Parabala (assuming them to be in the same era) is (917—845), or 72 years which is quite natural for three generations. Again, from Parabala's inscription we know that Jejja's elder brother after defeating thousands of Karṇāṭa soldiers obtained the Lāṭa kingdom. The Gokak plate registers the grant to Āchārya Aryanandin of Jambukhaṇḍa-gaṇa. Mr. Rao has shown that Jambukhaṇḍa after which the Jaina gaṇa took its name is identical with Jāmkhandi, not far from Gokak. This shows that the plate has not been displaced. Now this Gokak and Jāmkhandi belong to the Lāṭa country. Moreover, the seal of Adhirāja Indrananda of the Gokak plate bears the figure of an elephant. Hence it follows clearly that Jejja's elder brother after defeating thousands of Karṇāṭa soldiers with their array of elephants obtained this Lāṭa kingdom. There seems, therefore no shadow of doubt to identify 'Dejja' of one plate with 'Jejja' of the other (or perhaps they were brothers) and Jejja's date, Gupta year 845=A.D. 788 falls exactly within the period (A.D. 757 to A.D. 812) proposed for Jejja and his brother by Kielhorn while editing Parabala's inscription.

We know that Govinda III of the Imperial Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty of Mānyakheta who ascended the throne in Śaka 713 = A.D. 791 as we know from the Manne plates (*Jour. of the Mythic Society* XIV, p. 88) and ruled upto A.D. 815, created his brother Indraraja, viceroy of Lāṭa or Southern Gujerat. From this Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar (*Epig. Ind. Appendix, Inscriptions of Northern India*, P. 401 fn.) makes the following surmise: 'As his (Jejja's) elder brother (unnamed) is said to have defeated Karṇāṭa soldiers and obtained Lāṭa, he seems to have been Indra, eldest brother of Govinda III (I. A. Vol. XL., pp. 239-40). The Paṭhāri family thus seems to be connected with the imperial Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty of Mānyakheta.' Dr. Bhandarkar seems to have slightly missed the mark for the following reasons: If Jejja be identical with Govinda III, then Govinda III's son, Amoghavarsha I (c. A.D. 815 to 877, known epigraphic dates A.D. 817 to 877) should be identical with Karkarāja. But this is impossible, for Karkarāja's son Parabala was ruling in V. S. 917 = A.D. 861 which falls in the reign of Amoghavarsha I. Thus Amoghavarsha I (c. A.D. 815 to 877) should be identical with Parabala. From an unpublished inscription in possession of Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar (*Gurjaras*, p. 4 in J. Bo. Br. As. Soc. Vol. XX) we know that Govinda III claims to have won a victory over his northern Gurjara rival, Nāgabhaṭa II early in the ninth century A.D. 'The Gurjara fled through fear, not

returning even in dreams.' Evidently after this flight from Bhinmāl Nāgabhaṭa made Kanauj the capital of the Pratihāras. Govinda III (A.D. 791 to c. A.D. 815) is, therefore identical with Karkarāja who we know put to flight King Nāgāvaloka or Nāgabhaṭa II of the Imperial Gurjara Pratihāra dynasty of Kanauj who was ruling in V. S. 872 = A.D. 815 and died in V. S. 890 = 833, according to the Jaina work *Prabhāvaka Charita*. Govinda III created his brother Viceroy of Lāṭa. This may not mean that he conquered Lāṭa for the first time. On the other hand he may have received Lāṭa as an ancestral dominion from his father and there placed Indra as viceroy. Govinda III's father Dhruva, Śrī Vallabha, Iddhatejas, etc. (c. A.D. 780-791) is, therefore, identical with Jejja; and Jejja's unnamed elder brother is identical with Dhruva's elder brother Govinda II (and not Indra as supposed by Dr. Bhandarkar, c. A.D. 775-780) who succeeded his father Krishna I, and who after a short reign was followed, and apparently superseded by his brother Dhruva who completed the Rāshtrakūṭa supremacy over the dominion including Lāṭa, ruled over by the Chālukyas and assumed their title 'Śrī Vallabha.' The colloquial contracted form from another name of Dhruva's Iddha-Tejas = (Iddha-) Tejas might have originated the name Dejja (=Jejja). In a private letter Dr. S. K. Aiyangar very kindly informs me 'One other question that you raise... whether the alternatives *Dejja* or *Jejja* could be regarded in the South Indian languages as equivalent to *Teja* or *Tejas*, I believe the Southern languages do soften *Teja* into *Deja* as for instance in the case of Teja Sing becoming in Tamil *Desing*. It could be in Kanarese *Tejja* ultimately becoming *Gejja* in popular parlance, so that your equation of these two terms with *Tejas* or *Iddha-tejas*, I think may be held sound.' From the Jaina *Harivaṃśa* we know that Krishna's son (Dhruva) Śrīvallabha was reigning in Śaka 705 = A.D. 783 and was also a contemporary of Indrāyudha of Kanauj. We know that Dharmapāla of Gauḍa deposed Indrāyudha and placed Chakrāyudha on the throne of Kanauj about the beginning of the ninth century A.D. Thus Dhruva or Iddha-tejas *alias* Dejja was reigning from c. A.D. 780 to 791 and Dejja's date, Gupta year 845 (= Vikrama year 845) = A.D. 788 falls exactly during the reign of Dhruva.

'Dejja' and 'Jejja' are identical, hence it follows clearly that Gupta year 845 of Dejja Mahārāja and (Vikrama) Samvat 917 of Parabala are dated in one and the same era i.e., the epoch of the era introduced by the Gupta Vikramāditya is identical with the Vikrama Era of 58 B.C. or, in other words Chandragupta I Vikramāditya began to reign from 58 B.C.

Palaeographically also it follows that the year 845 of the Āguptāyika kings, or what comes to the same thing, as the Gupta kings, must fall in the 8th century A.D. With Fleet's epoch of the Gupta era (A.D. 318-19) the resulting date is A.D. (845+319, or 1164 which is palaeographically wrong by about 400 years, thus showing clearly that Fleet's epoch is in error by about the same amount and consequently the epoch of the Gupta era is identical with the Vikrama Era of 58 B.C.

The Keladi Revenue System

By

R. N. SALETORRE, M.A.

THE kings of Keladi at first established themselves at their original capital and birth place, Keladi, but later, their capital was removed to Ikkēri in about A.D. 1560 in the Sagar taluka, and in A.D. 1639 to Bednūr.¹ The first prominent chief of this line was Sadāśiva Nayaka, who ruled from A.D. 1513 to 1545 and he is said to have been "granted the name" evidently of *Nāyaka* by the emperor Sadāśiva Rāya of Vijayanagara for military services rendered in Tuḷuva (South Kanara). After the fatal battle of Rākṣasa Tangaḍi in A.D. 1565 Venkatappa Nāyaka I, assumed independence, subdued most of the Kanara country, and, driving back the invasion of the Bijapur forces commanded by Randullah Khan, extended his dominions, which included Araga and Gutti (Candragutti) above the Ghāṭs, and Barakūr and Mangalore; both below the Ghats in South Kanara;² on the north and east to Māsūr, Shimoga, Kadur and Bhuvangiri (Kavalēdurga); and in the west and south to the sea at Honore (Honnāvara in North Kanara) by a victory over the queen of Gersoppa, the pepper queen of the Portuguese, who was a feudatory of Bijapur.³

Śivappa Nāyaka was the most celebrated king of this line and to him, the last Vijayanagara sovereign, Śri Ranga Rāya went for refuge in A.D. 1646. Śivappa Nāyaka not only invested him with the government of Bēlūr and Sakkrepattana but advanced upon Seringapatam evidently to restore him to power but this expedition failed.⁴

The dynasty of Keladi kings came to a sad end in A.D. 1763. In A.D. 1751 a treaty was concluded between Bednūr and the English factory at Tellichery. An adopted son came to the throne after Somaśekhara Nāyaka II, but on his remonstrating with his adoptive mother Virammaji on her amours, he was strangled and she reigned

in his name. She was the last of her line. Hyder met at Citaldurga a pretender who professed to be this Bednūr prince. Resolved to make use of this he invaded Bednūr in A.D. 1763, ostensibly to restore him, entered by a secret path and captured the city. The queen, with her paramour and an adopted son, fled to Ballālarāyanadurga (Kadūr District) having set fire to the palace. The inhabitants deserted the place en masse and in panic took shelter in the surrounding woods. The triumphant Hyder is reported to have acquired a booty of 12 million sterling.⁵ The Rāpi, her lover and adopted son were all seized and sent as prisoners to the hill fort of Maddagiri (Tumkur District) together with even the pretender, and these were liberated by the Marāṭhas when they captured this place in A.D. 1767. So Somaśekhara died at Poona unmarried while Virammaji expired on the way to that place.⁶

The Revenue System of the Keladi Kingdom.

The Nāyakas of the Keladi kingdom were once the feudatories of the celebrated Vijayanagara emperors, but in the early seventeenth century they slowly began to assume the mantle of complete independence. The Nāyakas administered a fairly large domain in an efficient way as we can see from their epigraphs and the accounts of contemporary travellers who happened to visit this little sphere of Karnāṭaka influence. These rulers not only maintained their independence, but evolved a memorable system of collecting and spending the revenues of their own principality. This revenue system of the Keladi Nāyakas cannot be claimed to be in any particular way original, because they too, like their illustrious predecessors, the emperors of Vijayanagara, were the followers of the *pūrvada mār्याdē* (ancient constitutional usage) which has always been the guiding principle of Hindu statesmen in State administration.

It is therefore not very strange to find, for example, that one of the inscriptions of Bhadrappa Nāyaka tells us that in A.D. 1662 the following were some of the sources of State revenue: *siddāya, birāḍa, meluvana, habba-gāṇike, bēsta-gāṇake, maḍhihadike, divagaraka, banada-sōge, haravari-vartane, uḍugere, kasavarga, umbali-vartane, menasina-caḍita, kula-birāḍa, 'Sēnabovanavartane, mani-hadavara-vartane.*⁷

1. Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 158.

2. E. C. VI, Sg. II, p. 96.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 22 and Rice, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 22 (intr.).

5. Rice, *op. cit.* p. 160.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 160-161.

7. Mysore Arch. Reports, 1919, para 97, p. 38.

Besides these sources, several of which remain obscure, octroi also yielded a good revenue to the rulers of Keḷadi. Pietro Della Valle, the intrepid traveller, who visited this kingdom of these rulers in A.D. 1623, noticed how this source of revenue was exploited. "Having pass'd by Banghel (Bhangher) we enter'd" he explains, "into the great Northern River in which on the left hand is a place where passage boats laden with Merchandize pay a Toll to the Ministers of Venkatapa Naieka to whom the circumjacent region is subject".⁸ Della Valle, of course, means by ministers, the toll-collectors of Venkaṭapa Nāyaka, during whose reign a system of recovering toll for each animal load appears to have been current. This can be supported by an epigraph which states that in A.D. 1606 having obtained the orders of this king, all the *mahanāḍ settis* who loaded goods and conveyed them by both roads to places east and north and to the interior, in order that they may acquire *Dharma*, gave a *śāsaṇa*, granting to a Śaiva Maṭha a *vīsa* on the stock as follows: "Throughout the kingdom ruled by Venkaṭappa Nāyaka above the Ghāṭs, on all local roads for all animals, at the rates of one *vīsa* for each animal, we agree to give as *Dharma*, *vīsa* by *vīsa*, in all the *thānas*." These were the stations where octroi was recovered and the inscription says that there were besides Ikkēri, the following: Sadāśiva, Sagari, Sirvanti, Kesanūr, Tavanidhi, Gutti, Jadeya, Kup-

8. Note: *Siddhāya*: fixed rent, E.C. VIII, Tl. 15, p. 166. *Birāḍa*: extra cess on garden cultivation, or fines, E.C. IV, Gu. p. 47. *Meluvana*; *mēl-hana* = *uparikara* = *mēl vāram*—may be the Crown's share of produce, a sort of surplus tax, cf. J.R.A.S. 1931, p. 165. *Habbakāṇike*—presents for festivals, Kittel, Dicty. p. 403, *Besta-varake*, tax on fishermen, Kittel, op. cit. p. 1143. *Banada-soge*, Tax on forest produce and the screwpine, Kittel, op. cit. p. 1598. *Maḍihadike*—Tax on washermen? *Divagarake* = Tax on torches of the Huriallee grass, Kittel, op. cit., p. 377. like the leaves of palms, sugar cane. *Haravari-vartane* = *Haravaḍi* = The state of becoming public, Kittel, op. cit. p. 1633. *Vartane*: Fees, perquisites especially of grain, paid to public servants of a village or town for their support, Wilson, Glossary, p. 543: A tax on grains grown in public lands— *Uḍugore* = A present of clothes to a couple at the time of a marriage, Kittel, op. cit. pp. 217-18. *Kasavarga* = *Kasabarige* or *Kasavarige* = a tax on brooms, Kittel, op. cit. p. 391. *Umbāḷi-Vartane* = a tax in kind from a grant (especially of land) to an individual for his subsistence, Wilson, op. cit. p. 532. *Meṇacina caḍita* = Tax on (black) pepper. *Kula-birāḍa* = a family tax on garden cultivation or fines. *Senabovana vartane* = A tax in kind for maintaining the village accountant. *Manihadavara vartane*: *Maniḥa* = *maniya*—a tax for the maintenance of the superintendence of temples, *maṭhas*, palaces, custom-houses, Kittel, op. cit. p. 1193.

2. Pietro Della Valle, *The Travels in India*, II, p. 305. Trans. by Grey, ed. MDCCC.XCII.

pattūr, Sorāb, Tagara, Kabur, Uḍugaṇi, Janbu, Mahādēvapura, Kumbasi, Hiranahalli, Anandapura, Mosarūr, Pombuca, Dānivāsa, Araga, Durga, Āgumbe, Kavi, Bagunji, Beḷlare, Kalasa; Magunda; Kiga, Nemmaru, Mutturu, Mude Karu, Bidrur, Halikallu, Hannara, Kasauru Saulanada, Savantanakatte, Bhārangi, Āvinahalli.⁹ Like these stations for collecting octroi above the Ghāṭs, below them too there were similar *sthānas*, where, when octroi was collected for the benefit of a Maṭha, except tassels, silks, areca-nut, pepper, coconut-kernels and wood, five bullocks laden with bamboo baskets, grain, rice, paddy, ragi, salt, jaggery, oil ghi and such other articles were permitted to the Maṭha authorities to be stored for the benefit of the six *Darśanās*. This was in the year A.D. 1641, during Hirabaṭa Nāyaka.¹⁰ A similar grant was issued in A.D. 1642.¹¹ The same practice prevailed in A.D. 1673, when freedom from toll on five bullocks was granted to the Bidarūr Maṭha, with the exception of dues on areca-nut, pepper, tassels, silk, coconut kernel, and such other goods for gain, on registering the colour and age of the bullocks in the customs' *thānas* below the Ghats in Ikkēri-Hobaḷi.¹² This same Maṭha received patronage in A.D. 1709 at the hands of Basavappa Nāyaka in the shape of a grant of the Kusubār village of Madabārpāl in the Dānivāsa *sīme* rated at 260 *varāha*, 5 *paṇa*, 3 *hāga*, 1 *bēle*.¹³

Trade in spices seems to have prospered during the rule of the Keḷadi rulers. Vira Bhadrappa Nāyaka, (circa A.D. 1608-67) in A.D. 1636-37 appears to have given a *firmān* to Peter Mundy and the English factors to build a factory at Bhaṭkal. "After supper he gave us" says Mundy, "a Firmaen to build a house att Battacala, With permission of trade in his Country, telling us he would give order to his officers there to agree with us Favourably concerning the Former Contract".¹⁴ This shows that a similar *firmān*, which had been given before, had not been properly observed. That a new *firmān* was given is also confirmed by Thomas Robinson, who says how this ruler, "with a royal promise of his absolute *firmāna* to all our demands, investing us with certain slight clothes dismissed us for the present".¹⁵ This trade seems to have been

9. E. C. VIII (II) Sa. 123 p. 117.

10. *Ibid*, Tl 49, p. 173.

11. *Ibid*, 42 p. 171.

12. *Ibid*, 68, p. 177.

13. *Ibid*, 47, p. 172, Cf. *Ibid*, Sa. 111, p. 115.

14. Peter Mundy, *Travels in Europe and Asia*, III, (1), p. 85.

15. Thomas Robinson, *Account of Visit to Ikkēri*, p. 88.

primarily in pepper and Mundy tells us how it was carried on; for he has preserved letters from this officer of Bhaṭkal, whom he miscalls the king. The agreement appears to have been: "And likewise that he (the officer) see to the delivery of the 300 Candees (*Khandis*) pepper in trucks of the load which you are to deliver at the rate of 22½ pagodās the Candee. And for the surplus arising from the price of the pepper 7½ pago (das) upon the Candee, I have (ordered?) enordered Mange Naig (Mange Nāyaka?) to buy commodities of you for it if you can agree on the price or else money.

"If you bring good horses of Persia or Arabia, I will buy them and paie you in pepper.

"Likewise if you bring Corall, silke, pearle, or anie other good Commodities of value, I will paie you for them in pepper and money".¹⁶ From this account it is clear that the English carried on a trade with the rulers of Keḷadi at Bhaṭkal in terms of barter and cash as well, exchanging pepper for Arabian or Persian horses and commodities of value like coral, silk and pearls, for pepper and money.

The Trade in Pepper

King Vira Bhadrappa Nāyaka seems to have given a fair estimate of the possible quantity of pepper available in Bhaṭkal and of the details of his requirements. Mundy records that "For pepper he (the king) assured us that we might finde yearlie between 1500 and 2000 Candills (*Khandis*) in the port (Bhaṭkal) besides the trade of the whole coast, each Candill conteyninge about 4 Kintalls Portuguez and (the Khandi, Candil, Candy was 20 *man*—20 lbs.) that he would both incorage his subjects in the manuring (cultivating) of the trees which of late, in the dead times of the trade, they (the people of the country) have neglected, and would likewise publish an edict through al his Countrie that all the pepper should be for us (the whites) and none to be exported either by sea or land. For Cloath, Lead, corall, or any other rarities out of Europe, he will take them of in barter of pepper and paie us the overplus in money.... From England and China he desireth all rarities for which we shall receive satisfaction to our own content, but chiefelie (and which for the future we have promised him) horses from Persia and Arabia, to which end a shipp from that port may yearlie be sent thither in September or October or returne againe in March following or soone, and to good bene-

16. Mundy, *op. cit.* III (I), p. 92.

fit".¹⁷ It is interesting to note that, when barter was made the medium of exchange, the surplus value if due was made payable in money and though it cannot be proved, it is likely that the rulers of Keḷadi had probably to pay such an excess payment in cash over and above their payment of pepper to the European traders.

The Secretariat

These rulers of Keḷadi, with all the memories of the great Vijayanagara administration, could not have been a line of barbarian chiefs. Even foreigners from the West who happened to visit Ikkēri, their seat of government, observed that they had some system of administration. Peter Mundy in A.D. 1637 went to that place and fortunately happened to visit the little secretariat, if this term may be permitted, or the Rēcord Room, of the kings of Keḷadi. "Att my beeing" he relates, "att Eccary I was att the King's Secretaries, where in his house I saw many hundreds (I may say thousands) of those written palm leaves, beeing very long and narrow, handsomely rouled uppe, those againe tied into bundles, hung upp in order about his roome or office soe thatt hee May (not improperly) be stiled Master of the Roules".¹⁸ These oles were evidently grants made by the king and as will be seen later, they were sent to the village accountants, in the cases of grants of land, for being copied and returned to the palace wherein they were filed for constant and future reference. As will be seen later a grant made in A.D. 1673 was again referred to in A.D. 1690 when a settlement of a mortgage was being made.¹⁹

The Administration of Finance

During the sovereignty of the Nāyakas of Keḷadi, it was generally the practice to give the estimate of the revenue of a village in the beginning and then lay down a list of items of expenditure. In A.D. 1616, for instance, when Venkaṭappa Nāyaka was ruling the kingdom of Keḷadi, an inscription of his reign gave details of the *rēkhē* or the assessment amounting to 71 *varāhas*, and this was followed by particulars as to how the sum was to be spent.²⁰

In order to understand this system of income and expenditure as revealed in the accounts procedure of the Keḷadi kingdom, we

17. Mundy, *op. cit.*, III (1), p. 91.

18. *Ibid*, pp. 98-99.

