

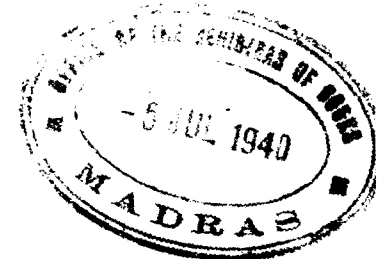
Vol. XIX, Part 1.

April, 1940

Serial No. 55

JOURNAL
OF
INDIAN HISTORY

(Published three times a year)



EDITOR

Rājasēvāsakta

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

ASSOCIATE EDITORS

Rao Sahab C. S. SRINIVASACHARYAR, M.A.,
Professor, Annamalai University.

V. RANGACHARYA, M.A.,
Madras Education Service,

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

G. S. PRESS, MADRAS.



CONTENTS

	PAGE
THE INTERVENING AGE BETWEEN PARIKSIT AND NANDA—By D. S. Trivedi, M.A., Ph.D. ..	1
BEGINNING OF CANDRAGUPTA MAURYA'S REIGN—By H. C. Seth, M.A., Ph.D. ..	17
CHANDRAGUPTA THE GREAT—By P. S. Telang, M.A. ..	22
THE ERAN INSCRIPTION OF SAMUDRAGUPTA—By Jagannath, M.A.' ..	27
THE IDENTIFICATION OF KING KANISHKA OF THE ARA INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 41—By Bij Nath Puri ..	30
A HISTORY OF TIRUKKATTUPALLI AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD— By V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, M.A. ..	35
THE COUNCIL OF REGENCY DURING THE MINORITY OF THE BAHMANI AHMAD III AND MUHAMMAD III (1461-1466)— By Professor H. K. Sherwani, M.A. ..	45
MEDICINE AT THE MOGHUL COURT—By D. V. S. Reddy ..	56
WAS THE ABDALI INVASION OF 1766-67 A REAL MENACE TO BENGAL?—By Dr. Ashirbadi Lal Srivastava, M.A. ..	64
THE ANGLO-DUTCH DUEL IN EASTERN WATERS (1652-4)—By J. C. De, M.A. ..	79
ANNALS OF OLD MADRAS: POPHAM'S BROADWAY, STEPHEN POPHAM—By K. Narasimbachari, M.A. ..	91
LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK—By T. G. Percival Spear ..	100
INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS—Third Session, Calcutta, 1939 ..	112
EDITORIAL—'The Prinsep Centenary' ..	119
REVIEWS—'Proceedings and Transactions of the Ninth All- India Oriental Conference, Trivandrum'; 'Alivardi and His Times'; 'Verelst's Rule in India'; 'Warren Hastings and Oudh'; 'Ancient India'; 'History of Madras' ..	121
SELECT CONTENTS ..	140
OUR EXCHANGES ..	142

Journal of Indian History

The Intervening Age between Parikṣit and Nanda

By

D. S. TRIVEDA, M.A., Ph.D.,
Patna College, Patna.

THE following stanza is found invariably in almost all the historical
Purāṇas with a little variation in readings :

Mahāpad¹mābhiṣekāttu² janma yāvat³ Parikṣitaḥ |
Ārabhya⁴ bhavato janma yāvan Nandābhiṣecanam |
Etad⁵varṣ⁶asahasraṁtu śatam⁷ pañca daśottaram⁸ ||

Viṣṇu Purāṇa, IV, 24. 33.
Śrīmadbhāgavata, XII, 2. 36.

Pargiter would accept the reading 'Jneyam pancāśaduttaram' in
the fourth foot and translate the verse as follows :—

'Now from Mahāpadma's inauguration to Parikṣit's birth, this
interval is indeed known as 1050 years.' (P.T. 74).¹

The above verse has almost become a riddle for the historians
to solve for ascertaining the date of the Great Indian war, Parikṣit
being the son of Abhimanyu who lost his life fighting to the last
in the Bhārata battle waged on the field of Kurukṣetra between

1. The following abbreviations have been used :—

P.T.=The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age. Edited
by F. E. Pargiter, Oxford University Press, 1913.

Mt.=Matsya Purāṇa.

Vā.=Vayu Purāṇa.

Vṣ.=Viṣṇu Purāṇa.

Bḍ.=Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa.

Bh.=Bhāgavata Purāṇa.

the sons of Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Pāṇḍu. It was during this battle that Uttarā, the wife of Abhimanyu, son of Arjuna, gave birth to a still-born child after six months' gestation owing to the shock she received on hearing the sad news of the death of her husband who was killed treacherously by the combination of seven chiefs against him. This tragic death of Abhimanyu was the subject of popular legend with the Hindus. Thus these two important events, the still-born birth of Parikṣit—who was resuscitated by the divine powers of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, and the coronation of Yudhiṣṭhira—the virtuous, were naturally most appropriate for fixing the starting point of the historical epoch.

The above verse has been differently interpreted by scholars to mean 515; 550; 850; 1015; 1050; 1115; 1150; 1500; 1503; 1510; or 2500.

Pargiter's Theory and Sarkar's Explanation.

To justify the date of the Mahābhārata War as advocated by F. E. Pargiter, my learned professor Dr. S. C. Sarkar, who happens to be a pupil of the late learned compiler of the Dynasties of Kali Age, would like to change the reading 'sahasram tu' in the third foot into 'sahasrārdham' thinking that by so doing no syllable would be superfluous.² Here the reading *tu* is an unnecessary addition to complete the foot whereas if we can amend the text as 'sahasrārdham' it gives a rendering which would justify approximately the date of the Bhārata battle as established by Pargiter. On this supposition Parikṣit's birth or the War would be dated in B.C. 930 (415+515) or B.C. 965 (415+550), thereby placing the coronation of Nanda in B.C. 415. In so doing the learned doctor would reduce the reign of the Nandas from 100 to 99 years reserving 10 years for the subjugation of the contemporary kings though Pargiter would reserve 20 years for it. But though it suits Pargiter's approximate date³ of B.C. 950, yet the reading as proposed to be amended by his disciple has no backing of the manuscripts known so far, as attested by the distinguished antiquarian in his text, and we should change no reading as long as on the existing texts an intelligible account can be constructed.

2. I am indebted to my learned Professor Dr. S. S. Sarkar for his kind permission to give publicity and discuss his views in this connection.

3. *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, by F. E. Pargiter, London, 1922, p. 179.

INTERVENING AGE BETWEEN PARIKSIT & NANDA 3

The Interval of 850 years.

Dr. R. Shama Sastry says⁴ that the interval between him (Parikṣit) and Nanda is, according to the Matsya Purāṇa one thousand years less by one hundred fifty, that is 850 years (p. 230, Book IV, 25, Viṣṇu Purāṇa, Wilson's translation). Perhaps the reading in his text was *nyūnam* instead of *jñeyam* in the fourth foot. But this hardly suits the dynastic aggregate.

1015 or 1050 and Jayaswal's Explanation.

According to the late Dr. K. P. Jayaswal⁵ when the Purāṇas calculate the date of the Great War with reference to the coronation year of Nanda, they do not mean the last Nanda, but Nanda the Great (Mahā Nanda). This interval is known to be 1015 years. Against this date Vāyu and Matsya give 1050 years from the coronation of Mahā-Deva and Mahā-Padma respectively (Vāyu. XXXVII, 409 and Matsya. CCLXXIII, 35). Thus it is clear that the interval before Mahā-Padma (1050 years) was longer than that before Nanda (1015 years, Viṣṇu.). The latter consequently could not be a Nanda later than Mahā-Padma, but must be an earlier Nanda and the Venkatesvara Press edition of the Brahmāṇḍa actually reads Mahā Nanda in the place of Nanda (III. 74. 229). So the Brahmāṇḍa, Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata give their calculation from the date of the coronation of Mahā Nanda (1015 years), and the Vāyu and Matsya from the coronation of Mahādeva (Vāyu) or the Mahā-Padma (Matsya) 1050 years.

The Difference Explained.

Thus there is a difference of 35 years (1050-1015) between the coronation of the two kings, and the Purāṇas give 43 years for the reign of Mahānanda—a reading taken by Dr. Jayaswal without backing of any Paurāṇika text which reads Mahāmnandi (nMt), Mahinandi (fVā), or Sahanandir (Bḍ). Dr. Jayaswal would explain the discrepancy of 8 years on the ground that Mahāpadma was the *de facto* ruler for 8 years as Regent. He would interpret the reading *Mahāpadmābhisekāt* (of Matsya) as the *abhiseka* of Mahā-Padma as his *abhiseka* as Regent, and not as a King. Moreover, he would call Mahā-Nanda, Nanda II and place his accession in B.C. 409. So according to him

4. *Gavām Ayana—The Vedic Era*, by R. Shama Sastry, Mysore, 1908, p. 155.

5. *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Vol. I, p. 109.

Nanda II (Mahā Nanda)	..	Ruled for 35 years from B.C. 409 to B.C. 374.
Nanda III (Mahā Deva)	..	} Ruled for 8 years from B.C. 374 to B.C. 366.
Nanda IV		
(the unnamed Minor)	..	
Neo-Nandas.		
Nanda V (Padma the Great)	.	Ruled for 28 years from B.C. 366 years to B.C. 338.
Nanda VI (Sumālya the— Greedy)	..	Ruled for 12 years from B.C. 338 to B.C. 326.

He would allow only 697 years against 1005 years (according to my theory based on the Purāṇas) for the Post-Mahābhārata Brhadratha dynasty, and 363 years (P.T. 71) against 362 of the Purāṇas for the whole Śiśunāga dynasty which according to him were the immediate successors of the Brhadrathas. But while preparing his chronology he would assign only 361 years for the Śiśunāga dynasty and take the king whose coronation is referred to as Mahānanda II of the Śiśunāga dynasty and not of the Nanda dynasty, although all the Purāṇas clearly state it that Mahānanda or Mahāpadma refers to Nanda, the Great, who overthrew all his contemporary kings and ruled for 100 years along with his 8 sons.

But whosoever has heard that an *abhiṣeka* was performed of a Regent, and, while counting the regnal years, the period of his regency was included in his regnal years? Moreover, is there any instance in the history of the world where the regency period of a ruler has been excluded from the regnal period of the minor? There is nothing to warrant the supposition of a regency under the so-supposed minor king. We are at a loss to understand the source of Dr. Jayaswal's knowledge for this information.

Mukhopādhyāya's Theory of 2500 Years.

Prof. Dhīrendra Nātha Mukhopādhyāya⁶ takes it to mean 2500 years (1000+1500). He supports his rendering on the authority of a Ms. of the Matsya in the Bodleian Library

6. *Pradipa* (Bengali Journal), Vol. V, pp. 1-23.

(No. 95, bMt. in Pargiter's list) where the last line according to Mukhopādhyāya reads '*Evam varṣa sahasraṁtu jñeyampañca-śatatrāyam.*' So *pañcaśatatrāyam* would mean 1500 (500×3). He would place the coronation of Nanda in B.C. 602 (3102-2500). Chandragupta Maurya came to the throne in B.C. 325 and Nanda ruled for 100 years. So Nanda ascended the throne in B.C. 425 (325+100). The predecessors of Nanda-deva of the Śiśunāga dynasty ruled for 163 years (P. T. 69). So the rule of the Śiśunāgas began in B.C. 588 (425+163) and the Pradyotas ruled before them. Nandivardhana—the last of the Pradyotas ruled for 20 years, and, therefore, he ascended the throne in B.C. 608 (588+20), and so the Purāṇas, according to him, in round numbers say that the duration was 2500 years. He would account for these 2500 years as follows:—

The Brhadrathas, according to him ruled for 1723 years (1000+723). From the time of Dyonyisios to Sandracottus, the Indians counted 153 kings and a period of 6042 years; but among these a republic was thrice established and another to 300 years and another to 120 years. (McCrindle's Ancient India as described by Arrian, pp. 203-4). So the two republics lasted for 420 years (300+120) and the Pradyotas excluding Nandivardhana ruled for 118 years (138-20). So we get 2261 years (1723+420+118) the sum total and by subtracting it from 2500 years we get 239 years the period of the third republic.

Moreover, he, thinks that the reading 'Brhadratheṣvatieṣu Vitihotreṣvavantiṣu' refers to the republics of the Vitihotras and the Mālavas established in Magadha; but there is hardly any justification for supposing the Vitihotras and the Mālavas in the Magadhan territory except the reading in connection with the Pradyotas. The above line should be really translated 'when the Brhadrathas (in Magadha) and the Vitihotras in Avanti passed away.' Its full bearing would be discussed by me in another article. And the Greek evidence which he brings in his support does not make clear as to who this Dyonyisios was; and if he is taken to be the twenty-fifth predecessor of Heracles, who is identified with Kṛṣṇa, the Śūrasenas never ruled in Magadha, whereas Sandracottus was a king of Magadha. Sandracottus need not be Chandragupta Maurya; he may be Chandra Gupta I of the Gupta dynasty whose son Samudragupta defeated and married the daughter of Seleucus Nicator in B.C. 312. The reading which he puts up in his support is really *Śato trayam* and not *śatatrāyam* as taken by him. The Purāṇas themselves as well as Dr. K.

P. Jayaswal amongst the modern scholars have made it clear that the Śiśunāgas ruled for 362 or 363 years and not for 163 years as suggested in a bracket by Pargiter and accepted by Prof. Mukhopādhyāya. He would himself place Nandivardhana once in B.C. 608 and once in B.C. 602 which cannot be easily reconciled. The Purāṇas nowhere refer to the existence of a republic in the annals of the Magadhan dynasty as they do about the other quarters.

Credibility of the Purāṇas.

Dr. S. N. Pradhan rightly observes (chronology of Ancient India, Calcutta, 1927, p. 230) that Mr. (Dr.) Bhandarkar has unfortunately accused the Purāṇas of having made desperate attempts to fill up the gaps of the period by inventing names such as Nandivardhana, Mahānandi, etc. Now, nowhere, whether in the Vedic Age or in the historical age, have the Purāṇas, exhibited any tendency to deceive us with invented names. They have faithfully preserved all the traditions they could collect about the dynasties whose history is related in them. The copyists and the change of script were responsible for the corruptions that have crept into them.

I shall show in the following pages how all the above renderings are radically opposed to the Paurāṇika accounts as well as to astronomical calculations. In fact the Mahābhārata War was fought and Parikṣit was born 36 years before the beginning of the Kali Yuga whose initial year is known to be 3101 B.C. from various sources.

The Paurāṇika Commentators.

All the commentators of the Paurāṇas are puzzled over this stanza and they try to explain the verse at length by the use of their critical faculty. They realise that it should mean 1500 years and nothing else. According to Śrīdhara⁷ the

7. Kāliyugāntaraviśeṣaṇi Vaktumāha—Arabhyetyādinā—Varṣasahasraṇi pañcadaśottaraṇi śataṇi ceti kayāpi vivakṣayāvāntarasaṁkhyeyāṇi |

Vastutaḥ Parikṣin Nandayorantaraṇi dvābhyāṇi nyūnaṇi varṣānāṁ sārḍhasahasraṇi bhavati yataḥ Parikṣitsamakālaṁ Māgadhaṁ Mārjārīmārabhya Ripuñjayāntā (dvā) viṁśatīrājānaḥ sahasrasaṁvatsaraṇi bhokṣyanti tyuktaṇi navamskandhe ye Bārhadratha bhūpālā bhāvyaḥ sahasravatsaraṇi iti tataḥ paraṇi pañca Pradyotaṇaḥ aṣṭatīrīṣottaraṇi śataṇi Śiśunāgaśca śastyuttaraśatātryaṇi bhokṣyanti prthivimityatroktavāt. Śrīdhara.

INTERVENING AGE BETWEEN PARIKSIT & NANDA 7

period 1115 can in no way be accounted for. In fact, the interval between Parikṣit and Nanda is one and a half thousand less by two (1498), for it is stated in the IX Book that 22 kings beginning from Mārjāri of Magadha, the contemporary of Parikṣit, to Ripuñjaya will rule for one thousand years. Therefore, 5 Pradyotas will rule for 138 years and the Śiśunāgas will rule the earth for 360 years.

Śrīvirarāghava⁸ repeats the arguments of Śrīdhara and says that the verse is intended to ascertain the period as to how long the lunar dynasty will survive from the date of my birth. Nanda's coronation has been referred to because the lunar dynasty ended with the anointment of Nanda. It means 1115 years.

According to the Siddhānta Pradīpa of Śukadeva,⁹ it means one thousand years more by ten, and hundred multiplied by five; so it comes to 1510 years. Sahadeva, the son of Jarāsandha was the contemporary of Abhimanyu, and Mārjāri, the son of Sahadeva was the contemporary of Parikṣit. The total of the Bṛhadrathas and Pradyotes is 1138 years (1000+138); or 1243 years (1105+138) (according to my study of the Bṛhadrathas). The above number of years is clear if we take into account the intervening period between the fall of the Śiśunāga Empire and the coronation of Nanda. There would be discrepancy of number if we do not take the word five as multiplied by five.

Astronomical Data.

The Paurāṇika chroniclers were too conscious of the misunderstanding which may arise in the course of the countless centuries and hence they adopted a second method of calculation, or rather of checking the first by the second,—the astronomical data. All the writers are unanimous that the Saptarṣis were in

8. Majjanmaprabhṛti yāvati Somavaṁśasamāpī kiyaṇ kālo bhaviṣyati-tyabhiprāyamālakṣyāha | Nandābhiṣēcanaparyantaiva Sōmavaṁśasyānu-vṛttirato yāvān Nandābhiṣēcanamityuktam | Ētadantaraṇi varṣānāṁ pañcadaśottaraśataṇi sahasraṇcetyarthaḥ | Śrī Virarāghava.

9. Varṣānāṁ sahasraṇi daśottaraṇi pañcaguṇāśataṇi caitat daśādhiḥ sārḍhasahasraṇi varṣānāṁ bhavati tyarthaḥ | Abhimanyusamakālo Jarā-sandhasutaḥ Sahadēvaḥ parikṣitsamakālaḥ Sahadēvasutaḥ Mārjārīstamārabhya Ripuñjayāntā (as in Śrīdhara)..... Śiśunāgarājyabhramṣa Nandā-bhiṣēcanayōrantarālikatvāccoktasamvatsarasamkhyā samyak saṁgacchate | Pañcaśabdasya pañcaguṇe lakṣaṇaṇi vinoktasamkhyā virodhaḥ syāt | Śrī Śukadeva.

Maghā at the time of Parikṣit's birth and they would go to the Pūrvāṣāḍhā in the time of Nanda. The following stanza is found in the Purāṇas:—

Prayāsyanti yadācaite Pūrvāṣāḍhām maharṣayah |
Yadā Maghābhyo yāsyanti Pūrvāṣāḍhām maharṣayah |
Tadā Nandāt prabhṛtyeṣā Kalirvṛddhim gamiṣyati ||
(P. T. 62.)

When the Great Bear passes from the Maghā to Pūrvāṣāḍhā, then starting from Nanda (i.e., the Great Bear was conjoined with the Pūrvāṣāḍhā in Mahāpadma Nanda's time), this Kali age will attain great magnitude. (P. T. 75).

The Motion of the Great Bear.

The names of the seven Ṛṣis, shining in the wain, are Marīci, Aṅgiras, Atri, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu and Vasiṣṭha and close to it a small star, representing Arundhatī his wife. The peculiar motion¹⁰ ascribed in the Siddhānta and other works to these seven fixed stars, the Ṛṣis has excited a considerable amount of discussion.

Extracts are given by Colebrooke from the works of no fewer than twelve different Hindu authors, all of whom were of the opinion that the Ṛṣis had the motion referred to, and it was supposed to occupy them 100 years in their progress from East to West over the space allotted to each asterism along the Ecliptic. The supposed motion is not noticed, however by the Sūryasiddhānta or by its commentators. Nṛsiṃha rejects the rule of computation given for estimating the motion as not agreeing with the Purāṇas. Bhāskara, according to Muniśvara, omitted this topic, on account of contradictory opinions concerning it, and because it is of no great use.

Muniśvara in his own compilation, the Siddhānta Sārvabhauma observes that the seven Ṛṣis are not like the stars attached by spikes, to the solid ring of the Ecliptic; but revolve, in small circles, round the Northern Pole of the Ecliptic.

Kamalākara notices the opinion recorded in the Siddhānta Sārvabhauma, but observes that no such motion is perceptible, remarking, however, that the authority of the Purāṇas, and Samhitās, which affirm their revolution, is incontrovertible. He reconciles faith and experience, by saying that the stars themself-

10. *Hindu Astronomy*, by W. Brennand, London, 1896, pp. 68 et. seq.

ves are fixed; but the seven Ṛṣis are invisible Deities who perform the stated revolutions in the period specified.

Regarding this explanation, Colebrooke dryly remarks if Kamalākara's notion be adopted, no further difficulty remains; but it could hardly be supposed that the celebrated astronomers, Lalla and Bārāhamihira, who were not mere compilers and transcribers, intended to describe revolutions of invisible beings, and it can scarcely be supposed that they should have exhibited rules of computation, which did not approach to the truth, at the very period, when they were proposed.

From the extracts given above, it will be seen that the several writers refer to a motion which they themselves evidently did not understand, but which they were endeavouring to explain from traditional doctrine, received from previous astronomers, to whom the subject was really clear.

The Rate of their Motion.

This makes the mean annual rate of motion backward 48.56661". Now neglecting the decimal part of this value of regression, which would express what was to be stated in round numbers, and reducing the arc of an Asterism, or 13°.20' (360° ÷ 27) to seconds, it is seen that there are exactly 48,000" in an Asterism and dividing this by the annual rate, 48" it would take just one thousand years for the Solstitial point to travel over it. In actual fact, it takes 960 years.

Now, what is more natural than that omissions or mistakes should be made in the numerous copies of the statements of the original astronomers, who lived more than 2800 centuries ago; or that a cypher should have been lost, or even a dot (which we are told, ancient writers used in lieu of a cypher), at the end of a number, and that modern Hindu writers should have been misled into stating 100 instead of 1,000 years, 2,700 years for a revolution instead of 27,000? With a mean value of 50" for the precession we reckon 25,920 years for the revolution of a Solstice, or of an Equinox.

In short, the rate of motion of the Solstices, originally known and so near the truth, became lost to the successors of the earliest astronomers.

The Position of the Great Bear.

It was as early as 1805 that Col. Wilford gave a nice description of the position of the Saptarṣis in the pages of the Asiatic Researches, Vol. IX, p. 83. He says:—

The Hindus have thought proper to connect their chronology with an astronomical period of a most strange nature. It is that of the seven Ṛsis, or seven stars of the Wain, which are supposed to go through the zodiac in a retrograde motion in the space of 2,700 years. They are at present in the lunar mansion of Svātikā, according to the most famous astrologers of Benares, who cautioned me against the erroneous opinion of other astronomers, in various parts of India, who insist that they are now in Anurādhā.

I requested an able astronomer to give me in writing an account of this wonderful revolution. This period, says he, is not obvious to the sight, but it does, however really exist, being mentioned in old śāstras, and by holy Munis; and certainly the seven Ṛsis preside in every lunar mansion, for a hundred years, and their presence or rather influence over it is sufficiently obvious; and according to Śākalya Muni, their yearly motion is of eight liptas¹¹ or minutes.

In the Vārāhī Samhitā,¹² the Viṣṇu Purāṇa¹³ and also in the Bhāgavata,¹⁴ I believe it is declared that at the birth of Parikṣit, the seven Ṛsis had been in Maghā for four years, or 4905 years ago, and they were in Pūrvā-Āṣāḍha in the time of Nanda supposing the seven Ṛsis to be now in Svātikā, in which they are to remain for 10 years more. The author of the Gārgī Samhitā, according to Bhaṭṭotpala in his commentary, seems to be of that opinion, when he says,¹⁵ that the seven Ṛsis were in Maghā, in the twilight between the Dvāpara and the Kaliyuga.

My friends insist that their motion is perceptible and they showed them plainly to me in Svātikā. Of this they wanted to convince me, by drawing a line, from that mansion through the

11. Śākalyasamjñamuninā kathitā sabānāḥ
Saptarṣitārakabhavā dhruvakścalāśca |
Eṣāṁ sadaikaravivarṣabhavā gatiśca
Liptāṣṭakam tvatha ca tadvacanāṁ kilaivam || 25

See Siddhanta tattvavivēka, Bhāgrahayutyadhikāra, by Kamalākara Bhaṭṭa, edited by Sudhākara Dvivedī, Benares, 1885.

Kamalākara wrote in Śāke 1580 (1658 A.D.).

12. Āsan maghāsu munayaḥ śāsati prthivīm yudhiṣṭhīre nrpatau |
Śaddvikapañcadviyutaḥ śakakālatasya rājyasya || XIII. 3.

13. Te tu parikṣite kālē maghāsvāsan dvijottamaḥ, Vs. IV. 24. 35.
(P. T. 61).

14. To tvadya dvijāḥ kālē-adhunā cāsritā Maghāḥ
Bhāgavata XII.2.30 (P. T. 61).

15. Kalidvāparasandhau tu sthitaste pītṛdaivataṁ |

stars B and A of the Great Bear. When they are in Maghā then the line passes through this asterism and the stars D and A. By these means they could see them in every part of the starry heavens. Astrologers watch carefully their motion, because their influence is variously modified through every mansion: and whatever new married couple see them in a fortunate moment, they are sure to live happy together for a hundred years. Hence says the ingenious Mr. Bailly, we may safely conclude that nobody ever saw them in that propitious moment.

The period of the seven Ṛsis begins to be neglected in the more northern parts of India, because they are not always to be seen at the lucky moment, and, in their stead use Dhruva or the Polar Star.

Their Motion is retrograde.

Śrīyut Śrīś Chandra Vidyārṇava while quoting¹⁶⁻¹⁷ the above extract of Col. Wilford, misled by the regular order of the Nakṣatras, thought that the Saptarṣis also moved in the regular order arranged according to the Nakṣatras; and hence he put a mark of interrogation after the word 'retrograde.' Dr. Jayaswal and many others fell a prey to the same thought and hence they concluded that there was a difference of 1015 or 1050 years only between the birth of Parikṣit and Nanda. By counting in the regular order we have Maghā, Pūrvā-Fālgunī, Uttarā-Fālgunī, Hastā, Citrā, Svātikā, Viśākhā, Anurādhā, Jyēsthā, Mūlā; and Pūrvā-Āṣāḍhā, a difference of 10 Nakṣatras only, and since the Ṛsis reside over each Nakṣatra for a period of 100 years, the difference between Parikṣit and Nanda should be of a thousand years only. Even the Paurāṇika copyists were led into errors due to this very misunderstanding and they tried to give different readings to equate this astronomical datum. The commentators also lacked the knowledge of astronomy in the majority of cases and hence they did not correct the extant text and tried to explain it on the authority of the dynastic period only.

But in fact their motion is retrograde as is clear from the word precession, pre-Purva or east and cession from Fr. cedere-go.

16-17. Matsya Purāṇa, edited by B. D. Basu, Allahabad, 1916, Vol. I; Appendix II, p. xiv.

Kamalākara Bhaṭṭa also says in his *Siddhānta Tattvavivēka* 'pratyabdam prāggatistēṣām'; that is, every year their motion is from West to East; C.A. Young in his 'A Text Book of General Astronomy' published in 1904, says on page 141, the equinox moves westward on the ecliptic, as if it advanced to meet the sun on each annual return. So it is certain that their motion is contrary to that of the sun and it is retrograde. Hence if we count the Nakṣatras in the reverse order we have Maghā, Aśleṣā, Puṣya, Punarvasu, Ārdrā, Mṛgaśiras, Rohiṇī, Kṛttikā, Bharanī, Aśvinī, Revatī, Uttarā-Bhādrapada, Pūrvā Bhādrapada, Śatabhiṣa, Dhaniṣṭhā, Uttarāśādhā Pūrvāśādhā and there is thus a clear difference of fifteen Nakṣatras, if we exclude Maghā which had already passed away and Pūrvāśādhā which had just begun; and so this would give a difference of 1500 years between the coronation of Nanda and the birth of Parikṣit.

Tabulation of the Great Bear.

We do not know the authority which led Col. Wilford to remark that the seven Rsis had been in Maghā for four years, or 4905 years ago. I have already demonstrated in another article¹⁸ that Parikṣit was born 36 years before the beginning of Kali which came into prominence in B.C. 3101, although it had already begun when the war was being fought on the field of Kurukṣetra in B.C. 3137. If the Paurāṇika chronology which starts from the date of the Mahābhārata War, be relied upon, Nanda's coronation would be placed in B.C. 1633 or B.C. 1634, and if we add 1500 to it we have 3133 or 3134 which if subtracted from 3137, gives a difference of 4 or 3 years noted above by Col. Wilford in his 'Kings of Magadha' referred to.

The following table is prepared for easy reference on the authority of the Purāṇas which say that the Saptarṣis reside on each Nakṣatra for a hundred years only, and not for nearly a thousand years as advanced by modern astronomers. In dealing with the Paurāṇika chronology, we should adhere to the calculation which they themselves adopted for their reckoning.

18. (a) Five Thousand Years Ago—The Mahābhārata War, *Journal of Indian History, Madras (Tri-annual)*, Vol. XVI, pp. 239-48.

(b) Mahābhārati ki Larai kub hut of Hindūstānī (Quarterly), Allahabad, January 1940, pp. 101-113.

INTERVENING AGE BETWEEN PARIKSIT & NANDA 13

No.	Name of the Nakṣatra	From To.		Remarks
		B.C.	B.C.	
1.	Magha	3233-3133		Parikṣit was born in B.C. 3137.
2.	Aśleṣā	3133-3076		Departure of the Pāṇḍavas and Yudhiṣṭhira from the world, 25 years after the actual commencement of the Kali. A new reckoning was started to commemorate their departure when the Ursa Major ¹⁹ also had finished their revolution.
3.	Puṣya	3076-2976		
4.	Punarvasu	2976-2876		
5.	Ārdrā	2876-2776		
6.	Mṛgaśiras	2776-2676		
7.	Rohiṇī	2676-2576		
8.	Kṛttikā	2576-2476		
9.	Bharanī	2476-2376		
10.	Aśvinī	2376-2276		
11.	Revatī	2276-2176		
12.	Uttarā Bhādrapadā	2176-2076		
13.	Pūrvā Bhādrapadā	2076-1976		
14.	Śatabhiṣa	1976-1876		
15.	Dhaniṣṭhā	1876-1776		
16.	Śravaṇa	1776-1676		
17.	Uttarāśādhā	1676-1576		
18.	Pūrvāśādhā	1576-1476		The Purāṇas say that the Great Bear will pass from Maghā to Pūrvāśādhā during the reign of Nanda and certainly not at the time of his coronation. Nanda, according to the Paurāṇika chronology ruled ²⁰ from B. C. 1634

19. Revised. Chronology of Kāśmīra Kings, *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 49-67.

cf. also the following oft quoted stanza:—

Kalērgataiḥ Śāyakanētra Varṣaiḥ
Saptarṣivaryā stridivam prayātāḥ
Loke hi samvatsara patrikāyām
Saptarṣimānam pravadanti santaḥ ||

(When the years of the Kaliyuga marked by the 'arrows and the eyes' (i.e., the five and the two, 25) had elapsed, the most excellent seven Rsis ascended the heaven. For in the calender (used) in the world, the virtuous declare the computation of the Saptarṣi (years to begin from that point).

20. See my article—Magadha Rājāon ki nayī Vamśāvalī, Śāhitya, (Quarterly), Patna, Vol. II, p. 44.

No.	Name of the Nakṣatra	From To. B.C. B.C.	Remarks.
			to B.C. 1546 for 88 years and so the Great Bear was conjoined with Pūrvāṣādhā in Mahāpadma Nanda time for 30 years (1576-1546) only.
19.	Mūlā	1476-1376	
20.	Jyeṣṭhā	1376-1276	
21.	Anurādhā	1276-1176	
22.	Viśākhā	1176-1076	
23.	Svātikā	1076- 976	
24.	Citrā	976- 876	
25.	Hastā	876- 776	
26.	Uttarā Fālgunī	776- 676	
27.	Pūrvā Fālgunī	676- 576	
28.	Maghā	576- 476	
29.	Āśleṣā	476- 376	
30.	Puṣya	376- 276	At the end of the Āndhras (whose rule according to the Puranas ended ²¹ in B. C. 327), who will be in the 27th century afterwards the cycle repeats itself. (P.T. 75). Thus a new cycle began with Puṣya.
31.	Punarvasu	276- 176	
32.	Ārdrā	176- 76	
		B.C. to A.D.	
33.	Mṛgaśīras	76- 24	
		A.D. A.D.	
34.	Rohiṇi	24- 124	
35.	Kṛttikā	124- 224	
36.	Bharanī	224- 324	
37.	Āśvinī	324- 424	
38.	Revatī	424- 524	
39.	Uttarā Bhādrapada	524- 624	
40.	Pūrvā Bhādrapada	624- 724	
41.	Śatabhiṣa	724- 824	
42.	Dhanīṣṭhā	824- 924	
43.	Śravaṇa	924-1024	
44.	Abhijit	1024-1124	
45.	Uttarāṣādhā	1124-1224	
46.	Pūrvāṣādhā	1224-1324	
47.	Mūlā	1324-1424	
48.	Jyeṣṭhā	1424-1524	
49.	Anurādhā	1524-1624	
50.	Viśākhā	1624-1724	

21. *Ibid.*, p. 50.

INTERVENING AGE BETWEEN PARIKSIT & NANDA 15

No.	Name of the Nakṣatra	From To. A.D. A.D.	Remarks.
51.	Svātikā	1724-1824	The learned astronomer was right when he informed Col. Wilford in A.D. 1804 that the Saptassis were in Svātikā but they should have been in Svātikā for 20 years (1824-1804) and not for 10 years as reported.
52.	Citrā	1824-1924	
53.	Hastā	1924-2024	

Conclusion.

So it is clear from the above calculation that the difference between the birth of Parikṣit and Nanda was one of 1500 or 1510 years and not of 1050 or 2500 as erroneously supposed by many scholars, being misled by wrong astronomical reckoning. So I agree with Śukadeva the learned commentator of the Bhāgavata that there would be discrepancy of number without taking the word five as multiplied by five. In manuscripts of the Matsya Purāṇa marked *cej* the reading is *śat-ōttaram*. Similarly in Mt. and bIVs read *pañca-śatottaram*. This period of 1500 is the true interval obtained by adding up the periods of the reigns of the Brhadrathas, Pradyotas, and Śīsunāgas as given in the Purāṇas. Thus:—

	years.
Brhadrathas	.. 1,000
Pradyotas	.. 138
Śīsunāgas	.. 362
Total	.. 1,500

Hence, I make a fervent appeal to scholars to consider this with an open mind and in the light of the above discussion. The second line of the controversial stanza should read as follows which is warranted by many of the manuscripts also.

Ētadvarṣasahasraṁ tu Jñēyaṁ pañcaśatottaram ||
Viṣṇu, IV. 24,33.

And this very reading has been accepted by the learned editor of the Matsya Purāṇa in the Sacred Book of the Hindu series, Allahabad, 1916, Vol. I, Appendix III, p. XXXIX.

N.B.—The following variants are noted :—

1. This line is in Mt, Vā, Bḍ. So Mt. *Mahānand*—, Vā *Mahādev*—, which both no doubt = *Mahāpadma*.
2. Bḍ. *śekāntam*.
3. So Mt. Vā, Bḍ *janma yāvat*.
4. This line is in Vṣ, Bh. So Vṣ. Bh. *ārabhya bhavato* equivalently.
5. So Mt, *evā*; In Mt. *ekam*; kVṣ etc., others *etad*.
6. In celn Mt. *eva*; b nt *eka*.
7. Bh. *śatam*; JBh *Catam*.
8. So Mt generally, Vā, Bḍ: *cej Mt o śatottaram, bMt o śato trayam*. In Mt, bl Vṣ *Pañca śatottaram*. But *evā*, Vṣ, Bh *pañcadaśottaram*.

Beginning of Candragupta Maurya's Reign *

By

H. C. SETH, M.A., PH.D. (LOND.),

THE two limits within which the date of Candragupta Maurya's accession to the throne would lie are the retirement of Alexander from India about 325 B.C., before which Candragupta's reign had not commenced and 305 B.C., the probable date when Selucus came to terms with Candragupta, who was then the Emperor of the Indians. The exact year of the beginning of Candragupta's reign is far from certain. Various dates have been suggested by different scholars. Charpentier on the basis of Jain traditions suggested 313 B.C.¹ Recently Bhattasali has pleaded for the same date.² O. Stein argues on the basis of classical sources for 318 B.C.³ Fleet suggested about 320 B.C., Hultzsh following Fleet accepted 320 B.C.⁴ Barnett suggests 321 B.C.⁵ F. W. Thomas also suggests the same date.⁶ Vincent Smith suggested 322 B.C.⁷ Kern also argued for 322 B.C.⁸ Radhakumud Mukerjee argues for 323 B.C.⁹ Sourin-dranath Ray suggests 324 B.C.¹⁰ Cunningham had suggested 325 B.C.¹¹ Jayswal also worked out 325 B.C. as the probable date of Candragupta's accession.¹² Recently J. Sen has also suggested 325 B.C.¹³

The conflicting evidence of the various Indian traditions, Buddhist, Jain and Brahmanic, and particularly the absence in the

* This paper was read before the III Indian History Congress, Calcutta, 1939.

1. Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, p. 156.
2. J.R.S., 1932. Part II, p. 273 ff.
3. Journal of the Czecho-Slovakia Oriental Institute, Vol. I, 3.
4. C. I. I. Vol. I, p. XXXV.
5. Antiquities of India, p. 39.
6. Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, p. 471.
7. Early History of India, p. 116 (3rd ed.). In his monograph on Asoka Vincent Smith suggested 325 B.C. as the date of Candragupta's accession.
8. In. Ant. Vol. III, p. 79 f.
9. Journal of the U. P. His. Society.
10. I. H. Q. Vol. XI, (1935).
11. Bhilsa Topes, p. 75 f.
12. J. A. S. B. Vol. 9, p. 317, ff; and J.B.O.R.S. Vol. I, Pt. I. p. 67 ff.
13. I. H. Q. Vol. V, p. 6 ff.

last of the use of any fixed era in reckoning earlier events, makes it difficult to arrive, on the basis of these, at a satisfactory date for Candragupta's accession. Amongst the classical writers the statement of Justin that Candragupta fought against the prefects of Alexander and was the liberator of the country, suggests that the rise of Candragupta followed close on the heels of Alexander's retirement from India. This suggests that the date of Candragupta's emergence into power and the beginning of his reign in the north-west coincided with the retirement of Alexander from India. The main argument against such an early date for the beginning of Candragupta's reign and in favour of a later date is the assumption that the Greek control over the parts of India invaded by Alexander lasted much after his retirement, and the revolt of the Indians against the Greek authority could not have occurred until his death in 323 B.C. As Vincent Smith remarks, "his death in June, 323 B.C., dispelled all fears of his return, and the native princes undoubtedly took the earliest possible opportunity to assert their independence and exterminate the weak foreign garrisons. The news of Alexander's decease was known in India probably as early as August, but no serious fighting would have been undertaken by ordinary commanders until the beginning of the cold season in October..... We may feel sure that as soon as the news of conqueror's death had been confirmed beyond doubt and the season permitted the execution of military operations with facility a general rising took place, and that Macedonian authority in India was at an end early in 322 B.C., except the small remnant to which Eudamos continued to cling". Vincent Smith concludes that the leader of this revolt against the foreigners was Candragupta, who having collected "a formidable force of the warlike and predatory clans on the north-western frontier attacked the Macedonian garrisons after Alexander's death, and conquered the Panjab"¹⁴

The whole of the above argument of Vincent Smith is based on an entire misreading of the nature of Alexander's campaign in India. Alexander's tenure of the parts of India, he invaded, was

14. Early History of India, p. 116 f.

Also compare the following views of Hultzsh (C.I.I. Introduction, p. xxxv f.). "It must be kept in mind that the upper limit of Candragupta's coronation is the death of Alexander the Great in 323 B.C. The working date of B.C. 320 has the advantage of being mean of the two outside dates 323 and 317." (Curious device of fixing an important date).

most unstable. We know of the irreconcilable attitude right from the very beginning of the warlike Aśvakas, west of the Indus. The fight against Porus had completely damped the ardour of his army, after which mutinies and disintegration started in his ranks. His retreat by way of Sindh and Makran desert was nothing but a flight to save life. Where was the need to wait for his death to revolt against the forces left by him in India? As a matter of fact even before Alexander had actually left the confines of India most of the Greek satraps he had appointed, Nicanor west of the Indus, Philips in the Punjab, and Apollophanes in Gedrosia were killed. Pithon did not stay much longer in Sindh after Alexander's retirement, as in the partition of Alexander's empire in 321 B.C. at Triparadeisos, we find him appointed as satrap of some parts bordering on the Hindukush. The only person who stayed in India for sometime was a petty official Eudamus, who most probably took service under Porus or may be under Candragupta himself. We learn from the Mudrārākṣasa that some Greek soldiers formed part of Candragupta's army when he invaded Magadha. Eudamus might have been at the head of the Greek detachment of Candragupta's army. Eudamus is not mentioned in the partitions of Alexander's empire, made at Babylon and at Triparadeisos, which also shows that, so far as India was concerned, these arrangements were only on paper, and the arbiters of Alexander's empire at these two conferences had lost all touch with India. It will be absurd to raise Eudamus to the position of a Greek Satrap and then to assume that "the Greek authority and the Greek arrangements of Government continued in the Punjab and Taxila upto at least 317 B.C.,"¹⁵ when Eudamus is supposed to have left India. Jayswal shrewdly observes. "The entire theory of the hypothetical date of Candragupta's accession has been upto this time, based on the assumption that he could not have undertaken his operations before the news of the death of Alexander reached India. In fact there was no such necessity; for all purposes Alexander's retreat was the demise of his prestige in India. The greatest opportunity was offered by the retreat itself; one had not to wait till his death".¹⁶

It is also most unlikely that, as suggested by Vincent Smith, before Candragupta undertook the expulsion of the foreign garrisons

15. N. K. Bhattasali, J. R. S. 1932, Pt. II, p. 10.

16. J. A. S. B. Vol. 9, p. 317 ff.

he had already overthrown the Nanda king of Magadha.¹⁷ The overthrow of the Nandas could have been only possible after Alexander's retirement from India. This is evidenced by the fact that according to Mudrārākṣasa the army at the head of which Candragupta invaded Magadha comprised of the people from the north-western parts of India including some Greek soldiers. Candragupta obviously could not start on his conquest of Magadha from his base in the north-west so long as Alexander was campaigning in the Punjab. Moreover, as we have suggested above, the fight of Candragupta against the Greeks had already started even before Alexander had left India, and which in a few months of his retirement no Greek forces were left in the Punjab and the north-west worth the name against whom Candragupta had to come later on from Magadha to fight.

Elsewhere we have surmised that Candragupta himself originally belonged to north-western India.¹⁸ The sequence of events indicated above gives us 325 B.C. as the date of the commencement of Candragupta's reign in his own ancestral domains in the north-west. Any later date militates against the only trustworthy evidence that we have about his early life, and where both the information given by the classical writers and the Indian literary traditions concur. We learn from the classical writers, Justin and Plutarch, that Candragupta was in the Punjab or the north-west at the time of Alexander's invasion, and close on the heels of his retirements he fought against and freed that area from the foreign domination. After this, as we gather from the Indian literary traditions, at the head of the combined strength of the people of the north-west and the Punjab he conquered Magadha.

Our conclusion that 325 B.C. is the year of the commencement of Candragupta's reign may also put on a firmer basis the date of Buddha Nirvāṇa, another important date in ancient Indian chronology. According to the generally accepted Ceylonese Buddhist traditions Candragupta reigned for twenty-four years, Bindusāra for twenty-eight years, and Aśoka was crowned four years after he succeeded his father, Bindusāra. This will give us $325-24-28-4=269$

17. Early History of India, p. 118.

Recently Mr. S. Ray has also suggested that "Prasi revolution preceded the expulsion of the foreign generals." I. H. Q. Vol. XI, p. 211 ff.

18. Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Vol. XVIII, part II.

B. C. as the date of Aśoka's coronation. The above traditions also tell us that Aśoka was crowned 218 years after Buddha's death. This gives us $269+218=487$ B.C. as the date of Buddha Nirvāṇa. This is also the date of Buddha Nirvāṇa given in the wellknown Chinese dotted record. As we have discussed elsewhere¹⁹ this record deserves more credit than has been given to it so far.

19. "Buddha Nirvāṇa and some other dates in Ancient Indian chronology, Indian Culture Vol. V, No. 3.

And also our paper "Chronology of Aśokan Inscriptions." Journal of Indian History, Vol. XVII pt. 3.

Chandragupta the Great

चन्द्रगुप्तो वृषलः । (मुद्राराक्षस)

By

P. S. TELANG, M.A.,

Chandragupta Maurya, the founder of the Maurya dynasty and the first historical emperor of India, was the greatest personality in ancient Indian History. But unfortunately Chandragupta's life has been clouded with mystery and whatever we know of him is from the accounts of the Greek writers and from the legends contained in the Purāṇas and drāmās.

Mudrārāksasa of Viśākhadatta has depicted the life of Chandragupta Maurya; but it should be clearly remembered that it is a fine piece of dramaturgy in Sanskrit and that historical facts have been utilized to make the drama more interesting. All the incidents mentioned in the Mudrārāksasa cannot be accepted at their face value, as their nature might have been coloured in order to suit the artistic taste of the drama. This is exactly the case with the historical epics, poems and novels. Many a time historical facts are required to be so used in a literary piece that the facts lose their historical value. So historical references occurring in literary works can be accepted, if they are otherwise corroborated by the facts or data obtainable from other sources. Dr. Seth has committed unintentionally this mistake of accepting the Mudrārāksasa as a chronicle recording the glorious reign of Chandragupta Maurya.

Dr. Seth in his article "Vṛsala the Greek kingly title of Chandragupta Maurya" has very ingenuously tried to prove that the title वृषल so often mentioned in the Mudrārāksasa is the title conferred on Chandragupta by his Greek subjects who formed a part of his vast-empire. He suggests that वृषल is a Sanskritised form of "basileus" which means Rajan in Greek and as such it has been used in the drama. There seems absolutely no reason why Dr. Seth sought the derivation of वृषल from a word in the Greek. The word is purely a Sanskrit word having more than one meaning. Though the generally accepted meaning of वृषल (i.e., a person of low birth) cannot be accepted in this case still the word

can give other meanings as well, if we look into its derivation properly. The legends that Chandragupta was सुद्रागर्भोद्भव (born of a mother of low origin) which seems based on the colloquial meaning of the title so often used in the Mudrārāksasa, cannot now be upheld, if all the circumstances are properly taken into consideration; hence some new derivation of the word वृषल should be sought for, which will suit our purpose.

It appears that Chandragupta Maurya was the most powerful monarch, who reigned gloriously for a long period in ancient India (325 B.C. 298 B.C.). He was the repository of strength and could be modestly compared with the great Roman emperors. The word वृषल if rightly interpreted gives us this meaning. The main word in वृषल is वृष which in Sanskrit means strength or power. This meaning of वृष is well illustrated in the following verse of the Mudrārāksasa

नन्दैर्विमुक्तमनपेक्षितराजवृत्तैरध्यासितं च वृषलेन वृषेण राज्ञाम् ।

सिंहासनं सदृशपार्थिव सत्कृतं च प्रीतिं त्रयस्त्रिगुणयन्ति गुणाममैते ॥

(Act III). In the above verse it is mentioned that Chandragupta, the great occupied the throne by his strength. The word should therefore be so derived. (वृष + लच्)

It means repository of strength. लच् प्रत्यय (suffix) is added to (वृत्त and अंस) in the sense of affection and strength respectively (वृत्तसाध्यां कामबले) ' So it can also be added to वृषल in the sense of possession. Therefore वृषल a word so often used in the drama means the great, which is a very covetable and appropriate title for a King of Chandragupta's type.

It must further be noted that the word वृषल has sometimes been substituted for Chandragupta in the drama as in the following passage:—

चाणक्यः— यथा वृषलः समाज्ञापयति ।

Here the word (वृषल) refers to Chandragupta the Great in a figurative way.

Chandragupta Maurya was the greatest Monarch of Ancient India and hence the Sanskrit dramatists conferred on him this title,

i.e., the great which is veritably associated with names like Alexander, Napoleon and other notable personalities of the world.

The other meaning of वृषल is heretic and there is some ground to believe that Chandragupta Maurya embraced Jainism as in Jain Scriptures we hear of a disciple of Mahavir called मोर्यपुत्र who belonged to the काश्यपगोत्र. If this be the fact then the title वृषल which originally meant the Great, might have been later on interpreted as heretic by the orthodox Brahmin scholars who generally consider all the heretics to be low-born. Hence, the genesis of the Nanda-Mura story which has been referred to in the introduction written as late as 1713 A.D. by युधिष्ठिराज to the drama मुद्राराक्षस of विशाखदत्त can be traced in this instinct of the Brahmins, who looked upon all the heretics as necessarily low-born. As Buddhism and Jainism laid no stress on caste or creed distinction, the orthodox Brahmins naturally came to look upon the heretics as शूद्र. The reference of Chandragupta as a शूद्र in the Purāṇas may be fairly interpreted in this light. If he was a Jain it is but natural that the Brahmins came to regard him as a शूद्र irrespective of his birth. This is clear from the following line :—

ततो नृपा भविष्यन्ति शूद्रप्रायास्त्वधार्मिकाः ।

which mentions that the kings later on (after the Nanda dynasty) will be mostly Shudras and irreligious. This clearly shows that the Kings after the last Nanda king were mostly Non-Brahmins in religion and hence they were termed as Shudras. It is clear that Chandragupta Maurya may have been a Jain, and Asoka was decidedly a Buddhist. We do not know much about Bindusāra. Hence the three succeeding kings of the Nanda dynasty were decidedly not pro-Brahmins and hence they have been so referred to in the मत्स्य नायु and ब्रह्माण्डपुराण irrespective of their births.

Dr. H. C. Seth seems to suggest that the Greek subjects of Chandragupta Maurya called him by the epithet of वृषल the equivalent of which in Greek is राजन् (Basileus). But it is very strange that the very Greek subjects who are mentioned as Yonas in the Asokan edicts did not call Asoka by that epithet. If they had called him by that epithet we would have found this title mentioned along with other titles of Asoka viz., देवानां प्रिय and

प्रियदर्शी राजा on the innumerable edicts that are found in the length and breadth of the country. The absence of such a title in Asokan inscriptions proves clearly that it was not a special title conferred on the Indian king by his Greek subjects. It may be that Chandragupta was mentioned as Sandroketos Basilos by Greek historians, which only means the king Chandragupta. In every language there are words having the meaning of राजा and it will be unreasonable, if not absurd, to take a particular word in a particular language and add a special meaning to it because it serves our purpose. So it is clear that Basile may be another name for राजा in the Greek language; but there is no sound reason to support that it is the Greek Kingly title specially conferred on Chandragupta alone and denied to Asoka, who was the more illustrious grandson of the king, even when he was the ruler of the Greek subjects living on the frontiers of India. The argument that Chandragupta had a Greek wife and hence he was always addressed by that epithet is equally flimsy, as the Greek wife, daughter of Seleucus Nicator might have been Indianised in course of time during her stay at Pātaliputra in Magadha.

So it will be clear that the word वृषल so often used in the drama has more than one meaning, even in the drama itself. Sometimes a word is used with puns and then its interpretation in the same paragraph or verse with reference to two different ideas becomes different because of the flexibility of the language. The word has been used in two different senses in the following verse :—

प्रतिल्यक्त्वा देवं सुवनपतिमुच्चैरभिजनम् ।

गता सा श्रीः शीघ्रं वृषलमविनीतेव वृषली ॥ (Act VI).

Here the first वृषल means Chandragupta the Great and the second refers to fortune the changing nature of which has been compared to a prostitute, who so often changes her husbands.

The synonyms of the word वृषल as given by Medini viz.,

वृषलो गृह्णने शूद्रे चन्द्रगुप्तेऽपि राजनि ।

clearly points out that the word may stand for King Chandragupta, which clearly means that the word is an appropriate substitute for Chandragupta the Great. As the drama refers to Chandragupta so often, the author has tried to avoid the repetition of the hero's name by substituting an appropriate synonym which means the powerful or great monarch.

If this meaning is accepted, it will be quite clear as to why Chāṇakya so often calls Chandragupta by the name of वृषल. Chāṇakya tries to introduce Chandragupta Maurya to राक्षस in the following words :—

तदेष वृषलस्त्वां द्रष्टुमागच्छति । (Act VII).

Because he wanted to emphasize the greatness of the king whom he had placed on the throne of Nanda so that the staunch supporter of the Nanda dynasty may be reconciled to him. Just as we speak of the Governor in the term of His Excellency, or the king in the term of His Majesty, the Bishop in the term of His Lordship, Chāṇakya referred to Chandragupta in the term of वृषल i.e. His Greatness or Highness and he was rightly understood by his readers in those days as the only Great Man in those days was Chandragupta Maurya known universally as the Great.

So it will be appropriate to interpret the title वृषल in the sense which the people of Chandragupta's time might have acknowledged, and no effort should be made to eke out a meaning which the author of मुद्राराक्षस could not have dreamt. It is just befitting that the monarch should be referred to as His Highness or Greatness and that his name should not be uttered on every occasion. Hence in the drama of मुद्राराक्षस Chandragupta is always referred to as वृषल, and that the name of the hero is very scarcely used.

The Eran Inscription of Samudragupta

By

JAGANNATH, M.A.,

Lahore

IN a note on the Eran inscription of Samudragupta,¹ published in the Journal of Indian History Vol. XIV (1935) pp. 27-29 Professor Dasharatha Sharma has put forward the view that in the fourth verse² of the inscription, the words in the nominative do not refer to Samudragupta but to some feudatory prince. His argument is:—"How could he (Samudragupta) who was a king already and perhaps a Mahārājādhirāja be described as being consecrated as a mere *rājan* by one who being referred to by the words भक्तियविक्रमतोषित and परमतुष्टिपुरस्कृत must be regarded as his superior."

The objection raised by Professor Sharma is perfectly natural, but the conclusion drawn by him that the verse describes a feudatory who was honoured by Samudragupta is hardly tenable. As a matter of fact his attempt to solve one difficulty creates another. The person who has received the honours of consecration etc., is a monarch of irresistible prowess (नृपतिरप्रतिवार्यवीर्यः) . This proud epithet of अप्रतिवार्यवीर्यः : could not have been borne by a prince who was a feudatory of Samudragupta. Samudragupta himself bore the title of अप्रतिरथः (a matchless warrior) which is more or less akin to अप्रतिवार्यवीर्यः । As a matter of fact John Allan is of opinion that अप्रतिवार्यवीर्यः : occurs on the Aśvamedha type of Samudragupta's coins, although on the known specimens, only अप्र has been left.³ Hence it is certain that no feudatory of Samudragupta could have had the audacity of styling himself as अप्रतिवार्यवीर्यः ।

1. No. 2 in Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 18 ff.

2. — न भक्तियविक्रमतोषितेन
— राजशब्दविमवेरभिषेचनाद्यैः ।
— नितः परमतुष्टि पुरस्कृतेन
— नृपतिरप्रतिवार्यवीर्यः ॥

3. Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasty, p. cxi.

The difficulty with regard to the applicability of the verse to Samudragupta disappears at once, if we are able to correctly understand the import of the expressions in the instrumental i.e. भक्तिनयविक्रमतोषितेन and परमतुष्टिपुरस्कृतेन. The existence of a superior who was pleased by Samudragupta's devotion, valour etc. is not an impossibility; for he was no other than his father Candragupta I. The statement with regard to consecration (अभिषेचन) can be referred either to Samudragupta's formal installation as Crown Prince, or to his anointment as king. The ceremony called यौवराज्याभिषेक i.e. the installation of the eldest son of a king, as heir-apparent is too well-known to us both from Sanskrit literature and ancient inscriptions.⁴

It was an equally common practice that the kings in their old age made over the sceptre and the crown to the eldest son, the Yuvarāja, and retired to the peaceful solitude of the forest hermitages. Kālidāsa refers to this practice again and again in his works. A few instances are given below:

With regard to Dilipa he says,

अथ स विषयव्यावृत्तात्मा यथाविधि सूनवे
नृपतिककुदं दत्त्वा यूने सितातपवारणम् ।
मुनिवनतरुच्छायां देव्या तया सह शिश्रिये
गलितवयसामिक्ष्वाकूणामिदं हि कुलव्रतम् ॥

Raghuvamśa III. 70.

'And so he, with his mind having become averse to wordly pleasures, having duly made over to his youthful son, the white umbrella—that symbol of royalty, retired with his queen to the shade of the trees in the forest, occupied by hermits; for this is the family tradition of the Ikṣvākus, in the decline of their life.'

4. cf. निसर्गसंस्कारविनीत इत्यसौ नृपेण चक्रे युवराजशब्दमाह ।

Raghuvamśa, III, 35.

and विनीतमौरसं पुत्रं यौवराज्येऽभिषेचयेत् । Kāmandaka.

see also Kamauli Plate of Vijayacandra, dated V.S. 1224, E.I., IV, p. 120, l. 20.

Kālidāsa's remarks with regard to the accession of Raghu are particularly noteworthy. He says,

स राज्यं गुरुणा दत्तं प्रतिपद्याधिकं बभौ ।⁵

Raghuvamśa, IV. 1.

'Having obtained the kingdom given by his father, he looked more splendid.'

This reminds one, that Kālidāsa was perhaps aware of a historical incident, similar to the one described in the following verse of the Allahabad stone Pillar inscription, depicting the scene of Samudragupta's nomination to the throne:

आर्यो हीत्युपगुह्य भावपिशुनैरुत्कर्षितै रोमभिः
सभ्येषु चक्षुषितेषु तुल्यकुलजम्लानानोद्वीक्षितः ।
स्नेहव्यालुल्लितेन बाष्पगुरुणा तत्त्वक्षिणा चक्षुषा
यः पित्राभिहितो निरीक्ष्य निखिलां पाद्वेवमुर्वीमिति ॥

'Thou art indeed worthy,' (with these words) whom the father having embraced, with his hair standing erect, (as) indicative of his feelings, and having looked at him with an eye that could discern merit, and was bedimmed with tears and tremulous with affection, while the courtiers cheered up and the collaterals watched with melancholy faces, addressed thus, 'Do thou protect, thus, the entire earth.'

Exactly the same thing has been said in the Eran inscription, but in different words. Samudragupta is here stated to have been 'honoured' by his father who was highly pleased with his son's devotion, valour, impartiality and other virtues, with the title of king. This simply means that Samudragupta was proclaimed king by Candragupta who himself performed the ceremony of anointment (अभिषेक).

Thus it is clear that the words भक्तिनयविक्रमतोषितेन and परमतुष्टिपुरस्कृतेन refer to Candragupta I and नृपतिरप्रतिवार्यवीर्यः is Samudragupta and not a feudatory of his.

5. For similar passages see also Raghuvamśa, I, 8; vii, 71; Śakuntalā, iv.20; vii.20, Vikramorvaśi, V;17.

The Identification of King Kanishka of the Ara Inscription of the Year 41

By

BALJ NATH PURI

Lucknow.

The identification of King Kanishka of the Ārā inscription had been a subject of discussion among the savants of Ancient Indian History for a very long time. The Late Mr. R. D. Banerji¹ who was the first to throw light on the inscription, and after him Dr. Smith² were of opinion that King Kanishka of the Ārā inscription was Kanishka the great and not any other Kanishka. Another band of scholars headed by Messrs Fleet,³ Sten Konow⁴ and the late Dr. Jayaswal⁵ were of opinion that he was Kanishka the second, the son of Vāsishka and the grandson of Kanishka the first. The subject of the present paper is to throw some light on the discussion by an examination of the titles of the Imperial Kushāns.

Better it is first to peruse the inscription:—

- Line 1. महाराजस राजातिराजस देवपुत्र [कै]सरस
 Line 2. वाजेष्कपुत्रस कनिष्कस संवत्सरे एकछपरि
 Line 3. शइ स २० २० १ जेठसमसस दि १० ४१ इसे दिवस क्षुणां खदे
 Line 4. कुपे दषवहेणा पोषपुरिप्रपुत्रणा मातरपित्रणा पुये
 Line 5. त्प्रतमणास सभरचस सपुत्रस अणुग्रहरये सर्वसपणा
 Line 6. (ज) तिष उहिते इमो [छ] लिखिय मेदम

Translation.—(During the reign) of the Mahārāja Rājātirāja Devaputra Kaisara Kanishka, the son of Vājshesha, the forty first year-anno 25th day of the month Jyaishta, on this day this well was dug by Dashavhara of the Peshawarian scions in honour of

his mother and father for the benefit of himself and his wife and son, for the welfare of all beings in the (various births). And having written this (might there) for me—”.

The perusal shows that king Kanishka of this inscription was the son of Vājshesha and he used the titles Mahārāja, Rājātirāja, Devaputra and the Roman title Kaisar. Now as shown elsewhere,⁶ the titles Mahārāja, Rājātirāja were used by Kings Kanishka, Vāsishka, Huvishka and Vāsudeva and the title Devaputra was used by Kings Kanishka and Huvishka alone. The Kushān Kings Vāsishka and Vāsudeva did not use this title in their inscriptions. The title Kaisara is found for the first time in the Ārā inscription. This title was first used by Emperor Caesar and after him by Augustus.

Now assuming for the sake of argument that this King Kanishka of the Ārā inscription was Kanishka II, the son of Vāsishka, if we identify Vājshesha with Vāsishka, and grandson of king Kanishka the First, then the first difficulty that we have to face is that his reign comes in conflict with the reign of Huvishka whose inscriptions are found between the years 31-60. If then we presume that Kanishka had divided his empire into two halves—one half constituting the North-West Frontier, Punjab and a little beyond the Frontier for his eldest son Vāsishka and the other half constituting the Āryavarta proper as far as Sārnath, and with Mathura as its head quarters, for his second son Huvishka; and therefore the two rulers were ruling contemporaneously, then this presumption is rebutted by the fact that the two inscriptions of Vāsishka clearly prove his control over Mathura and Eastern Malwa.⁷ On common grounds also if we presume this division, then it would seem too much for the son of a local Raja or Mahārāja who had received only one half of the empire from his father to style himself with high sounding titles which included the Roman title Kaisara also. This title which was used by the Roman Emperor does not befit him.

Another difficulty that has to be over-come is the identification of Vājshesha and Vāsishka. There is no rule of grammar by which the two can be identified. Moreover, if he were really Vāsishka then his full titles must have been mentioned in this inscription.

6. A paper 'An Examination of the Titles of the Imperial Kushans' read in the Indian History Congress, Calcutta.

7. cf. Raychaudhari *Political History of Ancient India*, p. 325.

1. *Indian Antiquary*, XXXVII, 1908, p. 25-75.
 2. *Early History of India*, 4th edition, p. 286.
 3. *S.B.A.W.* 1921 and *Indian Antiquary*, XLIII, 1913, p. 132 f.
 4. *S.B.A.W.* 1916, p. 787-827 and *Epi. Indica*, XIV, p. 130 f.
 5. *J.B.O.R.S.*, VI, p. 12-22.

Full titles of the parents were mentioned in the inscriptions with a view to assert the honour of the family. Further even if this Kanishka was the son of Vāsishka, then how are we to account for such a big gap of 10 years. Huvishka's territory included North-West Frontier also as we infer from his inscription⁸ and there was also no division of the empire. This Kanishka suddenly appears on the stage in the year 41 and there is no trace of him again. It seems a puzzling phenomenon that a short lived king assumes the titles which do not befit him. If Huvishka had to cede a portion—nay a bigger portion of his empire, we had every reason to believe that he too should not have used bigger titles like Mahārāja, Rājātirāja, Devaputra and Shāhi. But evidence is wanting on this point also that Huvishka had to cede a portion of his empire to Kanishka II the son of Vāsishka; on the contrary we find his hold over the Frontier. So this theory presents a number of difficulties which have to be solved first.

The theory that this Kanishka was Kanishka the First, who ruled for a long time till the year 41, has also its own problems which have to be solved. How are we to account for the inscriptions of Vāsishka of the years 24 and 28, and Huvishka from the year 31 onwards? How could Kanishka rule contemporaneously with his two sons Vāsishka and Huvishka? It can be reconciled only in this way that Kanishka may have been away in the far off regions of the North on a mission of conquest and during his absence he had appointed his sons one after another to act on his behalf with full kingly powers. Now we know definitely, first, that Kanishka had to wage a successful war in the North with the Emperor of Parthia, having been attacked by the king of that nation, who is described by the tradition as very stupid and with violent temper.⁹ This war with Parthia alone may have taken roughly about five years which is not much in view of the nature and circumstances of the campaign. For aught we know, he may not have been successful for some time. Ultimate success was of course his.¹⁰

Another most striking military exploit of Kanishka was the conquest of Kashghar, Yarkand, and Khotan, extensive provinces of Chinese Turkistan lying to the North of Tibet and the East of

the Pamirs, and at that time dependent upon China.¹¹ He was also conscious of the humiliation which his predecessor Wema Kadphises had to suffer when he demanded a Chinese princess.¹² Having secured a formidable position in India, he was in a better position to surpass the appalling difficulties which his predecessor had to face in conveying the armies across the Pamirs. He was successful in his attempt and freed himself from the obligation of paying tribute to the Chinese Emperor. Not only did he achieve this, but he demanded hostages from a State tributary of the Chinese Empire. They were kept in different monasteries according to seasons.¹³ This scheme of conquest could not be accomplished in a year or two but must have taken a number of years, possibly ten. His conquest of Parthia may have taken roughly about 5 years, if we so assume, for he had to take at first the defensive measures and then the offensive. This Parthian campaign may have lasted in the years 23-28 of the Kushan era during which period his eldest son Vāsishka was acting for him with full kingly powers. As is natural, he remained in his capital for a few years during which time his eldest son died, for he is not heard of any more. In the year 31 possibly, he again left on a mission of conquest. He himself said "I have subjugated three regions; all men have taken refuge with me, the region of the North alone has not come in to make its submission."¹⁴ But the conquest of the North was not a joke to be accomplished in a year or two. It would not be much if we take a period of about 9 or 10 years for this conquest. There may have been reverses due to the hazardous route, but he was ultimately successful and brought the hostages. The Arā inscription attributes to him the title Kaisara which he fully deserved in view of his extensive conquests and his vast territory extending from Khotan and Kashghar in the North-West to Sarnath in the East, and from Kashmir in the North to Sind in the South West. It was the last appellation. He had used the Chinese title Devaputra, the Iranian title Shāhi Shāhānushāhi the Indian title Mahārāja Rājātirāja, the Greek title Basileus Basileun, and now when he used the Roman title Kaisara also, he fully deserved it. He possibly ruled for another few years. We hear of Huvishka no more till the year 51 when he is heard of in the

8. cf. Wardhak Inscription of King Huvishka.

9. G. Rawlinson: *Parthia* (1893), p. 316.

10. *Indian Antiquary*, 1908, p. 382.

11. Prof. Douglas: *China, Story of Nations Series*, p. 181.

12. Laufer: *Language of the Yuechi*: Chicago, p. 18.

13. V. A. Smith: *Early History of India*, 3rd Edition, p. 278.

14. *Indian Antiquary*, 1903 and Raychaudhari: *Ancient India*, p. 324.

Wardhāk inscription as ruling in Peshawar. How Kanishka met his end, is a question which, for paucity of evidence, cannot be answered for the present.

Thus Kanishka of the Ārā inscription was none else than Kanishka the Great. He was the son of Vājsheska who may have been an ordinary person, and by sheer dint of merit and enterprise he succeeded Wema Kadphises as his supplanter, spent his life on a mission of conquest and may be easily compared to Charlemagne in the extent of his empire.

A History of Tirukkattupalli and its Neighbourhood

By

V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR, M.A.,
University of Madras

THE recorded history of Tirukkattupalli goes at least to the eighth century A.D. when two of the four Śaiva Samayācāryas, Sambandar and Appar, visited it and the neighbouring village of Tirukkānūr and sang in praise of the deities enshrined in both places. Unlike some places, there has been no change in its name. Sambandar speaks of Kāttupalli, and the prefix *Tiru* only shows it was a sacred shrine, what we call in Tamil *Pāḍalperratalam* as different from *Vaiḍṇattalam*. The ancient history of Tirukkattupalli before Sambandar is not known. But it existed certainly in pre-Sambandar days. The term *palli* strongly suggests that in pre-Sambandar days it may have been a Jain or Buddhist settlement, though *palli* has been used to orthodox temples also, as testified to us by the twin epics *Śilappadikāram* and *Maṇimekalai*.

Before we go into details of the history of Tirukkattupalli which we can definitely trace for over a thousand years from now, one will be interested to know that all places to a distance of nearly five miles and a little more, were historically important. Let me take up for a brief examination here the history of Niyamam, Tirukkānūr, Kovilaḍi, Śendalai and Būdalūr.

Niyamam.

The history of Niyamam goes to the Śaṅgam epoch when it was one of the headquarters of the ancient tribe Kośar. About the origin of the kośar there are a number of theories into which we need not go here.¹ Suffice it to say that they were the Satyaputras of Aśoka's inscriptions and that they helped his (Aśoka's) father Bindusāra in his conquest of South India. Originally inhabitants of Tuḷu-nāḍu, roughly South Canara, they spread to different parts of Tamil-nāḍu. One branch settled at Niyamam. Known for their heroic valour, the services of these Kośar were often requisitioned by the

1. See my article on the Kośar: Indian Culture, Vol. I, pp. 97-102.

three crowned kings of Tamils. According to the *Ahanānūru*, a Śāṅgam classic, Niyamam lay to the east of Śellūr which is associated with Paraśurāma who is said to have cut off the Kṣatriyas from the face of the earth. It is said that Paraśurāma performed a Vedic sacrifice, the *yūpa* of which was still standing. It is difficult to identify this Śellūr. On account of this, some scholars find it difficult to accept this Niyamam as that of Kośar-Niyamam. If we give up this identification, it would not be possible to locate with any definiteness the Śāṅgam Niyamam or Śellūr. That Niyamam continued to be a place of much importance in the epoch of the Pallavas, Pāṇdyas and Coḷas is evident from inscriptions. According to an inscription in the Śendalai temple (10 of 1899), in the tenth regnal year of the Pāṇḍyan king Māraṇjaḍaiyan, who must be the son and successor of Rājasimha, somewhere before A.D. 770, a servant of a certain Viḍelviḍugu Muttarayan gave a gift of land to a Piḍāri temple of Māgālam at Niyamam. It is interesting to note that two records from Niyamam bear out that Aḍigaḷ Kaṇḍan Māraṇpāvai, queen of Nandipottaraiyar of the Pallava-tilaka race granted to the local temple, i.e., the Airāvateśvara shrine, some money gift, and to the Piḍāri temple, another gift.² The gift to the Piḍāri temple was made in the 18th year of Rāja Keśari who is Āditya I (c. 889). It is rather difficult to explain why a Pallava queen made grants to a temple belonging to the Coḷas. One explanation is that the Pallavas were connected with Coḷas during this time by matrimonial alliance, Āditya I having married a Pallava princess. This princess must be a very near relation of the Pallava queen who made gifts to the shrines at Niyamam. It may be mentioned in passing that this Nandipottaraiyar has been identified with Nandivarman III, the Pallava king.³ Again a mutilated record on the south wall of the Airāvateśvara temple shows that it was inscribed in the 18th year of the Coḷa king Maduraikoṇḍa Parakeśarivarman who is Parāntaka I (A.D. 907-953).⁴ This evidences the fact that from the eighth to the tenth century, Niyamam was in a flourishing condition, patronised by the Pāṇḍya, Pallava and Coḷa monarchs and queens.

Kovilaḍi.

From Niyamam we shall turn to Kovilaḍi. Historical traditions of this place go back to hoary antiquity. It was

2. 16 of 1899 and 13 of 1899.

3. Prof. V. Rangachari: *Ins. of the Madras Presidency*.

4. 15 of 1899.

known by different names in the age of the Śāṅgam and afterwards. These are Tiruppōrpuram, Tiruppērnagar, Tiruppuram, Tiruppuratturai, Tiruppērttiruppuratturai. These names which occur in inscriptions it appears, were after the names of the Gods enshrined in the temples of the place. There are two sanctuaries, one to Tirumāl or Viṣṇu and the other to Śiva. Tiruppēr or Tiruppērnagar is after the deity Viṣṇu; Tiruppērttiruppuram or Tiruppuram after the Śiva deity.⁵ The sacred place of Śaḍaimuḍi or Tirusaḍaimuḍi celebrated in the *Tevāram* is no other than Kovilaḍi. This is clear from inscriptions also.⁶ In the Śāṅgam age there was a big battle here between Coḷa king Senganān and Ceramān Kanaik-kāḷirumporai. In this the latter was defeated and thrown in prison. Kaḷumalam, a town belonging to him, was also taken. But the poet Poygaiyar is said to have praised the Coḷa by many a verse and got the Cera released.⁷ This Kaḷumalam has nothing to do with Śiyālī but refers to a place in Uḍayārpālayam taluq in Trichy District, whose other name was Nellaimānagar.⁸ Apparently Kovilaḍi, Kaḷumalam and these places formed the frontier posts of the Coḷa kingdom and were often the bone of contention between the Coḷas and the Ceras. By the time of Senganān, that part of the Cera country which went by the name Kuḍakongu became a possession of the Coḷa, and by this he earned the title Kuḍakongan.⁹ The place has been made sacred by the visits of Vaiṣṇava Ālvārs like Nammālvār, who is said to have visited it just before he died and who acclaims that that deity Appakkuḍattān gave him final salvation. Tirumiliśai Ālvār, Periyālvār and Tirumangai Ālvār have also sung in praise of this deity.

The antiquity of this place is further evidenced by its inscriptions. An inscription on the north wall of the central shrine in the Divyajñāneśvara temple belonging to the third year of the Coḷa king Parakeśarivarman *alias* Rājendracōḷadeva I (1012-1044) records gift of land to that temple.¹⁰ A record on the south wall of

5. SII, vii, p. 308.

6. SII, vii, No. 499.

7. See Kaḷavali nārpadu 36; *Ahanānūru* 44; *Puṇam* 74.

8. See M. Raghava Aiyangar: *JOR*, Vol. I.1. Cēravañji and Śilāsasana-

valakku.