19. E. C. VIII (II), Tl. 57, p. 174.

20. E. C. VIII (II), Nr. 79, p. 160.

may take an example of a grant made by the Keḷadi king Virabhadra Nāyaka on the 13th of September A.D. 1630 to *Svāmi* Sachchid-ānanda Bhārati, the pontiff of the Sringeri Maṭha (c. 1622-63). He made this grant on the occasion of his camping at the Maṭha on his way to Tirthaḷli and gave away as a gift the village of Gorugade in the district of Paṭṭugupe for meeting the expenses of the free-feeding (*satra*), the Maṭha and the temple. The details of the income and expenditure were set down as follows :

Sources of Income.	Amount.		Items of Expenditure.	Amount.	
	<i>Gadyana.</i>	<i>Haṇa.</i>		<i>Gadyana.</i>	<i>Haṇa.</i>
Present revenue.	20	2½	48 khandugās at 1 ga per		
Add the Birāḍa tax.	4	2¼ ₁₆	6 khanduga	8	—
Do. paid by Jangamas.	—	3¼ ₁₆	Green gram for making		
			soup (<i>Tovve</i>)	—	6
Total	24	8¾	Ghee for being sprinkled		
Less due to floods.	—	8¾	on boiled rice (<i>anna</i>		
			<i>śuddhi</i>)	—	6
	24	—	One perpetual lamp	3	—
Add income from temple			Daily offering of betel		
lands.	2	4⅛	leaves	—	3
			Cotton for making wicks		
Original revenue 13½	26	4⅛	and for incense	—	2
Less pertaining to former			Sandal paste	—	3
<i>Uttāra.</i>	1	7	Napkins (<i>anga-vastra</i>)	—	2½
			Oil-bath on Saturday	—	2½
	24	7⅛	Expenses on five Parva days		
Add revenue from Hānambi			in every month	½	—
<i>śime</i>	4	6⅛	Special services in the		
Add on account of the back-			month of Kārtika	1	—
yard of the house of the			Services in the Vasanta		
Sēnabōva in Mayi-			season	1	—
gondanakope	—	9¼	Services on the Gokulāṣṭami		
Add on account of the			day	—	3
Sante Pasige (fair) tax			Services on Utthāna dvādasi		
at Sankūr	—	1½	day	—	3
			Occasional expenses		
			(<i>naimittika</i>)	—	2
			Wages for sweeper	1	2
			Free-feeding (<i>satra</i>)	13	7½
Total	31	7½	Total	31	7½

From this account it may be seen how every item of income and expenditure was accounted for to the fraction of a *haṇa* and sometimes even to lesser amounts. But in making estimates both for receipts and expenses, the Keḷadi rulers adopted a particular system of calculation. Let us take an example of the income from the

temple-lands of the god Kallinātha in the village cited above and it was set down as follows :

One <i>gadyāṇa</i> was to be collected as revenue for wet lands.			
of the sowing capacity of 3 Khandugās and also 16			
Khandugās of paddy.	1	16	<i>Kha.</i>
Out of this quantity 12 Khandugās were to be deducted			
for services in the temple.		12	<i>Kha.</i>
Balance.	1	4	<i>Kha.</i>
The value of 4 Khandugās of paddy.	—	6½	
An increase in revenue was made in the year Vibhava for			
paddy lands of Bhairava of the sowing capacity of			
Khandugās 1½.	½	—	
Recovery of dues on account of Gaṇācāra (a tax on			
Lingayat priests ?)	—	2½	
Total.	2	4⅛	

Such a usage shows that the revenue from a plot of land was first estimated and if there were any additions to it in the course of the year they were also added to the original amount. Regarding expenditure also a similar arrangement was made. The fullest possible details were given as can be seen from what has been set down for meeting the expenses of the *satra*. For this purpose 36 *ga* were to be expended at the rate of 3 *ga* every month, this being the price of 18 *khandugas* of paddy at 6 *kha* per *ga* for each for feeding 12 men at 1 *koḷaga* daily.^{20a}

Such an estimate of the revenue of a productive plot of land was necessary, especially, for effecting a sale. During the rule of the king Venkaṭappa, but in the year A.D. 1627 a deed of sale (*Kraya dāna śāsana*) was given to Trināmale Sidda Basavarāya. He observed that one Cikka Kālappa had stated that this grantee wanted a grant for the *maṭha* erected by him in Morimāni in Dānivāsa *śime* and having recorded by his hands 30 *varāhās* for the palace, the king granted Trināmale Sidda, rice land rated at 9 *varāha*, in Keḍege Sālūr *śime* in Nāgalāpura pāl in the Dānivāsa *śime* with all rights pertaining to be enjoyed by him and his disciples in succession for the use of the *Maṭha*²¹. Such a practice was invariably followed even in later Keḷadi times. An epigraph dated A.D. 1630 of the Keḷadi ruler, Virabhadrapa Nāyaka, states, that, having received from Lingaṇṇa 20 *gadyaṇa* the king granted a plot of land specified "with all rights according to former customs (*prāku*

20a. M.A.R. 1933, No. 28, pp. 180-81.

21. *Ibid.*, VI, Kp. 61, p. 91.

maryādēyalli). For the offering and perpetual lamps of the god Venkatesvara which he erected in the Ratnāpura in the Kaṣūr *sīme*.²²

Calculation of Assessment

This total revenue was arrived at in a particular way. A record of the reign of Virabhadrapa Nāyaka dated A.D. 1629 reveals how the revenue income from the lands and gardens belonging to Brahmandavāda came to 91½ *gadyāna*. This was declared to be *Kula*, the original rent. This sum with the addition of a moiety (*arēvāsi*) amounted to 14 *ga* and 2½ *haṇa*. Out of this deducting 2 *ga* and 2½ *haṇa* for the loss on account of *śraya* or depreciation, the balance was 12 *ga*. An addition to this sum at the rate of 2 *haṇa*, 1 *hāga* and 7 *kāsu* per *gadyāna* on account of *birāḍa*²³ and duty on paddy and additional expenses connected with paddy in Durga (*Durgada-bhattavechcha-birāḍa*) amounted to 2½ *ga* and 3½ *haṇa* and the total comes to 14½ *ga* and 3½ *haṇa*. To this was added an increased tax on pepper (*meṇasina caḍita*) a sum of 2½ *haṇa* and the total now came to 15 *ga* and 1 *haṇa*. For these 2 fields, the original revenue was one *ga* and 4 *haṇa*. Out of this deducting ½ *ga* for loss due to the river floods, the balance was ½ *ga* and 4 *haṇa*. To this if a moiety were added, it would amount 1 *ga* and 3½ *haṇa*. This together with an increase of 3½ *haṇas* on account of *birāḍa* came to 1½ *varāha* and 2 *haṇa*, the previous sum of 15 *ga* and 1 *haṇa* the result is a total of 16 *ga* and 8 *haṇa*.²⁴ This total estimate of revenue formed the basis of assessment in the Keladi State. A grant of A.D. 1630 states how a plot of land "assessed at 2 *varāha* 5 *haṇa* was granted to Linganna with all rights".²⁵

An epigraph dated A.D. 1630 pertaining to the reign of the Keladi ruler, Virabhadrapa Nāyaka, states that, having received from Linganna, 20 *ga*, the king granted a plot of land specified "with all rights according to former customs (*prāku maryādeyali*). For the offerings and perpetual lamp of the god Venkatesvara which he erected in the gate of Ratnāpura in the Kāsūr *sīme*".²⁶

22. E. C. VIII (II), Sa. 157, p. 122.

23. M.A.R. 1933, No. 28, p. 179; *ga=gadyāna*=a weight equal to a pie or 32 *gunjās* or 64 *gunjās*, Kittel, op. cit. p. 526.

24. M.A.R. 1933, No. 28, p. 179.

25. E.C. VIII (II), Sa. 157, p. 122.

26. Ibid. Sa. 157, p. 112 text p. 230.

The same system was followed regarding larger amounts. In A.D. 1645 Virabhadrapa Nāyaka, having received for the palace from Sindika Cenna Malla Seṭṭi, the price of 750 *varāha*, the land in Kottase village in the Masarūr *Sīme*, rated at 76 *varāha* 7 *haṇa*, was granted.²⁷ Exemptions, of course, were made for valid reasons. In the days of Cennamāji, the Hondiga village in Humuca *sīme*, valued at 403 *varāha*, on account of its being in ruins and 103 *varāha* were deducted, and for 300 *varāha*, the land was granted, rated at 40 *varāha* 3 *haṇa* 1 *hāga* with all rights.²⁸ Such an amount had to be recovered for the government even before a rent-free estate could be given. An inscription of A.D. 1709 issued during the rule of Basappa Nāyaka of Keladi states how having "received for the palace 290 *varāha*", this king granted as an *uttār* rent-free land of the value of 22 *varāha* 7 *haṇa*, as a gift to Siddhabasavarāja.²⁹

Disposal of Land

When it was decided by the Government to grant such a plot of land, there was a system of procedure for its further disposal. This can be gathered from a record of the times of Keladi Basavappa Nāyaka, ascribed to the year A.D. 1743, and the point at issue is a case of wasteland. In order, says this record, to mark out the grant with stones engraved with the Linga, "we have sent our servant Mudiyaṇa from the presence, who will assemble those of the four boundary villages and in their presence mark out the ground according to the *rēkhē* so that no dispute may arise and set up the boundary stones."³⁰ This makes it clear that the public were brought in to bear witness when a plot of ground was granted by the State to a private individual even in the cause of religion.

The Acquisition of Land

How such a person who wanted to acquire wasteland had to proceed in administrative matters can best be realised by examining a typical case in greater detail. During the rule of this Basavappa Nāyaka in the *pēṭe*, which was newly built in the Anevaḷḷi village of the Kuppaṭṭūr *sīme*, one Hancina Siddha had a stone *maṭha* built for Basavappa Voḍer (Voḍeyār), and stated that he would bear the expense of the service in the temple. Therefore in order to

27. Ibid, Tl. 40, p. 171.

28. Ibid, Tl. 67, p. 176.

29. Ibid, VI, Kp. 60, p. 90.

30. Ibid, VIII (II), Sb. (354), p. 63.

provide a yard and hamlet he applied to the government for the waste land (*naṣṭada bhūmiyāda*) formerly under the weir of the Kare pond near the *pēṭe*. Garāji Virappaodeṛ (Oḍeyar) then requested that the Hugopala-*sthala*, formerly belonging to the old *pēṭe*, for which there was no tax, may be brought under the *śist* and that it could be granted, as an *uttār*. Then Gurappa reported that it may be considered and granted. The Government took from Virappa Voḍer 5 *varāha* for the palace and made the following grant.

"Kuppattūra sime Anevatt-grāmadalu hostāgi kaṭṭuva peṭeyallu Hancina Sidda basappa Voderige Puṭṭatanavara bhaktiyalli kallu-maṭhava kaṭṭisikonḍu koḍiyāllu prāku nillisida naṣṭada bhūmiyāda 3¼ yi-grāmadalu haḷe-peṭheyalu prāku yidda hurgopala staḷake terigey yilla yi sthalakke śistu māḍi yi-sthaḷana hāluttara koḍabēku ēndu Garajina Virappa Voḍēru heḷikoḷḷuthārē aḷisi appane āgabēku ēndu Gurappanavaru heḷikōṇḍa samandha Yirappa Voḍera kaiya kraya ga 5 aidu varāhanu aramanege tegeḍu koṇḍu kuppattura sime Anevatti gramadalu hostāgi Kaṭṭuva peṭe samipadalu karekoṇḍada koḍiyalu prakunilista naṣṭa-dinda maṭha kaṭṭisi hitalu kopalu bāge saha 3¼ yigrāmada haḷe peṭeyalu yida pugopallige yiga māḍida śistu 1¼ ubhayam ga ½ ondu honnanu yisthaḷadalu Puṭṭatanavara bhaktiyallu yi-Virappa Voḍeyaru Hancina Siddabhasappa Voḍerige kaṭṭisi koḍuva svatantra maṭhada dharmmake Śivārpithavāgi uttāra koṭṭu yi bhūmige linga mudra silā stāpita va maḍisuvallige hujūrinda ūḷigada Muḍiyana kaḷuhsidēve cau grāmadavara karisikonḍu gaḍi takarāru bāradantē yalana munditṭu rēkhē pramāṇa bhūmige silā-stāpitava māḍisikoṭṭu yi kaḍava sānubovana kaḍitakke barasi tirigi koḍuvadāgi".³¹

This typical case may be stated to reveal that, even in Keḷadi times, within the Keḷadi sphere of sovereignty, waste-land was without any dispute state property. If a private person wanted to purchase it, even for the sake of a temple, because religious matters affected finance to such a great extent in the problems of Hindu taxation, such a person had to apply for this plot, in specific terms, as cited for instance in this case. To examine such requests for the acquisition of waste or uncultivated lands, as is evident from this Keḷadi inscription, there seems to have been a special person, Garāji Virappa Voḍeyar, evidently an official, who had to inform the government about the antecedents of the plot in question and whether this particular plot had been brought under assessment for taxation, because in Karnāṭaka, it did not follow that all waste lands were not taxed. From this inscription, it is also clear that this official, who had to examine all applications for the acquisition of waste land, had to report to another official, in this case

Gurappa, probably his superior, because it is this man who appears to have been empowered with the right to forward the application with the comments he thought fit to make regarding its grant. In this case it is seen how Gurappa, approved of this application forwarded by Virappa and hence suggested the royal sanction for the grants of the land: *appane āga bēkendu*. Once the royal sanction was secured, even then, evidently as in this example, for formality's sake, an advance was taken not from the applicant, but from the official who first considered the application to whom, evidently, the intending purchaser had to pay this amount. Now it is difficult to say with certainty whether this amount was a formal fee or the real price of the land. And after this amount was credited to the treasury, another official of the Ūḷiga Department was sent to measure the plot of ground in the presence of the neighbours apparently to avert later boundary disputes, and the boundaries fixed with Linga stones. Finally a copy of this whole case was sent to *Senabōva*, the village accountant, for entry in his register, for note and return,³² (*barasi tirige koḍuvadāgi*) dating the record as can be seen from a grant of Queen Cennamāji dated A.D. 1686.³³

Settlement of Disputes

When making such transactions, disputes arose out of them, and the Keḷadi Nāyakas were ever ready to settle them in an amicable way. During the rule of Virabhadrappa Nāyaka, probably in the year A.D. 1646 such a case came up for settlement. The village of Maḷave belonged to the Umbaḷi Maṭha as an *uttār*, and the *Swāmi* of the Maṭha, prior to his leaving for Kalyāṇa, directed Mittakoppa Cannavīra Gauḍa and Keḷadi Vira Gauḍa to cultivate the land and pay the rent specified. After he had gone, Keḷadi Vira Gauḍa made over the land entirely to Cannavīra Gauḍa. Then, in A.D. 1640, the *Swāmi* who went to Kalyāṇa on his return demanded the money of the village according to the accounts but Keḷadi Vira Gauḍa replied that Mittakoppa Cannavīra Gauḍa had the money. Thereupon the *Swāmi* brought Vira Gauḍa before the king and informed him of the matter, and an order was given to seize Cannavīra Gauḍa's son and recover the amount. Though his two sons had absconded they returned after some days and declared to Canda Gauḍa their insolvency: "We

32. Cf. also E.C. VII, Sh. 17, p. 13 dated A.D. 1696.

33. E.C. VIII (II), Sb. 548, p. 89, text p. 171; see also E.C. VII (1), Sk. 79, pp. 56-577.

31. Ibid, VIII (II), Sb. 354, text p. 131, tr. p. 63.

have no place, we are destitute," and he befriended them making over to them land rented at 6 *ga* which they and their descendants could cultivate and pay its rent to the Government. When the enquiry was being made to ascertain whether or not these two sons were in Bhadravalli, Canda Gauḍa threatened the messengers with the sword, saying he would "make them corpses." On hearing this report, the king sent for them and making an enquiry, ordered him to produce the sons of Cannavira Gauḍa, on which he said he would not give them up. On this the king ordered him to pay up the money due (27 *ga*) to the *Swāmi* from the time the land was made over to him. To this he replied that even if fined, he was unable to give so much to the *Swāmi*, who, taking pity on him, directed that he should pay a certain portion of this amount and maintain the sons as his own. The king granted a decree accordingly.³⁴

From this inscription it is evident that, in Keladi the king was the final authority for settling disputes. When mutual agreement failed as between private individuals, the plaintiff went to the king, if possible, with the defendant. If the king was convinced that wrong was done, he ordered the accused to make good the amount, and, if he was not there, his sons were held responsible for this amount. If these absconded enquiry was made regarding their whereabouts and once they were brought in the royal presence, they were compelled to pay. If a compromise was possible, a declaration of inability to pay or a declaration of insolvency was made and, if this was agreeable to the claimant, the king issued a decree accordingly.

Financial Efficiency

That the king himself, of course, through his administration, looked to the financial efficiency in state transactions can be made out from a case which occurred in A.D. 1656. Śivappa Nāyaka once inquired in writing of his *aliya* (son-in-law) Kencanna, how he had received information that some tenants of the Sringeri Maṭha in the Mangalūru *Sīme* were "playing mischief" without making due payments and ordered him to send for them and see that the amount due was paid.³⁵ The central government appears to have been informed even of little revenue details, especially of remissions of petty officials, accruing within its provinces. In A.D. 1656 this Śivappa Nāyaka, sent a *nirūpa* (order) to Timmanṇa Śēnabōva: "The temple has not been built and the money sanctioned for it

(is) misused, thus causing unnecessary debts to the Maṭha." This Timmanṇa and other Śēnabōvas (village accountants) would be held responsible for all this and would have to make good and, if they "continued in this course of criminal conduct," they would be severely punished.³⁶

Grants of Lands

Such being the powers of the king, whenever lands granted as an *uttār* lost their owners, they reverted to the State, which alone could regrant such lands. This can be proved by a grant of Somaśekhara Nāyaka, dated A.D. 1664 which says: "For the Mahattu maṭha built by Siddamai in Siddāpura of Sunnadabasti in the Hombucca *sīme*, was formerly granted the Gauḍarawāli village in Mosarūr *sīme* as an *uttār*. But that maṭha having been formerly ruined in an invasion, its property was brought into the palace revenue, and the maṭha has never since been rebuilt (*aramaneya śistige kūḍibaruttiddalli*). But though the Bidirūr old maṭha was being carried on, its property was not sufficient for its maintenance. The "Caranti and elders" having thus made an application, the Gandravali village, rated at 87 *varāha*, was granted by the State."³⁷

Lands was also granted for other purposes. Plots were sometimes given instead of wages to government servants. In A.D. 1671 so that they might remain under the control of the Sundga fort, keeping *harigōls* (basket boats) to ferry across passengers going to and fro, taking money from them and when necessity arose, "and to provide, abundance of *harigōls* for the service of the palace." Someśekhara Nāyaka from the Korlahalli village in the Gājanūr *sīme* granted land assessed at 24 *varāha*, free of taxes, to Harugōl, Mudalinga and other boatmen of the Tungabhadra river of Śimoge.³⁸

An *umbali* so given was transferable, and such a transfer had to be notified to the royal headquarters. In A.D. 1772 Barūr Boṭappa Nāyaka on a date specified, caused to be written and sent to Keladi Cennamāji's *Guru*, Basavappa, the information that he had granted to the Heḷeyapayika Jambāni Hanumanta, a specified *umbali* in Jambāni village in the Dēvasthāna *hobaḷi* of the Keladi *sīme* which would "be transferred to him and report made to the presence." Such a transfer had to be recorded in the Śēnabōva's *kaḍita* (register) and returned to the possession of the donee. This

34. E.C. VIII (II), Sa. 46, pp. 98-99.

35. M.A.R. 1916, pa. 112, p. 66.

36. *Ibid*, 1916, pa. 112, p. 66.

37. E.C. VIII (II), Tl. 53, pp. 173-74.

38. *Ibid*, VII (I), Sh. 3, p. 4 (text p. 180).

transfer was witnessed and attended by a number of officials, whose names follow these details.³⁹

Public services were also rewarded. During the reign of Cennamāji in A.D. 1691 one Kalle Gauda of Jambūr represented that during the oppression of the Moghuls he had paid many amounts from his own hands, and created cattle folds and had taken great trouble in laying plans. He therefore requested that he might be granted an *umbali*, and an endowment to his *guru*, Harasūr Lingappa Deva. Therefore an *umbali* and *uttār* were granted to him from a village as follows: from the *kist* 12 *ga* and from the farmed fixed (rent)? 23 *ga*, both together 35 *ga*, to the *guru* 9, and the *maṭha* 3. "A copy of this order (*nirūpa prati*) was sent as usual for being copied in the account book of the *Sēnabōva* in order that it may be "brought into effect from the date specified." The village officials informed about this order appear from the epigraph to be the *nāḍiga* (Ranganna) a headman of the *nāḍ* (district); *Joyiṣa* (astrologer) Linga Bhaṭṭa, and the *Sēnabōvā*, Karakada Sivaramanna.⁴⁰

For religious ceremonies too, of a public nature, the State gave away land. Cennamāji's son Basavappa Nāyaka, in A.D. 1708 informed Sidda Basaviya of the Treasury (*bokkasuda*) that money had been granted "to the care of the *Mahattu*." But Sidda Basavaiya represented that as there was no property (or endowment), one had to be favoured and as Mariyappa, probably an official, added that a *śāsana* was not given for the property granted as *uttār* on account of the recorded debt of 120 *varāha* to the palace from the *Mahattu*, the king granted a specified plot of land, rated at 12 *varāha* with all rights.⁴¹

Exchange of Land

An exchange of such an *umbali* granted was also possible as, for instance, can be seen from a record of the Keḷadi queen Cennamāji dated A.D. 1686. A dependent of Cennaviroḍeyar, Vira, a *gaudā* employed in the Uḍagane fort, came to the court and requested orders that the *umbali* of 6 *varāha* formerly granted to him in the Taḍagani village of the Uḍugane *sime* might be granted in the Hirē Kaṣavē village of the Cittur *sime* and made payable to the god Virabhadra of that village. The government "accordingly resumed to the palace accounts the *umbali* of 6 *varāha* granted in

the Taḍagani village and in lieu thereof granted land rated at 6 *varāha* in the Hirē Kaṣavē village of the Cittur *sime* for the expenses of the god Virabhadra of that village:" (*āru varāharanu aramane-havāle-māḍikonḍu*).⁴² All these cases cited show that all land, except uncultivated or waste, was assessed to revenue in the Keḷadi State.

The Gaudike

This revenue had to be recovered and in order to do this, the kingdom appears to have been parcelled out into *gaudikes* which granted to responsible people who were entrusted with the duty of recovering and paying into the State treasury, the revenue realised. How this was done can be seen from an inscription, probably of A.D. 1629 attributed to the reign of Keḷadi Venkaṭappa Nāyaka. This ruler favoured one Bhadrappa with an original order for the *gaudikē* of *kasabe* Kupattūr in the Kupattūr *sime*. It relates how Viranna Gauda of this Kupattūr, having left the country and gone in the direction of Sire, the revenue did not "come to our palace." Therefore the *gaudās* and *sēnabōvas* of that country petitioned to the palace and several officials stated that for two *simes* there was fixed for the Moghuls a money payment of 9000 *varāha*, and for the *sēnabōvas* 2000 *varāha*, and that if Viraiya Gauda was sent for and examined, he would state before the king "the original order for the management of the village." This person recalled appears to have declared that "if his village be given for 325 *varāha*, he would free it from the *gaudī* distribution of food to Brahmans and others. Therefore in the presence of the minister Guru Basavaiyya and all other councillors, "receiving from the hands of Silavanta Bhadrāiya for the *sime* 11,000 *varāha* for the *Mogalāi saraḥ*, and 475 *varāha* as tribute to the treasury—the officials of the country gave to Viranna, according to his desire. 325 *varāha* by the hands of Silavanta Bhadrāiya, and the official of the country, with the approval of the *sēnabōvas*, made over to him all the various dues and payments."⁴³ This inscription makes no easy reading. But it may be hazarded that in this Kupattūr *sime* the Moghul assessment was adopted as the basis of valuation.⁴⁴ Silavanta Bhadrāiya was evidently entrusted with the revenue administration of Kupattūr during the absence of Viranna when he had decamped towards Sire, and Viraiya appa-

39. *Ibid*, VIII (II), Sa. 16, p. 94 also 17, text pp. 180-81.

40. *Ibid*, VII (I), Sk. 79, pp. 56-57.

41. *Ibid*, VIII (II), Tl. 60, p. 175.

42. *Ibid*, VIII (II), Sb., 548, p. 89, text p. 171.

43. *Ibid*, VIII (II), Sb., 266, pp. 43-44.

44. *Ibid*, Intr. p. 15.

rently is a misprint for Viranna. This shows that the *Gauḍa*, entrusted with the *Gauḍike* was responsible for recovery and crediting to the Government treasury the dues of his district. The investiture of such an office was made in public, especially in the presence of responsible government officials, obviously to safeguard State interests, the dues to the State, to the *Sēnabōvas* and to the *Gauḍa* being clearly specified.

Private Ownership

Now that the granting of waste or uncultivated land by the king as *umbali* or as *uttār* has been noticed, it should not be inferred that all land in the State of Keḷadi pertained to the sovereign. Private property appears to have been respected by Keḷadi kings, one of whom actually purchased a plot of ground. In A.D. 1631 during Virabhadrappa Nāyaka, the "palace authorities" took the estate of Sarasamakkiya Puttanna, in the *agrahāra* village Heddase, paying him a sufficient sum for his maintenance in exchange, and paying to the same *agrahāra* some compensation; and out of the land thus acquired in the village by the palace authorities, they made a grant to Tirumala *bhaṭṭa*, free from taxes, as an act of charity, of some rice lands and a garden of the annual rental value of 37 *varāha* and 6½ *haṇa* and a house.⁴⁵ No price of the land acquired, nor any compensation given, would have been necessary in Keḷadi if all the land was State property. This is clear evidence to show that the Keḷadi rulers respected private property which was thus acquired by payment for State purposes.

Mortgage

Now we can see how the Keḷadi rulers brought about the settlement of a mortgage. A grant of land made was sold by Cennamāji in A.D. 1690 to Manohara Jaṭāsankaradeva's disciple, Manohara Mahattu Mallikārjuna-deva's disciple, Kampina Manoharadeva, as follows: "Whereas formerly in the year Pramādi (A.D. 1673) we (the Government) received 300 *varāha* and granted to Siddha Basavaiya of the Customs in the Hombucha-sīme a property rated at 40 *varāha* 3 *haṇa* 1 *hāga* as *uttar*,—and his son Nanjana for his livelihood obtained a loan of 300 *varāha* from Ken Cana, mortgaging it with the *sāsana*—and the principal and interest having mounted up so that he could not levy the sum, —and he having given her permission to sell the property and repay herself,—and she, having agreed with you to sell it for 400

45. M.A.R. 1930, No. 89, p. 159.

varāha to repay the principal and interest,—and having applied that the 400 *varāha* may be taken to the palace and in lieu of the mortgage *sāsana*, a *sāsana* in our own names should be given for the property,—we have received the 400 *varāha* for the palace, and grant you by *sāsana* the land in Hondiga village, rated (as specified), with all rights."⁴⁶ From this grant it appears that lands granted as *uttār* could be mortgaged, with the *sāsana* pertaining to the particular land, the mortgagor in such a case retained his right on his mortgage regarding ownership; if he was unable to repay the principal and interest, he could permit the mortgagee to sell the plot of land, even such a mortgagee could sell to the state his plot of land, and the State could again grant by *sāsana* this land as a gift.

The Right of Succession

From the grants issued from time to time by the Keḷadi rulers some details pertaining to the right of succession as it prevailed during this period may be ascertained. One of the rare inscriptions of the founder of the Keḷadi dynasty, Cauḍappa Nāyaka (A.D. 1499-1513) entitled Edava Murāri, reveals how, in the disposal of the wet field granted to the children of Virappayya, the stone-carver (*kalukutiga*) of the village of Kalise, the right of succession was to be from females to males—viz. the *Alīya santhāna kaṭṭu*.⁴⁷ This practice by which the sister's son becomes the heir, is still prevalent in parts of Malnāḍ and the adjoining Kanara district.

In case a person died without issue the right of escheat to his property was determined by the State. On the 3rd of August A.D. 1573 the Keḷadi king Rāmarāja Nāyaka (A.D. 1570-82) issued the following proclamation to some of his merchant subjects, of the village of Kalase in the Keḷadi district, for among them some had died leaving no heirs. "In order," runs this edict, "that our ancestors might obtain spiritual merit and attain the region of Śiva, we have granted with pouring of water the right of aputrikan to all the *seṭṭis*, *puṭṭaṇaswāmis* and merchants of the *peṭṭe* (bazaar) of Kalase in the Keḷadi *sīme*, which has been conferred on us (by the king). In case the deceased have elder or younger brothers or kinsmen, etc., they might enjoy the estate. If none such is forthcoming, the widow of the deceased might take the estate and that

46. E.C. VIII (II), Pl. 57, p. 174.

47. M.A.R. 1930, No. 65, p. 219: Edava murāri Keḷadiya Cauḍagaḍaru Kaliseya Kalukutiga Virappayana makaliḡe koṭa bhūmi hemni(n)da gaṇḍiḡe mūlavendu koṭa bhūmi.

which is left (after his death ?) might be given away for a tank, embankment or temple. But it will not be taken to our palace. In case any rulers of Keḷadi *sīme* seize the same by greed, they will go to the region of Yama and hell.”⁴⁸ Consequently it is evident that the ruler issued an assurance to his people that the right of succession in the case of childless people would first go to the elder or younger brothers, next to the nearest kinsmen, and failing these to his widow, after whom the property, if there were no other claimants, might be granted for some public charity. In no case however would the State appropriate for itself the property of persons who perished heirless. Such a proclamation must have gone a long way in endearing to the hearts of their people, the petty yet remarkable Nāyaks of Keḷadi who organised such an admirable system of revenue in a little principality of Southern India between A.D. 1499 and A.D. 1763.

48. *Ibid*, No. 60, p. 213: Namma kānāci-sīmeyolaḡaṇa Kaliseya peṭheya seṭṭi paṭṭaṇaswāmigaḡu haradarigu aputrikeya dhāraṇeṇadu biṭṭevāgi mrutuvādarige amṇa tamma dāyāda sāvantaru ārādarū yid(d)are āvaru unṇali ārū yilladiddare mrutavādavāna henḡatige koṭṭu kaṭ(ṭ)e devastānakke koḡōṇa vallade namma arāmanege tegedu koḡalillā namma Keḷadi sīmege saluva doreḡalārādarū kakkuliteya māḡi tegedu koṇḡare emaloka prāpti naraloka prāpti. Italics mine.

Ahmad Shah Abdali's Eighth Invasion, 1764-65

BY

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1. Introduction.

NOTHING has been known about this invasion of Ahmad Shah Abdali for want of material, and consequently it has remained hitherto almost a blank in the history of India. The details of this campaign are based on Nur Muhammad's *Jang Namah*, a rare manuscript of unique value. The author followed in the train of the invader, took notes of his deeds on personal observation and compiled the work in Persian verse the same year, covering 226 pages. The only copy of this work known to exist was in the library of the Khan of Qalat (Baluchistan). The late Karam Singh, a research scholar of Sikh history, copied it in 1906. This is now available, at the Research Department of the Khalsa College, Amritsar. This material is being used here for historical purposes for the first time.

Ahmad Shah Abdali was a prudent politician, and successful warrior. He was the founder of Afghanistan as an independent power. He attached to himself a large number of Afghan nobles by finding for them constant employment and much gain by carrying on military operations in India. Before this date, he had marched twice to Delhi, and five times to different points within the Indian empire. The Punjab was tributary to him, but it had been in constant danger for some time past of slipping away from his hands. The Sikhs had been continuously rising to power, and Ahmad Shah made preparations once more in the autumn of 1764 to invade the Punjab and crush the Sikhs. He also wanted to punish Jawahir Singh, the Jat Raja of Bharatapore, who had besieged his plenipotentiary Najib-ud-daulah in Delhi.

Ahmad Shah Durrani collected an army of 18,000 strong, and called upon Nasir Khan, the Baluch Chief, who was making preparations to go on a pilgrimage to Mecca to join him. He wrote:—

“I have received news from Multan and Derahs that the Sikhs have laid waste the Lahore territory. They have devastated the

entire country as far as Multan¹ and Derhas. They have demolished mosques, taken Muslims as captives and have prevented the Muslims from performing all the religious observances.² The things have grown so bad and you are going on pilgrimage. A religious war with them is better than a pilgrimage. I start from this place and you march from there. Both of us united will root them out. We will burn their houses and will capture their women and children as slaves".³

2. Nasir Khan leaves for India.

The religious appeal from his master stirred Nasir Khan's mind. He gave up the idea of the pilgrimage for the time being, and made preparations for the invasion of India. It also seems probable that the approach of the Sikhs to the very suburbs of his territory, the boundary of which extended as far as the Derajat, had raised doubts in his mind that he must try to put a check on their unlimited ambition.

The Khan's religious enthusiasts (Ghāzi) at once responded to the call and they began to pour in Qalat in their fur dresses holding matchlocks in their hands. The Khan ordered the Baruhis of Jehalbani to assemble at Bazidi stage and those of Sadabani at Ganjaba. He himself marched from Qalat with great pomp and show, and halted at the first stage of Bazidi, where he was joined by the Jehalbans. The next halt was made at Ganjaba, where Sadabani, Lasha and Kachhi Baluchs swelled his ranks. At this place Qazi Nur Muhammad, the memorable writer of the *Jangnamah* who was a grey-bearded old man expressed his wish to become a

1. No Punjab Historian has so far admitted the Sikh invasion into Multan as early as 1764, but nobody can challenge the accuracy of Nur Mahammad's. Further on the author of the *Jang Namah* says:—"They led an expedition against Multan and gave the city over to plunder. The Dogs (Sikhs) have brought immense booty from there. My mind refuses (to describe) what the Dogs did there. O faithful ones! since the days of auspicious-natured Adam none remembers to have heard of such miseries inflicted anywhere except in Multan. But as God willed it, each of us should also submit to it." *Ibid*, 174. statement:

2. "When the exalted Shah (Abdali) returned (to his country in 1763) that progressive sect (Sikhs) came out from forests and mountains and busied themselves in plundering the property of the Muslims, turned their mosques and monasteries into stables for their horses, entirely stopped the Islamic practices like Azān, etc., in the Muslim habitations and subjected them to a great persecution." *Trikh-i-Salat-i-Afghanan*, 173.

3. *Jang Namah*, 41-42.

Ghazi and joined the Khan. The Khan advised him to stay behind in view of his old age and the long and tedious journey, but the Qazi was steadfast and firm. The Khan then asked him to compile an account of the invasion and of his brave deeds and took him in his train.⁴

At the third stage more tribesmen of the neighbouring villages came and followed him. At "Jani ke Dere" Rahman Khan Governor of Shikarpur visited the Khan saying that he had arranged provisions for his troops and fodder for the horses in accordance with the instructions of Ahmad Shah Durrani. Here the Khan was joined by Gahram Khan at the head of a force of Magsis and Lasharis. Shikarpur was the next station where they stayed for two days. Then passing through Bikhtiyarpur, Kasinge, Kandah Kot and Kasmor they arrived at Shikarpur Sani, where Sardar Ghazi Khan⁵ the founder of Derah Ghazi Khan joined him. Derah was the next stage where a halt of three days was made. On the third day Nasir Khan ordered all his troops for a march past (*alimah*) and watched them riding on his "Kohparah" horse. The clerk (*munshi*) counted them and found the number to be 12,000.⁶

3. Halt at Chiniot.

Marching from Derah they encamped on the bank of the river (Indus) where they spent three or four days in search of boats. After crossing several stages they arrived on the bank of the Jhelum where they halted for two days. On the third day Bikhtiyar Khan joined the Khan with a thousand of the best troops of his tribe. They crossed the river by means of boats and advanced farther. Now they had the river Chenab on the one hand and the Jhelum on the other. Both the chiefs covered four stages together and reached Sahiwal, which was an old town of the Baluchs. Here they received a message from Ahmad Shah to march quickly. Nasir Khan, therefore, crossed the Chenab by forced marches and arrived at Chiniot.⁷

4. *Ibid*, 43-44.

5. This Ghazi Khan attended to the toilet in the fashion of women. He took Bhang and opium and indulged in wine and women. Ahmad Shah's contractors (*Ijarah dar*) came, looted and laid waste his country. *Jang Namah*, 52-53.

6. *Ibid*, 45-60. (30,000 according to Nur-ud-din, 92b; but I follow the eye-witness Nur Muhammad. 30,000 was the total strength of the Abdali this time).

7. *Ibid*, 61-72.

Nur Muhammad paid a visit to the town and described its pitiable condition in pathetic words. He states:—"The city has been ruined by the atrocities of the Sikhs. All the people of the place were in trouble and misery. The whole town including its suburbs lay in ruins. Its buildings had been pulled down, and all the mosques were deserted. They were spoiled by the dung and fodder of horses. The learned people, the nobles and the Sayyids of the city led a miserable life. When the Dogs (Sikhs) partitioned this land, this city fell into the share of accursed Jhanda (Singh Bhangi). They divided among themselves the whole country, Sirhind, Lahore, Punjab, Multan, Jhang, Khusab, and the land of the Chenab".⁸

At this place another message to the same effect came from the Durrani Emperor who lay encamped at Eminabad. Nasir Khan consequently travelled by double marches. When he was at a distance of 10 miles from him, he sent a man in advance to Ahmad Shah Abdali asking to present himself at his service the same evening or the next morning. Ahmad Shah detained his messenger, but sent word through his own man to the effect that he should rest in the night and join him the following day. The Khan started early in the morning and was received by Sardar Jahan Khan six miles away from the camp. He then saw Ahmad Shah Abdali who accorded him a warm reception.⁹

4. Ahmad Shah at Lahore.

On the following day the whole army marched before day-break and halted at a distance of 9 kos. They came to the river (Ravi) on the third day. Ahmad Shah crossed over at once, but Nasir Khan stayed at Shahdara for the night and joined the Durrani the next morning. Ahmad Shah held a darbar in the Fort of Lahore. It was attended by all the big officials and local chiefs of note, while the captains of the army stood in a line on one side. The Durrani said, "Let me know the exact place where the Sikhs are. In the absence of this information how can I fight them." Each chief gave his opinion. Then the Khan of the Baluchs said, "I am ready to obey the orders of the king. I would not mind in undertaking to powder a mountain if it falls in the way. For Sikhs I do not care, because they cannot dare face men in the

8. *Ibid*, 72. ("Chiniot also suffered much from the Durani inroads during the last half of the eighteenth century." *Imperial Gazetteer, Punjab*, II. 217.)

9. *Ibid*, 73-77.

AHMAD SHAH ABDALI'S EIGHTH INVASION

field. They come like thieves to fight. If they fight in a regular battle they would learn what fighting is, but the crux of the trouble is that they flee away before the royal troops. They measure their strength with the poor and the weak. The royal troops should advance to take them by surprise. We will end this trouble once for all and will bring their women and children as captives."¹⁰

Ahmad Shah Durrani replied, "Whatever you have said is quite true, but they have gone away from here. There is neither water, nor fodder and I am afraid my troops may perish. They are hidden in the Lakhi jungle which is about 150 miles from here. But we will attack them there and will destroy them." All agreed to adopt this course and went to their camps to prepare for the journey.¹¹

5. The First fight with the Sikhs.

Next morning by sunrise all the chiefs gathered in the presence of Ahmad Shah Abdali. Then a horseman of the *Qarawal*¹² came in hot haste telling that a strong contingent of the enemy had fallen on the *Qarawal*, and if immediate reinforcements were not despatched by the king, things would go very bad.¹³

On that day the Baluchs under two Sardars, Gakram Khan and Ahmad Khan, appointed by Nasir Khan, were on duty as *Qarawal*. When the Sikhs fell on¹⁴ them Ahmad Khan with his son advanced to achieve martyrdom, and both of these lost their lives instantaneously. Twelve other Baluchs were also killed.¹⁵

The battle was going on in this way when the reinforcements from the Durrani arrived to help the *Qarawal*. Nasir Khan was ahead of all of them preceded only by a youth named Pir Abdul Nabi, the chief of Raisania. He frightened the Sikhs as a lion does the dogs. One Sikh shot him and lodged a bullet in the leg. He fell down wounded and his companions removed him from the battle-field.¹⁶

10. *Ibid*, 77-81.

11. *Ibid*, 81-82.

12. When the army went to the battle-field, their camps, kitchens, families and servants known as "*Bahir-o-Bungah*" were left in charge of a strong contingent, which was called *Qarawal*.

13. Jang Namah, 83.

14. *Ibid*, 87.

15. *Ibid*, 88.

16. *Ibid*, 90-92.

Nasir Khan then came forward and reached close to the Sikhs. One Chartu (Charat Singh Sukarchakia, grandfather of Ranjit Singh) round whose neck a sword was hanging, advanced to oppose him. The Khan violently fell on him; but he at once fled away to his troops. Suddenly a Sikh fired a gun under the effect of which the Khan's horse dropped dead. The Baluchs cried out "Bismillah, bismillah," and thanked God on finding him safe and sound. Greetings were exchanged and he was congratulated. The Khan's two attendants Muhammad Hussain and Mir Manga discharged their guns on that Sikh, one killed his horse and the other put the Sikh to death.¹⁷

In the meanwhile the rest of the Durrani army came on the scene. The Sikhs took to flight and the Afghans galloped off in pursuit. One brave Baluch named Mazar was fighting the Sikhs, but some Sikhs shot him dead.¹⁸ With Mir Mazar there was another hero named Haji who gave up his life in God's cause by the bullet of a Sikh. Another youth Jalli, who was fighting in front of the Khan laid down his life from two arrows aimed at him by a Sikh. Ghulam Hussain youth of Bingal Zai, aimed his gun at a Sikh who shouted, "If you are a man, dismount and combat with me." The youth was enraged, fought with the Sikh and laid him prostrate on the ground. He now sat on him. The Sikh tried to seize the sword of his adversary but he firmly grasped his hand. When he could not release it he bit his hand. The Pathan hero grew furious and cut off his head with a dagger.¹⁹

The chief of Sasulian was a young man. He threw down a Sikh from his horse but another Sikh immediately killed him. Another youth of Alhari Clan named Jalal was a handsome and brave young man. He roamed in the midst of the Sikhs like a tiger. He shot down a Sikh but suddenly another Sikh cut him into two pieces.²⁰

Mir Barfi was a daring youth, expert in the use of the spear. He was fearlessly wandering in the field of battle. One Sikh opposed him, but this Baluch pierced him through with his spear.

17. *Ibid*, 92-95.

18. "Can this be called a fight that a brave youth was sent to heaven by being shot from a distance? If the fight had been carried by the sword he would have killed several Sikhs." *Ibid*, 96.

19. *Ibid*, 95-98.

20. "It is sad that the infidels martyr men by shooting from a distance. They would have seen our skill if they had fought with swords." *Ibid*.

In the struggle which ensued the spear fell down from his hand. Mullandar and Fatuhi darogha, other brave soldiers, killed two Sikhs.