9. See Tirumangai, *Periyatirumōḷi*, 6. 6 6; also Madras Museum Plates of Jaṭilavarman; *EI*, Vol. XXII.

10. 278 of 101.

the mantapa of that temple is dated in the 44th year of Kulottunga I, one of whose titles is Tribhuvanacakravartin, and who ascended the throne c. 1070 A.D. Another record in the same place dated in the eleventh year of Vikrama Coḷa who is also a Tribhuvanacakravartin and whose accession to the throne took place about 1118, records that owing to some distress, the people deserted the village.¹¹ The records of the next century (thirteenth) are those of Pāṇḍyan kings. One is dated in the fourteenth year of Sundara Pāṇḍya I Māravarman who ascended the throne in 1216 A.D. and the other of Sundara Pāṇḍya I Jaṭavarman, whose accession was in A.D. 1251. It is said that Māravarman overran the whole Coḷa kingdom and celebrated a *vīrabhiṣeka* in the Coḷa capital. The other king Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya is celebrated for more conquests and is said to have brought all South India upto Nellore and Cuddapah under his sway.¹² It is but natural that as masters of the Coḷa country they made gifts to important shrines in that country. An inscription belonging to Śaka 1393 or A.D. 1471 records a gift for the merit of Devarāja, the son of Pokkaraśa Sāmanta.¹³ Then we have a record of the Vijayanagar king Sadāśiva Rāya dated Śaka 1467 or A.D. 1545. It records a gift by the king's Southern Viceroy who went by the name of Viṭṭhaladeva Mahārāja to the Ranganātha temple. There is another inscription dated A.D. 1563 recording a gift to the above temple by a certain Tāttācārya of Śrirangam. Kovilāḍi again figures prominently in the Carnatic wars of the 18th century. It is first mentioned as occupied by the English in 1751 and making a defence against Chanda Saheb and the French. Then it went to the French possession in 1752 and the next year to the English. In 1754 it was retaken by the French under Maissin who cut the great Kāveri dam. Being the bone of contention between the Rāja of Tanjore and the Nawab, it went to the Rāja by a treaty of 1762. It left his hands in 1771 and came back to him in 1776. The neighbouring village of Tiruccannampūṇḍi was equally important historically. The inscriptions of the place call this Kaḍaimuḍi.

Tirukkānūr.

Let me pass on to Tirukkānūr, two miles to the north of Tirukkāṭṭupallī. The earliest reference about this is in the *Tevāram*.

11. 276 and 277 of 1901; also SII, Vii, 496.

12. *The Pandyan Kingdom*: pp. 144-45 and 159.

13. 274 of 1901.

Sambandar and Appar sing in praise of the lord (Ikṣupurīśvara) enshrined in this place. Tradition has it that Śiva appeared before Pārvaṭi in the form of fire. This is said to be one of the places situated on the Vaḍakarai Rājendrasimha vaḷanāḍu. This testifies to the fact that the river Kāveri was the chief river of the Coḷa deśa and the Coḷa Kingdom was broadly divided into two parts—one lying on its southern bank and the other lying on its northern bank Tirukkānūr which is covered now with sand mounds was once a flourishing village with Śiva Viṣṇu temples which kings had largely endowed. Situated on the south bank of the Coleroon, it seems to have been washed away by ungovernable floods. As has been already said we have the evidence of the *Tevāram* to show that this place has been sanctified by the visits of both Sambandar and Appar. The name of the God enshrined here is Śemmenināthar and of the Goddess Śivayoganāyakī. Sambandar has a special *padikam* of 10 stanzas sung on this Lord beginning with Vāṇār Cōḍi maṇṇu. The *padikam* of Tirunāvakkū-Araśu commences with Tiruvin nāthanum śemmalar melurai. From the last and tenth stanza where the expression *māmatil* is used, it can be inferred that it was a big village and contained a fortress also.

A record shows that under Uttama Coḷa whose accession was in A.D. 969 there was one Periyān Appan who owned the *Kāval* of the village. For this he is designated Uttamacōla nāḍālvān. Other records of this place are dated in the sixth regnal year of Rājakeśari Vīra Rājendra (1063-69), and in the third year of Adhirājendra, his successor (164 and 165 of 1911). It appears that in the 13th century Pāṇḍyas came in possession of all these parts, and a record on the south wall of the temple belonging to the 41st year of Kulaśekhara I Māravarman mentions a temple at Phanipatimangalam *alias* Karikālacōlacaturvedimangalam. We can easily identify this Phanipatimangalam with the present ruined village of Pavaṇamangalam to the east of Viṣṇampēṭṭai village. It seems that Viṣṇampēṭṭai was a new settlement established by the people of Kānūr when Kānūr was washed away by floods.

Tiruccaḍaivaḷantai.

Tiruccaḍaivaḷantai is the name of a place containing an ancient shrine of Śiva. This village is between Kūttūr and Maharājapuram, roughly two miles to the north-east of Tirukkāṭṭupallī and on the northernbank of the Kāveri. Tradition records that it was once one of the *saptasthāna* places. We proceed to identify this place with that mentioned in the inscriptions of Tiruccannampūṇḍi near

Kovilāḍi. One inscription of this temple belonging to the period of Parāntaka I refers to a gift of gold to the shrine of Tirucchaḍaimuḍi Mahādēva. Another inscription of the same place and age refers to this shrine situated in Tengarai Idaiyāṟṟunāḍu.¹⁴ These references, we are led to conjecture, are to Tirucchaḍaivaḷantai, now known as Tirucchuḷandi.

Sendalai.

Its ancient name was Candralekai-caturvedimangalam, and its temple Perumturai is in the district of Ārkāṭṭu kūṟram. Another name of Sendalai was Mannārsamudram. We do not know whether its historical traditions go back to hoary past as in the case of Kovilāḍi or Niyamam. The earliest reference to this place is known to us only from epigraphical records inscribed in the walls and *gopura* of the temple sacred to Sundareśvara. The inscriptions bear out that Vijayālaya ascended the throne at Tanjore in A.D. 850 wresting it from the ruling dynasty of Muttaraiyar, and therefore Tanjore was in possession of the Muttaraiyar for a long time before Vijayālaya. Literally Muttaraiyar means kings of three territories. These kings seem to have had two capitals, the other being our Sendalai. Several important inscriptions relating to these Muttaraiyar emanate from Sendalai.¹⁵ And even the modern topography of Sendalai shows that it was once a flourishing big city. These Muttaraiyar are referred to in the Tamil work Nāḷaḍiyār (stanzas 200 and 296) which is again regarded as a Śaṅgam work. There is evidence to show that they were a branch of the Kaḷvar community and consequently the Muttaraiyar are designated Kaḷvar Komān. In later years they seem to have joined now with the Pāṇdyas and now with the Pallavas when they found themselves weaker and their neighbours stronger. Inscriptions mention three kings of the dynasty; Perumbiḍugan Muttaraiyan, his son Iḷango vaḍiyaraiyan and his son Perumbiḍugan. The last of them built a temple of Piḍāri. About them poets sang, and one of these was Veḷṇamban. (65 to 68 of 1897). From the evidence available we gather that they were allies of the Pāṇḍyan king Varaguṇa Varman. At this time Vijayālaya, a scion of the old Coḷa line, rose to power and aided by the Pallavas, he seized Tanjore from the Muttaraiyar by vanquishing them. As an ally should, Varaguṇa Varman led an expedition to the Coḷa country, and when the army reached Idavai

14. V. Rangachari: Ins. Madras Pres. II, pp. 1395-6.

15. See EI XIII pp. 134 ff.; Sen Tamil VI pp. 6 ff. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri: *The Pandyan Kingdom* pp. 83-5.

on the northern bank of the Kāveri (690 of 1905), Āditya I, the successor of Vijayālaya, Aparājita the Pallava ruler with the Gangā king Pṛthvipati organised a resistance and in the battle that was fought at Śri Purambiyam, Āditya I came out successful, defeating the Pāṇdyas completely. It may be pointed out that Idavai goes by the name of Pāṇḍiyanai-ven-kaṇḍa śōla caturvedimangalam in a later record of 1447 A.D. (42 of 1914). Though the Muttaraiyar were deprived of their sovereignty they were given places of honour in the state in which they continued for sometime. They dwindled in importance however in course of time and became tillers of the soil and agriculturists. It is interesting to find even to-day in the village of Tūkkanāmpālaiyam near Sendalai, between the Kāveri and the Kuḍamurutṭi, a community of people who still bear the title of Muttaraiyan.

After the Coḷas were firmly established they extended their patronage to sanctuaries and shrines which were patronised by the Muttaraiyar. The Coḷa king Rājakeśarivarman is said to have made gifts of gold for lamps deposited with the *sabhā*.¹⁶ This demonstrates that the local administration was carried on by a *sabhā* or assembly. During the reign of this king again we have a record¹⁷ that this assembly effected the sale of a *veli* of land to a certain person for the maintenance of an *ambalam* to some person who had erected it. One function of the *sabhā* was to conduct festivals.¹⁸ The *sabhā* went by the name of *Perungurisabhā*. The village had a *brahmasthāna* evidently the Brahmana quarters. Here was an *ambalam* in which the *Bhāratam* was read and expounded by a certain learned Brahman. For this the Assembly assigned a *Pangu* designated Iṟaiyili Bhāratappangu—in the shape of land for the benefit of the Bhārata reader.¹⁹ There are other records of Rājakeśari's reign registering gifts to temple by private individuals. In the next reign of Parakeśari, we have some inscriptions which are not of much importance.²⁰ An epigraph of Parāntaka I records a gift of land under the protection of the *sabhā* and the Paṇmāheśvarar.²¹ This Paṇmāheśvarar stands for a community of śaiva devotees. An inscription of the reign of

16. 61 and 62 of 1897.

17. 202 of 1926.

18. 209 of 1926.

19. 63 of 1897.

20. 7 of 1899, 204 of 1926, etc.

21. 14 of 1899.

Rājakeśari Rājadhīrāja I whose accession to the throne was in A.D. 1018 shows the discontinuance of *śribali* in the temple of Perumturaiudaiyār owing to absence of drummers and otherwise distribution of land earmarked for this service.²² The next interesting record of this place takes us to the period of Hoysāla dated in the 10th year of king Virarāmanātha deva. In the reign of Pratāpa Kṛṣṇa Rāya in Śaka 1433 (A.D. 1511) a certain Dharmayut Uḍaiyār presented 17 *velis* of land.

Būdalūr.

Five miles to the north of Tirukkāṭṭupallī this village stands to-day as a Railway station. There is the Āpatsahāya temple. It was also known as Girikoṇḍa Coḷanallūr. An inscription in the inner shrine records a gift of land in the 12th year of Konerinmaikoṇḍān. Konerinmaikoṇḍān seems more a title than the name of a certain Pāṇḍya king. Which Pāṇḍya king is under reference here, it is not possible to determine. Another record in the same place bears testimony to another gift of land in the first year of the reign of Sundara Pāṇḍya.

There are a number of kings bearing the name Sundara Pāṇḍya, and to whose reign this record refers we cannot say with any definiteness. Sundara Pāṇḍya I (a. 1216) who, according to a Tirukkāṭṭupallī inscription, has built the shrine of the goddess there, may be the king referred to here. The late Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar identified this place with Būdamangalam referred to by Būdhadatta who flourished in the last quarter of the 5th century A.D. But recent researches have questioned this identity. Though we have no connected history of this place, it played a significant part in the 18th century. When the English attacked Tanjore in 1773 the Pagoda at Būdalūr was taken by them in order to secure communications between Tanjore and Trichinopoly.

Tirukkāṭṭupallī.

I have already referred how it has a sacred Śaiva shrine and a special *padigam* is sung in honour of the god enshrined there by Sambandar and Appar. The God is Agniśvara (Tamil தீயாடியப்பர்) and the goddess Saundaranāyakī (Tamil வாரீகொண்டமுலையம்மை) The *Padikam* of Tirujñānasambandar, who was versed in Vedic

22. 201 of 1926.

lore as is seen from the 11th verse of this *padikam* அருமதையை வல்ல, on Tirukkāṭṭupallī begins with

vārumaṇ nummulai mangaiyar pankiṇān

and is in praise of Śiva's heroic deeds. These verses show that this place was rich in flower garden and fertile fields. This *padikam* is said to be on the Melaittirukkāṭṭupallī (West Tirukkāṭṭupallī), and another *padikam* is sung on Kilaittirukkāṭṭupallī (East Tirukkāṭṭupallī) which is located very near Tiruveṇkāḍu. Here legend says that devas prayed to the Lord enshrined to make Indra free from the sin of killing Vṛtra, the asura. Though there is no such legend about our place, there is a traditional account which says that once a king stole the *śevvandi* flowers from Uṇṇaiyūr flower-garden set apart for the temple, and gave them to his queens. The great queen alone used them to the Śiva shrine in the palace, while others used them for adorning themselves. So when Uṇṇaiyūr was blown by sand dunes the great queen alone escaped with life and fled to Tirukkāṭṭupallī where the Lord Agniśvara is said to have rid her of the கானல் வெப்பம். Tirunāvakkaraśu has a special *padikam* on this shrine beginning with māṭṭupallī, and from this we gather that about 7th century the place was the residence of foresters and hunters. Evidently there were forests in this region. This perhaps explains why Sambandar reached this place through Niyamam. Apparently this was the old route in the first few centuries of the Christian era.²³

One of the early inscriptions of this place is on a pillar in the maṇṭapa in front of the shrine dated in the 13th year of Rājārāja I (ac. 985), and records a gift of land.²⁴ There are two inscriptions of the Pāṇḍyan king Sundara Pāṇḍya I and Tribhuvanacakravarttin Konērimeṇkoṇḍān. While the former built the shrine of the goddess, the latter records gift of land to the goddess.²⁵ Vijayanagar kings have also endowed this temple. In the second *gōpura* of this temple, left of entrance, a gift of land is made by Tirumalaideva (1567-78). It further informs us that Śaluva Tirumala Deva granted the village of Karaiyāḍi to this temple.²⁶

In the 17th century this place was honoured by the visit of a great saint named Sivaprakāśa-Svāmigal. After worshipping the

23. See *Periyapurāṇam*.

24. 54 of 1897.

25. 52 and 53 of 1897.

26. 55 of 1897.

Lord enshrined there, he was going through the bazaar street where he met a lady selling salt. He understood from her face that she was a cultured lady and asked her in an elegant verse:

நிறைய வினதா கொளித்த கொழுமை
நிறைய முடிக்கணிந்த பொம்மை—நிறையத்
திருக்காட்டுப் பன்னிதிரியாவாய் நீயேன்
கருக்காட்டுப் பன்னி யெமக்கு.

"Have you enough salt? Is it cheap? Can you show some sample?" On this she found by intuition that the saint was Śiva-prākāśa, and addressing him by name she exclaimed that by seeing him and his *bhakta* followers, she was rid of all her worldly bondage.

தென்னோங்கு திலகை சிவபிரகாசப்பெருமான்
பொன்னோங்கு செவடியைப் போற்றினேன்—மன்னோன்
நிருக்கூட்ட மத்தனைக்குந் தெண்டனிட்டே பத்திராக்
கருக்கூட்டம் பொக்கிணை காண்.

Having blessed her with higher knowledge he departed.²⁷

This is proof positive that this place was a centre of culture in the seventeenth century as it was in the age of Appar.

In the 18th century during the Carnatic Wars Tirukkāṭṭupalli played an important part. The English who attacked Tanjore in 1773 took possession of the pagoda at Būdalūr as we saw and the fort at Tirukkāṭṭupalli, thus securing the line of communication between Tanjore and Trichinopoly. Again when Haider Ali invaded the Carnatic a second time in 1780-81, he seized the English garrisons at Tirukkāṭṭupalli. Tirukkāṭṭupalli and some villages in its neighbourhood have been places of much historical and cultural importance ranging over a period of a thousand years, as testified to us by literature, tradition and epigraphy.

27. See pp. 23-4 of Tottirappirabandatirattu.

The Council of Regency during the Minority of The Bahmani Ahmad III and Muhammad III (1461-1466)

By

PROFESSOR H. K. SHERWANI, M.A., (OXON), F.R.HIST. S.;
BAR-AT-LAW,

Head of the Department of History and Political Science,
Osmania University, Hyderabad (Deccan).

I. Nizāmu'd-dīn Ahmad III;

28-11-865/4-9-1461—13-9-867/29-7-1463.

ON Humāyūn's death his son Ahmad succeeded to the throne as Nizāmud-dīn Ahmad III¹ at the age of 8.² He was escorted to the Turquoise Throne by Shāh Muḥibbu'l-lāh holding his right hand and Syed Sharīf son of Syed Hanīf holding his left. It seems that the late king, who was a good judge of men and their worth, showed his foresight by nominating a Council of Regency consisting of Khwāja-i Jahān Turk and Maliku't-tujjār Maḥmūd Gāwān with the Dowager Queen Maḥdūma-i Jahān having a casting vote in case

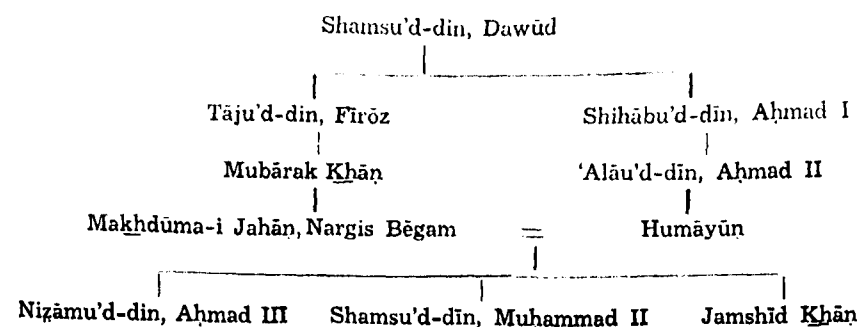
1. The name of Humāyūn's successor is given by *Fer.* as Nizām Shāh and is corroborated by *Bur.*, but there is no doubt that his full name was Nizām-ud-dīn Ahmad Shāh. This is clear from *Riād'l-Insha*, xix, 52 b. where the full name is mentioned in Maḥmūd Gāwān's letter to Shaikh Dāwūd, envoy of Maḥmūd Khilji of Malwa. This name, Ahmad, is fully corroborated by the legends on the King's coin. The *jital* reads: *Obv.* 'Al-Mustanṣir bi Naṣri'l-lāhi'l-Qawī. Rev. Ahmad Shāh bin Humāyūn Shāh al-Bahmanī, 866, Speight, *Isl. Cul.*, 1935, on p. 299. Codrington, *Num. Chr.*, 1883, p. 100, wrongly puts the following coin to be incorrectly dated. *Obv.* Ar-Rāji bi tāidi'r-Rāhmān, 866, Rev. Abu'l-Buzaffar Ahmad Shāh as-Sultān, and says that 866 ought really to be 826, ascribing it to Ahmad I who reigned from 825 to 838. As a matter of fact there is nothing wrong about the date as the coin belongs to Ahmad III, and Codrington has made this mistake as he was not aware of this title of Humāyūn's son.

2. *Bur.*, 96, gives the story of Humāyūn's testament that Maḥmūd Gāwān should place on the throne one of the three sons of Humāyūn whom he might regard as being the fittest for the exalted office. This is hardly likely, especially as the eldest, Ahmad, was only eight, consequently there was hardly any question of his superiority on the score of fitness. *Fer.*, I, 343,

of difference of opinion between the two.³ Immediately on the accession of the new king, Maḥmūd Gāwān was appointed Jumlatu'l-Mulk, Wazīr-i-kul and Tarafdār of Bijāpūr, while Khwāja-i Jahān was named Wakil and Tarafdār of Tilangānā. Every day when the King sat on the throne he was attended by Khwāja-i Jahān on his right and the Maliku't-tujjār on his left, while matters of state were carried on by these two counsellors with the Queen through a trusted lady by the name of Māh Bānō. As a matter of fact the master mind which ruled the country during the short reign of Aḥmad III was that of this great Queen, one of the most sagacious women India has produced, and it is no small credit to her that she successfully presided over the triumvirate consisting, besides her, of two of the ablest men in the whole history of the Deccan.

The reign began with a general amnesty to those who had been imprisoned by Humāyūn for political offences or violent factional leanings, a measure the credit for which is mainly due to the Chief Minister, Maliku't-tujjār Maḥmūd Gāwān.⁴ The Regency, moreover, continued the patronage of those eminent in the field of learning or service of the State as well as of those prominent in the aristocracy of the Kingdom.⁵ These measures, so well meant, were however, of no avail, as some of the officers, especially those appointed to far off provinces, thinking that it was a mere boy who was on the throne, tried to make things uncomfortable for the Regency, but the

seems to be right that Humāyūn was automatically succeeded by his eldest son. Genealogy of Aḥmad III's paternal and maternal relations.



3. *Fer.*, 343.

4. *Bur.*, 96.

5. *Riad.*, xxi, 55b, Mahmud Gawan to Sultan 'Alau'd-din of Gilan.

Government was equal to the task and we hear nothing further about it.

The first blow came from the ambitious Rāya of Orissa who now wanted to follow up the success attained by his allies and himself in Humāyūn's reign in an effective manner, and actually claimed tribute from the Bahmani power. Along with his allies of Tilangānā he advanced to Kaulās plundering all that came in his way⁶ and marched forward to within twenty miles of the capital itself.⁷ The courageous Queen allowed her youthful son to go and fight the marauders with Khwāja-i Jahān Turk and a large army consisting of infantry, cavalry and elephants.⁸ When face to face with the enemy, and on hearing that the Rāya wanted tribute from him, the boy king retorted that it was good that the Rāya had taken the trouble to come over to meet the Bahmanis; otherwise the King would have had to take the trouble to go the capital of Orissa, Jājnagar, itself to extract tribute from the Rāya.⁹ The first onslaught was led by Humāyūn's old friend and brother-in-law, Shāh Muḥibbu'l-lāh and was followed by a terrible hand to hand fight which lasted from about 8 in the morning till about 2 in the afternoon,¹⁰ resulting in the complete rout of the Rāya and his confederates, and his pursuit by Khwāja-i Jahān who forced him to pay an indemnity of five lacs of Silver Tankas.

The next country to take advantage of the youth of the King was that inveterate enemy of the Deccan, Sultān Maḥmūd Khiljī of Malwa. Evidently there were two parties at the capital of the country, Shādiābād-Māndū,¹¹ one inclined towards a union with the Deccan, was led among others by Khalafu'l-Mashāikh who became the Malwese envoy during the peace negotiations in the next reign; while the other was led by men like the traitor Nizāmu'l-Mulk and his family who had fled from the Deccan to Malwa in the last reign. In the beginning the peace party seems to have had a considera-

6. *Fer.*, 343.

7. *Fer.*, had 10 kroh, while *Bur.*, has 3 farsakh=54,000 yards.

8. There is a difference in numbers, for while *Fer.* mentions 40,000 cavalry *Bur.* has only 10,000.

9. Jajnagar, now Jājpur, headquarters of a subdivision of Cuttack of the same name; situation, 20°51'N, 86°20'E.

10. *Bur.*, 97.

11. For Shādiābād Māndū see the excellent book by G. Yazdānī, 'Shādiābād, the City of Joy,' Oxford. It is now a part of the state of Dhār. Situation, 20°21'N, 75°26'E.

ble influence, as right at the commencement of Nizāmu'd-dīn Ahmad's reign ambassadors arrived from Shādiābād with presents for the young King and were received well by the Court. The union between the two kingdoms came to within an ace of being cemented, and when the envoys returned home they were loaded with valuable presents for the King of Malwa "such as befitted the position of both the parties."¹² But soon the other group came to be in the ascendant, mostly because they considered it was a good opportunity to invade the Deccan thinking the Bahmanī Kingdom must have grown considerably weaker owing to the two campaigns undertaken to ward off the invasions of the Rāya of Orissa.¹³

Mahmūd Khiljī was not alone when he invaded the Deccan, for the ambitious Kapilēshwar Rāya joined him¹⁴ and evidently the ruler of Khāndēsh was also not unfriendly to the exploit. The confederates crossed into the Deccan through the Khāndēsh territory advancing to within ten farsang or about 32 miles of Bidar. As in the previous campaign against the Orissa army, the boy king took a personal interest in the mobilization of the Bahmanī forces and went to the battlefield himself with the armies of Bījāpūr, Daulatābād and Berār, accompanied by Maliku't-tujjār Mahmūd Gāwān, Khwāja-i Jahān Turk, Sikandar Khān Turk the Atābek¹⁵ and a number of other nobles. It is remarkable that, in spite of the restiveness of some of the royal officers of which mention has already been made, the policy of toleration and of a *modus vivendi* between the two sections of the aristocracy, which had been begun by Humāyūn, was already bearing wholesome fruit, and we find that the army which was now opposing the most dangerous enemy the Deccan ever had, was composed both of Newcomers or *gharibs* as well as the Oldcomer *dakhnis* and Habashis.¹⁶ The forces met near fortified town, Qandhār. The line of battle was such that the boy king was in the centre with Khwāja-i Jahān Turk, Sikandar Khān, 11,000 cavalry and 100 elephants, while on one side was Nizāmu'l-Mulk Turk with 10,000 lancers and 100 elephants, and on the other side Mahmūd Gāwān with 10,000 cavalry and 40

12. Reference to this embassy will be found in *Riād.*, xix, 52b, To the Khalafu'l-Mashāikh.

13. *Bur.*, 98.

14. *Fer.* 343.

15. *Bur.*, 98. The title 'atābek' is mentioned in *Zafar.*, I, 166.

16. *Fer.*, 345 Qandhar the centre of the westernmost taluq of Nanded in H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions.

elephants.¹⁷ The King was directly opposed by Mahmūd Khiljī himself with a large body of cavalry,¹⁸ while Khwāja-i Jahān was in front of him Mahābat Khān of Chandēri with Zahiru'l-Mulk, and Nizāmu'l-Mulk Turk faced his name-sake Nizāmu'l-Mulk Ghōri¹⁹ and Prince Ghiāsu'd-dīn, the heir-apparent of Malwa.

The King of Malwa had dug a trench in front of his position, so the initial engagement was between the right and left wings of the two armies. Mahmūd Gāwān first defeated Mahābat Khān and Zahiru'l-Mulk both of whom were left dead on the battlefield,²⁰ and on the other side Prince Ghiāsu'd-dīn was wounded by Nizāmu'l-Mulk Turk and was forced to quit the battlefield. The day seems to have ended in favour of the Bahmanīs and the Khiljī was on the point of flight himself when a miracle happened such as sometimes turns the fortunes not only of battles but of nations. It seems that the boy King was left alone with inexperienced young Turkish nobles who began by sending fifty elephants into the enemy's ranks without anyone to accompany them.²¹ In the meantime a stray arrow struck Sikandar Khān's elephant and the animal turned back and stampeded.²² Sikandar was thereupon greatly alarmed at the danger in which the King was now placed, removed him from his mount and hurried back to Bidar.

On seeing the royal mount bare-backed there was a great stampede and the whole of the Deccan army turned back with victory snatched so cruelly away from its grasp. Mahmūd Gāwān, Khwāja-i Jahān and the erstwhile victorious troops all turned back to the capital. The whole thing was so utterly surprising that the King of Malwa thought it was part of a big plan laid to entrap him, and it was only after three days' waiting that he was satisfied that the Deccanis had fallen back on Bidar in right earnest and he made up his mind to pursue them.²³ When Khwāja-i Jahān reached Bidar he complained to the Queen of the great indiscretion of Sikandar Khān in having turned victory into defeat and had him

17. *Bur.*, 98, says that Nizāmu'l-Mulk was on the right and Mahmūd Gāwān on the left of the King, while *Fer.* asserts the contrary.

18. *Bur.*, 20,000; *Fer.* 12,000.

19. Thus in *Bur.*, 99. This clearly shows that Nizāmu'l-Mulk had not been put to death by Humāyūn.

20. *Bur.* 99.

21. *Ibid.*

22. *Fer.*, 345.

23. *Bur.*, 99.

imprisoned. The Turkish guard was very much excited over the affair and in their turn petitioned Her Majesty that Sikandar's solitary fault was that when both the right and left wings of the royal army were engaged in plundering the enemy's lines and had left the King forlorn he had managed to extricate the King from his very dangerous position and had saved His Majesty's life; so it was highly improper to imprison a man like this for the deep loyalty which he had for his sovereign. The Queen was very much touched at this expression of attachment to the person of her son, but replied that just at that moment she could not do anything and had to wait for a better opportunity to punish Khwāja-i Jahān.²⁴

An evidence of the new policy of compromise between the Oldcomers and the Newcomers is seen in the great confidence reposed in the former by the Triumvirate when, at Maḥmūd Gāwān's instance, the Queen put Bidar fort under Mallū Khan dakhni²⁵ while the Court was removed to Fīrōzābād.²⁶ A short time after this Maḥmūd Khiljī arrived at Bidar and having taken possession of the city laid siege to the citadel, while the army took possession of the districts and provinces of Berar, Bīr and Daulatābād.²⁷ It was at this critical juncture that the sagacious Queen and Maḥmūd Gāwān initiated a policy which was to bear fruit many a time in future, namely of inviting Sultan Maḥmūd of Gujrat, one of the greatest rulers of western India, to come and help the Deccan against the intruder.²⁸ It was only a few years back that this sultan, then only 13, had replaced his uncle Dawūd on the throne after the latter's reign of barely seven days and Dawūd was still at large perhaps heading conspiracies against his nephew. The Gujrātī nobles therefore warned the King that it would not be advisable to leave the Kingdom at this juncture; but the chivalrous king referred to the Apostolic saying that the organization of the Universe and the welfare of human beings was based on union; if the elezens and the elements did not work in co-operation everything would be in complete disorder and utter discord would prevail; while if human beings break off the chains of mutual help and common partnership the laws which govern nature would all be

24. *Fer.*, 345.

25. Mallū was the same noble who was a party to the conspiracy to put Hasan on the throne at the time of the accession of Humayun.

26. Ferozabād on the Bhīma, about 12 miles from Shahabad Railway Station in the Gulbarga District.

27. *Fer.*, 345.

28. This letter was written at Maḥmūd Gāwān's instance. See *Fer.* *ibid.*,

upset. When King Maḥmūd could not be made to remain in the country his patriotic nobles tried to persuade him that instead of going to the Deccan he should make a diversion in Malwa itself so as to be as near Gujrat as possible and at the same time indirectly help the Deccan.²⁹ But the chivalrous Maḥmūd replied even to this proposal in the negative and proceeded directly towards the Deccan with 80,000 cavalry halting only at Sultānpūr on the Deccan-Gujrat border.³⁰

The sudden appearance of this new ally of the Deccan completely upset the Khiljī's plans. On hearing of the arrival of the Gujrātī King on the frontier, Aḥmad III wrote a letter to him as follows: "God be praised for strengthening the foundations of countries by the mutual help of God-fearing and strong Kings, and for having made the hearts and the innermost recesses of man lighted by the brilliance of the sword of princely unity. It has been found from the petition of Musnad-i 'Āli Nizāmu'l-Mulk and Maliku'sh-sharq Muḥammad Parviz Sultān, Thānadār of Faṭhābād³¹ that Your Majesty has arrived on the frontiers of my Kingdom for strengthening the bonds of Islamic brotherhood. I am now happy to make known to Your Majesty that our infantry as well as our cavalry is ready to meet all eventualities."³² Accordingly Maḥmūd Gāwān was sent with 6,000 horse to the frontier by way of Bīr and was joined by 20,000 Gujrātī troops. In the meantime he had mobilised more troops, and with an army 40,000 strong marched back to Bidar. The court at Fīrōzābād also sent Khwāja-i Jahān to the capital. It is creditable that Mallū Khān was still holding out the citadel against the Khiljī and that the confidence placed in him by the Queen had not been misplaced.³³ Thus hemmed in on three sides the Khiljī had no alternative but to

29. For this letter as well as the machinations of the Gujrati nobles see *Bur.* 100.

30. *Fer.*, 345. Sultānpūr, now a small town in the Shahada taluqa of the West Khāndēsh district of the Bombay Province.

31. I have not been able to find out where this important town was or is, situated. It must have been an important centre somewhere near the Gujrāt frontier, and a Bahmani mint was evidently situated there, for we find a number of Bahmani coins minted at Faṭhābād. The Mughals renamed Dharūr, now in the North-Eastern corner of H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions Faṭhābād, but the Faṭhābād mentioned here must have been a different town altogether.

32. *Bur.* 102.

33. *Fer.* 346.

retrace his steps back to Malwa. He first of all went a little way towards Kalyān; but when news was brought to him that the King of Gujrat was coming that way he hurried direct towards Burhānpūr and Asīr,³⁴ hotly pursued by Khwāja-i Jahān, while Maḥmūd Gāwān cut off his communications with 10,000 soldiers under his command.³⁵ The Khiljī now blinded his elephants, set fire to his heavy baggage and sought his way through Gōndwānā, Ēlichpūr and Akalkot.³⁶ On his way as many as five or six thousand of his men died of heat and lack of water while the rest were plundered by the Gonds to their heart's content, with the result that the King of Malwa arrived back at his capital with a thoroughly decimated army. It seems that he was so very confident of the final ousting of the Bahmanis from the Deccan that on arrival at Bīdar he began to treat the Deccanis with great respect by way of conciliation, and actually to order the payment of all commodities purchased for the Malwese army and Court. It is said that when the stock of fresh vegetables, which the king carried with him for fear of there being even an iota of pressure being put on the sellers, came to an end, he referred the matter to Maulānā Sharfu'd-dīn Haq-gō Kirmānī who was then at Shāh Khalilū'l-lāh's tomb, requesting him to inform him where he could purchase legally sowed and picked vegetables. To this the venerable Truth-teller, (for such is the meaning of the epithet by which he is remembered in history) boldly scolded the Sultan for his hypocrisy with which he invaded other peoples' lands and at the same time with being outwardly so punctilious in matters of diet!³⁷

After the Khiljī's ignominious retreat the boy king, Aḥmad III wrote a letter of thanks to the King of Gujrat for all his kindness in coming to the aid of the Deccan.³⁸

But this was not the last scene of the Malwese drama, for the very next year, in 867-1463, the Khiljī reappeared on the Deccan

34. *Bur.*, 103. Kalyān or Kalyānī, now a jagir in the district of Bidar, once the capital of the Chalūkyas. Situation, 17°53'N., 76°57'E. Burhānpūr, at present a tehsil in the Nimār district of the Central Provinces. Situation, 21°18'N., 76°18'E. Asīr, an important fort in Burhanpur tehsil; situation, 21°28'N., 76°18'E.

35. *Fer.* 347.

36. I have not been able to find the situation of this town. There is an Akalkot, the capital of an Indian state on the western outskirts of H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions but this Akalkot must have been differently situated.

37. *Fer.* 347.

38. *Bur.*, 104.

horizon with a huge army of nearly, 90,000 horse³⁹ and marched on without any opposition as far as Fathābād.⁴⁰ King Aḥmad again requested the help of Maḥmūd of Gujrat, and when in Rajab 867 April 1463 the Khiljī came to know that his namesake of Gujrat had arrived at Sulṭānpūr to help the Deccan he immediately retraced his steps back home.⁴¹

The Sultan, Aḥmad III died just three months after the second Malwese retreat on the night of his marriage, which took place on 13-11-867/29-7-1463, and was succeeded by his younger brother Muḥammad as Shamsu'd-dīn Muḥammad Shah III.

II. *Shamsu'd-dīn*⁴² *Muḥammad III*—First Part; 13-9-867/29-7-1463—870-1466.

Shamsu'd-dīn Muḥammad was between nine and ten⁴³ when he succeeded his elder brother. He was escorted to the Turquoise Throne by Shah Muḥibbu'l-lāh (who had evidently been released by his captor Maḥmūd Khiljī of Malwa) and Syed Ḥanīf, the two divines who had likewise escorted his late brother Aḥmad III three years before. The wise Queen trained her youthful son from the outset to be forbearing to her younger brother Aḥmad, who became his constant companion and playmate, and at the same time appointed one of the most learned men of the time, Sharfu'd-dīn Ṣadr Jahān Shusteri,⁴⁴ to be the royal tutor, with the result that the King became one of the most accomplished Bahmanī sovereigns in course of time.

It seems that Khwāja-i Jahān Turk began to alienate the sympathies of a powerful section of the nobility by his high-handed behaviour. He began by replacing the scions of the old aristocracy by members of the new nobility⁴⁵ and thus upset the equilibrium which had been started by Humāyūn and continued by the Triumvirate during the last reign. He was so much bent upon having his own

39. *Bur.* m. 105.

40. *Zafar*, I, 166.

41. The letter is given *in extenso* in *Bur.* where the month is also mentioned.

42. Full name in *Fer.* 347, as well as on the coins, for which see Speight, *op. cit.*, *Isl. Cul.* 1935, p. 301.

43. *Fer.*, 347, has 9 while *Bur.*, 107 has ten.

44. Later appointed Qaḍīu'l-Quḍat or Chief Justice; This is how Maḥmūd Gāwān addresses him in *Riād.*, lxxxix 146A. The name, Sharaf-d-dīn is found in *Riād* lxx, 127A.

45. *Bur.*, 108.

say that he actually managed to send away his colleague Maliku't-tujjār Maḥmūd Gāwān to distant frontier provinces⁴⁶ in order that he might do just what he liked in his absence. Soon rumours went about that he was actually embezzeling money and treasures from the Royal treasury. As has been mentioned the Queen was displeased at his conduct for having imprisoned Sikandar Khān whose solitary fault seemed to be that he had saved the late King's life. All this showed the way to Khwāja-i-Jahān's doom. The moderating element in the triumvirate, Maḥmūd Gāwān, was far from the scene, the old nobility was smarting at the indignities offered to them, the Queen was waiting for an opportunity as she had told the deputation of the Turkish Guard a short while before, and Khwāja-i-Jahān had to pay for all this by his life. One morning in 870-1466 Khwāja-i-Jahān was surprised on seeing Nizāmu'l-Mulk with a posse of armed troops as he was going to pay his respects to the King in the Throne Room. As he entered he saw two maid servants emerging from the zenana part of the Palace, at whose instance Nizāmu'l-Mulk dragged the unfortunate Khwāja towards him and murdered him in the boy King's presence. Thus ended the Triumvirate which had taken over charge of the government of the Kingdom after Humayūn's death on 28-9-865/4-9-1461. The road was open for the further rise of Maḥmūd Gāwān leading to his final supremacy in the State.

The Triumvirate lasted just five years, and it is remarkable in a number of ways. The first thing to remember is the extraordinary unity of interest and action shown by the members of the triumviral Council of Regency which was ruling the land. There is not one point, one line of broad policy, in which is seen the least difference between the Queen, the Chief Minister Maliku't-tujjār Maḥmūd Gāwān and Khwāja-i-Jahān Turk, and it is through this unity of action that the Deccan was freed from the Malwese menace. Moreover in the two campaigns undertaken during the reign, one against the ambitious Rāya of Orissa and the other against the powerful King of Malwa, both male members of the triumvirate fought side by side evidently without any hitch whatever. The principle of a united triumvirate was accepted to a remarkable extent, so much so that when Sikandar Khān was imprisoned for having brought the King to Bidar from the battlefield and thus causing the defeat of the Bahmani arms, even the dowager Queen, who was the most potent figure in the government, could not release him although in the depth of her heart she must have been pleas-

46. *Fer.*, 347.

ed on the extrication of her youthful son from the *mélée* of the battlefield. In spite of this natural maternal weakness all credit is due to her for having allowed her young son to go in the thick of the fighting twice in as many years, and there is no doubt that the women folk of the State must have been vastly influenced at the brave lead given to them by the Court. The last thing to be mentioned is the continuation of the policy of conciliating both the factions which formed the aristocracy of the Kingdom, namely the Oldcomers and the Newcomers. It was in the fitness of things that the policy should be so continued as all the three members of the Council of Regency had been trained in the school of Humayūn, the originator of the policy. The release of Mallū Khān Dakhnī who had been the cause of so much trouble to the late King, and his appointment to the very important charge of the citadel-palace of Muḥammadābād-Bidar meant that so long as the present *régime* lasted the distinction between the two factions was to disappear from politics as far as possible.

This policy of unity of action, however, came to a stop with the accession of Muḥammad III, resulting in high-handedness of certain state officials and the murder of Khwāja-i-Jahān Turk who had made himself unpopular with all classes. Maḥmūd Gāwān now had no one to equal him in courage, intelligence and diplomacy, and we see him supreme in the next stage of the reign of Muḥammad III.

Medicine at the Moghul Court

By

D. V. S. REDDY,
Vizagapatam.

(Continued from page 174, Vol. XVII, Part 2.)

Humayun and His Interest in Relief of Human Suffering.

HUMAYUN is celebrated in history as one of the great lovers of books. Even in the midst of horrible bloodshed around him in the fight for his Kingdom, this Royal Bibliophile enquired what his followers had done with the library and derived some comfort when informed that it was safe. Babur was an elegant poet and a brilliant Diarist; but his son had the advantage of a better and more scholarly education in his early days. Unfortunate in his life, he may be considered equally unlucky also in having left no "Memoirs" like Babur's fascinating Auto-biography. It is idle to speculate what valuable knowledge and observations have been lost to posterity by the absence of Humayun's own story of his chequered career, interspersed with his reflections and the learning of the Age.

The deficiency is partly made up by the existence of two very good biographies. Humayun-Nama, written by Gul-Badan Begum, a sister of Humayun, is a brief but reliable chronicle of events of a part of Humayun's life and supplies a few fragmentary but illuminating facts and comments. The other biography is more intimate and personal. "The Private memoirs of Emperor Humayun" was written in persian language by Jouhar, the Ewer-bearer, and a confidential domestic of the Emperor. The author, was neither a learned fool nor a fawning courtier. He describes with an admirable simplicity and correctness minute incidents, in the daily life of the Royal Camp. These two chief sources afford the present day inquirer an opportunity of studying the practices and beliefs, current in the Moghul Court or Camp, in the second quarter of the Sixteenth Century.

The first half of the XVI century, particularly the interval corresponding to Humayun's reign, was a great epoch in the History of

Medicine and allied Sciences. Paracelsus, the great Iconoclast in Medicine, an original thinker and a pioneer in Chemistry, started a revolution in Medicine by publicly burning the works of Galen and Avicenna, and lecturing in the language of the people. Andreas Vesalius acquired a thorough knowledge of the human body by careful dissection, and after five years of patient, laborious work and teaching as Professor at Padua, published his magnificent *De Fabrica Humani Corporis* in 1543, an immortal book that threw overboard the old dogmas of Galenical tradition.

The Portuguese had established their Indian Empire on the West coast of India. There were Portuguese Physicians and Hospitals, in Goa and other settlements. But the Moghul Empire had no contact with them.

Medical History of Humayun.

Humayun's serious illness in 1526 and his miraculous recovery have already been described in the previous section.

In the year 1539, during the attacks by Sher Khan, Humayun was wounded by an arrow in the arm and his illness dragged on for 40 days.¹ In 1541, in the course of his wanderings in Sind, there were malignant reports circulated that his Majesty had been thrown from the horse and had severely wounded and bruised his leg and arm.² During his stay in Persia he visited the ruins of Persepolis and hunted. One day he felt tired and then ordered Jouhar to champo him, which he did till the Emperor got up from his fatigue.³ During Humayun's stay in Persia as the guest of the Shah, Hakin Nuruddin Muhammad, the Shah's personal physician and confidant, interested himself in Humayun and helped the eminent refugee.⁴ About the year 1546 A.D., while Humayun was campaigning to regain Badakshan, he was taken ill between the fort of Zafor and Kishan. From day to day he grew worse and lay unconscious so that every one was in anxiety, and none but his immediate attendants were sure of his being alive. Attending on him were nurses whose excellence is attested by Annals and it adds life

1. Tezkereh Al Vakiat or Private memoirs of the Emperor Humayun : Written in Persian language by Ewerbearer, Jouhar. Translation into English by Major Charles Stewart, in 1832—Calcutta, 1904, p. 25.

2. Tez. A. Vak. Page 47.

3. Tez. A. Vak. Page 97.

4. Elliot and Dowson, Vol. V; p. 219.

to the scene to know that the long watch over the unconscious man was broken by his opening the eyes just when Mah-Chuchack, the queen, was dropping into his mouth promegnate juice, which restored him to his senses. There was consternation in the army during this illness and the people began to rebel. After two months, the Emperor recovered.⁵

Again in 1550, when out of Kabul, Humayun was wounded by Kamran's ruffians. "The blow reached his blessed Majesty's head and his forehead and his dear eyes were stained with blood. It was just like what it was in the Mogul war when Babur was wounded. His eyecap and turban wrapped round it were not cut but his head was badly hurt. Humayun used to say 'I wondered at it' for cloth and cap were whole yet head was cut. The same thing happened to his own head now."⁶

In the Battle of Kipchak Pass, near Kabul, His Majesty was severely wounded in 1550. One of the scoundrels of the enemy struck the king on the head with a sword and was about to repeat the blow when his Majesty threatened him and stopped. Other officers came up and led the King out of the battle, but he was so severely wounded that he became weak from loss of blood and therefore threw off his jubba (a coat of strong quilted silk used as an armour).

Some followers of Kamran found it and proclaimed that the king was killed. Meanwhile the officers mounted him on a small horse and led him, two chiefs supporting on either side. As it was very cold they put on him a sheep skin cloak. He suffered much from weakness. Next morning on reaching the bank of a river the king washed his wound. Next day, having ridden some distance they rested. The morning following he was still very weak and could not offer his morning prayer. He said to Jouhar "My boy, I am so severely wounded. I cannot bear to purify myself with cold water." Then Jouhar represented that he had warm water ready. After ablutions, he mounted the horse and had not ridden far, when he complained that the clotted blood on his clothes hurt him and asked some of the servants if they had no coat to lend him. He

5. Humayun-nama or history of Humayun, by Gulbadan Begam, translated by A. S. Beveridge, Oriental Translation Fund, New Series I, London, 1902. p. 40

6. H. N. P. 195.

went to the extent of wearing a dress discoloured by him and given to a servant.⁷

Death of Humayun.

Gul-Badan Begum gives the details about Humayun's death. The editor of Humayun-nama gives the following short account of the fatal accident.

"That Humayun should die a violent death was in keeping with the violent changes of his career. His last hours were filled with pleasant occupations. Old friends who returned from Mecca had been seen. He had gone up to the roof of Sher Mandal which he used as his Library (books got from the two driverless camels in a battle). He interested himself in the rising of the Venus. The emperor had started down the upper of the two flights of steps (steep and narrow) and was on the second step where the Muazzin raised the cry for prayer from the neighbouring mosque. Humayun, either tried to seat himself or kneel as was his custom. His foot became entangled, some say in his mantle, his staff slid along the smooth step and he fell to the bottom of the flight with severe injuries to head and arm. It would seem that the injuries were too severe to allow return of consciousness. He died later."⁸

Humayun died at the age of fifty one, and the nasty accident which caused his sudden death is described as follows by an old Chronicler Tobakat-i-Akbari:—

"But now the most extra-ordinary event occurred. As he was descending from the roof of his library the Muazzin cried aloud the summons for prayer and the Emperor sat down on the 2nd step. When he was getting up his foot slipped and he fell from the stairs to the ground. The emperor was taken up senseless into the palace. After a time he rallied and spake. Court physicians exerted all their powers but in vain. Next day he grew worse and he was beyond all medical help. A messenger was sent to the Punjab to summon Prince Akbar." The Emperor however died before the arrival of Akbar on 24th January 1556.⁹

The same incident is described by Feriṣṭa. "The king fell headlong from the top to the bottom of the stair, he was taken up

7. Tez. A. Vak. P. 139-142.

8. H. N. P. 54.

9. E. and D. V; Page 239.

insensible, and laid upon his bed; he soon recovered his speech, and the physicians administered all their art, but in vain; for upon the 11th of the month, about sun-set, his soul took her flight to Paradise. He was buried in the new city upon the banks of the river, and a noble tomb was erected over him some years after by his son Akbar. Humayun died at the age of fifty-one, after a reign of twenty-five years in Kabul and India."¹⁰

"He tumbled through life and tumbled out of it" (Lane-Poole).

Sidelights on contemporary medicine.

Bone-setters.

Gulbadan Begum says: I and Afghan Agalha were sitting in front of the lower story when my lady went to prayers. I said to Afghan "Pul my hand" he pulled and my hand came out. My strength went and I cried. Then they brought the bone-setter and when he had bound up my hand, the Emperor (Babur) went to Agra.¹¹

Climate and Health.

The Tarikh-i-Rashidi, refers to the illness of Kamran as one of the causes for the rise of Shershah. "The climate of Hindusthan had brought on some serious disorders—(here various complications are specified). When he had thus suffered for 2 or 3 months, he lost the use of his hands and feet. As no medicine or treatment relieved him, he became more desirous of departing to Lahore. At length, his maladies so increased that he decided to return thither."¹²

Poisoning.

Another Chronicler gives a slightly different version: "About 1540, Mirza Camarin, brother of Humayun was seized with a false appetite which he too much indulged in and consequently became afflicted with a lientery, which he imputed to poison given by his brother, Humayun.

The Blinding of Prince Kamran.

"Ghulam Aly twisted a handkerchief up as a ball for thrusting into the mouth, and he with the Ferash seizing the Prince by the

10. *Ferista*—Dow's History of Hindusthan, Vol. ii. P. 113.

11. H. N. P. 103.

12. E. and D. V; P. 130.

hands, pulled him out of the tent, laid him down and thrust a lancet (neshter) into his eyes (such was the will of God). This they repeated at least fifty times, but he bore the torture in a manly manner, and did not utter a single groan except when one of the men who was sitting on his knees pressed him; he then said, why do you sit upon my knees? What is the use of adding to my pain?" This was all he said, and acted with great courage, till they squeezed some (lemon) juice and salt into the sockets of his eyes; he then could not forbear, and called out "O Lord, O Lord, my God, whatever sins I may have committed have been amply punished in this world, have compassion on me in the next." After some time he was placed on horse-back, and we proceeded to a grove planted by the Emperor Firoz Shah where, it being very hot, we alighted and after a short period again mounted, and arrived in the camp when the Prince was lodged in the tent of Mir Cassim. The author of these pages, seeing the Prince in such pain and distress, could no longer remain with him; I therefore went to my own tent and sat down in a very melancholy mood."¹³

According to another version Kamran was blinded by means of Antimony. Toxicology seems to have been practised as a fine Art.

Self-treatment of wounds.

In 1540, a party of peasants attacked the Emperor's party on their way to Agra. Mirza Yadgar was wounded by an arrow. He said to Prince Askery "You go on and punish the villagers, while I stop to dress my wound."¹⁴

Brief case-sheets.

Gul-Badan adds a few interesting case notes.

(1) "Shah Hussain Arghun was subject to fever of such kind that he could live only on the river and spend his time going up and down in search of ease and health."

(2) "Alwar Mirza fell ill. His illness led to an affection of the bowels which grew worse and worse in spite of all that doctors could do. At last he passed away."

(3) "Mirza Kamran's illness increased amazingly. He became weak and so thin that his face was not in the least like his

13. Tez. A. Vak. P. 155-156.

14. Tez. A. Vak. P. 33.

own and there was no hope of his life. By divine mercy he grew much better. Afterwards, he got worse day after day and he lost the power of speech."

(4) There is also a contemporary record of the death of a large number of followers of Humayun, due probably to "Water Intoxication". During the wanderings in the desert of Sind, Humayun and his small retinue, suffered great hardships for want of water to drink. When the thirsty camps came in sight of water they drank large quantity and people complained of the oppression of the heart and in about half an hour, a great part of them expired. (Water intoxication?)

Emperor's Personal knowledge and Practice of Medicine.

Humayun has been described by contemporary and later chronicles as a great lover of books and an enthusiastic astronomer. It may be inferred, however, that his training under Babur, his voracious appetite for knowledge and his chequered career would have made him familiar with much sickness, many bed-side scenes and some medical matters. A few references handed down by his intimate associates seem to suggest that he was a very kind-hearted man and did not allow his Royal dignity to interfere with his rendering first-aid work or assisting at a plastic operation, on one of his own servants, to rectify a wrong done on account of hasty and incorrect understanding of Royal orders.

Humayun's personal knowledge of simple treatment is illustrated by the following examples. He used to ask young people on the central platform of the tank to wade through water. "There is no harm, each of you will eat a pellet of anise and a bit of comfit."¹⁵ This would appear to be the popular remedy against common cold in that age. The Elphinstone Codex has a note, now mutilated, attested by its scribe as copied from Humayun's handwriting and is to the effect that once, on his way from hot bath, he saw people who had taken poison and restored them by giving them lime-juice (see foot-note to Baber-Name Vol. 2, page 511). In the narration of events of 1542, it is recorded that at Umarkot, Kaufer was ordered to cut the end of Husyn's ear as a punishment for his treachery (of hiding ignots of pure gold); but Kaufer mistaking the meaning of the order cut off the whole ear. On seeing this, the king was very angry, sent for a surgeon and had the ear soon on again. The

15. H. N. P. 125.

Emperor himself assisted in the operation on Husyn and apologised to the sufferer.¹⁶

Encouragement to Scholars.

During Humayun's reign, scholars from all parts of Persia, Turkēstan and Samarkhand continued to emigrate into India in large numbers. There were also many learned men who accompanied Humayun on his second entry into Hindustan. These came from the Safavi Court and from Persian towns. Of the physicians that lived in his court, two have already been mentioned; Yusuf-z-bin-i-Mahamad Hirwai, who was also his munshi and who dedicated a medical treatise Riyaz-ul-insha to Humayun and Mahamad Ibn-I-Ashraf al Hussaini. Another celebrated philosopher-physician of this period was Moulana Mahamad Fazl. He wrote a sort of encyclopaedia, with several chapters and sub-divisions—voluminous work, treating of 12 different subjects discussed under headings such as History, Astronomy, Mathematics, Medicine, Philosophy etc. The date of the compilation is 946 A.H. and the work was known as "Pearl of Sciences" and also as 'Humayuni' after the name of the Emperor to whom this copy was presented.¹⁷

Lastly, it is interesting to contemplate that Humayun himself refers to Jesus as the great Healer in one of his *Ghazals*.¹⁸

"As sky (fate) aims at me too many arrows of affliction,
My soul (bird) cannot spring into aerial flights.
To Jesus do not unfold (the state) of my pain,
For he does not possess any cure for me under the domelike sky."

16. Tez. A. Vak. P. 63 and 64.

17. A History of Persian Language and Literature at the Moghul Court by A. Gani, Allahabad, Indian Press Ltd., 1929; P. 78.

18. Humayun's Religion by S. K. Banerji (J. I. H. : Vol. XVII; P. 151-164).

Was the Abdali Invasion of 1766-67 a Real Menace to Bengal?*

By

DR. ASHIRBADI LAL SRIVASTAVA, M.A., PH.D., D.LITT.,
Professor, Dungar College, Bikaner.

In a long and well written article contributed to the *Bengal Past and Present*, Calcutta (Vol. LV., pp. 151-63), and which, I understand, is the first chapter of his thesis recently approved for the Degree of Doctor of Literature by the University of Lucknow, Dr. Nand Lal Chatterji discusses reactions of Ahmad Shah Abdali's invasion of the Punjab during 1766-67 and avers that it constituted a menace to the safety of Bengal. He seems to believe that the invader entered the Punjab with an army "probably more formidable than the one that had routed the Marathas at Panipat," that there was a secret alliance between him and Mir Qasim, the ex-Nawab of Bengal at whose instigation he undertook the invasion and that it was feared that "he would endeavour to attack Bengal and possess himself of this province". Dr. Chatterji is definitely of opinion that "Though the Abdali's invasion has been primarily prompted by the desire for plunder, it was without doubt undertaken with the ostensible object of punishing the infidels, like the Sikhs, the Jats, and particularly the English who were represented to have over-thrown a Muslim ruler of Bengal".¹ Owing to "the extreme eagerness of Shah Alam and Shuja-ud-daulah for an immediate compromise with the Abdali," continues the learned doctor, "it was naturally apprehended at Calcutta that if prompt measures were not taken for the defence of Oudh and Bengal, the King and the Vazir could easily be prevailed upon to join the Abdali against the English".² The danger to Bengal therefore was not only great, according to Dr. Chatterji,

* For the benefit of scholars who may like to verify the facts, etc., given in this article, it has been thought desirable to give in the foot-notes references to Calendars of Persian Correspondence (abb. CPC.), which contain Trans. R.; Cop. I., Trans. I., etc. to which Dr. Chatterji refers and are easily available.

1. *Bengal, Past and Present* (abb. BPP.), LV, p. 159.
2. BPP., 151-52.

but was also, as it were, from two quarters, that is, from the invader and from the Emperor and Shuja-ud-daulah who were undependable, and the English were called upon to face two grave problems simultaneously,—keeping watch over Shah Alam and his Wazir's activities and of concerting measures for the defence of Bengal and Oudh. The Abdali, however, did not move down south of Sarhind and returned to Kabul empty-handed. Commenting on the invader's departure from the Punjab, Dr. Chatterji concludes that "It is easy to ridicule the hasty preparations of Verelst It must not, however, be forgotten that if the latter (Abdali) had only succeeded in his efforts to gain the alliance of the country powers, it is doubtful whether he would have refused to espouse the cause of an 'oppressed fugitive and homeless' Nawab in furtherance of his ulterior designs of conquest and plunder. Verelst was thus hardly unjustified in taking prompt and forward measures in view of the alleged secret alliance between the Shah and Mir Qasim".³

A critical and dispassionate study of the very same sources in English which Dr. Chatterji has utilised, to say nothing of those in Persian and Marathi, with which he does not seem to be acquainted, leads one to think that the learned doctor has not only not presented a complete and balanced picture, but has ignored the other side and therefore arrived at some wrong conclusions which it is necessary in the interest of historical research to examine in detail.

Some Facts About the Invasion.

Some of the most important events relating to this Abdali invasion, as well as to those preceding it may be summarised here with a view to elucidate their reaction in the country. Since 1760 the Sikhs had been disputing with the Abdali supremacy in the Punjab and making the invader's hold over the province so precarious that his rule could be maintained only by regular and frequent repetitions of his personal visits at the head of a powerful force (vide his invasions of 1762, 1764, 1765 and 1766-67). In 1763 the Sikhs had brought the entire district of Sarhind in their effective possession, and in April 1764 the whole of the province from the Jhilm to the Sutlej, including the capital town of Lahore, was occupied and divided among their leaders after the Abdali's agent had been driven out of the land. Unable to dislodge them,

3. BPP., 159.

Ahmad Shah remained quiet for two years (1764-66), leaving the Sikhs undisturbed in their newly occupied territory.⁴ Although now old and suffering from a malignant malady and no longer an invincible conqueror with a firm control over his habitually turbulent Afghan troops, he would not relinquish the Punjab or forego the arrears of tribute from Delhi without making a final effort. For wiping off the disgrace of the expulsion of his agent and troops from the Punjab, "for the extirpation⁵ of the ill-fated Sikhs," and exacting money contributions from the ruler of Delhi and other Indian princes he crossed the Indus at Attock early in December, 1766, and made straight for Lahore. At Behgy, north of the Jhilm, he defeated a Sikh contingent and then by way of Sialkot, Daska, Eminabad and Fazilabad, reached Lahore⁶ on 22nd December. From Lahore he advanced to Fatahabad, 20 miles south-east of Amritsar, the Sikhs hovering round his army, keeping at a distance of 10 to 12 miles and plundering his baggage and convoy of supplies whenever they could and scornfully rejecting overtures of peace.⁷ On or about 17th January 1767 his advance-guard under Jahan Khan was badly defeated by the Sikhs at Amritsar where five to six thousand Afghans were killed and wounded, and the Sikhs were dispersed only after the Shah himself had hastened to the spot and fallen on them all of a sudden. Devastation of the land around him as well as the successful Sikh policy of cutting off the invader's supplies reduced the Shah's troops to great straits, and grain was sold in his camp first at 7 seers, then 3 and finally 2 seers a rupee.⁸ However, when he crossed the Bias, wakils from some of the Indian powers waited on him. But no chief of note, not even Mir Qasim who was anxious to enlist his support, nor the Ruhelas whom he had saved from utter destruction more than once, came in person, except Najib-ud-daulah who interviewed the Shah at Ismailabad (20 miles south of Ambala) on 9th March. Shrewdly recognising the real elements of power in the Punjab, the Shah appointed Amar Singh, grandson of Ala Singh the founder of Patiala State, *faujdar* of Sarhind, and then leaving Ismailabad on 17th March marched to Sarhind and thence to Machhiwara on the Sutlaj, where he stayed for about a month and a half, endeavouring unsuccessfully to root

4. Cunningham, *History of the Sikhs*, 2nd ed. (1853), p. 103.
5. Shah Wali Khan's Letter to Clive, vide, CPC II, 284.
6. CPC. II, 16A.
7. CPC. II, 50 and 108A.
8. CPC. II, 107C, 108A and 130A.

out the Sikhs in that region. On 11th May Najib was given leave of departure for Delhi, which had to be cancelled owing to an invasion of his jagir lands in the upper Doab by the Sikhs who had managed to give the Shah's army the slip and crossing the Jumna had fallen on the defenceless towns of Umbetah, Nanauth and Meerut. After the Sikh raiders had been defeated and dispersed by Jahan Khan, Najib took leave of the Abdali on the bank of the Sutlaj and the latter, tired of the fruitless warfare with a whole nation in arms, quitted the Punjab on the approach of the rainy season and returned to Afghanistan, abandoning nearly the whole of the Mughal *subah* of the Punjab to the Sikhs once for all.⁹ He crossed the Indus once again in 1768 and reached only as far as the Jhilm; but this was a mere raid and no invasion.

The Repercussions of the Invasion in Bengal.

The Abdali's progress in the Punjab for full two months and a half (Dec. 1766—Feb. '67) produced no repercussions in Oudh and Bengal and despite the fact that Shuja-ud-daulah and the English were well informed of the Shah's activities, they did not think it necessary to take any precautionary measures of defence. Clive left Calcutta for England on 26th January, 1767, that is, nearly two months after the Abdali had crossed the Indus and a month and a week after he had occupied Lahore; but he had taken no serious notice of the invader except in his parting letter (16th January) in which he reviewed the political situation in the country and only hinted at the possibility of Mir Qasim's trying to get help from him. On the 23rd February, that is, about a month after his taking over charge, Verelst and the Select Committee formulated a grand scheme of defence of Bengal and for the formation of a formidable confederacy with Shuj-ud-daulah, the Emperor, the Ruhelas, the Jats and the Marathas, on learning that the Abdali had crossed the Bias on 17th January, was at Shiner Theley on the 20th and was marching¹⁰ towards Sarhind. This was the first serious repercussion of the invasion in Bengal. It is unfortunate that such a serious and able scholar as Dr. Nand

9. Chief authorities for the invasion are Nur-ud-din's *Life of Najib-ud-daulah* (Sarkar Ms.), 110a-112b; *Chahar Gulzar-i-Shujai* (Sarkar Ms.), 474a-475a; Husain Shahi 84-85; *Selections from Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXIX, 119-169; CPC. II, 12A-415; Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, II, 496-501; *Sardesai Memorial Volume*, pp. 17-26.
10. CPC. II, 65 and 79.

Lal Chatterji should make use of a piece of evidence furnished by Robert Barker in his letter¹¹ dated 12th March, 1767 (which reached Fort William on the 24th) to the effect that the government should make an immediate arrangement for the defence of Oudh, otherwise Shuja-ud-daulah would join the invader against the English, in a learned but unjustifiable attempt to defend the Select Committee's measures of 23rd February. The evidence will be examined in its proper place. Here suffice it to say that the Committee had no knowledge of it on 23rd February and that the learned doctor has committed a serious error of anachronism. On the 23rd March, Barker was instructed to form a camp at Sheorajpur on the Ganges, 20 miles northwest of Cawnpore, and on 27th it was resolved to implement¹² the other measures of the scheme formulated on 23rd February. The same day letters were sent to Bombay and Madras, requesting their governments to send as many troops as they could spare, and every attempt was made to collect cannon, guns, munitions and arms.¹³ Smith and Barker between them shared the credit of supplying news of an alarmist type, exposing the weaknesses of the Company's forces and urging wild measures of defence. On 5th April, however, information reached Calcutta that the Abdali was about to march from Sarhind district back to Lahore and the same day was received Munir-ud-daullah's letter to Verelst, reporting that Shuja-ud-daulah had advised recall of the English troops from Sheorajpur.¹⁴ The Fort William authorities no longer bothered themselves about the problem of defence.

Was the Abdali Invited by Mir Qasim?

We have no evidence in Persian and Marathi and not even in English that Mir Qasim had sent any agent or letter to the Shah in Afghanistan inviting him to invade India and reinstate him on the *masnad* of Bengal. Clive does not seem to have believed Col. Smith's report of 20th December 1766 containing doubtful news that Mir Qasim was at the bottom of the invasion, or he would not have written in his parting letter that "Cossim Ally Cawn is gone to the north and there is no doubt but that

that intriguing miscreant will use all the influence which money and persuasion can give to prevail upon the Abdallah to come this way (Bengal, etc.), should he be induced to make such an attempt".¹⁵ Even after the Shah had crossed the Indus only rumours of an understanding between him and Mir Qasim, which were definitely designated as such (that is, rumours), reached the English, obviously because no such understanding existed as a matter of fact.¹⁶ The first authentic news, received at Calcutta on 4th February, 1767, a fortnight after the Abdali's occupation of Lahore, was from Shuja-ud-daulah and to the effect that Mir Qasim and Imad-ul-mulk were glad at the invasion and had "written letters to Shah Wali Khan the Durrani Wazir with large offers to engage him in their interest, and they hope that the Shah will reduce all Hindustan to their obedience".¹⁷ Evidently if there had been some understanding between the invader and Mir Qasim *already* and if the former had invaded the Punjab at the instigation of the latter, it was not necessary for the ex-ruler of Bengal *now* to send offers of money to the Abdali wazir and bargain through him with the Shah *at this stage*. However, the Shah's reply seems to have been encouraging¹⁸ and therefore Mir Qasim's Wakil Sujan Rao waited¹⁹ on the conqueror at Shiner Theley, south of the Bias, on 20th January, after about a month of the occupation of Lahore. After this first interview, he was for sometime not granted an audience²⁰ either by the Shah or his Wazir, and then he would present a petition to the Durrani premier once a week²¹ without getting from him definite assurance of help. At last the long delay wore out the impoverished ex-Nawab's patience and compelled him to send a reminder to the Shah to the effect that he had long been expecting deliverance with his assistance and "that his Wakil has been long with His Majesty, but that His Majesty had *negotiated nothing with him*" On or about 16th March the invader, who was fully acquainted with the poverty and helplessness of the petitioner, finally rejected the offer with a rude rebuff.²² Dr. Chatterji takes pains to account

11. Ben. Sel. Com. Progres. of 24th March, 1767, vide Vol. of 1767, pp. 121-22.

12. Ben. Sel. Com. Progs. 27th March 1767, Vol. of 1767, pp. 142-43.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 146.

14. CPC. II, 266, 267.

15. Ben. Sel. Com. Progs. 1767, pp. 39-40.

16. CPC. II, 11A and 11B.

17. CPC. II, 16A.

18. CPC. II, 12A.

19. CPC. II, 79.

20. CPC. II, 108A.

21. CPC. II, 107C.

22. CPC. II, 279.

for his (Shah's) ultimate abandonment of Mir Qasim's cause", as if he had really espoused it. The above facts show that such a theory is devoid of foundation.

The Abdali had no eye on Bengal.

In the face of a mass of definite and strong evidence to the contrary Dr. Chatterji holds that this invasion "was without doubt undertaken with the ostensible object of punishing . . . particularly the English . . .".²³ The Governor and Select Committee of Fort William, however, believed, despite rumours and reports of a contrary nature on which Dr. Chatterji has based his opinion, that the invader had no designs against Bengal and that it would not be possible for him, even if he wished to turn his thoughts that way, to proceed beyond Delhi. It is worthy of note that while the learned doctor requisitioned to his aid Clive's parting letter hinting at the possibility of an alliance between the Shah and Mir Qasim *in future*, he completely ignored another letter of his lordship, written just one day before (15th Jan.) in which Clive had written, "As regards Shah Abdali, he may penetrate towards these parts as far as Shahajahanabad (Delhi), but his progress will not extend further".²⁴ In a letter, dated 5th February, 1767 Verelst, Clive's successor, informs Shuja-ud-daulah that he thinks that "the Shah will not advance beyond Delhi, but if he does, he will without doubt be defeated by the combined forces of the addressee and the Company."²⁵ This was repeated by another on 27th to the effect that "Although it is certain that the Shah, even if he reaches Delhi, will not march towards these parts, yet some troops have been sent to Sheorajpur . . .".²⁶ On 10th March Verelst wrote to Munir-ud-daulah, "Though the Shah may get as far as Delhi, it will be impossible for him to make further progress. At the time of his former expedition into India what difficulties he did not encounter and what losses he did not suffer. It is by no means his intention to settle in this country All he wants is to amass money".²⁷ On 6th April the governor expressed himself even more emphatically when he wrote to the Wazir that he "cannot imagine that the *Shah* will ever attempt an

23. BPP. (LV), p. 159.

24. CPC. I, 2802.

25. CPC. II, 29.

26. CPC. II, 123.

27. CPC. II, 184.

invasion of this country (Bengal) or come to war with the English".²⁸ Many such quotations from the letters and despatches of the Bengal Government of the time may be multiplied; but so many are enough to show that the English authorities themselves did not believe that the Abdali had undertaken the invasion to punish them.

Many an Indian notable, clearly realising the weaknesses inherent in the Shah's position, fully shared the opinion of the English in Calcutta. "Although the writer is *perfectly sure*" writes Munir-ud-daulah to Verelst in a letter received at Calcutta on 27th February, "that it will be *impracticable* for the Shah to reach Delhi or other parts this year, yet should the powers of Hindustan aid him in plundering the country, what attitude will the English adopt?"²⁹ In another letter he adds "In the writer's opinion the Shah will not be able either to bring the Sikhs to punishment or expel them from the country between the two rivers".³⁰ When it became certain that the invader was returning Munir transmitted the news to Calcutta in these words:—"Praised be the name of the Almighty that what the writer previously communicated to the governor has turned out true. It has always been the writer's opinion that the Shah will not advance to Delhi or other parts this year".³¹ Commenting on the attitude of indifference to the Shah's summons on the part of the Ruhela and Bangash chiefs, who owed their importance as well as deliverance mainly to the invader's exertions, Shuja-ud-daulah, whom Dr. Chatterji charges with being nervous and extremely eager for a compromise with the Abdali, wrote to Verelst, "When such is the attitude of the Shah's friends, what can he hope from others?"³² In refuting Sir Robert Barker's reports containing rumours of the Abdali's intention to march direct against Patna the Wazir informed the governor that "This intelligence does not appear worthy of credit,"³³ and at the same time he advised him to withdraw troops from Sheorajpur, as there was no danger from the invader.³⁴

28. CPC. II, 269.

29. CPC. II, 107.

30. CPC. II, 213, 251.

31. CPC. II, 345.

32. CPC. II, 20.

33. CPC. II, 265.

34. CPC. II, 266.

*Shuja-ud-daulah was not for a compromise :
his policy analysed.*

Dr. Chatterji seems to be familiar with the lawyer's trick of picking out facts favourable to his client and ignoring those likely to go against him. While he has endeavoured to collect together all evidence which, according to him, shows that Shuja-ud-daulah was nervous, that he begged for English protection and even nursed a secret desire to join the invader against the English, unless prompt measures were taken for the defence of Oudh, he has completely ignored all those hard facts that stand in the way of his theory. Shuja-ud-daulah was not "for an immediate compromise with the Abdali," nor was his attitude "irresolute and doubtful," as Dr. Chatterji would have us believe. He knew, like other Indian politicians of the time, that the Abdali was determined not to make India his home and that he wanted money and the Punjab, if possible, and therefore, the wazir, a master of diplomacy, was anxious to turn the confusion created by this invasion to his advantage by trying to occupy Ruhelkhand and ousting the Ruhelas against whom he had a hereditary as well as a personal grudge. His policy becomes crystal clear from a close examination of his conduct and correspondence after the treaty of Allahabad (August 1765), as a strong desire of the acquisition of Ruhelkhand had caught his fancy immediately after his restoration. Early in October, 1765, the Wazir requested Clive to direct Smith, who was posted at Allahabad for the protection of the Emperor, to join him, in case he had to defend his country against the Marathas or his neighbours, as "the chiefs whose territories border on the writer's (obviously the Ruhelas and Bangash chiefs), and the Marathas have of old considered him as a dangerous person being now more than ever disturbed at his alliance with the English Company, are in their own countries forming diverse projects".³⁵ Although Clive permitted Smith to help Shuja-ud-daulah in case of an invasion of Oudh, he was unwilling to employ the Company's forces for any idle schemes".³⁶ As regards "any idle schemes," Shuja-ud-daulah replied on 27th November 1765 "that if certain schemes are undertaken, they will be attended with great advantage". He requested Clive's permission to explain the expeditions in which he wanted to employ the British troops

35. CPC. I, 2727.

36. CPC. I, 2728. The use of "idle schemes" shows that Clive did suspect that the Wazir was meditating a war of aggression.

and asked his lordship "to consider them and then pursue them, if they are agreeable to him."³⁷ Hereafter the correspondence for about one whole year (January—9th December, 1766) is unfortunately missing and hence there are no records of later development. What is, however, certain is that Clive politely refused to allow British troops to be employed in a war of aggression. In October 1766 Shuja-ud-daulah again proposed that Sir Robert Barker be directed to accompany him with English troops towards Kora where he had the intention of marching "for the ratification of certain agreements with the Rohilla chiefs",³⁸ and he even wrote to Barker direct one after another three letters urging him to march speedily to his assistance, as "Mir Qasim with a large army has made advances towards his *subah* and is coming to Allahabad".³⁹ But it was a mere rumour and perhaps an inspired one, and it soon became clear that there was no need of the British troops marching to the western frontier of Oudh. The governor, therefore, refused to lend the British troops, suggested "an amicable settlement of the dispute" (with the Ruhelas) and advised the Wazir "that as perfect peace prevails in that quarter, there is no necessity for proceeding thereto with an army. Moreover this movement on the part of His Highness," concluded Clive, "will be looked upon with suspicion by the Rohillas and will cause them much alarm and apprehension".⁴⁰ But the Wazir was not the man to give up his pet project so easily. At the end of the year he again prepared to interfere with the Ruhela country on the plea of capturing Mir Qasim, in whose arrest and punishment the English were supremely interested, cleverly construing, it seems, some words in one of Clive's letters to him into permission to capture the ex-Nawab by force. But Clive protested that it was not his intention to get Mir Qasim by violence out of the hands of the Ruhelas,⁴¹ which again frustrated the Wazir's designs.