Nur Muhammad says that he was present in the battle-field on that day. He had a sword in one hand and a pen in the other. A Sikh, brandishing his sword sprang upon him but he was instantly shot dead by a Bruhi²¹ youth.

In short when the night fell the Sikhs disappeared out of sight. All the heroes (Ghazi) retired from the battlefield with satisfaction. Nasir Khan congratulated the King (Ahmad Shah Durrani) on this victory, who advised the Khan not to fight again in the front ranks and thus endanger his life.

6. Ahmadshah demolishes the Sikh Temple of Amritsar.

The Sikhs having fled away from the battle-field made straight for Amritsar. When the Shah learnt all this, he at once prepared to invade the place which he had already ruined, but which had been re-built by the Sikhs.

The Shah left all his luggage and encampments at Lahore and with horsemen, unencumbered by field equipments marched for the place and reached there on fourth night. The Sikhs had known it already and therefore they had fled away from the "Guruchak;" and when the Shah reached there he did not find any of the infidels, with the exception of a few men in the fort who were seeking death, and whose aim was to sacrifice their lives for their Guru. When they saw the Shah and his troops, they came out of the fort. They numbered thirty. They did not mind in the least their death. They began to fight with the Ghazis and were all killed. The Afghans ran right and left, but came across no Sikh.²²

7. Ahmad Shah returns to Lahore.

Ahmad Shah Durrani returned to Lahore and held a council of war. All expressed their opinion. Nasir Khan said, "We must leave this place in pursuit of the Sikhs. If any of these infidels will come before us, that blackfaced will be killed with the help of the fortune of the King. We should stay at Sirhind for

21. "I am sorry, his name and address are not known to me, otherwise I would have praised him. God has made the sword either for Pathans or for Baluchs and nobody else can rival them." *Ibid*.

22. *Ibid*, 106.

so long as to get news from Najib Khan at Delhi, how he is faring. When the news of your approach to Sirhind will reach Delhi, the infidels will begin to tremble thinking that the world emperor has come. They will run hither and thither, and Najib Khan by escaping from the siege will come to your service. Then you can settle what course to follow, either to go forward or to come back".²³ These suggestions were accepted and the next day was fixed for the march.

8. *The Durrani marches towards Sirhind.*

The next morning all the troops came out of the city of Lahore and started for the Doab where the Sikhs lived. When they left the King said, "This country belongs to the Kafirs, plunder and lay it waste thoroughly." "When the troops learnt it they fled to every town and village, because they desired such a thing from their heart and had prayed day and night to God for it. The troops led their attacks in all directions and created a havoc wherever they went. They made no distinction between Sikhs and non-Sikhs.²⁴ The troops plundered indiscriminately and thus the country was ruined. The inhabitants of every village took to flight going as far away as they could. A large number of cows, asses, sheep and goats, sugar-cane fields, and heaps of sugar-cane molasses and sesame fell into their hands. The men as well as cattle ate nothing but 'gur' and 'til.' Even the male and female slaves and all big and small lived on beef, sugar-cane, sugar-cane molasses and sesame. A thousand blessings on such a King who confers the whole country on his troops. Only such a prince can show generosity as requires no weight and no scale pans. In this way all the troops laid waste the entire country from morning to evening, and after fourteen or fifteen days we reached the town of Batala."²⁵

Then the Afghans crossed the Beas and entered the Jullundur Doab where the people had been so much terrified that they took shelter either in the hills or hid themselves in the thick vegetation on the river banks. A large number of them took refuge in the dens of Dholbaha.

9. *The fight with the Sikhs in the Jullundur Doab.*

The Afghans were leisurely marching through the Jullundur Doab when one day the Sikhs suddenly appeared before them. Their heads were full of pride and hearts bent upon revenge.

23. *Ibid*, 107-8.

24. *Ibid*, 110.

25. *Ibid*, 110-11.

They checked the progress of the advance guard. The sardar of the advance guard at once sent a message to the Shah that the devil Sikhs had fallen on them. On that day Sardar Jahan Khan was the leader of the troops. He knew the Sikh wars, because he had fought many battles with them; and knew their cunning and tricks well. He stood at his place and did not move forward even a little. He waited for the re-inforcements. The damned Sikhs were creating a havoc in the field. They had guns and matchlocks in their hands and were killing people right and left. All of a sudden the royal troops under Nasir Khan arrived. The Khan on seeing the Dogs, rushed upon them with the fury of a lion. He was followed by his own special contingent which displayed the greatest valour in the fight. Then began the hand to hand fight which Nur Muhammad describes in his own characteristic way. Sayyid Nur Shah was in the forefront, and he killed an enemy with his sword. Ghulam Hussain Bingalzai brought down another foe from his horse with a stroke of the sword. The cashier of the Khan struck a horseman so dextrously that he was immediately despatched to hell. Muhammad Husain also killed one black-faced infidel. Barfi Qambarani cut an enemy into two pieces with his sword, and alighting from his horse seized his arms. In this struggle Suleman Jasawal galloped off his horse behind a Sikh, and on drawing near by hit him with his sword so hard that he fell down from his horse. Just at this moment another Dog fell upon him from behind, and cut off his head with a single stroke of the sword. Thus this young man repaired to heaven.

When the Khan spurred his horse the infidels took to flight, and kept on running for six miles. Then they came upon a deserted village which had fallen into ruins on account of the cruelty of time. The Sikhs hid themselves there. Nasir Khan followed them and on arriving near the village alighted from his horse, while all his troopers stood round him with guns in their hands. Then the night fell. It was pitch dark. The Shahan-shah was waiting for the Khan, and on seeing the darkness thickening, was growing restless and expressed his desire that he should not fight in the night. Then he ordered his Wazir to recall the Khan. The Wazir sent an express message to him to the effect that he was immediately wanted by the Shah. The Khan replied that he would not return till the enemy came out; but on search it was discovered that no Sikh was there. So he mounted his steed, came back to the Shah, and congratulated him on this victory.²⁶

26. *Ibid*, 112-16.
13

10. *The Journey towards Delhi.*

The day's battle being over, the Durrani continued his march and reached the Sutlej on the third day. It was crossed over probably at Machhiwara. He posted Nasir Khan on the opposite bank of the river to take care that no horses or camels might be driven away by the enemy. Nasir Khan had just taken up his position when the Sikhs suddenly appeared within sight. They intended to have one more trial of strength with the Afghans on the very bank of the river. They waited for an opportunity for the whole day, but Nasir Khan did not budge an inch from his place and stood on his ground in a solid square. The Sikhs eventually retired in disappointment.²⁷

Ahmad Shah spent the night there, and marched onward the next morning. When they had gone only a little farther, they wanted to decide the route to Delhi. On the right hand side lay the main road to Delhi via Sirhind, but this territory was not rich and fertile and lacked in plentiful supply of provisions and fodder. The country on the left side was green and prosperous and was thickly populated. Consequently, they adopted the left hand route. They divided themselves into bands and marched leisurely seldom travelling more than six miles in a day. They obtained plenty of wheat, barley, greens and pulses, and as a result both men and animals gained considerably in weight.²⁸

Ahmad Shah then encamped in the famous Pinjor Garden situated near Kalka on the Simla road at the foot of the hills. Here he stayed for two days,²⁹ enjoying the tiger hunt in the neighbouring hills, and by way of Garhi Kotaha, reached Kunjpura situated on the banks of the Jumna near Karnal in two months' time.³⁰

11. *Ahmad Shah at Kunjpura.*

By the end of February Ahmad Shah reached Kunjpura. Here he came to know that Najib-ud-Daulah had made peace with Jawahar Singh.³¹ He held a Darbar at this place and sought the

27. *Ibid*, 118.28. *Ibid*, 119.29. *Ibid*, 122.

30. Ahmad Shah was at this place when peace was concluded between Jawahar Singh, the Jat Rajah of Bharatpore, and Najib-ud-daulah, (Browne, ii. 25).

31. Father Xavier Wendel, a Jesuit Missionary at Agra in his History of the Jats written in French and compiled in 1768, on page 98, says that if the

advice of his chiefs whether to go to Delhi or to return. Nasir Khan said, "It is better if we go to Delhi and there spend the four months of the rainy season. There we will know how things stand between Jats and Marathas on the one hand, and with Najib Khan on the other. We will also know what the difficulties of Najib were, how he fought, how he settled terms and how he got rid of his troubles. All these affairs will be managed at Delhi. We will also get information about Ali Gauhar (Shah Alam II) and about his intentions, whether he fights with us or makes friends with us. Rumour says that he cherishes hostile intentions. If this is true we will attack him first and set his wits right; but if he behaves in a friendly manner we should be kind to him. We should also treat Shuja kindly because he supplies us with treasure and goods. When we have settled all these affairs, we will raise a huge army consisting of the forces of Najib Khan, Shuja and other chiefs, also of the Jats and the Marathas without sparing any body. Then we will attack the Sikhs and will root them out easily because a hare can be successfully hunted by a local hound."³²

The other Durrani chiefs dissented with this view. They were feeling terrified by the sweltering heat of the Indian summer, the oppressive rainy season, the swelling rivers difficult to cross and the attacks of the Jats and the Sikhs. They pressed Ahmad Shah to return and as a result he agreed to their suggestion, and returned homeward.

12. *Alha Singh of Patiala submits to the Durrani.*

On his return journey Ahmad Shah travelled by quick marches, and reached Sirhind in three or four stages. The ghastly sight of the once flourishing city which had been laid waste by the Sikhs in January 1764, shocked the Afghans greatly. Nur Muhammad rode through all the streets of the town, but found it all destroyed and deserted.³³

Alha Singha the founder of the modern Patiala house, presented himself before the Abdali and offered him costly gifts. The Shah enquired of him the cause of the ruin of Sirhind city. Alha Singh blamed the trans-Sutlej Sikhs for this atrocity though he

Sikhs had not retarded Ahmad Shah Durrani's progress and finally obliged him to retrace his steps, Jawahir Singh would have seen the Durrani and Najib arriving in his own country.

32. Jang Namah, 131.

33. *Ibid*, 133.

had himself also participated in its destruction along with them, and told him that he fought many times against the Sikhs, but to no effect.³⁴ He begged the Shah to grant him the territory of Sirhind, and promised to repopulate the town. The Abdali thought that that was an excellent opportunity to cause a split among the Sikhs by granting him the favour and thus making him a tributary to the Durrani Government to which all other Sikhs were violently opposed. Consequently, he conferred upon him the title of Raja, invested him with a robe of honour and kettle-drum, and appointed him to the governorship of Sirhind on an agreement of his paying an annual tribute of three lakhs and a half.³⁵

13. First day's battle with the Sikhs.

Ahmad Shah Durrani halted at Sirhind for a few days and then marched towards Lahore under the guidance of Alha Singh. He soon crossed the Sutlej and encamped on the opposite side. At this place news was brought to Ahmad Shah that the Sikhs were gathering at Guru Chak to fight him. The Afghan heroes grew enthusiastic to arrive at Guru Chak as soon as possible. They had hardly advanced one Kos when they were informed that a large army of the infidels (Sikhs) had fallen on their advance-guard and had checked their progress. Ahmad Shah on hearing it was enraged and said, "My troops are too indolent in carrying on a religious war, that is why the Sikhs attack us in such a way. But I will punish these infidels so severely that the bones of their bodies will turn into cotton (by constant beating)".³⁶

The Afghan army immediately got ready to fight. The Shah himself was in the centre. On his right were Shah Vali Khan Wazir, Anzala Khan, Jahan Khan, Shah Pasand Zabat Begi etc. with 12,000 troops; while on his left was the Chief of the Baluchs. The Sikhs on the other hand had also organised themselves in a regular battle array. In the centre there was Jassa Singh Kalal who was fearlessly standing like a mountain, and close by him was the other Jassa Singh Tarkhan who looked like a lion in stature. There were many other heroes with Jassa Singh.³⁷

34. *Ibid*, 139.

35. Jang Namah, 139-40; Bakhtmal, 104-5; Khushwaqt Rai, 168; Griffin's *Rajas of the Punjab*, 26; *Tarikh-i-Patiala*, 61-62; *Gosha-i-Punjab*, 44; *Raj Khalsa*, 385; Ahmad Shah, 886; Buti Shah, 278a; Gian Singh, 1041.

36. Jang Namah, 140-142.

37. Their names probably were not known to Nur Muhammad. They must be other Sikh misldars. On this occasion all the Sikhs had combined

On his right³⁸ was Charat Singh with Jhanda Singh, Lahna Singh and Jai Singh, while on the left there were Ram Das, Hari Singh Bhangi, Gulab Singh and Gujar Singh.

Ahmad Shah Durrani had issued strict orders to all the chiefs not to move from their places to avoid confusion which the enemy always tried to aim at. The battle was going on in this way when the Khan was summoned by Ahmad Shah, who said to him:—"The Sikhs have nearly subdued the right wing, because the heroes pursued the Sikhs and fell an easy prey to the clever tactics of the Sikhs. This side has fallen empty and the Sikhs have occupied it. You see that they are growing stronger there. These infidels are showering arrows and bullets like Tartars. They attack sometimes to the right and then to the left, and I am very much struck with their boldness.³⁹ You go to that side and give them a hard time. But remember not to advance from your place. The enemy will come to you of their own accord and you must not go to them."⁴⁰

The Khan with his troops immediately repaired to that side and ordered all of his Sardars to stick fast to their position and not to move at all. Charat Singh and other Sikhs rushed on them but the Ghazi Baluchs kept on standing like mountain.⁴¹

The Khan⁴² of the Baluchs then went to the right side to oppose the Sikhs. He succeeded in driving them back. He also pursued the fleeing Sikhs who on finding the Baluchs broken from the main body, suddenly turned back and surrounded the Khan when he was only with fifty horsemen.⁴³

The Khan and his companions alighted from their horses and began to resist their onslaught. The Sikhs tried their hardest but could not succeed in breaking through them. Some Sikhs and Baluchs lost their lives in this fight which lasted for several hours.

under Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, the chief leader who always occupied the central position.

38. *Ibid*, 145-147. The organisation of the Sikh army into a regular battle-array on this occasion shows that the Sikhs had given up their guerilla tactics, and henceforth decided to have pitched battle. This is for the first time we come across, this order of fighting in the history of the evolution of Sikh army since 1715.

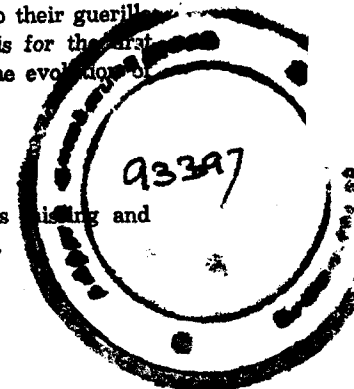
39. *Ibid*, 149.

40. *Ibid*, 148-150.

41. *Ibid*, 152.

42. At this point one leaf from the original manuscript is missing and therefore it cannot be known what Charat Singh did after this.

43. Jang Namah, 155-157.



Then the Sikhs dispersed and the Khan came back to the main body of his troops.⁴⁴

He had hardly reached there when another contingent of the Sikhs arrived on the spot. The Sikhs were immediately surrounded between the king and the Khan of the Baluchs. A fierce struggle ensued which went on till darkness spread after sunset. In the end the Sikhs returned and the Ghazis also came back to their camp.⁴⁵

14. *Second day's fight of the Sikhs.*

For the description of this battle we hand over the pen to the Qazi who gives a beautiful pen-picture of it. "On the following day when the sun rose in its full glory the lion-hearted and the just king marched from that place. When he had gone about three miles onward the black-faced Dogs came in sight. These rebellious, stone-hearted and strong-limbed infidels galloped on the advance-guard of the royal troops and attacked not only the front lines but also the right and the left sides. This day these wretches had arranged their army in a different way, namely they placed their right wing (of yesterday) on the left side, while on the right hand side they cunningly set the left wing. (In short) the right side became left and the left became right. Their dust turned the bright day into night. These shameless Dogs cunningly and purposely changed their advance-guard into rear and the rear into van. Thus organised in this manner the black-faced Dogs galloped off in the battle field.

"But the army of these hideous Dogs was greater than it was yesterday. They came into the field of battle and commenced fighting with the Ghazis. The celebrated king and hero of heaven, at the head of a strong force galloped round the Muslims and encouraged all the Ghazis. A little farther the virtuous king encamped. He fixed his banners there and the whole army came to a halt. The king then ordered all the sardars and soldiers to organise themselves in the same order as they had done the previous day and he ordered the Khan of the Baluchs to lead the attack and all others to take their respective positions. The just king rode round the victorious army and said to everybody, 'Be cheerful but do not move from your place'. Then he came to the Khan of Baluchs who was ahead of all and said, 'O celebrated and valiant hero! the Baluch force is my strength. Stick to your place like a mountain

44. *Ibid*, 157-158.

45. *Ibid*, 163.

in its grandeur, dignity and awe. Do not put your foot ahead of your place and attentively wait for my orders. When you get orders to fall upon the heads of the infidels gallop off as your chiefs advise you.'

"After a while the king ordered the whole army to attack. Everybody rode onward and the hideous-faced Dogs took to flight. In the course of a journey of about three miles none of the Dogs was to be seen in the field. All the Ghazis who had fought for God, then returned. When the faithful troops came back the damned Dogs appeared in the rear. The army of the Dogs lay scattered and dispersed. They madly galloped in all directions and created a tumult in the battle-field. The world protecting angel-like and exalted Shahanshah again moved round the army, encouraging his soldiers. He said to the Khan. 'Nobody should go ahead and none should move from his place'. Then he slowly muttered, 'Wait, the devilish foe will itself come to you. Do not step outside your ranks but stick to your place like the Caucasus mountain. When you find that the Dogs have approached you,, fall on their heads. I have advised all the Ghazis similarly. When you move forward all of you should remain closely united. None should go ahead and nobody should lag behind, and no person should keep away from the main body. All should fall on the enemy in a body simultaneously'.⁴⁶

"The lion-hearted heavenly exalted King toured round the army in this way. He encouraged each Khan, leader and chief, big or small. He said, 'O Sardars! when the Khan attacks the infidels, you should also attack them simultaneously, at the same place. Do not lag behind in attacking them.' When the Khan heard it, he found no counsel better than this. He stood at the place to which he had returned, because the evil-natured ones wandered at a distance.

"This day many of the Dogs were killed by the sword and the gun. When the sun had set no belligerent remained in the field".

15. *The Third Days' Battle.*

On the third day, the Durrani march began with the break of the day. They had hardly covered a distance of about six miles, when the Sikhs all of a sudden made their appearance. They fought as they had done the previous day. They adopted the same old tactics and disappeared. They came roaring like a lion, and

46. *Ibid*, 178-82.

went away slyly like a fox. They came, discharged their guns from a distance and held back. They did not flee, but delayed fighting. When the Shah marched these Dogs constantly followed the Afghan troops, and when the Durrani halted, they fought with him. In this manner the Sikhs worried the Afghans for seven days continuously from morning to evening.⁴⁷

16. *The Last Fight with the Sikhs.*

On the seventh day of his marching across the Jullundur Doab, the Abdali arrived at the ford on the Beas before mid-day. Ahmad Shah stood on the bank and ordered that his camp consisting of loaded camels, shopkeepers, craftsmen, merchants, traders, women, children, boys, bullocks and donkeys should be conveyed first across the river. When the whole encampment had crossed over, and Ahmad Shah was on this side, he was informed that 30,000 Sikhs were waiting to fight with him. Ahmad Shah at once organised his troops and assigned fixed positions to various captains. It had just been done when the Sikhs attacked them. The fight began and after some time the Sikhs took to flight. "When all the pig-eating, wretched Dogs were lost to view by the faithful ones, they returned from the field and stood on the edge of the flowing water".⁴⁸

Ahmad Shah then crossed the river, followed last of all by Nasir Khan. "This was the last battle of the Dogs, and this was their last day of fighting. Their cunning and tricks availed them nothing, because they were sad and disappointed. This was the second river of the Doab by which name it is known all the world over. The faith-protecting king, in all his grandeur, glory and victory, marched from this place, and after some stages arrived on the Ravi, and crossing it over with all his troops and baggage, (without stopping at Lahore), he came to the river Chenab travelling by easy marches."⁴⁹

47. *Ibid*, 182-3. The third days' battle took place at Nurmahal 16 miles south of Jullundur (Cf. Shamshir Khalsa, 120). Another battle was fought at Kapurthala, in which the Durrani sustained a heavy loss in men and beasts (Khushwaqt Rai, 96).

48. *Ibid*, 184.

49. *Ibid*, 183-86. (The Sikhs did not pursue the Abdali further, because they wished to celebrate the Baisakhi festival at Amritsar which fell on the 10th April, 1765.

17. *Ahmad Shah sustains heavy losses in the passage of the Chenab.*

Nur Muhammad narrates a pathetic tale of woe which befell the Afghan army in the passage of the Chenab. The river was divided into eight Channels. The six were easily forded, but the last two were stronger and wider. It was in one of these where the Qazi witnessed a terrible sight and himself experienced almost fatal, but otherwise a jolly, accident.