The Abdali invasion now afforded him a splendid opportunity for persuading the Calcutta authorities to co-operate with him in conquering Ruhelkhand. But as usual he cleverly concealed his real object and only urged that Ruhelkhand should immediately

37. CPC. I, 2757.

38. CPC. I, 2772.

39. Barkar to Sel. Com., 26th Oct. 1766, *vide* Ben. Sel. Com. Progs, 1766, p. 225.

40. CPC. I 2772.

41. CPC. I, 2783.

be occupied so as to prevent the Ruhelas from going to join the Shah. If the Ruhelas whose attitude was now hostile were prevented to march to the assistance of the invader, he wrote to Verelst, "what power has he to enter Hindustan"? "In case the governor thinks," he continued, "the the Shah will come, it will be proper first to punish the Rohillas, and then the Shah is nothing. The mouth of a spring may be stopped by a single needle, while the stream which may flow from it cannot be crossed on an elephant Surely it is best that the Rohillas should first be punished." "Should the Rohillas bring the Shah upon us, it would be difficult to satisfy him: but he (the Shah) is a mean-spirited man, and a little sum will make him easy, provided it is decided to punish the Rohillas first".⁴² The concluding sentence of the above letter, even more forcefully than the body of it, gives a clue to the wazir's policy,—Ruhelkhand should be occupied and the Shah should be bribed, if he comes to the Ruhela help—and shows how Dr. Chatterji, who tore a part of it from the context and put upon it an unwarranted meaning, failed to see Shuja-ud-daulah's real object and attitude towards the invasion. As could be easily imagined, the English would not be so easily entrapped and Verelst replied that the British policy was "not to provoke war with any power," and that they in conjunction with the Wazir would demand "a categorical answer from the Rohillas" for their conduct after the rainy season.⁴³ It is interesting to note that so far as Shuja-ud-daulah was concerned the cat was soon out of the bag. Within a week of his proposal for a joint invasion of Ruhelkhand he informed Verelst that there was no likelihood of a danger from the Abdali and even advised recall of troops from Sheorajpur, when he became sure of the English attitude towards his Ruhela project and when Barker urged that he should accompany him to Sheorajpur at the head of the Oudh forces. "It is not advisable for the writer," he wrote to the governor (letter received at Calcutta on 4th April 1767) requesting him to write to Barker not to insist on his accompanying the British troops to Sheorajpur, "to advance before it is well-known that the Shah really meditates something against these parts."⁴⁴

Dr. Chatterji's opinions that the "Vazir was particularly nervous,"⁴⁵ owing to danger from the invader, that he was "extre-

42. CPC. II, 234.

43. CPS. II, 255.

44. CPC. II, 265 and 266.

45. BPP. 152.

mely nervous"⁴⁶ because of the repeated demands of money by the Shah and that Robert Barker was "almost suspicious as to his (Shuja's) intentions",⁴⁷ are based on a hasty perusal of Shuja-ud-daulah's own letters, namely, Trans. R. 1767-68, Nos. 20, 23 and 269 (Nos. 17, 20 and 441 of CPC., Vol. II), and of Barker's letter to the Select Committee, dated Allahabad, 12th March 1767, placed before the Committee at a meeting held on 24th March. Of these the first letter was intended as a defence of Shuja's policy against the Ruhelas and does not in the least show that he was nervous, the second only commented on the irresolute and timid attitude of the Ruhelas towards the Shah's summons and the third was written in June 1767 (received at Calcutta on 17th June), when the Shah was retreating and there was not a shadow of danger from him and was only designed to ward off the English suspicions caused by the Wazir's military preparations. In this letter the Wazir informed Verelst that "it is manifest that his army is weak and ill-appointed, and he has no fortress or asylum where to send his family", and requested the governor to devise "some definite plan against the Shah".⁴⁸ Dr. Chatterji would have grasped the real meaning of the above letter of Shuja-ud-daulah if he had cared to go through two previous ones from the Wazir's pen to the governor written only two months before, while the Shah was still near the bank of the Sutlaj. Writes he that he "has now a body of 30,000 horse and foot in his service and is still making levies. By the favour of God, he has now a chosen troop, the men being all young and the horses of the best quality. Through the assistance of the Almighty these are sufficient in time of action to defeat and slaughter the whole army of the Shah, so much so that not a single Afghan should escape the general carnage".⁴⁹ As regards Barker's letter, a correct idea of it can be formed, if we summarise it here. He writes:—

The Abdali made two day's march on this side of Sarhind. Najib is going to meet him and Hafiz and Dunde will also join him. Shuja is in perplexity and says that, 'if he declines the (Abdali's) invitation, it must bring on him the resentment of the Abdullah', and is therefore anxious to know the English plan of defence, as he will guide himself by our action. He fears the Emperor may join the Abdali on the latter's near

46. BPP. 158.

47. BPP. 152.

48. CPC. II, 441.

49. CPC. II, 346, 407.

approach and says that he has already written to the governor that if he (governor) wants to prevent their junction it is necessary to take the field immediately, call the Marathas to assistance and form junction on the frontier of Oudh, "and he (Shuja) would advise taking possession of the Rohilla country." Then the Jats and Madho Singh will join and the Abdali will return. If the current is not stopped just now when it is weak, it will be impossible to stop it when the Ruhelas, the Jats and the Rajputs send him money and join him. Barker concludes by giving his opinion that it is probable that Shuja-ud-daulah might join the Abdali and be in opposition to the English.⁵⁰

No comment is necessary to prove that Shuja-ud-daulah's conversation as reported in this letter by Barker, though put by the English commander in his own way, tallies in substance with the Wazir's letter⁵¹ directly written to Verelst, and the ruler of Oudh meant primarily to emphasise the occupation of Ruhelkhand. As regards Barker's statement that Shuja-ud-daulah might join the Abdali, it is only proper to state that it was Barker's opinion and not a fact, and stands altogether uncorroborated from any other source. It may be recalled that the Wazir himself had refuted another report by Barker that the Abdali was about to march directly against Patna and "that he proposes to bring Shujah Dowlah and other Surdars to an account for their arrears, particularly the former, for the plunder he has taken from Cossim Ally Cawn."⁵² Barker, Smith and others were not merely British officers, but also something like spies whose business it was to watch the Wazir and the Emperor and report all they thought necessary about their desires and movements and many of these officers sent sometimes fantastic reports, devoid of genuine facts, to Calcutta.

The Defence-measures were only precautionary.

It may not be "easy to ridicule the hasty preparations" of Verelst and the Bengal Select Committee, as Dr. Chatterji apologetically maintains, though an impartial student capable of seeing both the sides of the case must agree with Clive that "the Abdally's

50. Barker's letter to Sel. Com., 12th March 1767, vide Ben. Sel. Com. Progs, 24-3-1767, pp. 120-22.

51. CPC. II, 234.

52. Barker's letter, 15th March 1767—refuted by Shuja, vide CPC. II, 265.

invasion of Bengal must be a mere bug-bear." It is, however, easy—and perfectly legitimate too—to ridicule Dr. Chatterji who has spun out more than one untenable theory and has failed to see the truth concealed in the bewildering mass of seemingly conflicting evidence that there was in fact no real danger to Bengal and that the English preparations were merely precautionary measures, designed to meet an emergency, if an emergency arose at all, though the learned doctor has devoted 13 pages (10½ by 8½ inches) and one full chapter of his D.Litt. thesis to a discussion of the subject. The attention of Dr. Chatterji is invited to Verelst's letter, dated 5th April, 1767, to Shuja-ud-daulah in which he writes that he "cannot imagine that the Shah will ever attempt an invasion of this country (Bengal) or come to war with the English..... At all events, as it is the duty of every wise man to take precautionary measures, five battalions of sepoy with warlike stores have been stationed at Sheorajpur. This will convince the people and chiefs of that part of the country that the English are ready for war. This will also inspire them with courage and confidence and make them resolve to oppose the Shah; but if we sit idle within our own province and make no preparations whatever, they can never guess our intentions."⁵³ Shuja-ud-daulah also recognising that the measures were precautionary praised Verelst in these words:—"It reflects great credit on the governor's experience and penetration that he has taken all precautionary measures."⁵⁴

There are a few more inaccuracies in Dr. Chatterji article, such as (a) "the Shah found on his appearance in India that the Sikhs had grown too formidable and troublesome to be easily subdued", (b) "the Abdali had been led to expect that the Vazir, the most powerful Muslim prince in Hindustan, would join him in a crusade against the English," and (c) "the Abdali meant to stay two or three years in Hindustan." There can be no two opinions that the Shah knew years before 1766-67 that the Sikhs were formidable and could not be easily subdued, as is clear from the accounts of his previous invasions given by Sir Jadunath Sarkar.⁵⁵ Despite a diligent search, I have not come across any evidence to support Dr. Chatterji's theory that the Abdali had expected that the Wazir would join him against the English. Nor could it be possible in view of Shuja-ud-daula's political and economic interests, unless the

53. CPC. II, 269.

54. CPC. II, 322.

55. Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, II, 493-95.

Shah had first crushed the Sikhs, occupied Delhi and defeated the Jats. As regards the third, it was Najib-du-daulah's report, diplomatically sent to frighten⁵⁶ the English and their allies, the Emperor and the Wazir, to send a *peshkash* (present) to the invader who was anxious to get as much money as possible and retreat back to Kabul. The truth was that "the Shah is determined to retreat to his country, though he himself gives it out to the world that he proposes remaining a year longer at Lahore to complete the destruction of the Sikhs."⁵⁷

The above is a fair sample of the way in which Dr. Chatterji has sifted evidence not only in this his present article on "the Abdali menace to Bengal", but also in his book "Mir Qasim, Nawab of Bengal," as my prolonged study of the English Company's documents in the Imperial Record Department has convinced me. Is it too much to hope that some scholar from Bengal—the province that gave the rest of India the lead in historical research and still maintains it—will come forward with a more scientific and impartial study of this important period of Bengal's history?

56. CPC. II, 214.

57. CPC. II, 310.

The Anglo-Dutch Duel in Eastern Waters (1652-4)

By

J. C. DE, M.A., B.L., (CAL.) M.A., (LOND.),
Colonial Service

Though the English feared the outbreak of hostilities at an early date, the actual news of such a happening reached their rivals sooner than it did them. "They (the Dutch)" says Tavernier, "had spies everywhere". He however adds "like the English". In any case, Dutch intelligence methods proved to be more efficient than those of the English on this occasion. Neither the renewed war with the Portuguese nor the revolt in the Archipelago could prevent the Dutch from adopting prompt measures to seize English shipping. William Hargrave and others reported, on board the Roebuck, on 6th December, 1652, that English ships stopped on their voyage to Fort. St. George to enable the wife of a prominent Dutch official to land at Pulicat. On 10th December, 1652, we are told that the Lanneret had made a voyage to Ispahan, reaching there on 24th October, and thence she proceeded to Laribandar for carrying goods to Surat. The factors in Surat write the same day (as it proves to be, significantly) that the Lanneret had not yet returned to Swally Marine. The Dutch ship, the Concordia, from Sind had also failed to arrive. Probably cognisant of their weakness in regular actions with the Dutch in Eastern Waters, the Surat authorities state that the factors in Iran ought not to have divulged the references to a possible outbreak of hostilities in the letter from England.

Actu ally, on 21st January, 1653, the Roebuck reached Gombroon, and the Lanneret followed her early in February. The Dutch (knowing that war had broken out) sent the Concordia to cruise off the Straits, and while the English factors remained in fancied security, the Dutch ship now reinforced by the Reiger and Robijn pounced on the Roebuck and Lanneret, and brought them back as prizes to Gombroon.

The Dutch broadside "shot the small mast and foremast" of the Roebuck "by the board". The sails fell on some guns and took fire as soon as the English discharged these. The fire spread, and many of the English sailors took to "the long boate" in a

panic. The master's mate had to "cutt the maine mast by the board, the maine stay being then burnt." The Asiatics on board put out the flames with the aid of the few Englishmen who still remained. But the disabled ship fell an easy victim to the Dutch.

"The Lannarets tiller being shott, that she runn aboard of the Ambral and they took her presently". Bailey who was in command was probably a traitor, and according to the Court record of 1st December 1654 had received a bribe from the Dutch for surrendering his ship.

Blackman and others called it a "base surrender" on 7th May, 1653. "We are persuaded they add, "it was more the cowardize of the commanderes then the men that our ships were soe basely lost". This view is repeated in a letter of 11th June.

The Dutch were "now our profest enemies", and measures had to be taken to warn other English ships.

The Persians objected to the seizure of their goods and persons on board the English ships and demonstrations against the Dutch took place. That nation however smoothed matters over by alleging that the English had previously seized many of their vessels.

The letters intended for Surat were now in the hands of the Dutch who did not show themselves slow to use the information contained in these against the English. A Gombroon letter on 28th February, 1653 sums up the disadvantages following from these Dutch activities thus:—Pecuniary loss was suffered; dishonour and diminution of prestige specially in oriental eyes resulted, and Dutch presumption grew "almost past believe."

It was much admired by these country people that a Dutchman should make prize of an Englishman." The company must "right" themselves "or procure the States to doe it. If not, you must bid adue to your east India trade, but yett thus to be beaten out of it we should be very loath to see, beeing it wilbe so great a disparagement to all Englishmen especially in this place, wheare they have gained so much honour, and thereby so many imunitis." The Dutch now in a superior position prevented country vessels from carrying English messages. But inspite of this, the English at Gombroon succeeded in warning the Endeavour. She avoided capture, but was kept locked up by the Dutch for about a year off Ormus. The enemy also prevented the Falcon from taking in a cargo. The Dutch, when she was being laden at Surat "dennoed a warr against us and forbaed all merchants to lade any goods aboard us, for they would take, burne or destroy our ships, wheresoever they could meete with them." Formal war in this part of the East was thus dec-

lared by the Dutch. The Supply and the Blessing also fell into the Dutch net.

The Surat factors in their letter of 19th February, 1653, state that the Supply was being sent to Persia. The Persian agents were not feeling easy in their minds about her, the Blessing and the Endeavour, as their letter of about a week later, shows. Consul Riey from Aleppo informed Surat that war had broken out in Europe. But inspite of this information the Supply was sent hoping that the Dutch would not commence hostilities in Eastern Waters before she reached Persia. In any case, warnings sent from Gombroon did not reach the Supply in whose company the Blessing, was voyaging. A boat in fact, sighted the vessels, but could not come up with them in time. Grimes, the skipper of the latter, fought heroically. Off Jask "we plying our voyage," he says, "they fetcht us up before night, but kept without shott of us, in parly one with the other." On 25th March the Dutch in three ships carrying sixty four guns (in all) attacked fiercely. "The admirall berthed himself within less then muskett shot upon our broadside, the vise-admirall close to his stearne; the Lennarett close to him against our consort, being astearne of us." The English sailors fought resolutely for "seven" "howers". "The eighth they began to faint, some goeing downe to the Chyrurgion with small rubs, but could never get them up againe, being often amongst them to cheere them up what I could."

Then the Dutch boarded the vessel, and "our people belowe... immediately left their quarters, crying out to me to call for quarter." Naturally, the skipper could not fight single-handed, and had to surrender inspite of his passionate desire to resist to the last. "God in heaven knowes", he exclaims, "I intended never to take any of them (i.e. ask for quarter) but to fight it out to the last." The English loss in sailors was not however great "Three (were) slayne in the fight; severall hurt, but cured by this time."

Regarding the Supply, Captain Grimes (whose account I have just followed) says "Mr. Berblock left us very discourteously. Two howers (if not three) before wee were taken, hee wound his ships head (to the norward) toward point Jasqus, the Lennarett chaseing him; wheare (he) runn ashore some six or eight miles within the point." He "yealded to" "the vise-admirall" "upon such tearmes as to save all his owne goods (and more then all I doubt) and his companies." This Captain seems to have been timid, disobedient and unfaithful "Owne goods" apparently refer to private

trade. Bearblock was imprisoned on his return to England, but subsequently released on certain conditions.

Among other skirmishes, we may notice one between the Falcon and the Olifant off Sanjan in course of which the fire from the Dutch ship compelled the Falcon to fall back on Swally.

The Dove and the Welcome, two other ships sent under the auspices of the Company, left England on 14th March, 1653. Another ship, the Eagle, "could not accompany them because of the fact that the navy was absorbing the output of sailors. They were prevented from proceeding directly to Swally and anchored off Diu. Reinforced by the Falcon (manned partially by the sailors of the Seahorse) they avoided the Dutch and reached the Gulf where they fought two enemy ships. They then released the Endeavour, and then all of them came face to face with five Dutch ships off Laribandar. "Coming in sight of the roads of Sinde there was riding the five Dutch ships...who seeing them, weighed, and came up to them, and soone engaged them". A fight resulted. The Welcome "brought" "21 pieces of ordnance" to bear on "the Dutch Admirall". As a result she "was happily laid by the lee and did noe service all the fight after." But the "Fallcon...run stemlings on board hir, the said admirall, but was soone cleared off hir againe, when presently shee fell fowle of another Dutch shippe that lay asterne of the admirall, and by that means lost hir foremast. The Fallcon was entered by the Dutch out of this shipp." "They were aboard each other above an hower. The Dutch cleared themselves of the Falcon, not without considerable loss." But then a panic is said to have seized the sailors of the Falcon "that their shipp was on fire", and "above 60 able men that had not received the least hurt in the world, run away in their boats one of which boats went to the Dutch admirall as shee lay by the lee, and they would not take them in; soe were forced to row to another shipp." The other boatload was taken aboard by the "Wellcome who how shee had bestowed hir tyme all this while of the Falcons encounter wee cannot learne, but onely she kept to windward and was unwilling to come helpe the Falcon when the Dutch was on board him, least in fireing at the one hee should hurt other." Ultimately the Falcon was captured; the Endeavour which fought valiantly with two enemy ships "did best of any of them", "received soe many shott under and betweene wind and water that shee was ready to sinke before shee surrendered." The Dove and Welcome to their disgrace fled from the scene of action. The Dove "had the discreetion to keep hirsilfe out of harmes way after the first comeing up with the Dutch,

being once gott out of shott, scarce came within reach of a gunn againe, but soe well preserved hirsilfe that shee had not a man slayne or hurt." "The Wellcome lost one and noe other hurt." I have followed here mainly the official version contained in the Surat letter.

William Noke (an old servant of the Company who in partnership with two others, Steevens and Tems, had fitted out the Dove and forced it on his former employers) say that the Falcon proceeded to Diu to join the Dove and Welcome. All the three with the Endeavour left for "Scinda." Five Dutch vessels attacked them. After a fight of three hours the Falcon whose skipper was fatally injured, surrendered. The Endeavour followed, and the Dove and the Welcome fled. The flight of the Welcome however saved the silk belonging to the Company which she had on board. These two vessels reached Diu and ultimately "found the protection of the King of India" up the Surat River.

Tavernier, the famous traveller, throws some light on Anglo-Dutch fights. "While on my return to Surat," he says, "I learned that war had been declared between the English and Dutch and that the latter would not send any more vessels to Persia." Tavernier and the subpilot are said to have "fired a cannon shot so effectively into the cabin" of the Falcon's captain that the bullet set fire to some powder catridges which had been placed there. He also says that the Endeavour became "badly" "damaged", "ran up the white flag, and asked for quarter, which was granted." But some of the English crew and their captors drank so much of "shiraz wine" "of which they had a quantity in the bottom of the hold" that they were all drowned. Noke also says that "they say (te sailors on board were) drinking in her hold."

Father de Queyroz also notices the fight off Laribandar "The Hollander had gone in search of some English ships, which were coming from Persia...Fortunate in this expedition was their captain Richloff Van Goens" who "destroy(ed)" and "vanquish(ed)" "the English".

Van Goens accused two of his officers of slackness in the discharge of their duties. It was mainly due to this, he maintained, that the Welcome was able to escape with its cargo of forty bales of silk from Persia.

One of the greatest difficulties that the Company's trade with the East had to face during this period lay in the inefficiency, in-

discretion, and dishonesty of some of its servants in the East. One of the things that come uppermost during these Anglo-Dutch conflicts on the sea is the poor fighting quality of many of the sailors and even of some of their leaders. Surat writing on 28th, March, 1654, denounces in unequivocal terms the cowardice of some of the crew. It seems probable that the better kind was 'doing their bit', in Western Waters, and the unworthy had been left to man these Eastbound vessels. The sailors of the *Welcome* and *Dove* (specially of the latter) actually complained that "they came not forth to fight, for if they had bein mynded soe to doe, they might have had fightening worke enough at Home." In their first fight in the Gulf, it is said that they were superior to the Dutch by twenty eight guns (out of eighty two). But still they shirked a decisive engagement, and proceeded to Ormis to meet the *Endeavour* and get her help. A Dutch account however says that the English wanted to renew the fight after the *Endeavour* had been made sea-worthy, but the Persian authorities refused to let them do so. Again we must remember that the *Dove* was not a ship set out by the Company on its own initiative. But "Tavernere" "in briefe gives this relation: Never was fight worss managed on both sides. The Dutch were most of them drunke and knew not what they did, the English... were little better if not worss". Surat writing on 28th March, 1654 points out that "unless our men had better resolutions" venturing out on the seas in face of Dutch attacks would be suicidal. "Had we knowne," says Surat again on 12th May, "your servants had been for the generallity such cowards as we find them now to bee, wee should not have trusted them soe far, but wee had hoped an Englishman would never bein, taken with the Dutch on equall termes, or at least with soe small odds as there was in the loss of all your shipps." When the *Blessing* and the *Supply* were brought into Gombroon Road by the Dutch, the Persians naturally wondered, "what is become of the English vallour." The capture of the English ships (according to Gombroon) was so disgraceful "that we are ashamed to shew ourselves, people so gazeing and wondering at us, nay our domesticke servants beginn to slight us" Under the circumstances the report that the Dutch at Surat had bought about thirty five tons of gunpowder must have been disconcerting to the English.

Some of the captured goods were paraded at Gombroon and attempted to be sold there by the Dutch. Thus the prestige of the English was sought to be lowered still further.

The Dutch successfully stopped with the aid of their ships (and also gifts to the Indian authorities) English com-

merce with the West Coast of India. Swally was blockaded time and again by prowling Dutch ships. Gombroon says on 21st February, 1653, that four enemy ships were reported to be waiting off Diu to capture English vessels, and that there was a possibility of their blockading Jask and Muskat. Pearce and Gary point out from Surat on 26th November 1653 that any despatch of merchandise by sea to Diu would be extremely dangerous because of an armed Dutch flotilla lying off Swally and at the delta. Surat again mentions the blockade of the *Dove* and *Welcome* up the Surat River by two Dutch ships and the captured *Falcon*. The first Surat letter also refers to the fact that the Governor of Ahmadabad was not prepared to permit export of saltpetre. It is again said that Dutch instigations induced the Ahmadabad authorities to keep the Company's saltpetre back. The second one says that the Governor was not ready to release the saltpetre without a valuable present being offered to him. In addition, the trade with the (East) Coast of India was checked, English prestige sank to a low ebb, and the trade with Bantam had to be stopped.

The Dutch fleet did not dare attack the English ships in the Surat river because of the Mughuls. But Blackman, the President, points out that the Dutch had advertised their victories to such good effect, and bestowed such attractive presents that the Indian officials were ready to go to all lengths to please them. The English tried to advertise the victories won by themselves in European Waters, in their turn, but the Indians without any tangible proof about these, would not believe them to be true. The commodities stored at Laribandar and Rajapur could not be taken over to Surat, and the assets of the merchants in Persia utilised.

In addition, the Mughul (probably encouraged by Dutch successes) was enticing away English sailors through the help of two "speritts" named Osborne and Watson. The new recruits were "put into Moores habitt." The Dutch also seem to be injuring English interests in the same way.

The Company itself enjoined that out of all the factories under the control of Surat only three were to be kept open. There should remain only three factors at each of these factories. But if possible not more than two should be employed at Gombroon. Surat affairs were to be managed by six factors, the salaries of five of whom (at least) were not to exceed 100 l. The strictest retrenchment in expenditure was recommended. The Dutch acts of war in the East seem to have something to do with these retrenchment orders. To encourage their officers the Company however

told them that "our fleete have againe recrewted, and a great part of them gone for the coast of Holland, and they have taken 35 more of their shipping."

The Lucknow factory however was already closed according to Surat orders. The President at Surat also refers to a decision to dissolve the Agra and other establishments, because no business was possible, "till tymes doe mend." The Company "being dissingaged of all inland factories, will have the less trouble to cleare yourselves of the country for a tyme, if you shall thinke fitt."

Dutch hostility reinforced by other causes might drive the Company out of India altogether. Further, the Dutch used their superiority in Eastern Waters to search Indian vessels for English goods, and seven Dutch ships were employed in 1653 for this purpose in the Persian Gulf.

The Company also thought in March (and again in September), 1653 that 20,000 l. should be used in buying Persian silk which was to be sent not by sea for fear of the Dutch, but carried overland to Smyrna and Aleppo and then to be carried to England in the Levant Company's vessels.

The prospect of a war with the Dutch seems also to have partially induced the Company to transfer Baker the President at Bantam, to Fort St. George. Greenhill (the Agent) and Baker however fell out, and their factions fought with each other in their own way, (more or less) like their Indian contemporaries the Right and Left Castes of Madras. On the heads of both however fell the terrible calamity of the Dutch war. No vessel could be sent to Europe or the Gulf because it would in all probability be captured by the enemy. Nor could a way be found to send merchandise overland to the Portuguese settlements on the West Coast. Indian ships also could not be utilised, because the Dutch were sure to search them. A project was formed to order a ship—the Bonito—to steal to Madagascar with merchandise which was then to be transferred to the Eagle. But by the end of 1653 the Bonito herself was lost in Madras Roads. This incident is referred to for example in Noke's account. Though the destruction of this ship was not due to a Dutch attack but to the violence of the usual storms in the Bay, the severe checks imposed on trade by Dutch hostility crippled that of the (east) Coast in no uncertain manner.

Laurens Pit's letter of 3rd September, 1653 from Pulicat refers to the defensive measures of the English chief. Informed of the commencement of hostilities, he erected an outwork to defend his

fort, mounted a battery on the same to protect English ships, maintained good relationship with the local Nawab, reinforced the Bonito with sailors from the Ruby, and sold the Ruby itself for eight hundred pagodas.

The Company had encouraged efforts of this nature and informed the President that "as our condicions are at present both in respect of the troubles with you in your devided kindome seconded by the difference which is happened between us and the Hollanders, wee are not displeased that you have finished the fort, and wee hope you have made it soe defencible that our state and your persons may be therein secured. Wee question not but you have sufficiently furnished yourselves with men and ammunition out of our trading vessels and of such as were here provided for the Assada plantation."

The Dutch also captured the pinnace named the Dove on her way from Macassar. The date of the capture as given in a Bantam letter is 11th July. A loss of more than seventeen thousand rials of eight was suffered as a result of this capture. It also says that the Dutch took the Blessing via Bantam (to Batavia) with the English prisoners who were reported to be in irons. The Dagb Register says that she reached Batavia on 23rd November and the Roebuck and Supply joined her there on 16th December. The capture of a boat belonging to the Bantam factory by the Dutch is also recorded.

Another Bantam record (of 15th July, 1635) gives some more details about the capture of this pinnace. Information that war had broken out, this document says, reached the Dutch on 28th April, and they immediately sent a number of vessels to seize the English ship. The factors despatched a local boat to ask the Dove not to leave Macassar. When it returned without accomplishing its object a second one under Periston was sent. This also failed to meet her. A third one followed. The Dutch added another ship to the fleet watching for the Dove, and ultimately captured the vessel. Her sailors were scattered among various Dutch ships. Probably a reference is made here to the employment of English sailors by the Dutch at this time.

Again, Madras Roads were blockaded by the Dutch. The Expedition for instance, could not venture out because of a Dutch vessel.

Moreover, additional investments could not be made in the Bantam trade, while the war continued.

The Council of State, in addition to all the Company's troubles called on it "to sett out ships of war against the Hollanders for

defence of the right and honour of this nation." The Company declared on 28th July, 1652 that it was not in a position to comply with the request because it had neither money nor ships in England at that time.

The same year, the Company sent out four ships to the East, the Smyrna Merchant to the Malabar, the Love to the Coromandel, and the East India merchant and Roebuck to the Archipelago.

Of these, on their return from the East the Smyrna Merchant was attacked by Dutch privateers off the Lizard, and the Love and the East India Merchant had to be brought under convoy from Plymouth to the Thames. From his station off the Lizard Captain Thomas Sparling tells us that four Dutch ships were cruising off Scilly to cut off the Company's ships. The Company decided about a month later to fit out privateers "against the Dutch by way of reprizell in India etc," and "thereby they doubt not but right themselves and offend the Hollanders much." A book of subscription was opened. The capture of its four ships in the Persian Gulf and the indignities heaped on itself and its servants were to be avenged. The profit or loss was to be shared equally among the subscribers. The Preamble to this book of subscription gives a good idea of how these privateerings were organised in those days.

Nothing however came of this plan. But when the Company decided that year to stop any voyage to India, the authorities allowed others to violate its monopoly.

By about this time, there is a good deal of discussion about the despatch of the Eagle by the Company. Before 19th August, 1653, the Company had her freighted, paid, 750 l. of the imprest and informed their employees in India that she was being sent to the West Coast. But it was only on 27th January, 1654, that we find in the Court Record that she was to be sent to the Downs.

The Dutch menace was thus responsible to a great extent for the obvious reluctance of the Company to hazard its ships in Eastern Waters, and it thus opened the doors of Eastern trade to other adventurers. The naval papers of 13th January, 1654 refer to "protection for the Allan(?) frigate going to Balasore in the East Indies, to give intelligence, preserve trade, and bring home salt-petre, with twelve seamen and eight landmen." As a concession to the Company it was proposed that she might carry a small cargo for European trade on its behalf. Proposal to send another ship, was however postponed. Thomas Allen and William Pennover point out on 20th February, 1654, that in their desire of continuing

the trade with the East and thus of promoting the welfare of the realm, they had arranged for the despatch of the Alum and other vessels. They now prayed for the usual permission to export bullion for this purpose.

Hostilities with Holland ceased in April. The Company woke up, and on 16th May, 1654, sent the Katherine to the Coast.

It may be also noticed that the English made tremendous efforts to gain the help of Indian and other Asiatic powers in their unequal struggle in Eastern Waters with the Dutch. But though they received sympathy and help on occasions, generally speaking, these efforts proved to be abortive. The Persians on one occasion compelled them to compensate the Asiatic merchants whose goods had been shipped in some of the captured vessels and did not refrain from having jokes at their expense. The siege of Kandahar by the Indians was engrossing Persian attention, and their dignitaries could not be expected to listen sympathetically to the accounts of English troubles, and take measures to alleviate them. Stung to the quick by the news of the capture of their ships, Surat, instructed Jesson at Agra, to represent the English view point to the Mughul emperor. But he declared that he "would not meddle with it in one way nor other, nor wee any hopes further to prosecute that designe."

The Dutch Dagb Register refers not at all infrequently to these hostilities. On the eve of the war, the English (it points out) became panicky, and instructions were issued forbidding any of their ships to venture out by itself. At the same time, when such a war broke out, Bantam also was not to expect any ships from the (east Indian) Coast for some time. The English, it also alleges, continued to intrigue with the Asiatic powers against the Dutch. The attack on "the English yacht de Duyff" is dealt with in detail. "This was a yacht of about 120 tons with a cargo for the most part of cloves, partly for the Company and partly for private individuals. This ship was captured without a single shot being fired. . . . On board were 13 Englishmen and 22 or 23 natives, who 'at present are all on our ships'. The watch at the mouth of the Sundas for English ships is not mentioned. The English however, it feared, might molest the Dutch shipping off the Cape, and attack the Dutch on land, because their victories in the West might induce them to move up further to the East. 150 soldiers were to reinforce the Dutch forces, and a signal was to be installed to know whether friends or foes 'were on either side.' The capture of the English ships and the change of their names into Dutch ones, for example, that of the Bles-

sing into "d' Avonsterre", Roebuck into "Wttrecht" and the Supply into "Jasques" is also referred to.

The treaty of Westminster of 5th April, 1654, terminated the war. Its thirtieth article laid down "that four commissioners" should "be named, on both sides" who were "to examine and distinguish all those losses and injurys in the year 1611, and after, to the 18th of May, 1652 according to the English style, as well in the East Indies as in" other parts of the world. The restoration of Pulu Run after their own stores etc., had been taken away by the Dutch, the payment of a sum of 85,000 l. to the Company, and another of 3615 l. to the heirs of the Amboyna sufferers were ultimately decided on.

Promises were also made to punish those responsible for the Amboyna affair "provided any of them be living." The English were however forbidden to expect anything from the Dutch in respect of Gombroon customs.

The English Company won. The Dutch seemed resigned. But hostility on the same old lines was continued.

REFERENCES

Ball: Tavernier; Batavian Dagb Register; English Factories; Court Minutes etc.; Letter Books Vol. I, p. 218; O.C. 2376; 2323; H. T. Ser. I, XVIII, 546; Let. Bk. I, p. 206; Father de Queyro: Conquest of Ceylon (Father Perera); Hague Transcripts I etc.

Annals of Old Madras: Popham's Broadway Stephen Popham

By

K. NARASIMHACHARI, M.A.

STEPHEN POPHAM, "the father of Popham's Broadway," Madras, was "one of the most eccentric beings I have ever met with." Educated at Westminster he acquired some knowledge of the classics. He became a Solicitor. Being a man of some talents he was returned to the Irish Parliament. He "fell a martyr to a speculative disposition and a strong inclination for gambling, the latter foible having so deeply involved him" drove him in debt from his native country.

On July 14, 1777 he started for India by the *Bessborough* as Secretary to Sir John Day, Advocate-General, Bengal, who, on his way back to Calcutta, was instructed by the East India Company to stay at Madras during the enquiry regarding the death of Lord Pigot and the assumption of Government by the Members of Council. Popham soon quarrelled with his patron. "Their dispute is said to have nearly brought on a duel and the circumstance inspired an epigram

'If the astonishing account is true,

They met, they talked, they drew, and then withdrew.'"

In a letter addressed to Madras Government (20-3-1778) Popham gives a narrative of his relations with Sir John Day:

"I shall not trouble you with a long History of the Injuries Sir John Day has wished to do me in return for a Conduct on my part friendly in the extreme, and uniformly respectful and forbearing in the midst of undeserved ill usage. His own words are stronger than any I can make use of:—"That he will not lose sight of me' till he has laid my Fortunes as prostrate here as they are in England; till he strips me of the Rags of character I had filched from the Humanity of the Settlement and their Ignorance of my true complexion, and both, he says, may be followed by a Corporal Punishment."

Compelled to stay at Madras Popham managed to get himself sworn in as an Attorney of the Mayor's Court at Fort St. George.

Being skilled in law, unlike the friends of his profession who had "turned lawyers," he was successful in his profession and ere long appointed Solicitor to the Company. In 1780 the Government sought his opinion as to the legality of the removal, on payment of compensation, of the houses on the Hog-Hill, a rising ground on the South-Eastern portion of Peddunaickenpet so as to prevent them from lending cover to the enemy. Hyder Ali was threatening to invade the Carnatic. The Charter had conferred power upon the Governor in Council to exercise martial law in times of War. Popham therefore advised that the Government was competent so to do. His views were supported by Sir B. Sullivan, Advocate-General (afterwards puisne judge, Supreme Court), Madras, who was of opinion that the Government had, under the circumstances, the power to evict the householders.

Popham was in the same year appointed Private Secretary to Mr. Whitehill, Governor of Fort St. George.

As Government Solicitor he, in his note in 1784, suggested the amendment of the Charter of the Mayor's Court to bring natives within its jurisdiction while in respect of all offences against the laws of God all persons were deemed equal; in property natives had no remedy but by Arbitration. The Court of Requests, which was for the determination of Matters of property (that is of Debts, duties, or matters which shall not exceed the value of Five Pagodas) and which extended to all persons, was cited by him in support of his proposal.

By this time he had by his abilities, "raised himself to the top of his profession." He had for four years been Company's Solicitor, "which honourable and lucrative situation, added to his private practice must very speedily have secured to him a handsome independent fortune had he stuck to law alone, instead of which he had twenty wild schemes on foot at one and the same time."

He had built a house in the Black Town. In September 1778 he offered to purchase a marshy and unprofitable land, opposite his house which had long been a public nuisance. This piece of land, in and round the present Broadway, is mentioned by the Committee of Works in its report in 1769: "As we conceive it to be a part of our Duty not only to point out to your Honour etc. all such alterations and improvements as may be made in the public Buildings, but also such as appear to us useful and necessary for the convenience of the Black Town in general, I think it falls within our Province to mention that there is a piece of low marshy

ground running almost North to South through the Black Town, from the Pettah Bridge to the Bound Hedge between Mootal Pettah and Pede Naique's Pettah, which serves as a receptacle for all the Filth and Nastiness of the Town and thereby becomes a Nuisance to the Inhabitants. But as we imagine this inconvenience may easily be remedied and converted to an Advantage, we humbly propose that a Canal of 40 feet broad and six feet deep be cut from the extremity of the Esplanade to the South end of Padre Thomas's Garden. The ground on each side, being raised by the earth taken out of the Excavation of the Canal, would not only be a great ornament to the Town, but become useful for cultivation of Paddy Gardens or for Buildings. Should your Honour etc. approve of this very necessary improvement, we would humbly recommend as the most ready way to get it accomplished without any great expense to the Company or Individuals, that public notice be given that whoever will undertake to make the Canal should be entitled to all the ground on each side clear of the public road, which we do not believe exceeds 60 feet in any part. There ought to be a clear space of 50 feet all round the proposed Black Town fortifications" which should be provided for as the works are going on; and we are of opinion that this may be accomplished and a good road made and kept in repair by advertising publicly that any Person who will undertake it shall have a grant of the property of the Ground for 20 feet broad out of the 50 furthest from the Ramparts, with liberty to cultivate or plant a double row of coconut or other fruit trees on each side on the said space of 20 feet and to enjoy the produce thereof for ever (18-1-1770)." The total extent was about 664 lots (grounds). More than half of it was in "Uttapollam," the low lying region situated between the two Pettahs. This was the waste land for which Popham had made an offer. But the Committee had in July 1778 advised sale by Public auction. The Government however accepted Popham's proposal. In the following March he twice addressed the Committee of Works repeating his offer and proposing a scheme for reclamation and improvement, which consisted of digging a channel the full length of ground 1700 feet long and 30 feet wide and laying the road. On July 13, 1779 Government accepted his offer of purchase on payment of Pags. 3000, provided he carried out his plan of reclamation.

Popham next applied for a further strip of land extending from the southern limit of the Esplanade as marked by obelisk now seen at the southern end of Broadway. The sale of the ground

was sanctioned for Pags. 7550 with the proviso that no upper-roomed houses should be built to overlook the Fort. Grants for both areas were made out on payment of Pags. 10,550, in favour of Stephen Popham, Benjamin Roebuck and James Strange but the two latter gentlemen ultimately transferred their interest to Popham. He had visions of making the Black Town a princely mercantile suburb where the merchants would live over their offices as was the custom in London—a grand scheme ignoring an important factor, namely, the epidemic prevalent in the native suburbs.