Thus says the Qazi :—

"All persons from far and near, the mountain-like, strong, loaded camels with mouths full of foam, dromedaries, pairaks, elephant-like horses and ponies; bullocks and buffaloes countless in numbers and going in rows of lakhs entered the rapid water. When about half of the course of the bed had been crossed the strong current made all men and animals restless. The persons, sitting on horses and camels, and numbering about a lakh, the laden camels, horses, ponies, bullocks, buffaloes and asses were drowning into water at every place, and the cup of their fortune turned upside down like a bubble. The water shook and pushed down the horses, camels, men, women, foot, horse and beasts of burden loaded with goods, gold, silver, chattels, apparel and numberless tents and were carried away by water in every direction. May God save us from such a day!

"On that day nobody thought of the other and a father cared nothing for his son. People became so desperate that they threw the body into water themselves along with the goods. The beautiful females (captive) in veils, whose faces even the sun had not seen, fell in large numbers into water, and it seemed as if the doom's day had come. However strong the affections of one for the other one took no notice of him or her.

"I was riding a horse that day and was going in one of the rows. There were one lakh of loaded camels who were crossing the river in 100 lines. On the tops of the loads women were placed. They fell into the furious water from the backs of camels. At this time one woman, cypress-like in stature with a narrow mouth like pistachio-nut, and dark and charming eyes resembling almonds, red lips, arch-like eye brows and eye lashes looking like half drawn arrows, and whose beauty might have victimized hundreds of men, was riding on a loaded camel, going in rows from one bank to the other. Her camel gave way before the current and she helplessly fell on my saddle in front of me. Her body was on my saddle while the legs were dangling in water. She caught me

by the back with both of her arms. My back was breaking under her weight, I was bent and my horse was trembling. In order to save myself from this agony I wished to throw myself into water. It was not the place where the owner of this fairy-like lady would have come to my assistance. Nor could my horse reach the bank because on all sides the path was blocked by thousands of camels. The woman too did not leave me and I was agitated. In the meanwhile the veil went off her face and the water sparkled by the reflection of her complexion. Even the sun also lost his lustre. I was overpowered by the look of her eyes. Her appearance was bright like the sun and its heat and light had burnt my heart and soul to ashes; yet at such a dreadful time I was rather afraid of my own life and as she was not getting away from me I hated her a little. At last her owner came up and relieved me of the woman. Whenever I remember that day and that woman, I begin to tremble all over as if from fear of the doomsday.

"So many men were drowned in the river, besides camels, horses, and other beasts of burden as were not even slain in the battles with the Sikhs".⁵⁰

18. Ahmad Shah retires from India.

Ahmad Shah on crossing the river encamped on the opposite bank, and despatched Jahan Khan in advance to arrange for a bridge of boats on the Jhelum. The Shah now travelled leisurely covering about 10 miles everyday and thus allowed the troops a good rest. The Jhelum was safely crossed and they encamped in the fort of Rohtas. Here the Shah thanked Nasir Khan for his valuable help, granted him the territory of Quetta at his request and also offered him the neighbouring territories of Derajats, Multan and Jhang, which he respectfully declined to accept for fear of having every day trouble with the Sikhs. From here the Durani went to Kabul via Attock and Peshawar, while Nasir Khan crossed the Indus at Dera Ismail Khan with the assistance of Ismail Khan and passing through Dera Ghazi Khan reached Qalat.⁵¹

19. Conclusion.

There seems to be no need to draw any elaborate conclusion from this invasion of Ahmad Shah. Being a wise statesman, he had realised that among the exploited population of India, a section of society had succeeded in raising itself superior to him, and hence

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he was gratified by leaving a grateful and the Cis-Sutlej country, on whom he could depend. He invaded India twice more, once in 1768, when he marched as far as Ismailabad near the Jhelum. In 1769, when he did not advance far. On both these occasions he fared no better than in 1767, suffering heavy losses at the hands of his formidable adversaries.

50. *Ibid*, 186-90.

51. *Ibid*, 190-210.

A Note on Early Indian Forestry

By

ATINDRA NATH BOSE, M. A.

WHILE the Aryans were penetrating towards the east and south by clearance of forests and exploration of land, they made a conscious attempt to prevent annihilation of woodlands and of wild flora and fauna therewith. Buddha and Mahāvira issued ordinance for protection of plant life as much as of animal life (Mahāvaggo, III. 1-3; Jacobi, Jaina Sūtras, II. P. 357). This agrees with the immunity accorded to all forms of life in the sylvan retreats of saints and ascetics consonant to the tenet of *ahiṃsā*¹ and with the injunction of the Arthaśāstra on the inviolability of all creatures mobile and immobile (*pradiṣṭābhayasthāvara-jagama*)² in the *abhayāranya* or forest set apart for religious pursuits (II. 2). Asoka promulgated an edict that "forests must not be burnt either uselessly or in order to destroy living beings" (P. E. V.) probably an echo of Buddha's ordinance upon the *bhikkhus* on a complaint from the people not to set up woods on fire (Chullavaggo, V. 32. 1). In the Mahābhārata it is laid down that to cut down a tree of the forest is a sin, (XII. 32. 14; 36. 34; cf. Viṣ. V. 55-59) and setting fire to woods as well as to *āśramas*, villages and towns is classed as equal to the sin of Brahmanicide (XIII. 24. 12).

The Epics offer hand in hand illustrations of great schemes of colonisation and deforestation, and of preservation of forests and silviculture under the solicitous care of the state or community to maintain a perpetual supply of specific products. The prodigious road-making endeavour from Ayodhyā to the bank of the Ganges en route the Daṇḍaka forest involved a large scale clearance of wild tracts (Rām. I. 80); and the great fortnight-long conflagration of the Khāṇḍava may have been the Epic version of another magnificent colonial scheme (Mbh. I. 230). Instances of opposite nature are not rare. A Chandana forest in southern India yielding

a large variety of the aromatic was protected by the *gandharvas* (Rām. IV. 41. 41). In Sugriva's honey-park (*madhuvana*) none could drink honey or take fruits without special permission. The forest officer Dadhimukha was appointed with a retinue of guards (*vanapāla*)³ to look to its upkeep and protection. The *vānaras* overjoyed at the discovery of Sita, trespassed into the forest and drank up all the honey, ate up the fruits and destroyed the combs, flowers and foliage. The superintendent interfered with his men but they were defied by the intruders and in the altercation which followed, had the worse of it. He went to Kiṣkindhyā and reported to his lord, but Sugriva took hint that Sita must have been traced and gave orders that the *vānaras* might disport in the forest as they pleased (Rām. V. 61-63).

The forests served a manifold purpose. Those which were owned by kings or private individuals (*vana*, *dāya*) were in the nature of pleasure parks, occasional haunts for the owners to disport with their ladies. At the same time these afforded a retreat for the spiritual quest of those whom they might permit. Buddha frequently came to stop at the Isipaṭana deer-park (*mgadāya*)⁴ and there delivered his historic discourses. Three of his disciples lived in the Sāla forest of Gosinga, and when Buddha was about to enter, the keeper (*dāyapāla*) intervened and asked him not to go in and disturb the three *kulaputtas* who were living there for their soul's good (*attakāmārūpā viharanti*, Mahāvaggo, X. 42; Majjhima-nikāya, 31, 128). The Jātakas are familiar with park-keepers in charge of reserve forests which are nevertheless open to the settlement of ascetics (IV. 18, 298, 405; V. 465). These resorts however were more in the nature of gardens than forests and the plea for their preservation was less economic than religious and recreative. The Jetavana and the Añjanavana at Sāvatti, Jivaka's *ambavana* at Rājagaha and the *ārāma* of Visākhā Migāramātā were merely gardens where religious occupation was combined with pleasure and no forest as the epithet *vana* may suggest.

The forest in its real sense was not the *vana* but the *aranya*⁵ which came under the purview of economic legislation. The Arthaśāstra displays an advanced knowledge of forest economy and a

1. In an interesting discourse a sage argues the thesis that trees have life, sense perceptions and the capacity to feel pleasure and pain—the kernel of Sir J. C.'s discovery, Mbh. XII, 184, 10 ff.

2. *pradiṣṭābhaya*—"whose immunity has been ordained." Shamasastri's rendering—"made safe from the dangers of"—is plainly inadmissible.

3. In a Pallava grant of Śivaskandavarman there is a reference to forest officers (*āraṇādhikata*). *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. Ii.

4. See Rhys Davids' note in the Dialogues of the Buddha, Bk. I. p. 223.

5. The word *vana* may mean either a park or a forest, while *aranya* exclusively conveys a wild tract.

keen interest for forest conservancy. Forestry commands the author's attention on three grounds, and he accordingly divides forests into three classes,—game-forests, produce-forests and elephant-forests (II. 6). The game forests (*mṛgavana*) are set apart for sport, the favourite royal pastime and for the supply of animal produce among which are skin, bone, bile, sinew, teeth, horn, hoof and tail (II. 17). Of more importance are produce-forests (*dravyavana*) which are the source of such materials as are necessary for building forts, conveyances and chariots (VII. 14). Foremost however are *hastivanas* for it is on elephants that the victory over an enemy depends. The king is required to keep in repair timber and elephant forests and set up new ones (II. 1). The forests reserved for cultivation of elephants are given special attention (II. 2).

The Arthaśāstra gives preference to elephant forests for the fighting value of the animal. It lays down moreover that "a forest containing a river is self-dependent and can afford protection in calamities"—i.e., as a frontier defence in case of war. Hence a king who promotes such forests overreaches his rival (VII. 12). A village with a forest and a river in the border appears as a coveted gift also in the Mahābhārata (*pratyāsanna vanodakam*, VIII. 38)⁶ On the one hand, the river and the forest act as natural defences. On the other they help irrigation, conserve moisture and humidity and supply foodstuff and other materials. The forest has thus a double utility; and to the author of the Arthaśāstra the economic objective of forest conservancy is not secondary but only co-ordinate to the military and strategical view-point.

Forest products (available in the *dravyavana*) are divided into several groups (*varga*):—strong timber (*sāradāru*), bamboo type (*vēṇu*), creeper class (*valli*), fibrous plants (*valka*), plants yielding rope-making material (*rajjubhanda*), plants yielding leaves for writing material, plants yielding flowers productive of dyes, group of medicinal herbs (*auśadhavarga*), poisonous drugs and fruits (*viṣa-varga*). A catalogue of flora is incorporated under each heading. Animal produce, minerals, charcoal, bran, ashes, menageries of beasts; firewood and fodder⁷ also find enumeration (II. 17). With a view to procuring these varieties of forest produce one or several forests shall be specially reserved (II. 2). "The superintendent of forest produce (*kupyādh-*

6. Cf. 'satiṇakapṭhodakam' in Pali literature which perhaps conveys the same sense.

7. *Kāṣṭhatṛṇa*,—may also mean wattle and thatch, i.e., building material.

yakṣa) shall collect timber and other products of forests by employing those who guard productive forests (*dravyavanapālāih*). He shall not only start productive works in forests but also fix adequate fines and compensations to be levied from those who cause any damage to productive forests except in calamities" (II. 17).

The pursuit of the Arthaśāstra's ideal would lead to the gradual conversion of forests which were no man's property, into state monopolies. But this was attended with serious difficulties and the state lacked sufficient resources to master them. The aboriginal fowlers and hunters who had no lands to cultivate and no arts to pursue, had the forest as the source of their living. The forest was also infested and sometimes practically dominated by robber bands of whom the Jātaka narratives are so full. The civil authority was far from competent to deal with these gangsters and ensure security to caravans and travellers not to speak of dispossessing them of their sylvan haunts. The very name of the redoubtable Angulimāla made the Magadha king—the conqueror of Kāśi and Vaisālī, tremble with fear even in the presence of the Buddha.

A Forest Pilgrimage in Travancore

BY

T. K. JOSEPH, B.A., L.T.

FOR more than two months after the N. E. Monsoon rains this year (1114 M.E.), i.e., from 1st Vrischikam to the first week of Makaram (16th November 1938 to about 20th January 1939), all the Hindu villages and towns in Travancore have been as usual busy with the annual religious rites and ceremonies of the pilgrim devotees of God Śāstā or Ayyappan of Śabarimalai in Travancore, and ringing day and night with their loud invocation "Saraṇam ayyappaa" (Thou art my refuge oh, Ayyappan!). Until the famous Temple Entry Proclamation of Travancore such pilgrims to Śabarimalai hailed almost entirely from the upper two-thirds of the State, which were conquered and added to the lower one-third, or South Travancore, about two centuries ago. Brahmans and Malayālis (Nāyars) from the south too have since then developed faith in Śāstā of Śabarimalai and begun to go on pilgrimage to his temple at the foot of that distant and almost inaccessible hill of Śabari in the primeval forests of the Western Ghats. Śabarimalai or the hill on which Śabari of the Rāmāyaṇa story, an ardent devotee of Śrī Rama, is said to have lived and died, is as the crow flies fifty miles from the western littoral boundary of Travancore, and only twenty miles from its eastern boundary separating it from the Tamil districts of Ramnad and Tinnevely. It is, moreover, situated on the western edge of an unsurveyed section of the Ghats (about 20 miles by 15 miles), left blank (with nothing but the name Pandalam Hills) in the Survey Map of Travancore. The name of Śabarimalai too is not given in the map. It appears that in no other part of the world is there such a perilous pilgrimage of utterly unarmed multitudes to such a shrine situated among distant, unchartered, uninhabited high mountains abounding in wild animals like the tiger, the bear, the leopard, the elephant and the bison. The Śabarimalai pilgrims being under a vow of *ahimsā* (non-violence) for a period of two months, are allowed to arm themselves with nothing but absolute faith in God Śāstā and with a short and frail wooden arrow or a club which is merely the emblem of their temporary monasticism. The potential perils of the peregrination may be gauged from the fact that many pilgrims put their house in order and prepare something like a last will and

testament before they start for Śabari's Hill. Every year about half a dozen pilgrims are actually carried away by tigers.

The traditional, orthodox pilgrim route, hallowed by the sanction of several centuries, extends eastwards for about 35 miles from Eruvēli, an inhabited village near the western edge of the cimmerician woods, and crossing about half a dozen mountain streams and the same number of very high hills, ends at the small temple of Śāstā to the east of Śabarimalai. Eruvēli is the rendez-vous where all the pilgrims meet on a fixed date, and from there those of them who go on pilgrimage for the first time have to buy at a very small cost (28 for one anna) a painted wooden arrow, and those who go for the second time a wooden club, both of which have to be religiously retained all through their journey to the temple, and finally deposited at the foot of an old tree near it. It is from the Eruvēli market that the pilgrims purchase provisions for their long, hazardous journey to and fro, and before they start from there they disguise themselves temporarily as the boorish inhabitants of the forests before them by smearing their bodies with charcoal paste, ashes, turmeric powder, vermilion and other paints improvised for the occasion, and all—young and old, women and children, nobles and commons, Brahmans and Pariahs—dance together a very weird dance. And as they dance on, they go thrice round, and thus pay their respects not only to the image of Śāstā in a Hindu temple there, but also to a holy man called Vāvar whose spirit is said to reside in the Muslim mosque of the village. This Vāvar is said to have been a Buddhist saint called Dwapara, or a Muslim saint called Babar or Baba, who is believed to have been a close friend of Śāstā, and an emblem of his set up outside the temple at Śabarimalai has to be venerated by the Hindu pilgrims whose number this year was about half a million. Now, Śāstā himself is supposed to be a Hinduised form of Buddha, and this pilgrimage with the vociferous, sing-song repetition of *saraṇam-ayyappa* seems to be a relic of the Buddhist pilgrimages of ancient Travancore. *Saraṇam* (refuge) is the same Sanskrit word as is found in the well-known triple-*saraṇam* formula of the Buddhists, by which they call upon the Buddha, Dharma (his religion) and Sangha (his heirarchy) as their refuge. The Malayālam and Tamil name for Śāstā is *Ayyan* which is but the Pali form of Sanskrit *Ārya*, and the temple of God Śāstā not far from the Travancore Railway Station in the eastern forest near Shenkotta, is known as Āryankāvu, the God Āryan's shrine, to which large multitudes from Madura and other places in the Tamil country come on pilgrimage every year in December. Tourists, *shikāris*, or pilgrims outside Travancore who wish to visit the beautiful forests,

the very cool and refreshing mountain streams, the waterfall, the temple, and the ruins of ancient house-sites and primitive burial cists in the Śabarimalai region, can easily reach the place by taking the Kottayam-Kumili Road across Central Travancore and halting at Vandipperiya Estate forty miles from Kottayam, or seven miles from Kumili. Since about fifteen years ago conveniences for pilgrims have been provided at the Estate on account of the circumstance that a *shikāri* from that place who went to Śabarimalai and dared to take a photo of the metal image* of Śāstā in the temple, is said to have fainted before the God. From the Estate one has to go three miles to its borders, and with the help of guides from the Estate, proceed on foot to the south-east through dense forests for a distance of about 17 miles before the destination is reached. The Hill of Śabari is, as the crow flies, only twelve miles south-east of Peermade, and nine miles south-west of the Periyār Dam, both of which are well-known localities in the Travancore Ghats. Every Malabar month the priest of the temple at Śabarimalai, nicknamed *Kaḍuvāppōtti*, the Tiger-Priest, who lives far away in Chengunoor, goes to the shrine *via* Vandipperiya Estate along with an armed escort so as to reach it on the 25th and perform *pūjas* to the god until the 5th of the next month (i.e. during the second and third weeks of the English month).

The temple is situated on a plot of ground about one sq. mile in area, surrounded by a wide and deep moat which prevents elephants and other wild animals from getting into the premises. Besides Śāstā there are also Gaṇapati the elephant-headed, and Subrahmanya the six-faced (both sons of Śiva) set up near his shrine. Śāstā too is Śiva's son born of Viṣṇu who once took the form of a woman. A deity called Malai (Hill) is also set up near Śāstā's Shrine. All these four are on a specially prepared ground about 25 cents in area, raised about 10 feet from the general level of the space within the moat, and provided on the east with 18 sacred steps of stone, and on the north and west with two other flights of steps not particularly sacred. The Hill-god mentioned

* There is the following Sanskrit inscription in the temple, which says that the image was set up in 1085 M.E. (1910 A.D.).

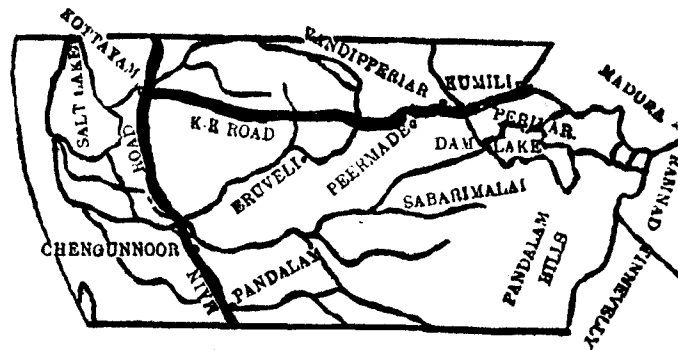
Sa 'mīna' bhāsvannayanah 'priyā'dinā
prabhāpatir bhāgyavaśān-avālayē
prabhākarācārya-karapraṭiṣṭhitō
'mahānāyam' varṣatu bhūrimangalam.

The month, date and year are indicated here by the words in quotation marks.—T. K. J.

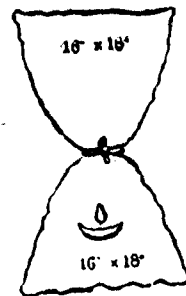
above must be a Dravidian deity worshipped originally by the hill tribes of the forests there, before the trio of Śiva's family was introduced into those parts very probably by some Tamilians from the east through one of the old mountain passes of that region. Gaṇapati and Subrahmanya are Hindu gods, while Śāstā seems to be a Hinduised Buddha. Outside the raised ground occupied by the above gods, but within the moat-encircled area there are Vāvar the Muslim saint (like Saint Baba of the Baba Budan mountains in Mysore), and Kaṇuppan and Kaḍutta, two Dravidian male deities, as well as a goddess—all worshipped by the pilgrims. This last deity is not the very popular Bhadrakālī, but the emanation of the carcass of a she-buffalo monster or demon called Mahishi killed by Śāstā. Kaṇuppan, the Black One, is a fierce demon worshipped by the lower classes of people in the Tamil country, and Kaḍutta, the Fierce One, is a god of the same nature as Kaṇuppan, Mādan, Ekki and other deities who revel in blood, and even now after the abolition about 15 years ago of animal sacrifices in the Government controlled temples in Travancore, goats are led by the pilgrims even from very distant localities to the temple at Śabarimalai every year. It seems impossible for man the carnivore to give up sacrifices so long as he continues to worship deities to whom he ascribes blood-thirstiness. "Like master like man." On the way to the temple of Śāstā is the seat of Śābari, perhaps another deity of the hill tribes, who has given her name to the hill there. Although the king of Pandalam, 25 straight miles away from the Hill, had been the owner of the Śāstā temple before he was conquered by the Travancore king two centuries ago, it seems that all the deities in the Śabari-Hill region were there prior to his coming from Madura to Pandalam in Travancore in A.D. 904. Śabarimalai and its neighbourhood are all hills and forests now. But as Ward and Conner who surveyed those parts in A. D. 1816 to 1820, have recorded in their Report, there is ample antiquarian evidence to show that those regions had been inhabited in olden days, and that there were trade-routes there connecting the Tamil country in the east with the Malayālam country in the west. The kings of Pandalam belonged originally to the ancient Pāṇḍyan royal family of Madura, and the present members of the Pandalam branch surviving as pensioners of the Maharaja of Travancore, have even to this day a right to certain emoluments from the Śabarimalai temple, and retain possession of the valuable ornaments of Śāstā which are every year sent from the Pandalam palace all the way through the forests on the 1st of *Makaram* (14th January, this year) under the protection of a posse of armed constables, to adorn the god during the final night ceremonies of that day. The

messenger who brings the ornaments is heralded by a man curiously clad in the attire of a wild hunter and possessed by the spirit of Śāstā, and all his followers have to run panting after him all along the rugged ups and downs of the route of about 35 miles !