Popham raised and drained the area. Regular streets were laid. The area was gradually built over. The main North and South street which traverses it is named Popham's Broadway. The central canal was afterwards covered in. And the paved open channel across the Esplanade was built to drain the water. In 1783 "he was likewise building a street in the same neighbourhood consisting of about sixty houses, besides which he had just purchased the hull of the Hertford East Indiaman, which ship had been wrecked in a monsoon gale.....in.....November, and was by the extraordinary agitation of the sea washed so far up on the beach as, when the storm subsided, to be left high and dry. This odd purchase he made with a view to converting part of the timber and the whole of the ironwork to his buildings, for which purpose he had about forty persons employed in breaking her up, the labour thereof amounting to so much as to render the materials produced of considerably more cost than he could have purchased them for entirely new."

On January 12, 1782, Popham submitted a proposal for the establishment of Police etc. for the better Government and regulation of the Town of Madraspatnam. He proposed the establishment of Police to prevent impositions and frauds. To ensure good health he would have drains constructed. To have a good supply of provisions he suggested the establishment of a Market at a central place." There were to be regular fish and meat shambles. All articles of daily consumption were to be brought to the public market. There was to be an Inspector of Markets to see that they were kept clean. There were also to be checks against false weights and measures and prices to be regulated by notification. Every street should be named, its name marked in English and in the Country languages. The inhabitants and their trades to be registered; a register of births and deaths to be maintained under Police supervision and Licenses for Arrack shops and carriages and animals to be obtained. There was to be a Register of houses kept.

Houses to be valued and scavenger's duty (municipal assessment) imposed on a particular ratio. He also wanted Lamps put in the Black Town for every 10 houses and suggested the proper supply of Lamps, Ladders, scissors, oil bottles and Dungaree Cloaths for each man. The plan though shelved for the time, came up for consideration four years later. On 21 October, 1785, 203 representative inhabitants, Europeans and Natives signed and submitted a petition for taking up Popham's proposals into consideration. On 16 December 1785 the pertinacious Popham renewed his attack presenting a further exposition of his views.

On 12th May 1786 Sir Archibald Campbell took up the matter and appointed a Committee of Police with Mr. Nathaniel Kindersley as Secretary on Rs. 6 per day. As the President in Council were still in doubt as to whether they had power to tax the inhabitants, they referred the matter to the Attorney-General, whose unqualified opinion was that the Government had no power to assess the inhabitants. The Government therefore felt that they could only regulate the price of provisions and wages of servants and recommended the appointment of an executive Board of Police with Popham as Secretary (5-8-1786). One of the acts of the Committee was the opening of a Central Market at about the end of 1786 on that "Central spot of ground" purchased by Popham in 1780 for 7550 Pags. The building of the market was completed in 1789. This was probably on the site of the present Loan Square, Broadway, which is still popularly known as the Old Market.

Popham "is a perpetual projector—a race whose exertions have frequently benefited society, but seldom, I believe, been productive of much advantage to themselves or their families." In 1781 he made an offer to Government to raise a force of Rajputs at his own expense for the protection of the Black Town against Hyder "but when I carried it to Mr. Whitehill, the Governor as he was going into Council, his reception of me and of my letter was so disgustingly cold that I was obliged to drop the matter." He offered to raise a military corps at the time the French Fleet appeared when he received the thanks of Government. A considerable area of land, twenty miles south of Madras was leased by Government to Popham and devoted by him to the cultivation of cotton. This was known as the Cotton Establishment. In 1790 it was brought to the notice of the Governor that 20 girls and 21 boys "were brought from the Northern Settlements in Country Vessels now in the Roads for the purpose of Trafficke. He ordered them to be landed. And sale or purchase of slaves being prohibited by public

proclamation, it was ordered that the Cutwal should take charge and they be maintained by him at the Company's expense until they can be returned to the places from whence they were brought (5-3-1790)."

Two years and a half later Popham proposed to apprentice the children for a term of years, "in order to assist in the cotton Establishment," promising to clothe and feed them. Government objected to apprenticeship but permitted Popham to employ the waifs on condition of restoring them whenever it should be determined to send them back to their homes (15-3-1793).

"Urquhart praises Popham's exertions in extending the cultivation of cotton at his southern farms, where he employed daily no less than 1400 persons, and quotes these verses from the 'Madras Courier' of November 14th, 1794:

"Thus blades innumeros
 grace the vernal store,
Which scarce one blade—or
 foliage deck'd before;
Thus diamonds, forc'd to quit
 their sandy beds,
Proclaim the path, which
 cultivation treads;
And swelling sails expand—
 Augusta's boast—
And homeward waft NEW
 treasures of the coast."

Popham was also interested in Sericulture. In his gardens named after them he reared mulberry trees and was taking care of the silkworms himself.

While at school at Westminster "like the rest of the boys hiring boats to row and sail about the Thames during the hours of play he (Popham) also hired boats from Dicky Roberts, the boat builder at Lambeth. Upon reaching the manhood and getting into possession of his estate, he, like many other Old Westminsters, employed Roberts to build boats to his order; that being done Roberts shipped them paying freight and all expenses. Popham wrote to express his approbation, saying they were exactly what he wanted, but there he stopped never paying a single guinea or answering any of the various applications made by Roberts during a period of fifteen years. The amount was forty-six pounds."

In 1782 Roberts sent a letter to Popham through his friend Hickey who visited him before embarking for Calcutta, demanding repayment. While at Madras in 1783 Hickey was Popham's guest. When the letter was delivered Popham "perused it with the utmost indifference.....Offended at the cool levity of his manner I resentfully and in some degree contemptuously observed that I should have thought it would, as it undoubtedly ought, have rather been a matter of joy than of concern to him to be reminded of a debt of so long a standing, contracted too, as that had been, and thereby putting it in his power to do justice to an honest, industrious and hardworking man. To which observation of mine, although he appeared nettled by it, he with affected unconcern, said, 'Oh certainly, my dear Hickey, I cannot but be pleased with so agreeable a communication, but I really think, indeed, I am quite sure, that I paid the extravagant demand for these boats at the time of their delivery. I will, however, look over my accounts, and if I find I am mistaken, and that it is still due, I will immediately remit the amount to Master Dickey.' Notwithstanding the above pretence the unprincipled man knew perfectly well he never had paid a sixpence, nor had he the least intention ever to pay."

"A hard marriage settlement, some extravagance and Mr. Stephen Popham have forced me quit my country perhaps for ever," complains Cane of Berners Street. At one time Cane had estates of his own yielding about £ 2000 a year. Mrs. Cane was worth £ 30,000. "Popham had been the chief instrument of his embarrassments by having prevailed upon him to join in various bonds as his (Popham's) security, which he consented to do under the most positive assurance that these bonds should be taken up and discharged previously to their respectively becoming due, instead of which he absconded, leaving Cane alone responsible" for the whole amount. In 1780 Cane was completely ruined. To avoid imprisonment at the instance of creditors he left with his family for the south of France and settled there.

Ten years later Cane wrote to his friend Hickey: "Popham is, I am told, doing remarkably well at Madras: he owes me upwards of four thousand pounds; should he continue successful and deal honourably and fairly by paying me interest at 17 per cent, for I raised all the hard cash I could for him by annuities, and pay at that rate of interest myself, I might once more be set afloat and get into an English harbour again, but there are so many contingencies that I almost despair of such a pleasing event ever occurring." Hickey reports what he did on receipt of this letter:

".....I addressed as affecting a letter as my pen was capable of producing to Mr. Stephen Popham, then residing at Madras, in which I represented the melancholy reverse of fortune our mutual friend had undergone, and without in the slightest degree insinuating that this reverse had been accomplished by the considerable sums advanced on his (Popham's) account and for his sole use and benefit, from an apprehension that such a momento might injure instead of promote my object, I merely stated that Mr. Cane had nothing to subsist on for himself and family except Mrs. Cane's pin-money of two hundred pounds a year, and therefore that a few hundreds from an old friend, either as a loan or as a present, would prove acceptable. I even condescended to flatter a man for whom I certainly felt nothing like respect, and blushed while I complimented. But I might have spared myself the ungracious task, for the unprincipled man did not give me any answer whatever, nor did he ever remit a single guinea to Cane who had acted so generously towards him".

Cane again wrote to Hickey from Tours (4-2-1791) to say that he never had a word or received a shilling from Popham "whose debt to me now amounts to upwards of seven thousand pounds".

In the next letter Cane writes: (20-2-1793) "My dear Will, you offered me your services in respect to Popham. If you can assist me in the following matter, pray do, for it will enable me to buy up between seventy and one hundred pounds a year of my annuities in another name, and so rub on till something better happens. About ten years ago I sent out a note of Popham's through Mr. Roger Wilbraham to Mr. Garrow of Madras, with a view to the recovery. There is now nineteen years' interest due upon this note. Do write to Mr. Garrow. If he does not choose to act against Popham, even in a just and righteous cause, request of him to put it into the hands of some person who will put it in a train of recovery. Instead of the whole, if Popham will pay down two hundred pounds and give three Bills for one hundred pounds each, payable at one, two and three years, I will abandon all claim to the rest, which will be at the time this reaches you, upwards of ninety pounds. In good faith it will be charity to get this matter effected for me.

Provided Popham will not come into the foregoing terms, make the best bargain you can for me with the unprincipled man, at all events get something down".

Hickey, thereupon addressed "both Mr. Garrow and the unfeeling Popham at Madras, neither of whom ever returned me one word of answer".

ANNALS OF OLD MADRAS, POPHAM'S BROADWAY 99

In the last of these letters (1-2-1796) Cane writes. "If you can, by writing to Popham or by getting any one to speaking to him, obtain the principal of the note, I will give up the interest. If he will not do that then try to get an hundred and fifty or even one hundred pounds. I leave it entirely to you. Whatever you get, be it but fifty pounds, I shall be contented....."

Cane did not live long afterwards. Popham died as he lived a debtor both to Roberts and Cane.

In 1795 Popham was killed by a fall from his curricule at Conjeevaram. The date on his tombstone in St. Mary's Cementery Madras is 13 June 1795, but his death is recorded in the Consultations of the previous day. After his death his Black Town property was disposed of by his representatives. His six year old son predeceased him.

His wife, Anna Popham was "a lively woman". She died at Madras on Christmas Day 1787 aged 37. She was the daughter of Sir William Thomas Bart. She was buried in St. Mary's Cemetery, Madras.

"Mr. Popham is a strange oddity. The few merits he has are infinitely outweighed by his peculiarities". He was "an amiable manwith a constitutional incapacity for managing his own affairs" But he had the courage of his convictions and endeavoured to live up to them. The result was disastrous.

REFERENCES.

- Memoirs of William Hickey.
- Vestiges of Old Madras by H. D. Love.
- Inscriptions on Tombs or Monuments by J. J. Cotton.

Lord William Bentinck

By

T. G. PERCIVAL SPEAR,
Delhi.

THE name of Lord William Bentinck will always be classed in importance amongst the first three Governor-Generals of 19th century India. Though he was not the first in ability, his reign was in fact the first in significance to India. For while others annexed new provinces and introduced new policies, Bentinck commenced a political and social revolution and introduced a new era. He was the first man in authority to give that impetus to western ideas and influence which has been transforming India ever since and is still transforming the country. No such cultural process has been set in motion in India since the great cultural exchange of the Delhi of the Sultanate, or the coming of the Greeks to India. And there is this difference from even the former period, that in Bentinck's time the new influence was welcomed and supported by the most far-seeing elements in India itself. If the British dominion had come to an end in the year 1828, the British would have meant no more to India than the Huns or the Sakyas or the Scythians. They would have left a memory of daring warriors and intrepid adventurers, of grasping merchants and rack-renting revenue farmers; their regime while it lasted more powerful and efficient than any before it, and more oppressive by reason of its very efficiency. But if every Englishman retired to-morrow, Indian development would not be vitally affected, for a mighty process is in motion, and will flow on independently of surface political changes. To arrest it, all contact would have to be cut off from Europe, America and the Far East; and even then the ferment would continue within and the emergent India would be something wholly different from the India of Lord Wellesley and Lord Hastings.

Yet ever since Bentinck's departure from India in 1835, he has been the subject of subtle depreciation. He was not a man of first rate ability and therefore cannot be credited with first rate achievement. What he accomplished would have come about anyhow, and therefore he deserves no special credit. And in any case the most important of his measures was not his but Macaulay's. The theologians who doubt whether Nestorius was a Nestorian

LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK

have their parallel in the historians who doubt whether Bentinck was the conscious introducer of the Bentinck-eras. It is the purpose of this article to examine this attitude and to attempt to assess Bentinck's own responsibility for the transformation which his measures commenced.

There was, of course, a very good reason for the chorus of faint praise which so long echoed feebly round Bentinck. He was the Directors' chosen instrument of economy and therefore the natural enemy of every vested interest in the Services. The Services were then and for long after practically the only organ of communication with the English public, except for the missionaries. It is hardly realised to-day how dependent on these sources has been the popular estimate of Indian affairs. Only when members of the Services fell out (as in the case of Sinde) were both sides of a question freely ventilated, and on a question of the pocket the Services were understandably solid. The half-batta regulation, which so vexed the military, was a minor economy, but the axe was laid to the root of both Services with characteristic firmness and thoroughness. Superfluous posts and comfortable sinecures disappeared, allowances were scaled down and corruption crushed wherever it was discovered. Bentinck himself hated the work, and frequently in his letters called his task odious. But such was his sense of duty that we find his wife begging him at the very end of his term not to embark on a fresh purge.¹

"I had always hoped you would have got out of the country before you entered into a second clipping, you are rapidly recovering from the effects of the first, and with the army, I believe altogether, at least nearly so. Put it off as long as you can. We shall soon be gone for ever, and it is painful to reflect that you will have again spread distress and destruction throughout the European portion of the community."

The "clipping" Dutchman became a legend. Bentinck by his integrity won back the respect of the Services, but has never to this day regained their enthusiasm. Even to-day a relic of this feeling persists in the canard of Bentinck and the Taj—that Bentinck proposed to pull down the Taj in order to make money on the marble.²

1. Bentinck Papers. Lady William to Lord William, 13 May, 1834. These papers have been consulted by the kind permission of the Duke of Portland through Mr. Philip Morrell.

2. G. T. Garratt. *The Legacy of India*, p. 1. E. B. Havell, *Indian Art and Architecture*. No authority but hearsay has ever been advanced

Setting aside this prejudice we come to the essential question. How far were Bentinck's measures his own and not those of his advisers, and how far was he himself conscious of their significance? The answer can be found in his voluminous Minutes and in his private correspondence, which has not hitherto been utilised by historians.

Bentinck was appointed Governor-General by his relative Canning in 1827. He did not desire it from love of India but in order to wipe out what he considered the disgrace of his recall from Madras by the Directors in 1807. He had been a candidate in 1822, when Amherst was appointed, and his point of view is given by Greville. But Bentinck was not a mere office-hunter content with the trappings and emoluments of office. He was first an aristocrat, the son of a Prime Minister and a member of one of the greatest of the great Whig families. He was next a soldier, who had campaigned in Spain and Italy and had all the soldiers' sense of discipline and authority. He was never happier than when in the saddle or the camp and he loved good living and the company of men of action. An enemy of all intellectuals and theorists, he prided himself on his common sense. Justice was for him the chief virtue and common sense the most valuable quality. He confessed that it was only with difficulty that he ever read a book. A clear head and a firm hand were to him more important than an exotic imagination and a subtle intellect. No very promising equipment, this, for the creator of the New India. Akbar, like Disraeli had governed India by imagination; Bentinck, by common sense. But Bentinck was more than this. He was a Whig of the school of the younger Burke and of Fox. He accepted the teaching of Bentham and Adam Smith and believed that the world could be remade by following the dictates of reason. In politics he was a Radical, whose practical difference from the Whigs was that they really believed what the others discussed in their drawing rooms. The Reform Bill he thought "a very good Bill."³ He avowed his utilitarian principles.

But above all there must be placed the personal qualities of the man. To his sense of authority and justice were united a power of decision and a certain vigour in action which had not been seen in India since the days of Wellesley. It was one thing

for this statement. But the source of the hearsay can be traced to this prejudice.

3. Bentinck Papers. Lord William to Sir Charles Metcalfe, 1831.

to act vigorously with the general approval of the Services as Lord Hastings did, and another to beat steadily against the flowing current of vested interests and fossilised opinions. Lord Hastings' limitations revealed themselves as soon as he encountered that citadel of complacent exploitation, Hyderabad under the Palmers. Bentinck beat steadily for seven years against the stream and at the end was a more radical reformer than at the beginning. Compare Hastings' attitude to Metcalfe's Hyderabad exposures with Bentinck's treatment of Trevelyan's exposures in Delhi. The one was nearly ruined for his pains and the other promoted to honour. Bentinck's vigour of action at times amounted to haste, and not infrequently led him into trouble. His difficulties in Madras, in Sicily and in Genoa were the result of this quality. There are signs of it during his Indian Government which more than once brought him into danger. The proposal to move the capital and the granting of long leases to indigo planters at the beginning, and his abolition of corporal punishment in the army at the end of his career, are examples of it. But the years had brought with them a certain discretion and a shrewdness in dealing with obstructive and irascible superiors which saved him from disaster. On the whole this quality was an unmixed good to India, for it led him to decisions which a whole generation had discussed and approved, and then failed to take. Nowhere is this better seen than in the abolition of Suttee. True, it was not Bentinck's idea. Suttee had been condemned by missionary writers for thirty years, and its abolition proposed but shelved by Lord Wellesley himself. After him three successive Governors-General, Minto, Hastings and Amherst, had in turn deplored it and tolerated it. The decision to abolish, after a generation of moral paralysis, was Bentinck's and the credit cannot be denied him.

But above all these qualities must be placed his humanitarianism. Solicitude (love is perhaps too strong a word) for the people and the desire to improve their lot, was ingrained in his nature. Armchair philanthropy, the product of the Age of Reason and Rousseauite sentimentalism, was fashionable amongst the governing classes of Bentinck's time. Bentinck's philanthropy was intended for action, not for declamation; it was a purpose, not a pose. It was indeed the mainspring of his active life. This, even more than his hastiness, embroiled him with his colleagues and superiors. Tory ministers, who thought the safety of India more important than its happiness; directors, more mindful of their profits than moral obligations, and officials, more careful for perquisites than the weightier matters of the law, were all scandalised

by the man they dubbed the Pennsylvanian Quaker. Even the most liberal of the officials, like Metcalfe, were apt to be Indian reformers in England and English reformers in India. Metcalfe himself, when asked to make suggestions for reform as the result of Ellenborough's "We have a great moral duty to perform" despatch in 1829, could only agree to its desirability, and then explain that the revenue would hardly suffice to maintain the existing administration and left no surplus for improvements. Metcalfe was one of Bentinck's steadiest supporters and far in advance of the ordinary official; the extent of his non-possumus is a good measure of Bentinck's difficulties and of his greatness in achieving what he did.

Bentinck, as we know, went out under orders to economise the administration. This was not only to balance a budget upset by the Burmese war and years of unnoticed jobbery, but also to show a clear bill of financial health to Parliament in the forthcoming Charter discussions. Bentinck believed in obeying orders and conscientiously fulfilled his mission. But his horizon was not limited by this accountant's dream. For him economy was only a means to his principal end, the welfare of the people. He thus expressed it in a letter to the Chairman in 1834.⁴

"The objects, however imperfectly executed, that I have ever held in view, as directed by the Hon. Court, and required by stern necessity and policy, have been, the support of order and obedience, the revision of the public establishments, the promotion of the happiness and the improvement of the condition of the people, and the maintenance to the best of my humble means, of the honour and character of the Government, of the East India Company over this extensive empire."

The phrase "the happiness and the improvement of the condition of the people" occurs again and again in his correspondence and Minutes. It is his constant refrain, the thematic melody of his administrative symphony. He saw in economy the means of obtaining the sinews of improvement. The surplus achieved at such cost was to be spent on such things as roads, irrigation, canals and steam navigation. He spared no pains and shirked no details in these projects. An engineer acquainted with the fenland drainage was sent for to deal with the similar problem in the

4. *Ibid.* Lord William to the Chairman of the Directors, 16 Mar. 1834.

Calcutta neighbourhood.⁵ A characteristic proposal was to plant trees along the Grand Trunk Road at Government's expense.⁶ These would provide elephants and camels with fodder and so save the neighbouring villages from the stripping of their trees. It was not Bentinck's fault that only a portion of these projects were sanctioned by the Directors.

The same motive led him to the reform of the revenue administration. He agreed with Ram Mohan Roy that the Permanent Settlement in Bengal had put the peasant at the mercy of the zamindar, and with Bishop Heber that many parts of the north-west provinces were less prosperous than those of the neighbouring Indian states. He agreed with Metcalfe that these same provinces were less contented than under the Marathas, but, unlike Metcalfe, he did not attribute this fact only to a natural and ingrained hostility to the Europeans. He found the cause where officials were least anxious to look for it—in the Company's own faulty system of administration. In a word, everything had been sacrificed to the desire for increased revenue. The district officer was pressed from headquarters, and he in turn pressed his Indian subordinates. They pressed the villagers and so the high principles of Leadenhall Street and the India House became in fact a tyranny more grinding than the Maratha, for the very reason that it was more efficient.⁶ Maratha demands were more excessive, but they were also elastic. The Marathas were rapacious, but they were bargainers and always ready to compromise. They were under no compulsion of figures, registers and first economic principles to kill the goose which laid the golden eggs. And they had of course a local and intimate knowledge of the countryside and its real resources. The Marathas assessed highly, but only collected in part. The British often lowered the assessment somewhat, but they collected inexorably in full.⁷ The records of all the early settlements tell the same tale, and even Munro's early assessments had to be modified later. But let Bentinck speak for himself.⁸

"You claim for the British system merits which it does not possess. You have described it, not as it is, but as it ought to be.

5. *Ibid.* Lord William to W. B. Clarke, 29 Nov. 1830. See also Bentinck's Minute in the Finance Dept. on 2 Feb. 1830.

6. *Ibid.* Minute by Lord William Bentinck on Roads, 1831.

7. See, for example, Evans Bell, *Memoir of General John Briggs and early Settlement Reports of Delhi Territory*.

8. Bentinck Papers. Lord William to Mancy, 1 June 1834.

The natives understand and appreciate the advantages of their own village system, and so they would the system of the British Government, if there was any system at all in it, and if as you say, "They (the Government) are trying every day to make the assessment lighter." Better than all the dialogues would be the act—a fact of much more moderate assessment. The great curse of our rule has been a constant interference with the long established system of Indian society, and of the introduction of our own fancies and schemes, which with *our own* ignorance, have desolated, more than any Mahratta invasion, some of the finest provinces of our Empire. The great object and end of all these innovations was increase of revenue. It is a curious fact which since my arrival in the Madras territory has come to my knowledge that in no two districts is the practice of Sir T. Munro's ryotwar settlement similar. Each man has been allowed to deviate from it in his own way, and you may judge how far the conceits and changes have in any way improved upon the system laid down by one of the ablest and most experienced officers employed in our Indian administration. With all due submission, therefore, I think we had better reform our system before we attempt to describe it, and the real secret of such reform, applicable in all circumstances and to all varieties of tenure, is *great moderation* more consideration for the natives and less for ourselves."

In writing to Charles Grant, Bentinck describes the system of civil government as "miserably inefficient" and says that "in every branch" it has sadly failed. This attitude of Bentinck's was the seed from which sprang the scientific assessment of W. M. Bird and the movement for "moderation" in the assessments which gradually transformed the Indian countryside. A comparison between any of the later settlements reports with the earlier reveals the extent of the over assessment practised.

Bentinck was equally critical of other branches of the administration. Of the Courts and Police he writes—"We have at least found out that without the aid of the natives, the attempts to administer justice must continue to be, as they already have been, utterly futile; and as for the Police, so far from being a protection to the people, I cannot better illustrate the public feeling regarding it, than by the following fact, that nothing can exceed the popularity of a recent regulation by which, if a robbery has been committed, the Police are *prevented* from making any enquiry into it, except upon the requisition of the persons robbed; that is to say—the shepherd is a more ravenous beast of prey than the wolf. Can there

be a greater satire upon the system?"⁹ On this subject men like Malcolm and Elphinstone agreed with him, but though his views were radical, his achievement here was less than in revenue matters. Indians were admitted to higher judicial posts and Indianisation was thus started, but not much was accomplished towards the reform of the Police.

The most pointed of all Bentinck's shafts was reserved for the Civil Service, whom with their patrons he considered to be the cause of many of these administrative evils.

"These are the effects admitted by all and is not the cause as obvious? Is it not owing to the monstrous absurdity of committing the Government of 60 millions of people to less than 400 strangers, and to the still more monstrous rapacity of seizing for the benefit of this incapable few, all the powers and emoluments of the administrator, to the exclusion of the native and natural agency of the country? If this monopoly service were constituted from the best talent and matured experience of England they would singly be unequal to the task. What then must be the competency of those, selected by no regard for qualifications, possessing appointments, like an estate, as a matter of right; secure of promotion, because there are no competitors, and secured in their possession, by the powerful patronage with which they are supported. The administration of patronage is my daily and painful duty; painful from the number of men totally inefficient that I am compelled from the limited choice of individuals to nominate to most important offices."¹⁰

Bentinck attacked them as a whole (while admitting the ability and good will of many individuals) because he believed that the "best interests of the country" had been sacrificed for them and by them. His great difference with them was that they maintained that money for improvements should come from below while he thought it should come from above. They would raise fresh taxes which meant higher assessments, and since the assessments were too high already, they considered there was nothing to be done. Bentinck sought to reduce expenses by reducing salaries and lopping off superfluous posts.

9. *Ibid.* Lord William to Charles Grant 21 Dec. 1832.

See also Bengal Judicial Criminal Consultations, 14 Feb. 1832, Nos.

38-63.

10. *Ibid.* Lord William to Charles Grant, 21 Dec. 1832.

In each of these cases, the revenue, the judiciary and the services, it is clear that the motives of Bentinck's attitude and action was the welfare of the people at large. His attack on the evils of Sutte and Thuggee, which were justified on the ground that they were offences against the law of nature, and abuses rather than essential parts of Hinduism, are too well known to need further comment. But there is another sphere in which the same motives are revealed, his policy towards the Indian states. It is an aspect of his policy which was not conspicuously successful, for it was empirical in its methods and vacillating in its application. But the principles are clear, and if they had been followed an unsatisfactory chapter of Indo-British history might have been differently written. Lord Hastings had achieved the fact of British hegemony, and Metcalfe had provided the doctrine of paramountcy. But how that paramountcy was to be exercised in the admittedly subordinate states, and how the treaties were to be interpreted in the theoretically independent ones, had still to be determined. There was the policy of *laissez faire*, which meant that the Resident became a gilded spectator of rapine and oppression. Princes without object for their ambition or fear of revolt found easy solace in the nautch, the bottle and the favourite. There was the policy of rigid control through advice, which meant as a rule increasing British establishments with all their attendant expenses.¹¹ No one thought of Akbar's solution of the same problem by the finding of outlets for princely ambition in imperial service. Between these two extremes Bentinck pursued a somewhat erratic course, sometimes handing back territories administered by the Company in lieu of a subsidy, and sometimes taking over a state or annexing it outright as in the cases of Mysore and Coorg. But always the motive was clear, the welfare of the people as a whole and the continuity, as far as possible, of Indian institutions. His dilemma was that the one so often seemed to involve a denial of the other. Great and obvious oppression was more than he could stomach, and then there was drastic interference. But on the other hand he was very conscious of the dangers of unlimited European influence in a state. The "hornet's nest" of Hyderabad was ever in his mind. So he was always trying to minimise interference, or in extreme cases to govern a state with a view to handing it back to the chief at a later date. Such

11. Bentinck Papers. In Hyderabad from 1825-30, the number of British officers employed increased from 93 to 121. See also Astell's Letter to Lord William, 13 April 1831.

was the motive of his treatment of Mysore, which pointed the way to the post-mutiny technique of dealing with misgovernment, a technique, which is in use to-day in the case of several states. That he by no means hit the mathematical mean between the extremes of annexation and non-interference is only to say that the proposed solution was too novel for the means adopted to be always the best. It is possible that if Bentinck had known the exact situation of Mysore he would never have assumed its administration at all.¹² But even as it was there is no doubt that his action saved the existence of the Mysore State. The promised rendition of Mysore was only accomplished after twenty years of argument, and it is safe to assert that an outright annexation would never have been undone.

But Bentinck did not stop short at benevolent depotism. He is rightly regarded as the real inaugurator of the policy of benevolence, of the view that the popular welfare was the main concern of the Government of India. But an estimate which is limited to this falls short of the truth. Bentinck undoubtedly looked beyond benevolent rule by an alien bureaucracy. He looked to a popular revival and to some ultimate form of self-government. A believer in the utilitarian principle of self-improvement, he conceived that the people of India should not only be improved by others, but could improve themselves by their own efforts. His panacea was English education. It is now clear for the first time that his education policy was not merely a soldier's echo of the oracle Macaulay or an elderly man's bemusement by young enthusiasts like Trevelyan. The first mention of English education comes in 1829,¹³ and in 1834, before Macaulay ascended the Nilgiris with his eloquence and wonderful memory, he wrote this remarkable letter.¹⁴

"General education is my panacea for the regeneration of India. The ground must be prepared and the jungle cleared away before the human mind can receive, with any prospect of *real* benefit, the seeds of improvement. You will anticipate my entire dissent from those who think it better that the natives should remain in ignorance. I cannot regard the advantage of ignorance to the

12. Letters of Lord William to the Secret Committee, 14 April, 1834. (Secret Political Letters from Bengal and India, 23 Jan. 1832-4th May, 1838).

13. Bentinck Papers. Lord William to Metcalfe. 16 Sept. 1829. He speaks of "The British (sic) language, the key of all improvements."

14. Bentinck Papers. Lord William to Mancy, 1 Jun. 1834.

governors or the governed. If our rule is bad, as I believe it to be, let the natives have the means through knowledge, to represent their grievances and to obtain redress. If their own habits, morals or way of thinking are inconsistent with their own happiness and improvement, let them have the means provided by our greater intelligence, of discovering their errors. I approve therefore of every plan by which the human mind can be instructed and of course elevated.” Bentinck’s ideas as to how to further this end were undoubtedly hazy and it is here that Macaulay and his group were important.

These achievements of Bentinck must be set against the background of his difficulties for their true valuation. The opposition of the Indian services is well-known and so is the disapproval of Lord Ellenborough and the Duke of Wellington.¹⁵ But the acceptance of his measures by Charles Grant, Ellenborough’s successor, was far from certain. Even in 1834¹⁶ Capt. Benson wrote to Bentinck of his “disagreeable impression that your labours are here very imperfectly estimated even amongst the most knowing in regard to Indian affairs. At the India House, I apprehend, they sit down to a perusal of your papers in the spirit of a schoolmaster about to examine the task of a pupil. . . . Those who return from the East, of both sexes, speak of your measures not as they are more or less calculated to amend Indian institutions, and to promote the lasting welfare of a vast mass of our fellow creatures, but as they have affected or are likely to bear upon, the influence and pecuniary interest of a few individuals and their friends.”

Bentinck’s best friends were the Directors, but their support was far from whole-hearted. They were staunch only on economy. They looked upon any innovation with mistrust¹⁷ and they quite failed to see that the surplus Bentinck had achieved with so much labour and odium should be used for the improvement of the people.¹⁸ They harassed him with their jobbery. All these facts suggest that whatever constructive work was accomplished in Bentinck’s time, was the work mainly of Bentinck himself. He himself would have been the last man to assert that alone he did it, but it is equally clear that without him these things would not have been done. His long struggle against insubordination, obstruction and misunder-

standing at home and in India, carried on with unflinching firmness, constant good temper and unwavering hope, indeed reminds us of another viceroyalty almost a century later. And indeed the work of the latter was but the painful recognition of the fruit sprung from the seed sown by the former. In pain they both laboured, and India, we may hope, will one day enter into the full fruits of their labours.

15. Colchester. Lord Ellenborough. Political Diary, 1828-1830.

16. Bentinck Papers. Capt. Benson to Lord William 13 June 1834.

17. e.g. with regard to the capital, leases to Europeans, etc.

18. e.g. on irrigation, road-making and town improvements.

Indian History Congress

THIRD SESSION—CALCUTTA, 1939.

India has a chequered past. Often in the days of yore learned men would assemble in some notable site to listen to *Itivrittam narendrānam rishināncha mahātmanām*. ("Stories of kings and of high-souled sages"). It is, therefore, an ancient institution which was sought to be revived on June 8, 1935, when a number of historians gathered in the city of Poona to inaugurate a History Congress with a somewhat limited scope which in three years developed into a body whose horizon was no longer bounded by the limits of the Modern Period but included within its orb all periods of Indian History, Ancient, Mediaeval as well as Modern. This transformation took place at the Second Session of the Congress at Allahabad.

The Third Session of the Indian History Congress was held in Calcutta in the University premises on December 15 to 17, 1939, at the invitation of the Calcutta University.

Dr. R. C. Majumdar, M.A., Ph.D., Vice-Chancellor of the University of Dacca, was the General President of the Session which was inaugurated by His Excellency the Governor of Bengal and Chancellor of the University on December 15 at 10 A.M. The inaugural ceremony took place, in a spacious decorated pandal erected between the Senate House and Ashutosh Building, before a large and distinguished gathering, when the Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University welcomed the delegates as Chairman of the Reception Committee and the Presidential Address of the Session was delivered. In the same pandal, the Hon'ble Chief Minister of Bengal, who holds the portfolio of Education, opened the Historical Exhibition in connection with the Congress on December 15 in the afternoon.

In inaugurating the Congress His Excellency, Sir John Arthur Herbert pointed out that it represented a long and distinguished tradition of historical friendship. Events of to-day, he added, are not, and never can be dissociated from the past and the historian can be of inestimable help even to people who are concerned primarily with day-to-day events.

The President of the Session emphasized the necessity of a public forum for discussing all historical problems. He put in a plea for widening the scope of historical studies and indicated the lines on which future investigation, in the subject, ought to proceed.

The work of the Congress was divided into five sections—Archaic and Cultural, Ancient Imperial, Early Mediaeval, Mughul (including the early Maratha-Sikh period) and Modern (including the later Maratha-Sikh history). The number of papers read before these five sections were 21, 34, 27, 26 and 35 respectively, or 143 in all. All the sections met in the Ashutosh Building on December 15 from 2 P.M. to 5 P.M. and on December 16 from 8 A.M. to 11 A.M. The meetings were so arranged that all the delegates could listen to the Presidential Addresses in the various sections by turns.

A panel of secretaries saw to the smooth and uninterrupted working of the Sections.

Dr. A. S. Altekar, M.A., LL.B., D.Litt., of the Benares Hindu University, presided over the Archaic and Cultural Section of the Congress. The Sectional Secretaries in charge were Dr. B. C. Sen, M.A., Ph.D., and Mr. J. N. Banerji, M.A., assisted by Dr. Niharranjan Ray, M.A., Ph.D., D.Phil. Dr. Altekar's address was on the Reconstruction of the pre-Bharata-War History. A resolution from the Chair was adopted by the Section on December 16, requesting the Government of India to reconsider the decision about stopping further excavation work by the Archaeological Department on account of the financial stringency due to war and inviting the co-operation of the Indian Universities and other learned bodies in this matter. The papers read before the section dealt with the various historical and cultural aspects of the remote past of India and helped to throw some further light on the subject.

Prof. K. A. Nilkanta Sastri, M.A., of the Madras University, presided over the Ancient Imperial Section and dealt in his address with the conception of Empire in Ancient India. Dr. U. N. Ghoshal, M.A., Ph.D., was the Sectional Secretary, assisted by Dr. D. C. Sarkar, M.A., Ph.D. and Mr. N. C. Sinha, M.A. Most of the papers of the section were interesting and provoked much discussion. Mr. P. Acharya, in his paper suggested that the famous inscription of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadēva did not originally belong to the Bhuvanēśwar Temple and Prof. B. M. Barua agreed with him. Dr. B. R. Chatterji's paper on Jayavarman VII of Cambodia was welcomed by Dr. R. C. Majumdar who requested the author to bring out a revised and up-to-date edition of his Indian Cultural Influence in Cambodia. Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao's theory that the original home of the Chalukyas was in Andhradesa was supported by Dr. N. Venkataramanayya, but was opposed by Dr. D. C. Sarkar. Mr. D. N. Mukherji's theory of the contemporaneity of the early Guptas with Kanishka was controverted by Dr. R. C. Majumdar and Prof. H. C. Raychaudhuri. The latter also found it difficult to accept Mr. B. N. Puri's contention that Kanishka of the Ara inscription is to be identified with his namesake of the earlier records. Of special interest was Mr. Y. M. Deshpande's paper on a copper plate of Vākātaka Vindhyaśakti which excited a valuable debate in which Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Prof. V. V. Mirashi, Dr. D. C. Sarkar, Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit and Prof. H. C. Raychaudhuri took part. Dr. D. C. Sarkar in his criticism of the paper argued that if the grant was a genuine one (to which view Dr. Majumdar, Prof. Mirashi and Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit inclined), the Pravarasena mentioned in it should be identified with Pravarasena I and Vindhyaśakti should be taken as a later prince different from the founder of the Vākātaka dynasty. Dr. U. N. Ghoshal's interpretation about the head-offering motif in an ancient Bengal sculpture was criticised by Mr. S. K. Saraswati who suggested that the figure may be a representation of hair-offering. Mr. K. P. Chattopadhyaya's theory about cross-cousin marriage and matrilinear succession among the Śātavāhanas was not accepted by Prof. H. C. Raychaudhuri. Dr. D. C. Sarkar held that the auspicious symbol at the beginning of Hindu inscription was pronounced as *Om Siddhih* and the *Pranava* was responsible for Al-Biruni's wrong interpretation of the symbol as *Om*. Prof. Mirashi however thought that the symbol indicated *siddham*,

while Mr. K. P. Mitra found in it nothing but a developed form of *svastika*. Dr. D. C. Sarkar in reply pointed out that the symbol is followed by *siddhin* in the grant of Ranabhanja's 58th year and that *siddham* and the *svastika* occur side by side in the Nasik cave inscriptions. In addition to the above, there was a large number of papers which excited much interest.