Those who wish to go on pilgrimage to Śabaraimalai have to be pure in thought, word and deed, and to observe celibacy and abstemiousness for at least 55 days up to the closing day (*Makarm* 1st) of the ceremonies, and during that period constantly think of Śāstā and call out his name (Ayyappan or Śāstā) aloud, and live, move and have their being in him, completely identifying themselves and every thing else with him. Thus each devotee refers to himself and other devotees as Ayyappan and not as their former



Central Travancore.



Sacred Kitbag.

self, and speaks of objects, for instance, as *ānaswami* (elephant, the God Śāstā) and *peeswami* (dung, the God Śāstā). This is admirable pantheism, eminently practical. The visible outward marks of their vow are a rosary of *tulasi* beads worn round the neck, and an all unshaven and unshorn body. During the last two or three years they have been seen wearing blue, saffron, or yellow shirts and loin cloth. Just before they start on the pilgrimage they gird themselves with a narrow belt of black cloth which is held to be as sacred as a Brahman's thread, and as they go along they will be seen carrying on their heads a long heavily hanging double kit-bag in the forepart of which is a husked coconut ceremoniously filled with ghee and with the divine immanence of Śāstā. This white bag filled with victuals is therefore worshipped each morning and evening, and is, like their belt, never left uncared for. It is, however, strange that the forepart of this sacred satchel bears the conspicuous figure of the crescent, a Muslim emblem. These pilgrims observe no caste distinction at all during the period of their



Ayyappan or Śāstā.

vow although they normally belong to several different castes. And all the numerous beggars and the petty traders of non-Hindu religions who accompany the pilgrims, spontaneously call out the *saranam credo* (i.e. Thou art my refuge oh, Ayyappan). Moreover there is no objection at all to the pilgrims' entering the temple premises without the usual purificatory ablutions, or with shirts, coats, and knickers on. For people with a pantheistic, or rather pan-sāstaic, outlook there will of course be no invidious distinction between man and man, or between man and shirt, or shirt and Sāstā. "Sarvam khalvidam sāstā—all this is verily Sāstā—is their creed.

[Mr. Joseph requests an expression of opinion whether the image of Sāsta in Sabarimalai, as in fact Sāsta generally, is a Buddhist image transformed into Sāsta. So far as the Sabarimalai image is concerned, Mr. Joseph seems to be carried away by the fact that people cry out in their fervour of devotion "Saranam Ayappa", an expression which is common to all Hindus whenever the appeal is to a God exercising grace. It is not so clearly established that the idea of seeking the protection of a saviour is an idea peculiar to the Buddhists, or originated with the Buddha, and the Buddhist teacher. No doubt, the Buddhists have the notion of the *saranam*, but that does not necessarily mean that that is the earliest or the first. The image of the Sāsta which does not show anything so peculiarly analogous to the image of the Buddha for regarding it as of a Buddhist character. The idea underlying the term Sāsta is far more general, much more generally Hindu, to accept this narrow interpretation. Until we have more definite proof, it would be well to suspend definite judgment on this.

—Editor.]

Note

NAGAṆĀ IN THE MANDASOR INSCRIPTION OF THE MALAVA YEAR 529

By

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IN the Mandasor inscription composed by Vatsabhaṭṭi the word *nagaṇā* occurs in the 18th and 22nd lines which I quote below for the convenience of the readers :

1. 18. *kāle tuṣāra-kāṇa-karkkaśa-śīta-vāta-vega.*
pranṛtha-lavali-nagaṇ-aikaśākhe |
1. 22. *madhu-pāna-mudita-madhukara-kul-opagita-*
nagaṇ-aika-prthu-śākhe |

Dr. Fleet, has given, 'Cardiospermum Halicacabum', as the Latin equivalent of *nagaṇā*. This meaning has been challenged by Prof. K. M. Shembavnekar, who, writing in the *Journal of Indian History*, Volume X, has remarked, "Vatsabhaṭṭi has twice used the word *nagaṇā* to the great confusion of the decipherers of epigraphs. Fleet and others have taken it as the name of a tree though such a tree is never mentioned in any of the Kośas. Thus a veritable pseudonym has been brought into existence without the knowledge that it is so."¹ In his opinion *nagaṇa* simply means 'countless'.

Of course the euphonic combination *nagaṇaika* can be split up both as *nagaṇa + eka* and *nagaṇā + eka*; but it is the sense that will determine the choice. According to Prof. Shembavnekar it is *nagaṇa + eka*, for the word *nagaṇā* does not exist. It is not known even to lexicographers. However in making such a positive assertion he is quite mistaken.

The word *nagaṇā* is given in Prof. H. H. Wilson's Sanskrit English Dictionary, and explained as the name of a plant called 'Heart-pea' in English and *Cardiospermum Halicacabum* in Latin. For this meaning Professor Wilson has not drawn upon his imagination; but he quotes an ancient lexicon named *Ratnamālā* which gives the following synonyms for *nagaṇā*:

1. *Pārāvatapadī*, 2. *Piṇyā*, 3. *Sputabandhanī*, 4. *Jyotiṣmatī*, 5. *Pūtitalī*, 6. *Ingudī*. In the Sanskrit Wörterbusch of Böthling and Roth, the word *nagaṇā* as the name of a plant is given, and the same authority has been quoted. Prof. Wilson's Dictionary was published in 1819 and the Wörterbusch in 1861—long before the discovery of the Mandasor inscription. It is quite obvious therefore, that the modern compilers of lexicons have not depended on the epigraphists for this meaning of the word. The *Śabdakalpdruma* also gives the word *nagaṇā* as the name of a plant.

Nagaṇā is a plant not only known to lexicographers but also to medical men in modern times. It is given in the *Vaidyaka-śabdasaṁdhu* compiled by Umeśacandradatta. Under its other name—*Jyotiṣmatī*—it is described in the 'Indian Medical Plants' by Kirtikar and Basu.

So *nagaṇā* is neither a pseudonym, nor a word unknown to ancient writers. Dr. Fleet was sure of what he wrote, unlike his critic who was unnecessarily overconfident. Further the word *nagaṇā* 'countless' will not give a good sense in the present context; *nagaṇā* is followed by *eka* which also qualifies *śākḥā*. It is difficult to understand how the poet could speak of the branch as one and at the same time 'countless,' unless the idea be नगणासु एका पृथु शाखा । But in l. 22 we have the expression मधुकरकुलोपगीत नेगणैकशाखे. Here if we take नगण as 'countless' the question arises 'one of the countless branches' of what? The name of the tree is left out. Thus the compound should be explained as नगणायाः एका पृथु शाखा 'one large branch of *Nagaṇā*.'

OBITUARY

We very much regret to have to record the death of two distinguished gentlemen in the field of historical research in India. The first is Rai Bahadur Dayaram Sahni, C.I.E., who retired some years ago from the high office of the Director General of Archaeology in India. After a distinguished career at college, he entered the Archaeological Department, and rose to occupy the highest place in the Department for some years before he retired. He had a prominent share in much of the valuable work of the Department, including those at the excavations at Mohenjo-Daro and the reading of the Asoka inscription at Eṣṛagudī in South India. His writings are many and valuable, and are usually publications of the Department of Archaeology in the shape of reports, manuals, etc.

The other is Sir Evan Cotton, C.I.E., Editor of the Calcutta Review, and President of the Legislative Council at Calcutta, a son of Sir James Cotton, well known in India. He was engaged for a number of years in journalistic work at Calcutta, and has written on various matters relative to the British period of Indian History. He was a member of the Indian Historical Records Commission, and took a prominent part in several of the sessions of this Commission. He passed away recently to the sad loss of modern historical research.

Reviews

ORIENTAL MYSTICISM. By E. H. Palmer, Second Ed. with Introduction by A. J. Arberry. Luzac & Co., London, 1938.

This epitome of Palmer will serve as an introduction to the Šūfi system of theosophy in which the author's interest was aroused by a short manual, the *Maqṣad-i-akṣā* or 'Furthest Aim' by Aziz Ibn Muhammad al-Nasafi. In this booklet Palmer has attempted with success a summarised translation of Nasafi's treatise, but in a form suitable for general reading. The term 'Šūfi' is derived from the Arabic word *sūf* 'wool' alluding to the dress of the Dervishes who were teachers of the sect. This sect aims to bring about a reconciliation between Philosophy and Revealed Religion. The author who is unfortunately no more with us was of opinion that Sufism was really the development of the Primaeval religion of the Aryan race.

The present account as given in the book under review is an allegorical representation of a religious philosopher in his onward march to the goal which is the knowledge of the Infinite Majesty of God. The thesis is divided into five parts. The first part deals with the traveller on his journey to the goal; while the second furnishes an account of the nature and works of God. The third part is a definition of the Saintly and the Prophetic office, the fourth is a dissertation on the influence of prejudice on belief, and the last part is devoted to the study of man. There is no doubt that students of oriental philosophy will find in this book an admirable introduction to the subject of mysticism, common to all religions.

V. R. R. DIKSHITAR.

THE GREAT CREMATION GROUND (MAHĀSMAŚANA).
By Elizabeth Sharpe, Luzac & Co., London, 1938.

This little booklet of 43 pages forms a critical dissertation on Indian philosophy. It consists of two parts; the first part devoted to the Upaniṣads, and the second to the philosophy of the Jains. In summing up the philosophy of the Upaniṣads, the remark is made "the philosophy does not appear a genuine philosophy in the sense of being either original or logical, but a hotch-potch of some older and more influential school of thought." New scholars will appreciate such a view. The Upaniṣads are elaborate treatises on Vedic systems of thought and belief, which alone can be "older and

more influential school of thought." That that philosophy is not logical will not be accepted by students of the Upanisads. Again the statement that the Upanisads have indented for their philosophy on Jainism is historically incorrect. We do not quarrel when the author speaks of the Jain philosophy an almost perfect one and a live philosophy. But we have to point out that several Upanisads were in existence before Jainism took shape as a religious system.

V. R. R. DIKSHITAR.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF MYSORE: Annual Reports 1933 to 1936.

Thanks to Dr. M. H. Krishna and his efficient staff, good work has been turned out by the Archaeological Department in Mysore in the years 1933 to 1936 as testified to us by the annual reports under review. Many monuments have been studied in detail, and the results of these studies have been published. Sufficient attention has also been bestowed on their conservation. According to the Report for 1933, the department seemed to have devoted special attention to the study of Chālukyan architecture. In 1934 we are told that the department has undertaken to publish an illustrated monograph on Chālukyan architecture in Mysore.

The Report for 1933 is interesting, especially on the epigraphy side. Here we find a detailed study of the inscriptions of Śringēri and its famous mutt founded by Śrī Śankarācārya. Seventeen years ago the late lamented R. Narasimhacariar noticed some of these records in the Report for 1916. But neither the full texts of the inscriptions nor their translation were made available to the student of history. This want is now supplied. Notes are also appended regarding the early Vijayanagar Kings and the Śringeri Muṭṭ gurus. An epigraph records the visit of Bukka I to the guru Vidyātīrtha in 1356. Another records a grant in 1346 by Harihara to Bhāratīrtha. We are told that it is just possible that both Vidyātīrtha and Bhāratīrtha were contemporaries, and both were alive in the reign of Harihara I and Bukka I. The Report for 1934 publishes some more inscriptions which relate to the Śringeri Muṭṭ. One of these records is a grant made by Vidyāraṇyasvami in 1386 A.D. During this year again the succession list of the Bhāgavata Sampradāya Mutt at Mulbāgal, Tīrthahalli taluq was secured by the department.

It is reported that two Kannaḍa Manuscripts were secured during the year 1933 and were examined. One was a Kannaḍa rendering of the Padma Purāṇa by Chikkōpādhyāya of Chikka

Dēvarāja's court. Another was the Navarasa Alankāra by Timmarasa giving a description of the nine rasas being a treatise on poetics. Study of Numismatics is another activity of the department, and Part III of the Report for 1934 is devoted to a study of the coins which are all chola coins, and those of their feudatories. The legends of the coins studied are by no means uniform.

The Report for 1935 is interesting among others for the detailed numismatic study of the coins excavated at Chandravalli. The Department acquired during this year the coin collection of the Bēlūr temple. According to the Report for 1936, among the coins examined, there were two sets of Purāṇa coins which are held to be very ancient. In this Report again we are told that the department acquired two manuscripts of much value to the student of history. One was an English translation of the Memoirs of Hyder Ally from 1758-1770, by Eloy Joze Correa Periposo, a Portuguese in the service of Hyder. The other manuscript related to an account of the early Mysore Kings, obtained from Tumkur.

During these years 1935 and 1936 conservation work at Bēlūr and Halebid was pushed on. Among the epigraphic finds, mention may be made of a rare copper plate grant of the ancient Unnāḍ Dynasty, and an interesting Kadamba inscription found at Helmīḍi, Bēlūr taluq, of about the middle of the 5th century A.D. Interest centres round the fact that this record is in the Kannaḍa language. This is the earliest authentic lithic record in Kannaḍa now extant.

V. R. R. DIKSHITAR.

MEMOIRS OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA No. 58, *Rājagriha in Ancient Literature*. By Dr. B. C. Law, Ph.D. (1938). Price Rs. 2-12.

The well-known writer, Dr. B. C. Law, presents to the oriental world yet another interesting publication, now under review. This is a learned monograph on Rājagriha, one of the much celebrated capitals of ancient India, published as a memoir of the Archaeological Survey of India. In this memoir Dr. Law makes an excellent and analytical study of the mass of materials found scattered in the mass of ancient Indian literature, Sanskrit, Buddhist and Jain-

The study begins with an examination of different names assigned to the city in different periods such as Kuśāgrapura, Girivraja, and Rajagriha, and a critical study of the origin and significance of such names. Next we are furnished with a general description and topography of the city, drawing material largely from the *Mahābhārata* and the Pāli *Isigili-Sutta*. In this connection the discussion

that centres round the identification of Vipula with the Pāli *Vebhāsa*, Jain *Vaibharagiri*, and Huiien Tsiang's *Pi-pulo* is interesting and scholarly. In this section, prominence is given to a discussion as to how the capital was connected with neighbouring places by means of roads, and how several places were furnished with rest-houses, tanks and palatial buildings, even before the age of the Buddha.

A history of Rājagriha is given in outline in a separate section from the earliest times to the time of Fa Hien and Hiun Tsiang, when it had become empty and desolate. The next section is devoted to the identification of the five hills in the midst of which this city is said to have been located. But the more interesting sections of the memoir are the religions in Rājagriha, and its architecture. Thus the monograph is replete with a wealth of information, and we congratulate its learned author on this useful production.

V. R. R. DIKSHITAR.

BULLETIN OF THE MADRAS GOVERNMENT MUSEUM: Catalogue of Venetian Coins in the Madras Government Museum: by T. G. Aravamuthan (1938). Price Rs. 1-8-0.

Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum: Catalogue of Venetian Coins in the Madras Government Museum: by T. G. Aravamuthan (1938) Price Rs. 1-8-0.

Though modestly styled the Catalogue of Venetian Coins in India, this bulletin is an interesting thesis on the history of Venetian coins in India. The Venetian coins in the Madras Museum are fourteen in number, and are gold 'sequins'. Eleven of them were found in India as treasure-trove. The Museum has also in its possession an imitation of a sequin. The gold coins of Venice originally known as 'ducats' became later on known as 'sequins'. In South India it came to be known as '*Sāṇār-kāśu*'. How this came to be styled as *Sāṇār-kāśu* is still a matter of conjecture. The sequin contains the figure of the Doge, standing in front of St. Mark's Cross.

The chief reason for the introduction of these coins into India must be attributed to the large volume of Indo-European commerce in the fifteenth century and after. Nicolo Conti early in the fifteenth century found Venetian ducats in circulation in India. These coins were current in Ceylon also. The section in this bulletin on 'Italians in India' throws much light on the advent and intercourse of Italians with India' as traders, missionaries, travellers etc. We all know

of the part played by Niccolò Manucci, a native of Venice, in India, in the 17th century. His *Storia do Mogor* is a valuable mine of information of this period. We hear of a Madras merchant importing bugles from Venice in 1743. The concluding portions of the bulletin are equally interesting and show much painstaking work on the part of the writer. We welcome this useful publication.

V. R. R. DIKSHITAR.

HINDUISM AND THE MODERN WORLD: by K. M. Panikkar (Kitabistan, Allahabad.) Price Rs. 1-8-0.

The author of the book under review does not seem to believe in the vitality of Hinduism as it has existed through the ages, and as it exists today. He is an eloquent advocate of the reform movements in modern Hinduism, and brings into prominence the threat of the Harijans, and the mostly unreasonable demands of the so-called educated women. In pleading for a reformed Hinduism, Mr. Panikkar condemns the institutions of joint family and caste, as is usual with reformers. The community idea on which emphasis is made is in fact an Indian conception, and is an extension of the conception of the joint family and caste. It is difficult to accept the thesis of the author, and we may tell him that we are bound to survive notwithstanding his fears.

V. R. R. DIKSHITAR.

PRATYABHIJÑĀHRDAYAM: The Secret of Recognition with translation and notes. Published by the Adyar Library, 1938.

The study of Kashmir Śaivism is still in its early stages. Very little is known in India, not to speak of the West, of the tenets of this form of Hinduism. Śaivism was also developed from earliest times in South India, and Śaiva Siddhānta of the Tamils is a phase of South Indian Śaivism. It is an interesting study to compare the South Indian school of Śaivism with the Kashmerian school. The heyday of the Kashmerian school seems to be from the 9th to 14th century of our era. Before a full study of this interesting topic is taken up, we must be familiar with all the materials available. *Pratyabhiññāhrdayam* is one such source book now published with an English translation. It is made up of twenty *sūtras* by an unknown author and Kṣemarāja's commentary, and Kṣemarāja is generally assigned to the eleventh century A.D. The edition is useful and in many respects valuable.

V. R. R. DIKSHITAR.

ORIENTAL MANUSCRIPTS OF THE JOHN FREDERICK LEWIS COLLECTION IN THE FREE LIBRARY OF PHILADELPHIA. A Descriptive catalogue with 48 illustrations by Muhammad Ahmed Simsar,—Philadelphia, 1937.

Mr. Lewis was for long connected with the University of Philadelphia and the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. He was President of the American Academy of Music and of the Academy of Fine Arts. A very learned bibliophile and connoisseur of art, he collected a large number of illuminated manuscripts of Persian and Indo-Persian miniature paintings of colonial and early American portraits, and evinced great interest in paleography and calligraphy, both of the West and of India and Persia. He specialised in the study of the Persian miniature painters and their Indo-Persian imitators as also of the design and construction of Persian gardens.

Mr. Simsar's catalogue comprehends 153 codexes written in 14 scripts and 15 languages, ranging from Arabic and Persian, through Sanskrit and Nepalese to Pali and Siamese; it also includes Hebrew, Armenian, Coptic, Ethiopic and Syriac. The descriptive accounts given of these appeal, some of them, to lovers of rare bindings, some to students of miniature painting and others, to those interested in illumination or calligraphy.

The illustrations supplied furnish examples of each of these categories. Of the copies of the *Quran* the oldest belongs to the 10th or 11th century; and another contains the well-known commentary by Baydawi. There are three outstanding copies of *The Shah Namah*, one of which is unusually ornate and contains a number of fine examples of illuminated section-headings. A copy of Hatifi's *Timur-Namah* furnishes several examples of the paintings of the period (1583 A.D.). A copy of *Iqbāl-nāmah'i Jahañgiri* is in the collection and it is a presentation book from Aurangzib to Rana Khan containing an authentic portrait of Akbar. Astarabadi's *Tarikh-i-Nādiri* is represented by a copy dated 1773. Among other interesting items in the collection may be noted the Siamese epic, *Lakshanawongs*, an Armenian version of the Four Gospels, the old Testament in Hebrew, bound in tortoise shell and dated 1496, and an Egyptian papyrus roll of the 8th century B.C., of a part of *The Book of the Dead*, written in Hieratic and containing its Theban rescension.

C. S. S.

SOVEREIGNTY IN ANCIENT INDIAN POLITY by Professor H. N. Sinha, M.A., Ph.D., (Lond.), Nagpur, (Luzac and Co., London) pp. xxii & 344; price Rs. 9.