Dr. M. Nazim, M.A., Ph.D., (Cantab), Superintendent, Central Circle, Archaeological Survey of India, presided over the Early Mediaeval Section. He gave a brief outline of the efforts made by individual scholars to elucidate the history of Mediaeval India. Mr. Subimal Dutt, M.A., was the Sectional Secretary assisted by Mr. Anil Banerji, M.A., and Mr. Golap Ray Chaudhuri, M.A., B.L. All the papers in this section except four, the writers of which were not present, were read. Mr. N. B. Ray argued that the infant placed on the Delhi throne after the death of Muhammad bin Tughluq was a pretender of unknown origin; but Dr. N. Venkataramanayya and Mr. R. K. Chaube were inclined to take him as the actual son of the late Sultan, while Dr. K. R. Qanungo agreed that the case was suspicious. Dr. B. B. Majumdar pointed out the similarity of views between Chaitanya and his reforming contemporaries like Rāmānanda and Nānak; Dr. Qanungo observed that such similarity should not be taken to indicate mutual influence. Dr. N. C. Banerji's paper on the Life and Times of Alauddin Khalji was supplemented by interesting details from Amir Khusru by Dr. Qanungo. Dr. H. C. Ray's paper on "The word *Turushka* in Tummana Haihaya records" was discussed by Prof. H. C. Raychaudhuri and Dr. Qanungo. Mr. S. N. Dhar explained the causes of Dahir's defeats by the Arabs, repudiating the current theory that the Buddhists acted treacherously towards the Hindu King. Dr. Qanungo agreed with him while Dr. S. K. Bannerji stressed economic factors as playing a leading part in bringing the Arabs upon Sind. Dr. Qanungo in his paper argued that Amir Khusru's work on Dewal Rani could not be accepted as a true historical account of a contemporary episode, and that the figure of the heroine was more or less a romantic picture. Mr. Shriram Sharma and Dr. B. P. Saksena on the contrary maintained that the poem has a real historical basis.

Dr. Tarachand, M.A., D.Phil., (Oxon.), Principal, Kayastha Pathshala, Allahabad, presided over the Moghul Section and delivered an address on Indian Culture under the Moghuls. Mr. M. Zahurul Islam, M.A., B.L., and Mr. Indubhushan Banerji, M.A., acted as Sectional Secretaries assisted by Dr. Sanaullah, Ph.D. The papers were subdivided into two classes dealing with Moghul history and early-Maratha-Sikh history respectively. In the first division, there was a discussion on Rai Bahadur Dr. S. K. Bhuyan's paper on Swargadeo Rudra Singh, King of Assam (1696-1714), Mr. S. H. Askari expressing doubts about the projects of Rudra Singh. In the second division a lively debate took place on Mr. V. D. Rao's generalisations from Maratha bardic literature in which Profs. Kale, Puntambekar, Shriram Sharma and Banhatti took part. In a concluding speech Dr. Tarachand expressed his satisfaction with the quality of the papers and sounded a note of warning against possible bias in historical writings.

Rao Saheb C. S. Srinivasachari, M.A., of the Annamalai University, presided over the Modern Section and delivered an address on the 'study' of modern Indian history. Dr. N. C. Banerjee, M.A., Ph.D., and Dr. N. K.

Sinha, M.A., Ph.D., were the Sectional Secretaries in charge and were assisted by Dr. A. P. Dasgupta, Prof. Spear in his paper emphasised Ellenborough's highhandedness and the differences between him and Bentinck. The President and Dr. N. L. Chatterji took part in the discussion, the former suggesting that the atmosphere of Madras was responsible for Bentinck's failure as governor there. Prof. Spear in his reply emphasised Bentinck's youthfulness and inexperience in his Madras days and pointed out that the English government could not do without Ellenborough because of his political influence though his hustling manners were universally known. Prof. S. N. Banerji traced the beginning of an Asiatic foreign policy by the British Indian government to the Durrani menace and Wellesley's attempts to meet it. Dr. K. K. Dutt in this connection drew attention to Dr. N. K. Sinha's paper on the Durrani menace in the Indian Historical Quarterly, 1934, Mr. R. C. Banerji's thesis about the Company's patronage of Indian religions in the shape of state contributions towards expenses and military guards in honour of processions was supported and supplemented by the President and Dr. A. P. Dasgupta from Madras and Rajshahi records respectively. Mr. H. R. Ghoshal's paper on Bengal's opium trade led to a discussion in the course of which Dr. Bisweswar Prasad suggested that the opium trade had much to do with British annexations.

In addition to the papers mentioned above, all of which provoked some discussion, there was a large number of suggestive and informing contributions in every section a full account of which will appear in the Proceedings of the Third Session. The academic side of the Congress was further enriched by an interesting illustrated lecture by Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, M.A., Director-General of Archaeological Survey, on Prehistoric India, which was listened to by a very large audience, on December 15. Next morning the delegates had the opportunity of attending the annual meeting of the Numismatic Society for which facilities were provided by the Reception Committee of the History Congress. The discovery of a very large hoard of Śātavāhana coins was announced at the meeting.

An Historical Exhibition was organised on behalf of the Congress by a special committee with Mr. D. P. Ghose, M.A., Curator of the Asutosh Museum, as its Secretary. He was ably assisted by Mr. S. K. Saraswati, Mr. Nalininath Dasgupta, Mr. Kalyan Ganguli, Mr. Kunjagovinda Goswami and a band of hardworking volunteers and other workers. Many valuable exhibits were displayed and proved to be a great attraction. The Exhibition was kept open for a few days after the Congress session in consideration of its educative value for the public.

The Calcutta Session owed much of its success to the large number of distinguished scholars who assembled from the various parts of India. The actual number of delegates came up to the big total of 185, about half of them officially representing the different governments, states, universities, research societies and other institutions. The Delegates Camp was located in the University premises and was in charge of Mr. Sailendra Nath Mitra, M.A., who was helped in the task of welcoming delegates by Mr. Sachindranath Banerjee, Mr. Sambhunath Banerjee, Mr. Sukumar Bhattacharya, Mr. S. C. Majumdar, Mr. D. K. Sanyal, Mr. J. K. Chaudhuri, Mr. Zahirul Islam, Mr. M. L. Sarkar, Mr. B. N. Sen, Mr. S. C. Raychaudhuri, Mr. M. Mahfuz-ul-Huq and other enthusiastic and energetic workers. The local Reception Com-

mittee which totalled 165 made all the necessary arrangements through 11 sub-committees and a Central Working Committee consisting of the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, M.A., B.L., D.Litt., Barrister-at-Law, M.L.A., Mr. Pramathanath Banerji, M.A., B.L., Barrister-at-Law, M.L.A., and the three Local Secretaries. Adequate funds were raised by a Committee with Mr. Nibaran Chandra Ray, M.A., as Secretary. The donations included a princely one of Rs. 1,000 from Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., Ph.D., and generous grants of Rs. 1,000 and Rs. 750 from the Bengal Government and the Calcutta University respectively.

The social side of the Congress received as much attention as its academic activities. The Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University gave a sumptuous dinner to the delegates and members of the Congress on December 16, and another was given by Dr. N. N. Law, M.A., Ph.D., editor of the Indian Historical Quarterly, the next night. The University of Calcutta entertained the Congress at lunch on December 16 and Dr. S. C. Law, M.A., Ph.D., F.N.I., F.Z.S., was at home to its members on the same afternoon in his beautiful Aviary, a few miles out of town. On December 17, the Reception Committee arranged for a steamer party from 11 A.M. to 5 P.M., which was largely attended. The Arts Faculty Club of the University organised a musical soiree on December 15 and the Sanskrit Sahitya Parishad staged two dramatic pieces on the evening of December 17. Mr. Satischandra Ghosh, M.A., was the Secretary, in charge of entertainments.

The session ended on December 18 with an Excursion to Tribeni and its neighbourhood, the trip being ably managed by the University History Union. The party after visiting Belur Math was given a reception in the Public Library at Uttarpara by the local gentry led by Mr. D. N. Mukherji, M.L.A. At Serampur College, the visitors were shown round by Rev. J. A. Rawson, Acting Principal. At Chandernagore, Mr. Harihar Seth with his usual liberality entertained the whole party at lunch. After visiting the local Catholic Church, the party proceeded via Hooghly College, the Imambara and the Portuguese Church at Bandel to Tribeni itself where the visitors saw the Zafar Shah Mosque, the *ghāts* of Raja Mukundadeva of Orissa and the other sights. The Mahasayas of Bansberia entertained the delegates and the students at tea, in the afternoon.

In the midst of all these activities, the problems connected with the organisational side of the Congress had to be considered. There was a long Executive Committee meeting on December 15 and its recommendations were accepted by the plenary session of the Congress on December 16. The new Executive was elected and minor modifications in the constitution were adopted. Steps were taken to explore by means of a special committee the financial aspects of the scheme for undertaking a comprehensive History of India. On behalf of the Punjab University, Prof. J. F. Bruce invited the Congress to hold its next session at Lahore and the offer was accepted with thanks.

CONSTITUTION

1. The object of the Indian History Congress shall be the promotion and encouragement of the scientific study of Indian History.
2. The membership of the Indian History Congress shall be open to all persons interested in the study of Indian History and the annual fee for membership shall be Rupees Five only.

Each of the new candidates for membership should have his name proposed and seconded by an existing member of the Congress. The Executive Committee will admit the new members and maintain a full register of membership.

3. The following shall be the office bearers of the Congress:

President, two Vice-Presidents, General Secretary, Joint (Local) Secretary, Assistant Secretary, and Treasurer.

4. The office bearers together with seven other members elected along with the office bearers by the members of the Congress shall form the Executive Committee and shall hold office till the end of the next session.

5. The Executive Committee shall have full power to transact all business including admission of new members, the framing of Rules of Business, and in case of emergency to deal with all other matters not herein specified, provided that nothing is done which is inconsistent with the Constitution or the Rules of Business.

6. In the event of any vacancy or vacancies occurring among the office bearers and members of the Executive Committee, such vacancies shall be filled by the Executive Committee.

7. There shall be a Local Committee of which the Joint (Local) Secretary of the Congress shall be the General Secretary.

Of the annual fee for membership (Rupees Five only) received from each member of the Congress, the Local Committee shall in future retain only three rupees and remit the balance to the General Secretary for defraying the expenses of the Central Office.

8. The following shall be the procedure for amending the Constitution of the Congress:

The proposals for addition to, or alteration in, the Constitution shall be addressed to the General Secretary two months before the meeting of the next Congress. He shall place them before the Executive Committee for its consideration and making such recommendations to the Congress as it considers necessary.

RESOLUTIONS PASSED IN 1938 AND 1939

1. Resolved that a committee, consisting of the following, be appointed to examine the feasibility of preparing a scientific and comprehensive History of India (1938).

Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Diwan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar, Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, Prof. Mohammad Habib, Rao Sahib C. S. Srinivasachari, Prof. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri, Prof. D. V. Potdar, Dr. M. H. Krishna, Dr. Surendra Nath Sen, Dr. Balkrishna, Sri Jayachandra Vidyalankar, Prof. Sri Ram Sharma, Mr. R. V. Poduval, Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao, Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan.

2. In furtherance of the objects of (the above) Resolution of 1938, be it resolved that a Committee of Ways and Means, consisting of the following members, be appointed to explore the financial possibilities of the scheme of preparing a comprehensive History of India on scientific lines with instructions to report to the Committee appointed (in 1938 as above). The Committee will determine its own procedure and may co-opt members if necessary (1939):

Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Chairman,
Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar,
Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar,
Prof. D. V. Potdar,
Sir Jogendra Singh,
Prof. Sri Ram Sharma,
Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad,
Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan, Secretary.

3. The Indian History Congress is strongly of the opinion that well equipped Record Offices should be established by all the Provincial Governments and Indian States at an early date to facilitate historical research. The Congress considers it essential that adequate facilities should be afforded to all Bona-fide scholars of history in such offices. (1938).

4. Resolved that the Government of India and Inter-University Board be requested to regard the Indian History Congress as the National Committee of historians for the purpose of sending representatives to all international historical conferences. (1939).

5. The Congress directs the Local Secretary of each session to publish summaries of papers received, and send them to the delegates at least a fortnight before the actual session. No paper should be read ordinarily in extenso, and a time limit should be fixed for the purpose by the Sectional President concerned. Some time should be allowed for discussion on papers.

6. The following were elected as office-bearers and members of the Executive Committee:—

President:—Dr. R. C. Majumdar;

Vice-Presidents:—Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar;
Prof. D. V. Potdar;

General Secretary:—Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan;

Joint (Local) Secretary:—Prof. J. F. Bruce;

Assistant Secretary:—Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad;

Treasurer:—Prof. Sri Ram Sharma;

Members:—Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar;

Dr. S. N. Sen;

Dr. H. C. Raychaudhari;

Dr. M. H. Krishna;

Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari;

Prof. H. K. Sherwani;

Prof. S. V. Puntambekar.

7. Resolved that the invitation extended by the Vice-Chancellor and the Syndicate of the Punjab University to the Indian History Congress to hold its next session at Lahore in 1940 be accepted with thanks.

The next session of the Congress will meet in Lahore 1940, the exact dates will be announced later.

Editorial

THE PRINSEP CENTENARY

James Prinsep, an official under the East India Company who held a responsible position under the Indian Government, died in 1840, and this year therefore marks the centenary of his death. While discharging the duties of his office, he was, like some others among his contemporaries, deeply interested in the study and decipherment of matters till then ununderstood relating to the History of India. He was the first to decipher the Asokan script and read the Asoka inscriptions, thus laying the foundation for work on Indian epigraphy. Having regard to this fact, he is some times described as the father of Indian epigraphy. He was interested in numismatics, and his work in connection with that study led him on to attempt to read the Kharoshthi script prevalent in the north-west of India, as he had the assistance of certain Greek names written both in Greek and Kharoshthi. He proceeded therefrom to make an effort at deciphering the Brahmi Asoka script, and the first Asokan inscription that he succeeded in reading through was the so-called Delhi Topra Pillar inscription, and Prinsep's reading and translation of it was published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, volume VI. Prinsep went about this discovery of his in a more or less simple way, as it seems to us now from his own description of how he actually deciphered the script. We set down these in his own words:—

"While arranging and lithographing the numerous scraps of fassimiles for Plate XXVII, I was struck at their all terminating with the same two letters, दान् . Coupling this circumstance with their extreme brevity and insulated position, which proved that they could not be fragments of a continuous text, it immediately occurred (to me) that they must record either obituary notices, or more probably the offerings and presents of votaries, as is shown to be the present custom in the Buddhist temples of Ava; where numerous dhvajās or flag-staffs, images, and small chaityas are crowded within the enclosure, surrounding the chief cupola, each bearing the name of the donor. The next point noted was the frequent occurrence of the letter स, already set down incontestably as s, before the final word: now this I had learnt from the Saurāshṭra coins, deciphered only a day or two before to be one sign of the genitive case singular, being the ssa of the Pali, or sya of the Sanskrit. "Of so and so the gift", must then be the form of each brief sentence; and the vowel a and Anusvara led to the speedy recognition of the word dānam (gift), teaching me the very two letters, d and n, most different from known forms, and which had foiled me most in my former attempts.

Since 1834 also my acquaintance with ancient alphabets had become so familiar that most of the remaining letters in the present examples could be named at once on reinspection. In the course of a few minutes I thus became possessed of the whole alphabet, which I tested by applying it to the inscription on the Delhi column.' (id., p. 460 f)".

A resolution was adopted at the closing meeting of the Trivandrum session of the All-India Oriental Conference in December 1937, on our own motion, that the Conference put on record their appreciation of the value of this epigraphical achievement of Prinsep, leaving over a regular centenary celebration to this centenary year. Times seem hardly propitious for doing something worthy of the great importance and initial value of the achievement. Pending something that is really worthy of the great event, we publish this note in token of our appreciation of the high value of Prinsep's achievement. He was also responsible for the first reading and transcription of the Girnar edicts of Asoka published in volume VII of the J. A. S. B.

It will be noted above in the extract set down of Prinsep's account of his own achievement that he got the lead from transcripts of the Sanchi inscriptions which he was re-arranging for the Society. It perhaps is an accidental coincidence, but nevertheless remarkable that we should have received a few weeks ago, three sumptuous volumes upon the stupas of Sanchi by Sir John Marshall. It was as early as 1919 that Sir John Marshall was at work on it, and the photographs were being worked up for the illustrations in Paris as Sir John Marshall mentioned to us. The last Great War was partly responsible for the delaying of the work. But the publication of these volumes however, has somewhat anticipated the present war. It is a sumptuously illustrated work in three volumes, the first two volumes being descriptive and the third is taken up with the transcripts of the large number of inscriptions and their translation by the late N. G. Majumdar of the Archaeological Department. We shall take occasion to make a further notice of this work in a later issue of the journal.

Reviews

PROCEEDINGS AND TRANSACTIONS OF THE NINTH ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE, TRIVANDRUM, DECEMBER 20th to 22nd, 1937. Published under the auspices of the Government of Travancore. Printed by the Government Press, Trivandrum, 1940. Pp. lxxxv, 1406 and vii.

This bulky and well got up *Report* is a full and comprehensive one, and gives information regarding all the phases of activity of the Conference in its Trivandrum Session, besides a bird's-eye view of the *personnel* of the Council and Committee of the Conference. Mr. R. V. Poduval, the energetic and indefatigable Local Secretary, can justifiably claim that the Trivandrum Session has been "an unprecedented success",—a result largely due to the enlightened patronage of their Highnesses the Maharajah and the Maharani of Travancore, and of the great Diwan, Sir, C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar and the generous co-operation of the Chairman of the Reception Committee, Mr. C. V. Chandrasekaran, Pro-Vice-Chancellor of the University of Travancore. In his opening address, the Chairman of the Reception Committee claimed that, while the culture of Travancore has been predominantly Hindu and Brahmanic, the great World Religions and Cultures, Hebrew, Buddhist, Christian and Islamic, have met and mingled, one with another in Travancore, influencing its life and contributing to the development of its tolerance and the comprehensive patronage extended by the State through the centuries to all these currents of life.

His Highness the Maharajah rightly claimed in his opening address, that the policy of his State has always been one of comprehension, hospitality and amity and his recent Temple Entry Proclamation was the sequel and the logical outcome of these traditional ideals. He stressed upon the service of the Conference as an ample manifestation of the Catholicity of the true culture of India. Dr. F. W. Thomas, the General President, in his interesting Address, surveyed the field of co-operative scholarship and its achievement in the various branches of Indology and stressed that the aim of the Conference should be exposition of the historical evolution of Indian culture as a whole, just as it has ripened into "a permanent organ of Indian intellectuality" and built up on a firm base. He compared the succession of Presidents of the Conference to a growing

chain of links of torch-bearers and paid a tribute to the last two Presidents Dr. K. P. Jayaswal and Dr. S. K. Aiyangar. He suggested, among other ideas, the greater utilisation of the available manuscript material of a local character relating mostly to shrines, which may result in the production of a veritable *Topographia Sacra*, as in India Topography has been primarily centred on the great religious establishments of the country. He said that a Conference like this should furnish an external focus for all its members, which should be free from the limited perspective and the *ahamkara* of individual scholars or groups, and should produce a new mentality marked by *sursum intellectus*, free from conceit of every kind.

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, in his brilliant address closing the proceedings of the Conference, declared that what was urgently wanted in the work of Orientalists is a welding of the technical equipment and the scientific approach with that comprehension, with that humanity, which deals with religions and cultures as "moving in dim worlds half realised", rather than as things scientifically labelled and collated. He stressed the symbolism in art that has been a main contribution of the East to the sum total of human thought and human act, scarcely less important than the system of teaching of religion and ethics by means of stories and parables.

The Conference worked in fourteen sections, each with a Sectional President of which may be noted the section of Ardhamagadhi, Pali and Prakrits, Kerala art and culture, Ayurvedha and technical sciences, as being distinctive features. Papers were read and discussed in all these sections and the Report contains, *in extenso*, the Presidential Addresses of the various sections, select papers of each, the Proceedings of the Pandita Parishad and notices of special lectures by scholars like Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, Dr. C. Minakshi, Professor Cousins, Rao Bahadur Dayaram Sahni and others. The fullness of the Report reflects great credit on the Secretary of the Managing Committee of the Conference. It is equipped with illustrations of Their Highnesses, the Diwan the General President, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, the Elaya Raja, the First Princess and of a group of members and delegates of the Conference. The plates, particularly those dealing with Architecture, are instructive. The Report is as sumptuous and full as the conduct of the Conference has been, though it is impossible in a short review, to notice, even cursorily, the many gems of new ideas, reinterpretations and fresh facts that mark the various papers.

C. S. S.

ALIVARDI AND HIS TIMES. By Kalikinkar Datta, M. A. Ph.D, (Cal.) Published by the University of Calcutta, 1939. Pp. xix & 308.

Dr. K. K. Datta of Patna has done specialised work in the History of Bengal and Bihar in the middle of the 18th century as that period witnessed great political changes and other transformation, all pregnant with significant issues for the future. In a recent book brought out by him entitled 'History of the Bengal Subah', 1740-1770, Vol. I: Social and Economic, (Calcutta University 1936), he has supplied the reader with a veritable mine of information regarding the economic condition of Bengal and some phases of the social life of the people that should prove to be of immense interest. His main thesis was that the political revolutions of Bengal at the time exercised a very pernicious influence on industries and markets.

The rule of Nawab Alivardi Khan was a landmark in the history of Bengal in the 18th century because it attempted to heal the injuries inflicted by the incursions of the Marathas, and to keep the various conflicting political and other groups under proper control. In tracing the early career of Alivardi Khan, Dr. Datta points out how Bihar was annexed integrally to the Bengal Subah in 1733 and remained so till 1912, and how this was the starting point of Alivardi Khan's great career. From the commencement of his administration of Bihar the proper control of the refractory nobility, the turbulent Hindu tribes and his own insolent servants became his main task. It is pointed out that his strict collection of taxes and arrears of revenue enabled him to send a much larger tribute to Delhi but constituted an economic drain on the country which had no return. Yusuf Ali whose work, 'Ahwal-i-Alwardi Khan' has given us the view of a reliable contemporary that Aliwardi himself did not intend to oppose Sarfaraz Khan, but was goaded to do so by his brother and his nephew. But Dr. Datta maintains that Aliwardi was not however an innocent tool in the hands of others as has been made out but planned various attempts with just skill and caution for getting the subahdarship of Bengal and even worked towards this aim in the court of Muhammed Shah; his negotiations with Sarfaraz were insincere and he never wanted any amicable settlement, though it would appear so from the accounts of Yusuf Ali, Ghulam Husain and Muhammad Wafa, all of whom were more or less contemporary with him. Alivardi's accession to the nawabship was accomplished with all the necessary formalities, and he

tried hard to diminish the dissatisfaction felt against him and to purchase imperial confirmation by bribery and fraud. This political revolution could not be justified fully even by Ghulam Husain who shows marked partiality for the Nawab; Dr. Datta holds that the nemesis for this act of Alivardi overtook his grandson, Siraj-ud-daula; and the battle of Plassey was the reply of historical justice to the battle of Giria by which Alivardi's usurpation was brought about.

The new Nawab's first task was to secure the control of Orissa from the relatives of Sarfaraz Khan and to entrust it to the incompetent Saulat Jang. The strengthening of his authority in Orissa required the appointment of Durlabh Ram as Peshkar. The topic of Maratha invasions finds a somewhat significant version as to their origin in Bharatachandra's 'Annadamangala', a contemporary Bengali work and also in another Bengali contemporary Gangaram; we learn therefrom about the tense state of Hindu feeling of discontent against the Muslim rulers; Perhaps the Maratha invaders might have sensed some feeling about this, in the course of their incursions into the subah, while the Muslim writers of Bengal were largely out of touch with the under-currents of discontent among their Hindu subjects. The tortuous course of Maratha attacks penetrating into the heart of the country and lasting for over a decade till the middle of 1751 is dealt with in great detail in the book as forming the most calamitous aspect of Bengal History in the period. Trade, industries currency and agriculture were irretrievably ruined; the western portions of Bengal were depleted of their population; the eastern and northern portions which were less accessible to the invaders grew denser; the rebellions of Afghan nobles were encouraged; Calcutta was strengthened by a process that resulted in an increase of the people's confidence in the English Company and in a strengthening of the outworks of the city. Gangaram distinctly tells us that during their invasions of Bengal the Maratha soldiers had lost much of their old ideals of purity of conduct.

The course of the Afghan insurrections leading incidentally to the prevalence of anarchy in Patna for some time is held to have gathered strength from the support of Afghan adventurers from different parts of Northern India and to have been largely influenced by the exploits of Ahmad Shah Abdali. This Afghan menace was a most potent factor in ruining the political strength of Bengal subah. A third danger to Nawab Alivardi Khan was from the European traders. He watched closely their movements and tried to guard against their jumping into the feverish politics of the pro-

vince. He followed a policy of strict neutrality in the Anglo-French wars of the Deccan and South India, and quietly ignored the solicitations of Bussy for an alliance against the English. He was very jealous of the Company's claiming *farmans* and privileges as having been directly obtained from the Emperor. His behaviour towards the Europeans was strict, but not unnecessarily harsh. He made them pay under pressing financial needs and not on mere groundless pretences. Holwell's charge that on his death bed, Alivardi asked his grandson to reduce the power of the Europeans is proved to be a fable and a concoction, being discredited by the contemporary records of the Company itself. It is on a par with the advice supposed to have been given by Louis XIV to his grandson. On the other hand we hear that the old Nawab, according to Harcharandas writing in 1784, enjoined upon Siraj-ud-daula not to quarrel with the English.

Raja Ramnarain was a regular prop to Alivardi Khan in his last days. The character of the Nawab had indeed some flaws. He devoted himself after 1751 when the Maratha danger was over towards the improvement of the country and of agriculture. Hindu support had always been a notable factor in the career of this Nawab and even in the army we find, contrary to the statement of Orme, some of them playing an important part. In spite of his attempts at conciliation there was always an undercurrent of discontent among some prominent Hindus and this explains one of the root causes of the great conspiracy of 1757 against his grandson.

Rightly enough, Dr Datta examines the trade conditions and facilities of Bengal in a separate chapter and describes the general economic conditions and the social aspect of life in others. He would show that the abuse of the Company's trade privileges had begun even now and the misuse of *dastaks* by its servants was widely prevalent. This illegal trade grew, after Plassey, to outrageous dimensions. There was a general rise of prices after 1740 and Gangarama pathetically describes the devastations caused by the Marathas. Weaving which was scattered all over the country was also affected. It lost its old quality and importance. As already remarked elsewhere in this Journal, the decline of Bengal's cotton and silk industries could not be said to have begun at any particular date; but it may be held that economic decay manifested itself in Western Bengal since the time of Alivardi's rule. Higher Hindu learning was marked by a sporadic encouragement and Persian was largely patronized at Patna. Women were not steeped totally in ignorance, and some of them did really rise to leadership in politics and society; nor was *Sati* allowed indiscriminately. Mutual assimilation

lation of customs and thought between the Hindus and the Muslims seems to have gone on as usual. On the whole, Alivardi's career and times would demonstrate that it was possible for a tactful ruler, though he had gained power by treachery to secure the support and welfare of all communities and enjoy the co-operation of Hindu and Muslim officers. Hindu support was a source of strength to Alivardi; and its alienation was destructive to his grandson.

The book is illustrated by two maps carefully prepared and has been, as usual with the author based on the utilisation of contemporary documents of all kinds including the records of European Companies with particular stress laid on the incidental glimpses of economic and social life that some of them give. This book is on the whole an able and instructive supplement of a predominantly political character to the author's earlier study of the Economic and Social History of the times. We congratulate him heartily on this production which is marked by a high level of scholarship combined with accuracy of information, an elaborate study of the sources and balanced presentation of findings. The book is a model piece of workmanship by a careful researcher who has spared no pains to make his treatment thorough and intensive.

C. S. S.

VERELST'S RULE IN INDIA. By Nandalal Chatterji, M. A., Ph.D., D. Litt. University of Lucknow. Allahabad, The Indian Press, Ltd., 1939. Pp. iv and 299.

Our author has already made his mark in the field of British Indian historical scholarship by his monograph on 'Nawab Mir Qasim of Bengal', published by the Indian Press, Allahabad, five years back. He now deals with another important figure in those days of disintegration and reconstruction so pregnant with possibilities for the later history of the British power. The period of the governorship of Henry Verelst has, according to Talboys Wheeler, been one that was forced by circumstances to depart very far from Lord Clive's original platform; his administration has been generally overlooked by historians, though possessing "an interest for all time". Verelst was not a soldier-statesman, but a civilian who was "mindful of the welfare of the native population," knew the people well and had patted through the several grades of the Company's commercial service. He served his apprenticeship during the old mercantile period of the English power in Bengal. The records of Verelst's administration are of the utmost value; and

his experiences made him quite alive to the obligations of the English, both to the native rulers and to the people. In 1769 he prepared elaborate memorandum reviewing the rise of the British power and the corresponding decay of the native administration. However differently he might have been judged by his contemporaries, he was "emphatically a man in advance of his time."

The history of his rule as the Governor of Bengal (1767-69) has been studied by Chatterji with the help of the manuscript records of the Bengal Presidency and of the Government of India. The brochure gives us a record of the achievements of Verelst in the different departments of administrative activity, and while indicating the weaknesses inherent in his position and character would mark him out not only as a high-minded administrator far in advance of his times, but also swayed by the feeling that he should not embark on sudden changes to be effected in the administration.

In the matter of his foreign policy Verelst was concerned with securing the necessary pledges for the fidelity of the Nawab Wazir and for increasing the Company's defences of Bengal. Dr. Chatterji gives us a glimpse into the first English expedition to Nepal that was undertaken in Verelst's time from an economic motive. This episode has not been given due attention by historians as yet, particularly as it was believed by Verelst that free trade with Nepal was bound to be of great advantage, though Prithvi Narayan Shah, the then Gurkha ruler, had no time for commercial negotiations. One chapter is devoted to disputes with the Dutch; and herein we have got the notorious Mr. Bolts coming in for a large share and becoming the source of much of the misunderstanding between the two nations. In the end, the attitude of the Dutch became submissive and conciliatory; and this indicated only too plainly the weakness of their position under the changed conditions following the English assumption of the Diwani.

Maratha troubles from the side of Orissa formed another branch of Verelst's difficulties. A peace with Januji Bhonsle was at that time a fundamental political necessity, both on account of the war with Mysore in the south and of the strained relations between the Nagpur and the Poona courts, between whom Calcutta had to maintain a strictly neutral attitude. The relations with the Nawab Wazir, never straight, were full of trouble. The Treaty with the Nawab concluded in 1768, by which his military dependence on the English was confirmed, was an important one and is rightly held by Dr. Chatterji to be an

achievement of no mean importance. The relations of the fugitive emperor, Shah Alam, were equally a subject of anxiety for the English, particularly since the Emperor had determined to leave Alahabad as early as the middle of 1769 and since it was very difficult to caution him against "liars who show wheat and sell barley." It is surprising, as the author remarks, that both Verelst and his Councilors did not realise the gravity of the risks involved in a march of English troops to Delhi; and it is further strange that Verelst should have given his assent to such a proposal entirely regardless of the repeated warnings of the Directors. It was only other factors that caused the postponement of the Emperor's departure and saved the face of the Calcutta Government.

Slight disputes with the French on account of some new fortifications that were being erected at Chandranagore provoked acrimonious complaints from Paris to London, as a result of which the notorious Sir John Lindsay who interposed between Nawab Muhammad Ali of the Carnatic and the Madras Government, was actually appointed Agent of the British Crown to report upon the differences between the servants of the two Companies in Bengal. The matter of the deportation of Bolts involved some sharp correspondence with the Nawab Wazir, with whom Verelst was annoyed at the unexpected leakage of his confidential instructions to the latter about the expulsion of the agents of Mr. Bolts. The chapter dealing with this matter throws some fresh light on the whole topic; and one cannot but agree with the author's opinion that Verelst did not act with due circumspection and firmness in his measures against Bolts. The quarrel between Verelst and Colonel Smith is only one phase—and that perhaps not so well known as it ought to be—of the frequent collisions between the civil and military powers that constitute such a sad feature of British Indian History, one of the latest episodes of which was the Curzon-Kitchener controversy.

The treatment of the problem of currency reform is particularly detailed. The deficiency of silver owing to its marked drain out of the country produced the most lamentable results. In three years the export of bullion from Bengal exceeded five millions sterling, while the import was a little more than a half a million and the rupee rose to an exchange of two shillings and six pence. It is refreshing to read that, unlike the English merchants, the Armenians of Calcutta admitted the presence of a real scarcity which legislation could not at all touch. Gold lay idle for want of a fixed currency and the suggestion of a scheme in

1769 based on a new bimetallic arrangement which was expected to be an improvement upon the previous one but which failed only shows the well meaning but ineffective nature of Verelst's administration. Sufficient importance has been given to the work of the land revenue department under Verelst, and the chapter dealing with it describes the evils of the farming system which was attempted to be remedied by the introduction of long leases. Verelst was always opposed to any increase in the demand and recommended and even enforced some substantial abatements in 1769. He could not check the rapacity of the *amils* and the *faujdars*, nor the contumaciousness of the *zamindars*. It has been admitted that his greatest service to the Bengal administration was his proposal to appoint English Supervisors for every district,—an idea that, in spite of its ultimate failure, vindicates his sympathy for the people and his love of justice,—and at the same time to reduce the evils of the venality of the revenue officers. Something has also been noticed about Verelst's ideas as to the necessity of judicial reform in Bengal. In his book entitled 'View of the Rise, Progress and the Present State of the English Government in Bengal, 1772', Verelst refutes the contrary conclusions of Bolts at some length as regards the nature of the Governor's Court and the Mayor's Court. He was anxious, above all, to continue to the natives, their own laws, customs and national Magistrates. It was destined that Bengal should be the school of English administrators in India and Verelst's English Supervisors formed the earliest good experiment conducted in that school, Verelst himself being one of its aptest and earliest proficient. We are all thankful to Dr. Chatterji for this comprehensive, learned and well-documented monograph.

C. S. S.

WARREN HASTINGS AND OUDH. By C. Collin Davies, Reader in Indian History in the University of Oxford. (Oxford University Press, 1939. Pp. xv and 271. 12sh. 6d.)

The diplomatic muddle that the Company had got into was very complex from the time of Clive's Treaty of 1765. One of the first difficulties that Warren Hastings was confronted with was the Maratha danger to Oudh, which had to be defended at all costs because it formed with Bengal a geographical unit and in possession of hostile hands it would mean the exposure of the English to invasion by other powers. It was also clear to him

that the safety of these two territories depended on the securing of Rohilkhand which was then to Bengal what the Khyber Pass is now to India. The whole episode of the Rohilla war hung upon the treaty of Benares, which implied a reversal of Clive's policy. Of the Rohilla war, Dr. Davies says that Hastings put forth a characteristic defence in his masterly minute-writing manner; and we read with some satisfaction that "to hold the view that Hastings condoned horrible atrocities on the part of Shuja-ud-daulah would be to ignore the evidence of the original manuscript sources, for, as soon as he became aware of what was happening, he took steps to inform Middleton that such conduct, if correctly reported, must cease." The views of the hostile majority of the Calcutta Council regarding the atrocities committed by the troops of Nawab-Vizier are proved here to have been hasty and based only on the reports of Colonel Champion, who had candidly observed that he had no grounds sufficient to prove the accusation; and later the majority councillors admitted that they accepted these rumours largely because they were consistent with the personal character of the Nawab; nor should the reviewer of this book omit to mention the stress laid by the author on the fact that the expulsion, and not the extermination of the Rohilla power was intended by Hastings, as can be gleaned from a close study of his Benares *Diary* of 1773. The Persian word meaning extermination occurs in Shuja-ud-daulah's correspondence and not at all in the letters of the Governor-General; and "in all the discussions in Council leading up to the war, in all the instructions issued and in the letters to Shuja-ud-daulah, there is no reference to extermination."

The history of Oudh from 1775 to 1781 is next taken up for treatment; and naturally enough the Persian Correspondence of the Government of Bengal for the period gives a most important place to the Company's relations with Nawab Vizier. Dr. Davies tries to prove that the extent to which Bristow, the Resident in Oudh, was a creature of the hostile majority has not been sufficiently recognised by historians, and says that Francis and Bristow were engaged in collusion in questionable transactions which they could not allow to become public knowledge and which may possibly explain the big fortune made by Francis. Hastings believed that the origin of the disorders in Oudh which had become even then almost endemic, and of the abnormal wastage of its revenues was to be found in the conduct of Nawab himself, but not so much in his incapacity as in his deplorable choice of his ministers, who took advantage of the rift

between the Governor-General and the Council to gain an ascendancy over their master. Regarding the notorious episode of the Governor-General's quarrel with Chait Singh and his deposition, it was perhaps too much on the part of the Governor-General to have imagined that there was a great and imminent danger to the security of Bengal in Chait Singh's secret communications with Marathas. His mission to Benares has been termed elsewhere to be "Mogul-like". The real charge against Hastings in the whole affair was that his hatred of Chait Singh blinded his innate sense of justice. But there can be no doubt that the Rajah had been taking advantage of the dissensions between him and Francis. Hastings acted with undue precipitateness in forcing his hands and, committed besides, an egregious error of judgement in proceeding to Benares with a small escort and in ordering the Rajah's arrest in his own palace. The contention of William Pitt that the fine imposed on Chait Singh was excessive and, it was because of this, that he voted for the impeachment of Hastings is strangely criticised; also that of Fox who said that Hastings did not really need the money, for his administration but solely endeavoured to bring about the ruin of Chait Singh is attempted to be disproved. Hastings' arrangements for the future government of Benares resulted only in chaos in the zamindari, though the city itself was well-governed by his representatives.