The assumption that the test of sovereignty is the test of government, that is, of how the sovereign people is organised to make its will effective, is but a modern phase in the evolution of the conception of sovereign power. It is the result of the secular absolutism of the monarch as embodying the state combining with the increasing assertion of the popular will. In India the secularism of kingship was slow in its manifestation, and not always effective in its attempt to dominate religion. The first idea adumbrated by our author who has fittingly published his well-deserved Doctorate thesis submitted to the University of London, is that under Asoka, the institution of kingship asserted itself as against the particular development of the religious life of the several communities in the empire, and claimed to be the custodian of the common good of the whole body of people and not merely the protection of sacred law. In essence, and by one line of specious arguing, the conclusion may be maintained that this situation is the same as that embodied by the Diet of Augsburg in 1551 in the maxim 'cujus regio ejus religio.' Again the student may see an analogy between the quasi-deification of the king in the neo-Hindu age and the development of Divine Right in the 16th and 17th centuries in Europe, under the stress of the Reformation schools of thought. The Guptas and Harṣa reflected the glory of royal power "in a manner never known before," and at the same time asserted the supremacy of the state over religion, leading inevitably to the birth of consciously developed legislation and the growth of positive administrative acts and principles promulgated by the king, though in many respects local usage, *mos majorum*, was allowed to continue.

Dr. Sinha draws, well and clearly, the long chain of links between the original conception that the *rāshtra* or state had a derivative existence, being deemed subsidiary to holy power, as visualised in the early polity of Brāhmaṇic ritualism to the ideals of the Gupta and post-Gupta epochs. An intermediate stage in this ideological development was when royal sovereignty was held to be an "object of religious concession"; and it was held that the visible symbol of royal sovereignty was *Law (Dharma)* which emanated from a higher source. Leaving aside the purely conceptual notions of a pre political condition of men which according to one school of Hindu thought, was almost Hobbesian, our author goes on to prove how the warrior-guilds of the Maurya age and the neighbouring centuries on either side of it acquired sovereign authority most

easily. The distinction made between totally non-political guilds and completely political organisations distinguished by their sovereign character here made, might not have been valid fully as a historical phenomenon. Nor could the ideal of imperial rule comprehending the whole country have sprung suddenly only in that age or thereabouts. One of the aiding factors in the development of secular sovereignty was the fact that society came to be a heterogeneous mass, and its limits extended over areas hitherto reserved for religion.

Having thus discoursed in the first part of his thesis, Dr. Sinha takes up in the latter part the consolidation of and gradual centralisation of authority in monarchy down to *circa* 700 A.D. In the first of the sub-periods of this millennium from Asoka, Kautilya typified in his book the broad outlines of the state in its double aspect, and on its new attitude towards morals and religion—altogether a hypothetical picture, but drawing freely upon governmental traditions and practices and epitomising Mauryan government. We are inclined to agree, in the main, but not in all the particulars, with the conclusions put forth on p. 191:—"The king of Kautilya is the Asoka devoid of his too great love for Buddhistic ways of life." He sought allegiance from the people both as king and as moral guide, as he aimed at the winning of the people's hearts which alone could make his paramountcy real and desired to make *nijāsāsana* the most powerful element of law. Thus it is argued that Asoka was sovereign in a very real sense, because his ruling was law to a great extent. But can it be proved that his *śāsanas* were fully enforced, since law ceases to be effective without sufficient sanction behind it?

In the centuries of confusion that followed the disintegration of the Mauryan Empire the divine right of kingship is held to have been fully developed, particularly in orthodox popular literature which indulges in speculations on the kingless state, and even on the source of law and the nature of sovereignty. Now also was developed the imperial system of political organisation founded upon *digvijaya*, diplomacy and suzerainty. Gupta imperialism was essentially of this type, being above religious bias and militant absorption. Now also grew up the idea of sphere of influence on *Chakra*, ruled by a *Chakravartin*. It is to be noted that local autonomy is the basis of such dominion, but is not derived from it. These conceptions are fully founded on the practices of the Guptas and of Harsha, or the tradition of Kalidasa and on the rulings of law-books, as well as the administrative details contained in important epigraphs like the Harisena eulogy of Samudragupta, and the Banskhera copper-plate of Harsha.

Finally the conclusion is reached that sovereign power resided in the king, who held the balance between religions, was the fountain of justice, framed and also executed laws and was the supreme arbiter of society, of groups, institutions and individuals. The method of examination is both deductive and empirical, perhaps more empirical than otherwise in many places, and abundantly illustrated with proper reference to historical sequence and practical value. What the introduction envisages has been abundantly justified in the book which we warmly commend, as being marked by comprehensive thoroughness and attractive presentation.

C. S. S.

THE GATEWAY TO INDIA: THE STORY OF METHWOLD AND BOMBAY. By A. R. Ingram—Oxford University Press, 1938. pp. xxix and 191—price 7/6.

William Methwold, the hero of this book, has been described in one place as "the greatest Englishman in India before Clive; and our author holds that it is no empty boast. After an introduction in which is indicated the main points of difference that existed between the Mercantilists led by Thomas Mun, who defended the infant Company's trading operations, and the bullionists who deplored the discovery of the Cape route to the east and protested even against an indirect export of treasure from Britain, the author takes us to the first participation of Methwold in the East India voyages (1616) and his experiences of the Surat Factory, of Bantam and of Masulipatam. On the east coast, Methwold noted with grave concern the indulgence of the Dutch in the slave trade, for which a market had been created by an exceptionally severe famine and questioned "if the gains be good that ariseth from the sale of soules." Subjected to the normal process of a close inquiry into his conduct and punished also by the Directors for lapses real as well as alleged, Methwold yet obtained, even early in his service, the freedom of the Company in consideration of 'service' in 1628, and got further reputation as an appreciated contributor to the Rev. Samuel Purchas's *journal* of adventures in which he described the main features of the kingdom of Golconda and the diamond mines of Kulur.

Returning to India as President of Surat in 1632, Methwold turned his attention to the effecting of domestic economies, freight economies and peace with the Portuguese which occurred to him as the solution of the major part of his difficulties. But Dutch enmity and Mughal wrath were still potently injurious factors;

and Methwold planned,—or perhaps then only dreamed of building a shelter at Bombay where there was no paucity of stone or timber or cattle and the harbour was secure to winter in. He added, in his letter to the governor of the company; “We confess that these are castles in the air, which we have first framed in our braines. Whether you have or have not such, it is most certaine that it were very convenient you had.”

The troubles of the English were increased by interlopers and the adventurers of Courteen’s Association. But Methwold was not daunted; he developed trade with Persia and he felt that the poor returns from the factories on the Coromandel Coast were due partially to the mediocrity of the factors selected for service there. And he opined, perhaps without much ground, that the jeopardy of the company’s existence lay, not in India, but in England alone.

On his return to England in 1639 he found the Company’s affairs not in a flourishing condition and actually injured by royal default, while the Civil War and the early years of the Protectorate proved even more injurious. It is interesting to learn that Methwold suggested the empowering of the Company to govern and punish according to martial law in its eastern possessions—an idea that was deemed to be premature. His skilful handling of the Company’s affairs in these critical years was appreciated by the Committee for Foreign Affairs which offered him the post of British Ambassador at Constantinople in 1652. He died in the following year; but his scheme of an independent base and harbour in India bore fruit in time, in the enlarged royal charter of 1661 and in the transfer of Bombay to the British Crown, in spite of the demur raised by the Portuguese Viceroy who wrote to his royal master that “India will be lost the same day the English nation is settled in Bombay.” The ceded Bombay excluded Thana and Salsette and even Mahim. The book brings down the narrative to the cession of Bombay to the Company by the Crown, actually made in September 1668; and Methwold’s ‘castle in the air’ thus thrusts its foundations into the earth; and his caravan reached its destination, though he himself had dropped by the way. Thus was the gateway to India laid open.

Ingram’s style is attractive and his narrative is interspersed with sidelight glances at the condition of affairs in the Archipelago, the Cormandel and the dominions of the Mughal, being further enlivened by quaint extracts from the letters and records of the Company, in their actual wording. He has more than justified the encomiums of Hunter and Foster on the abilities of Methwold.

C. S. S.

INDIA—A SHORT CULTURAL HISTORY by H. G. Rawlinson, C.I.E., The Cresset Press, London, Price 30s. net.

The Cresset Press, London, are issuing a series of books on the cultural history of various countries under the general editorship of Prof. E. A. Seligman, of which the cultural histories of China and Japan are already published, as also a social history of Russia. The work under review is a similar handbook of the cultural History of India intended to remove the prevalent ignorance of Indian History in the general reader so as to overcome the prejudice and apathy in regard to matters Indian. Obviously therefore it is an attempt at presenting to the general reader the main features of the cultural History of India to give him an idea of Indian achievements in the realm of culture and civilisation. The publishers could hardly have chosen a more sympathetic author than Principal Rawlinson of the Indian Educational Service till a few years ago. This is not the first time that Professor Rawlinson writes on this subject, nor is it the first work from his pen on Indian History. He attempts in this work of just a little more than 400 pages a general view of Indian History in its cultural and social aspects rather than merely political history. Each period or chapter is prefaced by a short statement of political history with just a few dates of leading events followed by a general account of religion, literature and culture as far as these could be presented in general terms. The interest in the general description of the author is enhanced by select quotations of the original Indian works themselves from the most approved translations. It is a comprehensive general account of popular appeal and incorporates in it, as far as it is possible to do so in a general work, the various aspects of cultural development including even art. The work is written in an interesting and attractive style provides good reading and comes very close to what a general reading book ought to be. It is well illustrated throughout, and it need hardly be said, well printed. Unlike many other works, it brings the account right down to modern times, taking into it even the British period.

While we have nothing but commendation for the work as a whole, we would like to point out that certain statements, for which perhaps he is not alone responsible, were not made in the work. We have in mind particularly what is said on page 130 regarding the Mahabharata which he says is looked upon as both a fifth Veda and as a Dharma Sastra or canon of morality. Nevertheless he does not shrink from adopting the view that the epic has undergone a thorough revision in point even of character to the extent of making the blackguardly Pandavas into almost

saintly personages and of reducing the honest and chivalrous Kauravas into unworthy people. This it strikes us is too large an order for accepting as a possibility apart from other considerations. In respect of more general matters, we can discover here and there a few errors or blemishes which it were better if they could have been avoided. For instance on page 106 the Ceylon contemporary of Samudragupta is set down as *Maghavarman*. His actual name was *Mēghavarṇa*. On page 123 occurs the statement "Brahmanical philosophers began to evolve a practical way of life under the Sungas," as if they had not a practical way of life before, and as if they were just trying the prentice hand. On page 173 occurs the statement that the Somnathpur temple was constructed by king Vinayaditya in about A.D. 1043 as the earliest and best example of Hoysala architecture. Somnathpur was not within the territory of Vinayaditya, and Vinayaditya is not known as a builder at least so far. The monument at Somnathpur is of date A.D. 1268 and was constructed by minister Somanatha of the Hoysala Narasimha III. On the next page and in continuation of the same paragraph comes the statement "the latest and the most elaborate of these is the temple at Halabeid," and it is stated that this was unfinished at the time of the Muhammadan invasion in A.D. 1310." This again is not right. The great temple at Halabeid was built, or at least reached a stage of completion to be named after the reigning monarch Vishnuvardhana as Vishnu Vardhana Hoysaliśvara before the year A.D. 1141-42. There are a few more minor blemishes which need hardly be pointed out. Notwithstanding these few blemishes we commend the book as perhaps the best History of India for the general reader, whose interest in the subject is not specialised study of the History of India.

ABHINAVAGUPTA (AN HISTORICAL & PHILOSOPHICAL STUDY) by Dr. K. C. Pandey, Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, Vol. I, Price Rs. 12.

Abhinavagupta is a great name in Sanskrit literature, and is associated more or less familiarly with his commentary on the *Nāṭya Śāstra* of Bharata. He was, however, associated with far other subjects than poetry and rhetoric, and his contributions are so great that it is none too soon that a serious study of the author is made in the volume before us. As MM. Dr. Ganganath Jha says in the short foreword which he contributes to the work, "it is a real contribution to scholarship, particularly as giving us an elaborate study of the philosophical system of Kashmir, which one often hears of, but knows comparatively little about." Kashmir Śaivism

(A.D. 750-1400) is well known as a separate system to students of Sanskrit literature, but what the system actually is, how it is related to the other systems of Śaivism and other religions of that type are matters which did not receive the attention that they should have received long ago. The work under review supplies the want in a way very creditable to the author for the enterprise, industry, and ability with which he has carried out the great work. This is the first serious study of the system known by various names, but, *Trika* and *Pratyabhijñā* among them, are perhaps most well known. It is a system of Śaiva monism with features peculiar to itself. It is an exposition of this system that takes up most space in the present work. Abhinavagupta was a voluminous writer, and wrote with equal facility and wide knowledge upon dramaturgy, rhetoric, poetry and philosophy. But through all one could trace an undercurrent of spiritual feeling which gives character to his work.

In this work, Dr. Pandey studies Abhinavagupta first as a historical character beginning with a comparatively short life of the author fixing his age as in the earlier half of the 11th century. Then he gives the works of Abhinavagupta which are so far available in manuscripts mostly. It is only a comparatively small number that have been published. Then he makes a careful study of the historical background to the peculiar cast of the Śaiva teaching of Abhinavagupta, giving incidentally a short account of those who continued the exposition of the system. Dr. Pandey has to consider *inter alia* the other systems of Śaivism prevalent, dividing them into Advaita, Dvaita and Dvaitādvaita. He then deals with the rise of monistic Śaivism explaining why it found a congenial home in Kashmir, and the various branches into which the system actually developed. Then he takes up Abhinavagupta on the side of his poetical and rhetorical works, dealing with this branch of it, if not with as much detail as the previous section, in sufficient detail to exhibit its importance, and the importance of his contribution to the subject. He takes last of all Abhinava's philosophy and deals with it elaborately. Dr. Pandey takes his information mostly from the writings of Abhinavagupta himself, most of which yet remain in manuscript. Several important works of his are available only in stray extracts made here and there. It is hardly necessary for us to go into any elaborate detail in regard to the philosophy of the particular Tāntric Śaivism that developed in Kashmir and received such magnificent exposition from the writings of Abhinavagupta. Let us join in the wish of the Mahamahopadhyaya that Dr. Pandey will, in the succeeding volumes,

concentrate his energy to the exposition and interpretation on the constructive side of Abhinavagupta's work.

It is the development of the Āgamāic religions, Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava alike, that transformed the ritualistic and philosophical system of the Brahmanism of the Vedas and the Upanishads, into what is generally known by the term Hinduism of modern times. These Āgamāic religions received their development in various parts of India, and at different historical periods, and led ultimately perhaps to the synthesis known as Vaiṣṇavāism and Śaivism in modern times with branches of their own. In this development South India has played a very important part. How that is connected with the Kashmirian system and other systems that developed elsewhere remains yet to be studied. The work of Dr. Pandey on Abhinavagupta would certainly contribute in a large measure to advance this comparative study leading to an ultimate solution of the question. He deserves the gratitude of the public therefore for the great labour that he has put into his work, the reward of which is ultimately the work itself. The Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series has added immensely to their reputation as publishers of a series of important Sanskrit classics by the publication of this excellent study of an eminent Sanskrit author of mediaeval India.

BHAVASANKRĀNTI SŪTRA AND BHAVASANKRĀNTI ŚĀSTRA. By Pandit A. Aiyaswami Sastri. Theosophical publishing House, Adaiyar.

This is the second publication of value in the same series as the previous work *Pratyabhijñāhṛdayam* recently published by the Theosophical Society. This consists really of two works, the *sūtra* being the original, and the *Śāstra* being a more elaborate later work bearing upon the original. They relate to the subject of transmigration as understood by the Buddhists. The *Sūtra* is said to have been originally a dialogue between the Buddha him-

Bhimbisāra on the question, and had been handled down as a Buddhist *sūtra*, the *Śāstra*, on the contrary, is a work of Nāgārjuna. Both of them alike are cardinal text books bearing on Mahāyāna Buddhism. They are both of them lost in their original Sanskrit and could be recovered only from Chinese and Tibetan versions. Of the earlier work, the *Sūtra*, three translations in Chinese are available of periods, 4th to the 6th century, and from the 6th to the 7th, another one of the early 8th century. The Tibetan text belongs to the first half of the 9th century. In spite of the fact that they are so different and separated by that difference of time, they seem to be more or less recensions of the same

texts, and naturally bear on the same subject, the theory of re-birth according to the Buddha. The question of transmigration as understood by Buddhists is not a simple one, as they do not postulate anything existing in a permanent form, there being no permanent element, or *dharma* as the Buddhists would call it. This seems to be the case, except in the one version of the text ascribed to Bodhiruci, the earliest version. It is essentially a question of the passing of the life-flux from one stage of existence on to another with a transition or without, and generally without a permanent element carrying it except according to Bodhiruci. The *Bhavasankrānti Śāstra* is an exposition of this *sūtra* by Nāgārjuna. There are three Tibetan translations of this work and a Chinese translation. The three Tibetan translations are of two versions, and the Chinese a third. The colophons ascribe the work to Bodhisatva in Chinese, or Arya in Tibetan, Nāgārjuna. While we are in a position to say definitely that the *Sūtra* is an old work, as it is quoted both by Maitreya-Asanga and Candrakīrti. We have no such indication in regard to the *Śāstra* whether it is a work of the great Nāgārjuna, as there are two well-known Nāgārjunas, the one who flourished about A.D. 200, and the other in the 7th century A.D. All these versions are printed separately done into Sanskrit, as far as may be, faithfully, and provided with the necessary commentary and notes to make the whole intelligible. It is a commendable effort of the author, and since the possibility of recovering the original Sanskrit texts seems remote, he has provided us with material which takes us about as near to it as is humanly possible. Bearing as it does upon one of the cardinal doctrines of Buddhism, all the time and trouble bestowed upon the bringing out of an excellent edition of this work is well bestowed, and the author and the publishers alike deserve the gratitude of the public.

PRATYABHIJÑĀHRDAYAM. (THE SECRET OF RECOGNITION). German Translation by Emil Baer, Ph. D., translated into English by Kurt F. Leidecker, M.A., Ph.D.

The Theosophical Society, Adyar recently organised a scheme of publication of valuable works, for which the responsibility rests with Dr. G. Srinivasamurti, Vaidyaratna, Honorary Director, and Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, M.A., D.Phil., who is also associated with the Library. Among the first fruits of this scheme, are some works of the greatest importance to the cultural History of India, of which this is one. This work is presented to us in an excellent edition, neatly got up into a small handbook, giving us the Sanskrit text for the editing of which the Adyar Library itself is responsible,

as the text is taken from manuscript in the Library compared and collated with such manuscripts and printed texts as are available. This is followed by an authorised English translation by K. F. Leidecker, of the original German translation and notes by the Rev. Emil Baer. We are indebted to Dr. Srinivasamurti and his staff for the Kashmir text of the treatise, and its importance could be appreciated, if it is noted, that the work is an authoritative composition on this particular system of Saivism as the work of Kshēmarāja, a cousin and disciple of the great mediaeval Kashmirian Abhinavagupta, whose period of life covered the second half of the tenth, and the first decades of the eleventh century A.D. Kshēmarāja's work therefore must belong to the earlier decades of the eleventh century, and is a handbook based upon the more elaborate treatises of Abhinavagupta on the same subject.

This is a handbook intended to serve the purpose of a textbook for beginners wishing to master the subject, and is composed of twenty *sūtras*. As is generally known, the *sūtras* are mere brief aphorisms, not intelligible by themselves, but intended merely to be got up and retained in memory. They would become easily intelligible after having received explanation more or less elaborate. Once the explanation has been given and the *sūtras* got up, one is in fair possession of the subject-matter, both so far as the subject itself is concerned, and even for the further pursuit of the study. Among these textbooks, this work of Kshēmarāja takes a high place.

The edition presented by the Theosophical Society gives us the text and the translation and notes of the Rev. Emil Baer. It has also the benefit of a good introduction from Mr. S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri, the Head of the Department of Philosophy in the Madras University. It is a work of great value for the history of Śaivism, and is beautifully printed and nicely got up, and is quite in keeping with the publications of the Theosophical Society and of the Vasanta Press. It is provided also with an index of Sanskrit words and an index of English terms, quite in keeping with the other publications of the press that we are familiar with.

TARIKH BADSHAH BEGAM (A PERSIAN MANUSCRIPT ON THE HISTORY OF OUDH) translated by Muhammad Taqi Ahmad, M.A., L.T.—with a Forward by Sir Jadunath Sarkar. The Indian Press Ltd., Allahabad, 1938—pp. xii and 98—Price Rs. 2-8-0.

Towards the end of the rule of the Mansuriya dynasty of Oudh there appeared two Begams, respectively wives of the imbecile

Ghaziud-din Haider (1814-27) and of Wajid Ali Shah (1847-56) who was deposed. The second of these has been dubbed "the Judith of the Sepoy Mutiny" by Sir Jadunath Sarkar. The former was the Padshah Begam, wife of Ghaziud-din and adoptive mother of Nasirud-din (1827-37). She was the daughter of a Rizvi Syed whose family came from Mashhad and married to her husband in 1794. She has been elsewhere described as "one of those tigress-women, more virile than their husbands, who, when finding themselves in a position to gratify their lust for power, have played a considerable part in oriental history;" she was the Padshah Begam (principal wife) of Ghaziud-din and retained the title, as queen—dowager, even in the reign of Nasirud-din. She had poisoned, according to rumour, the mother of her adoptive son at his birth, in order to assume complete control of him as he was the heir to the throne. When Ghaziud-din resolved that this boy, of whose legitimacy he had his own suspicions, should not succeed him and demanded of the Begam his custody, the latter fought for him with all the bravery of a hero and baffled the king's purpose, even standing an attack on her own apartments. As Ghaziud-din had wished to act towards Nasirud-din, so did the latter try to set aside Munna Jan, a boy whom the Begam had contrived to pass as the son of Nasir and whom, unfortunately, the latter had recognised, in defiance of his father. Later, Nasirud-din, under the influence of one Dulari, daughter of a Hindu of the Kurmi caste, repudiated Munna Jan, and acknowledged her own son, Kaiwan Jah, as the heir-apparent, in spite of the remonstrances of the Resident. This was in 1827; five years later, he repudiated both Kaiwan Jah and Munna Jan, assuring the Resident that he was not the father of either. The Begum took Munna Jan under her protection, defied all orders and threats, stood another siege in her apartments and only removed to another place when the Resident had assured her of her own safety and that of the boy. Stigmatised and publicly proclaimed as illegitimate the boy could not succeed, and the Suzerain Power passed on the succession to the eldest surviving brother of Ghaziud-din. On the sudden death of Nasirud-din in 1837, the Begam tried force again, forced her way with a large motley army into the throne-room, immediately after the death of the king and had Munna Jan proclaimed as the rightful successor. For some hours the Resident and his assistants were in imminent peril, till the arrival of troops from the cantonments facilitated the arrest of the Begam and her protégé and the opening of guns on the mutinous rabble. The Begum was confined in Chunar till her death.

This *Tarikh* deals with the personality and influence of the Begam, examines the birth of Munna Jan, trying to prove his illegitimacy and describes the futile coup of July 7/8, 1837. The translator of the manuscript says that the author was a contemporary resident of Lucknow and wrote his work at the instance of Mr. J. D. Shakespear, Second Assistant Resident, whose account of the coup is the most reliable and the official version. The *Tarikh* is evidently anti-Munna Jan and abundantly attempts to prove that he was really born of a washer-woman. Knighton (*The Private Life of an Eastern King* (1855); Colonel Sleeman [*Journey through the kingdom of Oudh* (1858)]; Ursula Low, [*Fifty years with John Company, from the letters of General Sir John Lan, 1822-58*]; Maddock and others have written on these incidents. According to Maddock the illegitimacy of Munna Jan was a certain event; Sleeman held a contrary opinion. Professor S. B. Smith who has edited Knighton's book, refers to an intercepted letter of the Padshah Begam indicating that even the birth of Nasiru'd-din was open to question. Apart from these reflections, some of which are detailed by Mr. Ahmad in his introduction, we have, in the *Chronicle*, evidence as to the elements of idolatry that had crept into the Shiah rites and festivals in Oudh, and as to the strength of mind and comparative ability of the Begam. His style is in places lacking in flow and clarity, proceeding more from the nature of the composition of the original, though the rendering has been fairly free. The biographical and other notes given indicate patient industry, concerning a period of history of a rich state about which European evidence of either an official or a merely spectacular and romantic interest has alone been available hitherto. With a free translation a more attractive sequential arrangement of matter may have been possible. This specimen of indigenous sources for the Lucknow Nawabi should be interesting to the scholar.

C.S.S.

THOMAS PARRY FREE MERCHANT, MADRAS 1768-1824
WITH 22 ILLUSTRATIONS INCLUDING 5 MAPS. By
G. H. Hodgson. Published by Messrs Higginbothams, (Madras, 1938).

The recent celebration of the 150th anniversary of the foundation of Messrs. Parry & Co., Madras, has been fittingly accompanied by the publication of an interesting biographical sketch of the founder of the firm, Thomas Parry, a Welshman, who lived in the Presidency for an unbroken period of 36 years from 1788 till his sudden death at Porto Novo in 1824. Those quaint old days in

Madras when free merchants outside the service of the Company carried on business under the Company's license, not interfering with their Europe trade, but helping in bringing the produce of the interior to the ports and in distributing the imported goods, form the background of this biography. Parry and his partners were an enterprising lot and distributed their energies between trade, miscellaneous duties, both official and quasiofficial, and other means of making money, like discounting, insurance and even the selling of lottery tickets which was much in vogue.

Young Parry found, even within a year of his stay at Madras, that trading by himself would not give him all that he desired and entered into partnership with a civil servant named Chase. This partnership enterprise included banking and general trading and agency business of diverse kinds; but it was not long-lived as businesses generally were in those days. The ledger-book of the accounts of that first partnership which is in the cherished possession of the present firm, shows how profits were then reckoned mainly on the basis of interest accruals and commissions on receipts, and payments derived from the exchange margin. It is also to be noted that Parry shared, along with other Madras business men and houses, the huge profits derived from the commissariat supplies provided for the gigantic armies sent against Tipu Sultan in 1790-91; and he was enabled thereby, within five years, to amass what was then deemed a "smug fortune," though, as usual in such cases, he lost it as quickly as he made it. Just about that time there began the shifting of the business centre of the city from the east front of the Fort to the Beach side of George Town, largely owing to the final prohibition of private trading on any account on the part of the Company's servants, and the shifting of the free merchants hitherto living in the White Town of the Fort, to commodious houses outside in the Black Town and the Choultry plain.

In 1796, Parry acquired, by purchase, the garden-house in San Thomé, now known as the Leith Castle; and situated on the site of one of the redoubts of the ruined fort of the place. Like several other Englishmen of the time, he took service under the Nawab of Arcot, nominally as a captain of troops, but really for effecting a more vigorous collection of the kists. Of course, he received very little of his nominally augmenting salary, and had only the doubtful satisfaction of seeing its arrears mount up by rapid strides. He could not prevent the Nawab's estate getting more and more hopelessly involved in debts; while the rooted dislike of the Madras Government to Europeans serving under the Nawab led to their resolution to despatch him back to Great Britain in 1800, by

virtue of an old order of the Directors. Try as he might, Parry could not get a reversal of the order; but he did not give way and would not comply with the demand of Government which, in its turn and curiously enough, did not proceed further in the matter.

More important to the Madras citizen than Parry's service under the Nawab and the part he played in the connected topic of the running sore of the Carnatic debts and their liquidation, was the acquisition by him of the site, at the south corner of the First Line Beach, in 1803, which has ever since been known as Parry's Corner and on which a magnificent pile of buildings will be soon rising. This Corner has always been one of the topographical landmarks of the city; historically it is noteworthy as the point at which the French erected a battery of guns, when they attacked Fort St. George in 1758-59.

In the course of a few years Parry lived down the distrust entertained of him by the Government till he came up once more against it, this time on the question of the Carnatic debts; and sturdy and independent was the attitude he took up in the whole affair. His very vigorous record of commercial activity showed that he possessed a vision, even wider than that of the more astute type of British businessmen in the East. He perceived how Trincomali in Ceylon would quickly grow in naval and commercial importance and desired to buy property there. He also evinced considerable interest in the spread of indigo and sugarcane cultivation in the South Arcot District and frequently indulged in what he called the risky business of ship-owning, which brought him alternating hopes and fears, as the fortunes of such enterprise depended on the honesty of ship-captains and the chances of the prevailing war with Napoleon.

It is a heartening thing to read that Parry and his partner indulged in ship-building activity at Cochin, which was well suited for the purpose on account of the abundance of its teak supplies,—the resources of Burma in this respect being then untapped. Parry's ship-building partner was confident that good sea-worthy frigates built in India could beat any similar craft built in Europe. The Schooner, which was one of the five ships which they built for the British Naval Squadron stationed at Trincomali was named aptly enough, H.M.S. Cochin. Parry and his good partner, Dare (himself also a well-known name in Madras), became agents in Madras for His Majesty's Navy at Trincomali.

This way and that, money came steadily pouring into the pockets of the prosperous merchant; and he lived a good life, according to the standards of the wealthy of the age, taking part in the many

social and charitable activities and gaieties of European society and, at the same time, earning the good will and affection of all the people with whom he moved. When, finally, he died of cholera at Porto Novo, in 1824, shortly after retiring from business his partners had a tablet erected to his memory in St. George's Cathedral, Madras, bearing an extravagantly worded inscription. Parry's married life in India was but brief; but as was well pointed out by Mr. Hodgson, he lived a full life, having placed his concerns on a permanent basis and started them on that career of continuous growth and expansion of which the present day prosperity of Messrs. Parry & Co. is the fruit. Parry was not a wealthy man in the sense in which the Nabobs of the 18th century were. His will, marked by numerous gifts and bequests, is indicative of his generous temper and kindly consideration for all who had helped him one way or another. An important feature of Parry's busy life was his sturdy defiance of Government, first in 1800, then again in 1809, when he was caught up in the vortex of the Carnatic Debts scandals, in the final solutions of which, he played, as the author says, 'a very leading and courageous part', fighting undauntedly against deeply entrenched and powerful forces. The whole story of the scandal was reviewed exhaustively by Sir Alexander Cardew a few years back in his book—"The White Mutiny."

In the course of his struggle Parry was once again threatened with deportation to England and once again the Government found itself on much too slender ground to enforce its order on Parry.

Thus, buffeted by fortune and buffeting it in his turn, Parry lived, ever holding up his head and courageously giving expression to his views, irrespective of their being pleasing or otherwise to the authorities.

So we take leave of the reminiscences of an old doughty Madras merchant, who and whose compeers like Binny and Dare, were responsible in no small measure for the initiation of modern business and industrial enterprise in our Presidency. Mr. Hodgson has allowed Parry to speak for himself through his numerous letters, by giving the reader a discriminating selection of extracts from them and interspersing his narrative with a survey of the noteworthy events of the times and revealing pictures of his household and life as seen through his account-books. The selection of letters that Mr. Hodgson has given as Part II of the volume has been classified with care. The book is a very desirable addition to the growing literature on Madras and on the important phases of its development. It is marked by a sustained interest in the narrative and by an easy manner of presentation.

C.S.S.

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Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society January 1939.

Some Sumerian Tablets of the Third Dynasty of Ur.—by T. Fish.

[The tablets published here for the first time belong to the British Museum and to the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania].

The structure of the Arabian and the Persian lute in the Middle Ages—by H. G. Farmer (musical theory was made conformable to its technique). Some additions to Professor Jeffery's *Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur'an* by Prof. D. S. Margolionth (an attempt to explain some puzzles and make a few additions to Jeffery's work forming Volume LXXIX of the Gaekwad Oriental Series.

The Ships of the Arabian Sea about A.D. 1500.—by W. H. Moreland. (1st part)—The Arab ships of those days were structurally weak, being sewn together and having no ribs and could not stand prolonged battering that would be involved in sailing beyond Madagascar to South Africa. It was want of technical equipment rather than courage that deterred Asiatic seamen from rounding the Cape.

The order of succession of the six Pallava kings preceding Mahendravarman—by A. Master. (concluding on a new evaluation of the epigraphic evidence that the succession should have been as follows:—

Kumāraśiṣṇu c. 450 A.C.
Skandavarman I c. 475 A.C.
Viravarman c. 500 A.C.
Skandavarman II c. 515 A.C.
Simhavarman c. 550 A.C.
Simhaviṣṇu c. 575 A.C.

Turks in Khotanese Texts by H. W. Bailey.
(giving sane names of peoples and titles).

Prague)—Vol. X. No. 3 (December 1938).

Archiv Orientalni (Journal of the Czecho-Slovak Oriental Institute,

The narrators of Buddhist scriptures and religious tales in the Sung Period by Jaroslav Prusek—There were two distinct groups of narrators from out of whom a third group develop-

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ed. Their works are not below the legends of pious authors of mediæval Europe.

On the date of Xerxes' accession by V. Lesny.—supporting the view, on the basis of the Old Persian Inscription of Xerxes at Persepolis, that Darius made Xerxes his successor and shortly afterwards died.

Journal Asiatique Tome CCXXIX October-December 1937.

Contributions à l'étude du barari—Wolf Leslaw.
(Abyssinie Méridionale)

Byjdragen Tot de Taal-land-en Volken kunde van Nederlandsch-Inde Deel 97—(1938).

Altind. 'Anta-,' wsw by J. Gonda.

Acta Orientalia—Vol. XVII—Part II.

Note on Saktism in Java by W. F. Stutterheim.

Manichaer in Indien und das Zeitalter des Tamulischen Dichters Manikkavacagar by H. H. Figulla.

Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London—Vol. IX—Part 4 (1939).

The great inscription of Šāpūr I by W. B. Henning. (The Pahlavi Inscription in front of the Achaemenian tombs at Nag's-i-Rus-tam is of great historical value for the early history of the Sassanians and is the most important document of the Sassanian empire so far discovered)

The Jātaka-stava of Jñānayaśas by H. W. Bailey (as contained in the Tibetan *Bstan-hgyur* with interlinear partial Tibetan gloss).

Various eras and calendars used in the countries of Islam by S. H. Taqizadeh.

A guide to the metres of Urdu verse—by T. Grahame Bailey.
Intervocalic Plosives in Early Tamil by A. Master (showing that there is no ground for supposing that there was any period in which Tamil lacked voiced plosives).

Koliw Dhārāḷo etc.—by A. Master (Koli is a tribal name, which defies investigation) Plurality, Polarity and Unity in Hindu thought—A Doxographical Study—by B. Heimann. (India's idea of unity is more or less merely the concept of cosmic collectivism or combination of aggregates or of a final or original receptacle assumed, or of balance plurali-

ties, or polarities but never a concept of genuine uniqueness or simplicity).

Journal of the American Oriental Society—Vol. 58—No. 4—December 1938.

An Echo-Word Motif in Dravidian Folk-tales—by M. B. Emeneau (giving Kota, Coorg and Toda versions of a Tamil folk-tale which is built around a word-play).

The Kashmirian Atharva-Veda, Book Eighteen, edited with critical notes by L. C. Barret.

Early Prohibitions of Tobacco in China and Manchuria—by L. C. Goodrich.

History of the Tamil *r*—by L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar—opposing the reactions to his views on the letter.

Epigraphia Indica Vol. XXIV—April 1937 (1938).

Sripuram Plates of Anantavarman, Lord of Kalinga—by G. V. Srinivasa Rao (concluded) (The dynasty of Kalingādhīpatīs disappeared possibly before the close of the 6th c. A.D.)

Indore Plates of Pravarasena II—by S. K. Bose. (referring to Vākātaka Maharaja Pravarasena II and giving besides his stereotyped genealogy, evidence of use of the word *rajuka* meaning a land revenue officer.

Jagannatharaya Temple Inscriptions at Udaipur—by Pandit A. K. Vyaas. (Before the time of Hammira, the Ranas ruled the small state of Sesoda and were contemporary to the princes of the Raval branch of the family ruling over Chitor, the family having divided into two branches early in the 12th century and uniting only under Rana Hammira. The inscriptions contain notes of historical value concerning Sanga's victory over Mahmud Khalji II of Malwa, his triumph over Muzaffar II of Gujarat, the battle of Haldighat, Karna's burning of Sironj, Jagatsimha's building of the Jagannatharaya Temple (1652) and the accession of Rajasimha.

Srirangam Inscription of Garuda-vāhana Bhatta of Saka 1415. —by A. S. Ramanatha Iyer, important for the history of Sanskrit literature, as helping to identify this Garuda-vāhana of A.D. 1493, with the author of the hagiological *Kāvya* (Divyasūricharitam) setting aside its traditional attribution to a contemporary of Ramanuja; and as referring to the existence of a hospital (arōgyasālai) in the temple and to the shrine of Dhanvantari.

Indian Culture, January 1939 Vol. V, No. 3.

The Budha as a master-mind by Dr. A. B. Keith. Herein Dr. Keith challenges Sir S. Radhakrishnan, and says that the Pali texts present a view of the teachings of the Buddha which does not accord with that suggested by Sir S. Radhakrishnan; but suggested rather that the Buddha had no belief on the issue of the absolute.

The Vaishṇava Cult in India by Dewan Bahadur K. S. Ramaswami Sastri. He says that the Vaishṇava cult has its roots in the Vedas, though its blossoming is in the Agamas and Tantras.

A note on Provincial Government under the Sultanae of Delhi by A. C. Banerjee. He says that there was really speaking no well-defined system which can be analysed from the theoretical point of view. Neither the position of the provincial governor nor the function of the officers appointed by him or acting under his authority can be precisely determined from the careless or unsystematic chronicles which constitute the only source of information.

The Date of the Rebellions of Tilang and Kampila Against Sultan Muhammad Bin-Tughlaq-II by N. Venkata Ramanayya. He says that Firishta's chronology is on an average seven years in advance of the true chronology. The date given by him is not above doubt. Deducting seven years from his date 744 A. H. we arrive at 737 A. H. (A. D. 1336-37) as the years in which the rebellions broke out. This is in agreement with the date suggested by chronological data furnished by contemporary historians, such as Barni, Ibn Batouta and Badr-i-Chach but also by Isamy, a subject of the founder of the Bahmani dynasty, a contemporary of Muhammad bin Tughlaq and an eye witness to several events of his reign. So the above date may be accepted as the correct date of the rebellion.

Sūnya and Brahman by Ashokanath Shastri. The Buddhist conception of Sūnya is similar in many respects to the Advaita conception of Brahman in spite of some differences.

Central Organization of the Early Turkish Empire of Delhi-II by Aziz Ahmad. A strong family likeness marks the administrative organization of all the autocratic states. The central government of India in those days was modelled on the lines of the monarchies of Persia which were, in their turn, deeply influenced by the Roman conception of government and law. Many resemblances are therefore noticed between the governments of the Roman Emperors and the Sultans of Delhi.

- The Vedas and Adhyātma Tradition* by Vasudeva S. Agrawala.
It is now high time for Vedic scholars to realise, if they would redeem Vedic studies from stagnation that the orthodox and traditional interpretation of the Vedas is essentially Adhyātmic. What he pleads for is the recognition of the Adhyātma-Vedic school, and readjustment of the canons of research to that end.
- On Vainyagupta* by Nalini Nath Das Gupta. Vainyagupta was perhaps the immediate predecessor of Bhānugupta—his father or brother.
- Buddha Nirvāṇa and some other Dates in Ancient Indian Chronology* by Dr. H. C. Seth. From Asoka's coronation and the dotted record he thinks that 487 B. C. is the date of Buddha Nirvāṇa.
- The Jaina Theory of Existence and Reality—Mr. Kalipada Mitra.
- The Abhayagiri School's Views concerning the Number of Jātakas and the Enumeration of Books of the Abhidhamma Pitaka—Dr. B. M. Barua.
- The Date of Madhusūdana Sarasvati—Rai Bahadur Amarnath Ray.
- The Śaka Rival of Ramagupta—Mr. Dasharatha Sharma.
- Mandasor Inscription of Kumāragupta (1)—Mr. Dharendra Nath Mookerjee.
- The Bearing of the Haraha Inscription on the Epoch of the Gupta Era—Mr. Jagan Nath.
- Karṇasuvarṇa and Suvarṇa-Kudya—Mr. N. N. Das Gupta.
- The Journal of the Bihar & Orissa Research Society*, Vol. XXIV, Part iv, December 1938.
- A Palm-leaf Manuscript of Viṣṇu-Purāṇa dated 1464 A.D. (with plate)—Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon).
- Note on Pakṣadhara Miśra—Dr. A. Banerji Sastri, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon) and Sāhityācārya Subhadra Jha, M.A.
- Dastur-ul-Imla—A Collection of Letters of Historical Importance—Syed Hasan Askari, M.A., B.L., Patna College.
- History of Ibrahim Adil Shah of Bijapur (from Fatuhāt-i'-Adil Shai)—K. K. Basu, M.A., T.N.J. College, Bhagalpur.
- Dariya Sahab of Bihar and his Works—Dharmendra Brahmachari Sastri, M.A., Patna College.
- Corrections to a Note on Punch-Marked Copper Band from Patna—Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon).
- The Pratiharas and the Gurjaras—D. C. Ganguly, M.A., Ph.D., Dacca University.
- Manuscripts acquired by the Society in 1938-39.

The Indian Historical Quarterly. Vol. XIV, No. 2, June 1938.

- The Relation of Hittite, Tocharian and Indo-European—Dr. A. Berriedale Keith, M.A., D.C.L.
- Naming a Child or a Person—Prof. P. V. Kane, M.A., LL.M.
- The Veḷāḷas in Mohenjo Daro—Rev. Fr. H. Heras, S.J., M.A.
- Candra-gomin—Prof. Dr. S. K. De, M.A., D.Lit.
- Vyāḍi and Vājapyāyana—Prof. M. Hiriyanna, M.A.
- From the Great Goddess to Kala—Prof. Dr. J. Przyluski, Ph.D.
- Sanskrit Works on the Game of Chess—Chintaharan Chakravarti, M.A.
- Indian Elements in the Coin Device of the early foreign Rulers of India—Jitendra Nath Banerjee, M.A.
- Nāgārjuna's List of Kuśaladharmas—Prof. E. H. Johnston, M.A.
- Indo-Arica—Dr. Sukumar Sen, M.A., Ph.D.
- Mohenjo-Daro and the Aryans—Dr. E. J. Thomas, M.A., D.Litt.
- The Vayu-Purāṇa—Dr. Rajendra Chandra Hazra, M.A., Ph.D.
- Dates of some Kakatiya Records—Dr. Dines Chandra Sircar, M.A., Ph.D.
- The Kauṭīliya Arthaśāstra on Forms of Government—Harit Krishna Deb, M.A.
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