Lastly, Dr Davies discusses at great length the treaty of Chunar and its consequences; and he holds that there was no alternative between the Resident at Lucknow being the willing instrument of the Minister of the Nawabi and the later being absolutely obedient to the Resident. The re-appointment of Bristow to the Lucknow Residency resulted in his becoming the 'uncrowned king' of that province. Hastings was fully convinced that Bristow had assumed almost autocratic powers and that his defence of his stewardship was written by Macpherson for him, though the charge was perhaps not true. From the "Calendar of Persian Correspondence", Vol. VI, (1781-85), recently published by the Imperial Records Department, we learn very fully that Bristow easily assumed a domineering and masterful attitude in all his relations with Nawab, was ever ready to hear grievances against his government and even insisted on having them decided in a court of his own creation. He also threatened the minister, Haider Beg Khan, with dire consequences, if his own repeated instructions were not carried out.

The main conclusions that Dr. Davies draws from Hastings' management of the Company's relations with Oudh are instructive. First Hastings believed that the English had a right to dethrone a disloyal and unsuitable ruler and to prevent any development which would impair the efficiency of the buffer State and to weaken the Company's defences. He sought to control Oudh by supporting ministers favourable to the British connection and found from his experience with both Middleton and Bristow, that it was extremely difficult to formulate written instructions which could definitely bind down a distant Resident and avoid all possibilities of misinterpretation. In all these respects both of his two successors, Cornwallis and Shore, cordially followed in his footsteps. In spite of his general philo-Hastings attitude, Dr Davies concedes that the Governor-General's hatred of Bristow blinded his political vision and that a study of his minutes lay him open to the suspicion that he merely used arguments which he would not support in every case, to defend a particular action in several instances. "To a certain extent the difficulties he experienced in Oudh were due to evils inherent in the subsidiary alliance system, the defects of which Hastings himself was not slow to recognise, for he frankly acknowledged that the Company's alliance, as developed by the majority, had been the extinction of Asaf-ud-daulah's sovereignty and had led to the impoverishment of his country." Among the unpublished records utilised in this book is a certified copy of the Persian text of the final Sanad granted to Chait Singh in 1776, in which he was merely appointed zamindar, amin and faujdar of Benares, implying only delegated and subordinate offices. The book is a good sample of the reversion to favourable and even admiring judgments of the actions of Hastings that have marked the new school of historians from the time of Stephen and Strachey as against the earlier and bitterly hostile school; but it does not proceed to any excessive laudation and unsubstantiated praise; nor is it marked by an attitude of ungenerous criticism. A far-seeing vision of the Indian Princes being taken directly under the British crown is discernable among the ideas surging on the mind of Hastings.

C. S. S.

ANCIENT INDIA. History of Ancient India for 1,000 years in four volumes (from 900 B.C. to 100 A.D.) Volume III. By Tribhuvandas L. Shah, L. M. & S., M.R.A.S., Shashikant & Co., Baroda. Pp. 1-484.

We have had occasion to review the first two volumes of this work in our Journal; and therein we have offered while noting his procedure a few criticisms concerning the method of approach ad-

opted in the interpretation of data by our author. He has taken care to stress that his interpretation is based upon all available information contained in Jaina sources which have not been hitherto fully or even largely utilised by writers. The present volume takes up the Ancient History of India after the decline of the Mauryan Empire and first treats of the Sunga dynasty and then of the various foreigners who invaded India in the epoch that followed. The Sungas are given only a duration of 90 years by Jaina sources and the rule of Pushyamitra and Agnimitra is said to have lasted 30 years while that of Malamitra and Bhanumitra occupied the remaining 60 years. The discrepancy of 22 years for the duration of the dynasty between this chronology and that of the Brahmanic sources is explained by the pre-kingship period of Pushyamitra, during which he was only the commander-in-chief of the Mauryas and which can be deemed to be the period of the 'Sunga-Bhrtya' rule. The view is held that the divergences between the accounts of the Jaina writers and those of the Vedic writers concerning the chronology and the sequence of the rulers of this dynasty are only apparent and not fundamental and can be explained by an understanding of their respective view points. King Kharavela is declared to have flourished much earlier than Pushyamitra who was quite a different individual from Brihaspatimitra that was defeated by the king of Kalinga; nor was Menander to be held his contemporary, but he was much later in point of time. Patanjali should have lived from about 270 B.C. to 180 B.C. His native place was near the source of the Godavari in Dakshinapatha; and he was responsible for the religious zeal of king Satakarni II; (No. 7 of the list) also he is said to have advised Agnimitra to persecute and slay all Śrāmanas; and the result was that all the Jain temples in Avanti erected by the Emperor Priyadarsin were destroyed now and a migration of Jaina monks towards Rajputana and Saurashtra was another consequence.

Kalki is held to be no other than king Agnimitra, being the title assumed by him; and there is not much firm ground for giving it to Pushyamitra. It was in the time of Agnimitra that the Sunga Empire was in its zenith; and the Puranas have connected several events with Pushyamitra which ought to be properly credited only to his son. The Sunga dynasty ended in 114 B.C. and our author gives them the credit that, in spite of their religious bigotry and their licentiousness, they offered a determined resistance to the onslaughts of foreigners like Menandar. He adds: 'A representative of the Yona chief had got a pillar erected in the capital of the Sungas, as a token of the Yona chief's devotion to the faith of the Sungas.' (Page 75).

In the part dealing with the foreign invasions that follows there is a preliminary notice of the exact connotations of Śākadvīpa and Śākadvīpa and Sakasthān; and we read that the first had no connections with the Sakas, while the second and third indicated different regions, the second being a later colony of the Sakas whose place of origin was Śakasthān. So also we read that the Pahlavas who were different from the Pallavas of the South hailed from Khorasan, while the Pallavas were natives and indigenes of Southern India. The original home of the Śakas was Seistan or Sakasthan which was on the south of the territory of the Parthians and included the modern districts of Kerman Seistan, Persian Baluchistan, Kelat State etc. The original home of the Kshaharātas was to the south of Bactria, to the east of Parthia and to the north of Seistan. The Kushānas were likewise different. The Yonas in India centred largely round Demetrius (B.C. 205 to 182) and Menandar (B.C. 182 to 156). Perhaps the latter might have died three years earlier, i.e. in 159 B.C. and might have been slain by Bhanumitra, part of the credit going to the skill of the Kanva Minister who began his dominance in the kingdom of the Sungas in 159 B.C.—both the Kanva ministry and the Sunga dynasty ending in 114 B.C., simultaneously.

Dr. Shah has clearly explained the point of difference between the general powers of a Kshatrapa and a Mahakshatrapa, though they seem to have slightly different meanings with respect to peoples who were politically independent from the first like the Bactrians, the Parthians and the Kushanas and with regard to those who were not similarly independent, like Kshaharātas, the Sakas and the Chasthanas. In dealing with the Kshaharātas we are told of their religion and language, the latter being Kharoshthi; we read that it is not true to call them foreigners. Dr. Shah then discusses the relations between Nahapana, Rishabhadatta and Bhumaka and their respective regions of rule. The rulers of the lines belonging to the Kshaharatas were followers of Jainism, having been converted to that faith by the missionaries of Priyadarsin; and the Dharma-Chakra of their relics was not really a Buddhist sign. Further we read that Mathura had been a holy place of the Jainas from certainly the 8th century B.C. for nearly one thousand years, and many Jaina signs and symbols were falsely taken by interpreters to be Buddhist. Similarly, Takshasila was also a Jaina centre from the 9th century B.C. down to the 1st century B.C. when it was destroyed.

With regard to the Pahlavas and others, we learn that a branch of the family of Mithradates the Great of Parthia migrated to India and got for themselves the name Indo-Parthians; and at the same

time several Saka tribes came also to India. Maues or Moga who belonged to the Indo-Parthians, ruled over Afghanistan, the Punjab and the United Provinces; and his successor Aziz or Aya began his rule in 78 or 75 B.C. He could not have started the Saka era; nor could his descendant, Aziz II, have done so. The Saka-Scythians are treated next; and there is an interesting dissertation about the terms Saka, Sahi and Śāhensāhi. An appendix tries to trace the relations between the Śakas, the Abhiras and the Traikutakas. Lastly, we have an account of the Gardabhila dynasty founded by Gandharvasen, who had mastered a magic art called Gardabhi. It began about 74 B.C. and ended after a duration of 152 years, and it witnessed quite early in its life the victorious career of Sakari Vikramaditya, held to be the son of Gandharvasen. It is pointed out that this hero established an observatory at Ujjain and that in his era the month ended on the last day of the dark half and not on the full moon day as before. In the last two chapters, the author proceeds to a discussion of all the prevalent eras and particularly of the Vikrama era. Therein he analyses which of the so-called Vikramadityas could be properly called Sakari. He also discusses the Malava era and the Saka era and explains how the Vikrama era remained unused for several centuries, and also the difficulties arising in connection with that era. His account of the Saka era and of the interpretations that might be given about its origin is interesting. A fact of interest mentioned here is that Vikramaditya of the era fame ruled for 60 years from 57 B.C. to 4 A.D. while Jesus Christ was born in 4 B.C. i.e., nearly 8 years before the death of the father; and it is held by him that there could not have been any connection between the two events, the death of Vikramaditya and the birth of Christ as has been supposed by some. The outline maps showing the rule of the various foreign kings and also of Vikramaditya are bound to be useful. The conclusions are as usual prominently bold and made to appear realistic, by dint of much vigour brought to bear on them. Some of them are opposed to existing views; but they all deserve, as we have mentioned before, the attention of the careful student.

C. S. S.

HISTORY OF MADRAS.

Madras is a historical museum, where the sight-seer may spend many and many an hour—in street and in building—studying old-world exhibits, and living for the while in its fascinating past. Madras is not an ancient city; its foundation is not ascribed to some mythic king who ruled in mythic times; it has no hoary ruins too

old to be historic, and the legendry to be inspiring. But Madras is old enough for its records to be romantic, and at the same time it is young enough for its earliest accounts of itself to be—not unsatisfying fables, but interesting facts. The story of Madras fills an absorbing page of history, and the sights of Madras are well worthy of sympathetic interest especially on the part of those whose line of life are cast in the historic city itself or within the historic Presidency of which it is the capital. So wrote in 1921, that well-known journalist, Glyn Barlow, in his delightful little book 'the story of Madras.' The story of Madras may well appeal not only to the residents of Madras and Madras Presidency but to all interested in India and her evolution. The story is well worthy of being told and retold.

Greater Madras, Madras with its environs, the city forming a focus-centre of a semi-circular area extending from Chingleput, Mahabalipuram and Conjeevaram to Sholinghur and to Tirupati stands on hallowed ground—hallowed by the memories of great sages and saints, of Sri Sankaracharya and Sri Ramanuja of Saivite Nainers and Vaishnavite Alwars; hallowed by the existence for centuries past of temples and sacred tanks, of churches and mosques, of forts and palaces; hallowed by the lives of great men and women, of great warriors and administrators, of great patrons of Art, of Architecture and of Education.

Mylapore, Mailai-puram, Meliapore, Malli-arpha goes back to the centuries before and immediately after the birth of Christ. It has a glorious history of over twenty centuries behind it. It was a sea port town of the Pallavi kingdom of Kanchi. It is associated with Tiruvalluvar the illustrious Tamil author of the sacred Kural, with Peyalwar the eminent Vaishnavite saint and writer, with the saints Appar and his followers. It was there that in the 7th century the famous Thirugnana Sambandar lived and worked his miracles. Its flourishing temple of Sri Kapaliswarar contains the images of 63 Saivite Nainers. At one time there was a Jaina temple in Mylapore and recently some vestiges of a Jain image have been discovered there. It was in Mylapore that the famous Mohammedan scholar Mastan lived, wrote and died. The neighbouring San Thome (the Portugese White Town of Mylapore), the Little Mount by the Marmalong bridge and St. Thomas Mount remind us of the life and ministrations and reputed martyrdom of St. Thomas one of the immediate disciples of Jesus Christ.

Triplicane or to give it its ancient name, Tiru-alli-keni, with its sacred Lilly Tank and Vaishnavite Temple dates back to the 8th

century. It is associated with Pallava kings and is sung about by the Vaishnava Alwars. Sri Perambutur 25 miles from Madras is the birthplace of Sri Ramanuja the great Vaishnavite saint, teacher and Reformer.

Tiruvottiyur with its great Saiva Shrine is associated with Sri Sankaracharya and earlier still in Chola times had a fully equipped College endowed for higher Vedic studies. When Fort St. George was built, a small free school was opened in it by the French Capuchin priest, Father Iphrahim. Later on the English Government sent Mr. Ralph Orde in 1677 to be in charge of a free school. Thus were laid the foundation of the tremendous modern educational activity of Madras.

From 1522 onwards, in the 16th and 17th centuries, Mylapore, was the site of a flourishing Portugese settlement. The Dutch had a settlement at Pulicat. Later the English began with their settlements at Masulipatam and Armagaon. Francis Day, in search of a site for a fresh settlement, naturally selected one in the neighbourhood of Mylapore and pitched upon the little fisherman village of Madraspatam and the surrounding tract of land by the seashore where the Fort St. George now stands. He obtained the site from the Damarla Naik Brothers who were acting under the ruling Rajah of Chandragiri, the direct representative of the once great and magnificent Hindu Empire of Vijayanagar. Thus, as it has been truly said, the British Empire in India was begotten at Chandragiri; it was born at Madras.

Though in modern Madras the great majority of people are Tamilians, it is interesting to remember that the great majority of the original Indian settlers in historic times in Madras were, *not Tamilians but Telugus*, written of as gentoos in the East India Company's records. The clash and clang of Nationalities and communities, of professions and occupations are evidenced today in the survival of places and place names in the City—Armenian Street, Coral Merchant Street, Moor Street, China Bazaar Road, Thambu Chetty Street, Chintadripet, Washermanpet, etc.

The Chepauk Palace along the Marina was built about a century and a half ago. It is reminiscent of the Mohammedan overlordship of Madras. Madras was at one time part of the 'Carnatic' and was ruled over by the Mohammedan Sultan of Golconda and later by the Nawabs of Carnatic under the aegis of the Moghul Empire. In 1749 the English took possession of Arcot on behalf of Nawab Mohamed Ali of Wallajah. After the stormy days of Haidar

Ali and Tipu Sultan, the country passed into the hand of the British and the old Chepauk Palace is now the seat of the Board of Revenue and the Public Works Department. At Pallavaram, a Pallava king of the 7th century had a cave shrine excavated on the slope of the hill. It is today used as a mosque by the Mohammedans of the locality.

So in Madras there is a definite continuity of historical, cultural and administrative traditions from the ancient Hindu Empire of Vijayanagar to the modern British Empire, through Hindu dominion, Christian colonisation, Mohammedan invasion and European occupation.

The many and various origins of the word 'Madras' that have been suggested are also indicative of this conglomeration of cultures. An ancient village of fishermen on the site, the headman of which was a Christian named Madaresan, who persuaded Francis Day to call the settlement after his own name; an old Mohammedan College (Madarassa) at the place, the Church of St. Mary (Madre de Devo) prior to 1640 probably founded by the Portugese of San Thome an Andhra ruler Maddarazu, who might have been a prominent chief ruling over the place in the past, after whom the village might have been named Madraspatanam; or the name might be a corrupted form of Makhras kuppam; the place so called because it produced a kind of Calico cloth of that name; or again the name might have originated from Madra a prominent Portuguese family settled in the old village. Is the suggestion merely a malicious fiction or is it based on any fact, that Madras is derived from the words Mandu-Rajya (the Realm of the Bull) and is there any justification for the country to be called later on as the 'Benighted Province'? A consideration of all these theories and speculations would at any rate proves this comforting thought that Madras has progressed from Darkness to Light, that Literacy and Education in its most characteristic feature, that Tamil and Andhra may well combine for their natural good and of Madras as a whole; that Madras symbolises a perfect synthesis of Hindu, Mohammedan and Christian cultures, that Madras may well be the focus point in India where all modern conflicts of Indian Life and Administration may find a satisfactory solution. Who knows but that some future Historian will derive the word Madras, not from Manda-Rajya, (the Realm of the Stupid) but from Mahad-Ras (the great and the glorious Realm)—if not with historical accuracy at any rate with evolutionary appropriateness!

The story of Madras, the story of how a tiny rural village of fishermen on the Coromandel Coast has grown and expanded into

the magnificent town of Madras, is indeed a fascinating story. Madras has just celebrated with justifiable pride and eclat its Tercentenary. The Madras Tercentenary Committee has incidentally proved a most notable book—the History of Madras by Prof. Rao Saheb C. S. Srinivasachari of the Annamalai University. The author tells the story of Madras in an exceedingly fascinating manner. With considerable wealth of detail and copiousness of ideas, he unfolds the life and growth of Madras from its beginning in 1639 to the present day, in a succession of highly interesting and instructive chapters. His great erudition and wide scholarship, his unremitting industry and antiquarian research are guarantees of the accuracy and the completeness of the story. The exhaustive Bibliography given at the end of the book is some indication of the vast material which the learned author has made use of and which is hardly within the reach of the average reader. The chronological table gives a bird's-eye-view of the important events and serves the useful purpose of focussing the readers' attention on the main incidents of the story and fixes the dates and events in his memory. A fuller index would enhance the value of the book as a book of reference by the enquiring reader. It is a book which ought to be read by every citizen of Madras, so that he or she may, in the weighty words of the Vice-Chancellor of the Madras University (Dewan Bahadur S. E. Ranganathan),—be further "stimulated to take a living and active interest in the welfare of the City and its future development." It is to be hoped that some day the author will himself bring out an abridged edition of the book so as to serve the needs of every school boy and school girl in Madras and which may be prescribed as a compulsory text-book on Civics. For indeed a sympathetic understanding of the part, a just appreciation of the present, an idealistic visualisation of the future form the framework necessary for any effective civic life and any constructive programme of civic development and expansion.

R. N. AINGAR, *Bar-at-Law*

Select Contents

The Antiquaries Journal. (O.U.P.), Vol. XX, No. 1. January 1940.

A Round Barrow on Stockbridge Down, Hampshire. By J. F. S. Stone and N. Gray Hill—one of seven barrows virtually a small cairn of flints marked by cinerary urns with beads associated with secondary cremation.

A late bronze-age find near Stuntney, Isle of Eby. By J. G. D. Clark and H. Godwin.

Excavations at Ronaldsway, Isle of Man. By G. J. H. Neely—showing that the whole neighbourhood was occupied in mid-bronze age or shortly afterwards.

The Political Science Quarterly. Vol LV. No. 1.

Versailles Twenty Years After. By Kenē Albrecht Carrie.

Hopes and Fears of an American-German War, 1870-1915, II. By A. Vagts.

Current History, February, 1940.

Asia draws its Sword. By W. H. Chamberlin.

Monarchy and the German Army. By R. Strausz—Hupe.

Democracy Rules the Air Waves. By F. E. Hill.

The Presidency College Centenary Commemoration Book, 1840-1940.

History of the Presidency College. By H. C. Papworth.

George Norton, First President of the Governors of the Madras University.

The First Proficient of the High School of the Madras University (C. V. Runganatha Sastry). By C. V. Visvanatha Sastri.

Presidency College: Its Tradition and Achievement. By Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar.

Annals of Oriental Research of the University of Madras. Vol. IV. (1939-40): Part I.

The Date and Works of Anandapūrṇa Vidyasagara. By V. Raghavan.

Place-name Suffixes in Tamil. By R. P. Setu Pillai.

Nalladikōṇ (a son of Śengannan). By M. Raghava Iyengar—noticed among the Chola princes.

Annamalai Reddiar (patron of Sivaprakāsa Swamigal) of the time of Venkatapati Maharaya. By S. Somasundara Desikar.

Dravidian Languages and Prakrits. By K. Ramakrishnayya.

The cultural background of the histrionic art of Malabar. By C. A. Menon.

Seyda-K-Kādi Nōṇḍi-Natakam—Ed. with notes. By S. M. H. Nainar.

(A Tamil mano-drama of a lame man who sings of his patron, Shaikh Abdul Qadir, a great philanthropist and patron of Tamil poets, which incidentally gives a glimpse of Gingee and its siege. By Zulfikar Khan.)

Journal of the Annamalai University, Vol. IX. No. 2.

Certain Philosophical Bases of Madhva's Realistic Theism. By B. N. K. Sarma.

Studies in Sanskrit Texts on Temple Architecture with special reference to the *Tantrasamuccaya*. By N. V. Mallayya.

The Nayaks of Tanjore (1) —Foundation and the Rule of Śevapa Nayaka. By V. Vridhagirisan.

Our Exchanges

- The Annals of the Bhandarkar Research Institute*, Deccan Gymkhana P.O., Poona.
- Bharat Itihasa Samshodaka Mandala*, Poona City.
- Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise D'Extreme-Orient*, Hanoi.
- Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, London University, London, Longmans, Green & Co., London.
- Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, London Institution, Finsbury Circus, London.
- Calcutta Review*, 3, Senate House, Calcutta.
- Hindustan Review*, Patna Junction, E. I. Ry.
- Indian Historical Quarterly*, 96, Amherst Street, Calcutta.
- Journal Asiatique*, Librairie Orientaliste, Paul Geuthner, Paris.
- Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Patna.
- Journal of Oriental Research*, Managing Editor, "The Ashrama", Luz, Mylapore.
- Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Bombay.
- Journal of the Kern Institute*, Leiden, Holland.
- Journal of the Bombay Historical Society*, Exchange Building, Sprott Road, Bombay.
- Le Monde Oriental*, Kungl : Universitetets Bibliotek, Uppsala.
- Nagari Pracharini Sabha*, Benares.
- The Political Science Quarterly*, Columbia University, New York.
- Quarterly Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Andhra Historical Society, Rajahmundry.
- Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Daly Hall, Cenotaph Road, Bangalore.
- Yoga-Mimansa*, Kun'javana, Lonavla, Bombay.
- The Modern Review*, 91, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.
- The Vedic Magazine and Gurukula Samachar*, Gurudatta Bhavana, Lahore.
- The Ceylon Journal of Science*, Office of the Archaeological Survey, Anuradhapura (Ceylon).
- The Historical Studies*, Accession Department, University Library, University of California, Berkeley, California.
- The Indian Review*, Esplanade, Madras.
- The Servant of India*, Servant of India Society, Poona City.

- The Telugu Academy Journal*, Cocanada.
- The Gaekwad's Oriental Series*, Oriental Institute, Baroda.
- The Superintendent, Government Museum*, Madras.
- The Federated India*, Madras.
- The Superintendent of Archaeology*, Gwalior State, Gwalior.
- Verlag Der Asia Major*, Leipzig C1, Scherlstr, 2.
- Triveni*, Editor, Y. M. I. A. Buildings, 9, Armenian Street, Madras.
- Journal of the Madras Geographical Association*, Cathedral P. O., Madras.
- Journal of the Bombay University*, Senate House, Bombay.
- Muslim University Journal*, Muslim University, Aligarh.
- The Karnatak Historical Research Society*, Dharwar.
- The Punjab University Journal*, Lahore.
- The U. P. Historical Society*, Lucknow.
- Indian Culture*, The Indian Research Institute, 170 Manicktola St., Calcutta.
- Bharathi*, The Bharathi Office, 7, Thambu Chetty Street, G. T., Madras.
- Karnataka Sahitya Parishat*, Sri Krishnarajendra Parishat Buildings, Hardinge Road, Chamarajpet, Bangalore City.
- The Man in India*, Ranchi.
- The Journal of the Greater India Society*, 21, Badurbagan Row, P.O., Amherst St., Calcutta.
- Brahmavidya*; The Adyar Library Bulletin, Adyar.
- The Journal of the Benares Hindu University*, Benares Hindu University P.O.
- Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, Berlin Und Leipzig, Verlag Von Walter De Gruyter & Co.,
- Indiana*, Gandhigraham, Benares City.
- The Poona Orientalist*, 15, Shukrawar, Poona 2.

DR. S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR COMMEMORATION VOLUME

This work consists of 70 papers by various scholars on different topics of interest and contains articles of great value to the research scholar and of interest to the general reader. Among them may be mentioned as articles of particular interest the Royal Prerogatives in Ancient India by Dr. Bhattacharya, Vedic Monotheism by Dr. Ananda Coomarasamy, Irrigation under Vijayanagar by Mr. Mahalingam, Saivism and Tamil Genius by Dr. Suryanarayana Sastri, Muhammad Gawan's Political Thought and Administration by Professor Sherwani, Pepper Trade of India in early Times by Professor Thomas and others. The work is much appreciated by competent scholars and would prove a valuable addition to libraries, public and private. The price of the book is Rs. 10, and copies can be had of:—

THE G. S. PRESS,
Narasingapuram Street, Mount Road, MADRAS

THE ADYAR LIBRARY

Director: Dr. G. Srinivasa Murthi, B.A., B.L., M.B. & C.M.,
Vaidyaratna.

Jt. Director and Curator for Western Section: Bhikshu Arya
Asanga.

Curator for Eastern Section: Prof. C. Kunhan Raja, M.A.,
D.PHIL. (Oxon.).

BRAHMAVIDYA THE ADYAR LIBRARY BULLETIN

APPEARING FOUR TIMES A YEAR.

Editor: PROF. C. KUNHAN RAJA, M.A., D.PHIL. (OXON.)

Rates of Subscription:

Life Subscription Rs. 100		
	or	\$ 50
	or	£ 10
	Per Annum	
India & Ceylon	..	Rs. 6
U. S. A.	..	\$ 3
British Empire	..	Sh. 12
Other Countries	..	Rs. 9
		Single Copy
		Rs. 2-8
		\$ 1.25
		Sh. 5.
		Rs. 3-8

All Communications to be addressed to:

THE DIRECTOR,
Adyar Library,
Adyar, Madras, S., India.

Vol. XIX, Part 3.

December, 1940

Serial No. 57.

JOURNAL
OF
INDIAN HISTORY

(Published three times a year)

EDITOR

Rājasēvāsakta

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

ASSOCIATE EDITORS

Rao Saheb C. S. SRINIVASACHARYAR, M.A.,
Professor, Annamalai University.

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

G. S. PRESS, MADRAS.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
THE UTKALAS AND UDRAS IN ANCIENT INDIA—By Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., B.L., Ph.D.	.. 287
THE FASLI ERA—By Devasahaya Triveda	.. 292
PLACE-NAMES IN THE KUSANA INSCRIPTIONS—By Baij Nath Puri	.. 302
MAHAYANA BUDDHISM AND PAURANIC HINDUISM—By S. Hanumantha Rao	.. 307
DATE OF RAKSASA KAVYA OR KAVYARAKSASA BEFORE A.D. 1000—By P. K. Gode, M.A.	.. 312
THE BRITISH ADMINISTRATION OF THE DELHI TERRITORY (1803-57)—By Dr. T. G. P. Spear, Ph.D.	.. 320
KARACHI, 1700-1840—By C. L. Mariwalla, B.A.	.. 336
WAS THE ABDALI INVASION OF 1766-67 A REAL MENACE TO BENGAL?—A Reply to the Rejoinder—By Dr. A. Srivastava	.. 346
OBITUARY	.. 355
EDITORIAL—‘His Highness Sri Jaya Chamaraja Wadiyar Bahadur Maharaja of Mysore’; ‘Our Editor-in-Chief’; ‘The Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society’; ‘Fourth Session of the Indian History Congress, Lahore’; ‘The 17th Session of the Indian Historical Records Commission’; ‘The Sayaji Chair of Indian Culture’	.. 357
REVIEWS—‘Administration and Social Life under Vijayanagar’; ‘Excavations at Harappa’; ‘A College Text-book of Indian History, Volume I, India Down to A.D. 1200’; ‘An Account of the District of Bhagalpur in 1810-11’; ‘The Maharaja Ranjit Singh Centenary Volume’; ‘English Records of Maratha History—Poona Residency Correspondence’	.. 381
SELECT CONTENTS FROM PERIODICALS	.. 390
OUR EXCHANGES	.. 396

Journal of Indian History

The Utkalas and Udras in Ancient India

By

DR. B. C. LAW, M.A., B.L., PH.D., F.R.A.S.B.,
F. R. G. S.

THE UTKALAS

SOME Purāṇas seem to imply that one of the ten sons of Manu was Ila-Sudyumna, a Kimpurusha¹ who in his turn had three sons, Utkala, Vinatāśva² and Gaya who enjoyed respectively the territories of Utkala, an undefined western country and Gayā.³ These three territories have sometimes been collectively designated in the Purāṇas as *Saudyumnas*.⁴ The Saudyumnas thus seem to have occupied the hilly tracts from Gayā to Orissa.

Epic tradition⁵ connects the Utkalas with the Udras, Mekalas, Kaliṅgas and Āndhras. The Droṇaparva of the Mahābhārata would have us believe that Karna conquered the Utkalas along with the Mekalas, Pauṇḍras, Kaliṅgas, Āndhras, Niṣadas, Trigartas and Vāhlikas. In the Rāmāyaṇa the Utkala country is associated with the Mekala and Daśārṇa countries. In sending his army of monkeys to the different countries in quest of Sitā, Sugrīva asked Suṣeṇa to send his retinue among other countries of the South to Mekala, Utkala and Daśārṇa (Canto XLII).

1. For a critical and synthetic study of Paurāṇik legends in this connection, see Pargiter, A.I.H.T., pp. 253-54.

2. Or simply Vinata in most Purāṇas, or Haritāśva according to Matsya Purāṇa and Padma Purāṇa.

3. *Utkalasya Otkalam rāṣṭram Vinatāśvasya pascimaṃ dik
pūrvā tasya rājarṣer Gayasya tu Gayāpurī.*

4. E.G., Vāyu Purāṇa, pp. 99, 266.

5. Bhīṣma P., IX, 348; Droṇa P., IV, 122.

From the epic tradition as contained in the Mahābhārata cited above, it is evident that even as early as the period when the tradition was recorded, Utkala was distinguished from Odra or Udra and the distinction seems to have been maintained throughout in ancient Indian literature and inscriptions. It is equally evident that it was distinguished from Kalinga as well, though a verse in the Vanaparvā of the Mahābhārata⁶ seems to suggest that Utkala at one time formed a part of Kalinga. The Raghuvamśa of Kālidāsa,⁷ however, represents Utkala as an independent kingdom; the Brahmapurāṇa⁸ also suggests that Utkala and Kalinga were separate kingdoms. According to the Raghuvamśa, the eastern boundary of Utkala seems to have extended to the river Kapiśā (probably identical with either the modern Suvarṇarekhā, according to Lassen, or with the Kāśāi in Midnapur, according to Pargiter), and to the realm of the Mekalas on the west with whom they are constantly associated and who were inhabitants presumably of the Mekala hills. In the Apadāna of the Khuddaka-Nikāya of the Sutta-piṭaka, a book of the Pāli Canon, Okkalā or Ukkalā or Utkalas were a tribe mentioned along with the Mekalas.⁹ Southward must have extended the realm of the Kalingas. From this Pargiter deduced that Utkala must have comprised the southern portion of modern Chotanāgpur.¹⁰ He further suggests that the reading *Suhmottarāḥ*, a people of the Eastern countries, of the Matsya¹¹ Purāṇa, should be amended to *Suhmotkalāḥ* to mean the "Suhmas and the Utkalas" in which case the Utkalas become the immediately contiguous southern neighbours of the Suhmas who occupied roughly the modern districts of Bankura, Midnapore, Purulia and Manbhum. The Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, however, locates the Utkalas as inhabiting the Vindhya mountains along with the Karūshas, Keralas (according to Vāyu and Matsya Purāṇas, the reading here should be Mekalas and not Keralas which is evidently incorrect) the Uttamarāṇas and the Daśārṇas. Roughly speaking, the Utkalas were indeed a Vindhyan people in as much as the Chotanāgpur hills are just an extension of the Vindhya ranges.

6. Mbh. Vana P., Ch. 114.

7. Raghu., IV, v. 38.

8. Brah. P. 47, 7.

9. Pt. II, p. 359.

10. Mārkaṇḍeya, p. 327 f.n.

11. Chap. cxiii, 44.

Coming to more definite historical times, we hardly find mention of the Utkalas as a people, though in later inscriptions and literature there are numerous references to Utkaladeśa or Utkalaviṣaya, the country presumably of the Utkala people. Thus a twelfth century epigraph of Gāhaḍavāla Govindachandra refers to a Buddhist scholar Śākyarakṣita, who was a resident of the Utkaladeśa. Another inscription, also of the twelfth century, (Bhuvaneswar stone inscription, of Narasimha I) refers to the building of a Viṣṇu temple by Candrikā, sister of Narasimha, at Ekāmra or modern Bhuvaneśwar, in the Utkalaviṣaya. It is obvious from this inscription that Utkalaviṣaya at this period at least comprised the Purī and Bhuvaneśwar regions as well. Earlier, in the Bhāgalpur grant of Nārāyaṇapāla, a certain king of the Utkalas (Utkalānāmādhīśa) took fright and fled from his capital at the approach of Prince Jayapāla of the Pāla dynasty. The Bāḍal Pillar inscription of the time of Guḍavamiśra credits King Devapāla with having eradicated the race of the Utkalas along with the pride of the Hunas and the conceit of the rulers of Draviḍa and Gurjara. The Rāmacaritam of Sandhyākara Nandī in giving a list of foreign countries invaded by his hero Rāmapāla distinguishes Utkala from Kalinga, in the eleventh century. A Sonpur grant of Mahāśivagupta Yayāti, of about the same date, also distinguishes Utkaladeśa from Kalinga and Kōngoda.

The Buddhist literature contains some interesting information about Utkalas or Okkalas. Two merchants named Tapussa and Bhallika¹² were on their way from Ukkala to see the Buddha who was at the foot of the Rājāyatana tree near Uruvelā. They were asked by their relative to offer food to the Blessed One who at first refused to accept it but he afterwards accepted it and ate it up. The two merchants became his disciples.¹³ They were wealthy merchants who also visited Majjhimadesa from Ukkala with five hundred carts.¹⁴ Two inhabitants of Ukkalā named Vassa and Bhañña were deniers of the cause (*ahetuvādā*), deniers of the deeds (*akiriya-vādā*) and deniers of reality (*natthikavādā*).¹⁵

12. Cf. Mahāvastu, III, p. 303, where Ukkalā is mentioned as situated in Uttarāpatha.

13. Vinaya Piṭaka, P.T.S., Vol. I, pp. 3-4.

14. Jātaka, Fausboll, I, p. 80.

15. Aṅguttara Nikāya, II, p. 3; Cf. Samyutta Nikāya, III, p. 73; Majjhima Nikāya, III, 78 and Kathāvatthu, I, 141.

THE UDRAS

The earliest mention of the Udras or Odras or Audras as a people is perhaps found in the following *śloka* of the *Mānava-dharmaśāstra* where the Odras are classed as outside the brahmanical pale (i.e., Mlecchas) along with the Paṇḍrākas, Drāviḍas, Kambojas, Yavanas, Śakas, Pāradas, Pahlavas, Cīnas, Kirātas, Daradas and Khasas.

Sanakaistu kriyālopādīmāḥ kṣhtriyajātayah
Vṛṣalatvam gatā loke brāhmaṇādarśanena cha
Paṇḍrakāśchaudra Drāviḍa Kamboja Yavanāḥ Śakāḥ
Pāradāḥ Pahlavaśchaimāḥ Kirātā Daradāḥ Khasāḥ

The Apadāna, a work of the Pali Canon, mentions Oḍḍakā who were the same as Oḍrā or Uḍrā.¹⁶

Pliny in his Natural History mentions the Oretes as a people of India in whose country stood Mount Maleus which in another passage he locates amongst the Monedes and Suari. Cunningham identifies the last two peoples as the Mundas and Suars from which he is led to accept that the Oretes must be the people of Orissa. But it must be remembered that even then we cannot definitely equate the Greek Oretes with the Sanskrit Oḍra or Uḍra or Audra-deśa.

Epic tradition connects the Udras along with the Poṇḍras, Utkalas, Mekalas, Kalingas and Andhras.¹⁷ According to the *Brahma Purāṇa* (28, 29, 42) which is admittedly very late, the country of the Odras extended northwards to Vrajamaṇḍala (Jāipur), and consisted of three *kṣhētras* called Purushottama or Śrīkṣhētra, Savitu or Arkakṣhētra, and Birajākṣhētra through which flew the Vaitaraṇī. But it is somewhat strange that nowhere in early inscriptions do we find any mention of the people and their country. The first elaborate account of the people and their country is found in the itinerary of Yuan Chwang. From Kāṇasuvārṇa the pilgrim travelled southwest for about 722 li and came to the Wu-t'u or U-cha country.

'The country was above 7000 li in circuit, and its capital above 20 li. The people were of violent ways, tall and of dark complexion, in speech and manners different from the people of "Mid-India." They were indefatigable students and many of them were Buddhists. There were above 100 Buddhist monasteries, and a myriad

brethren, all Mahayanists. Of deva temple there were 50, and the various sects lived pell-mell. Near the shore of the ocean in the south-east of this country was the city Che-li-ta-lo (=Charitrapura=Puri?), above 20 li in circuit which was a thoroughfare and resting-place for sea-going traders and strangers from distant lands.'

About a century later the country of the Odras became involved in chaos which has been described as *Mātsyanyāya* in contemporary records. The celebrated Tibetan historian Tārānāth in his History of Buddhism records that Odiviśa, Vaṅga and five other countries of the east plunged themselves in a chaotic political condition¹⁸ from which they were rescued by the election of King Gopāla on the throne. Odiviśa of Tārānāth is certainly a corruption or adaptation of Oḍra-viśaya. Odiviśa is further mentioned by Tārānāth in connection with the reign of Devapāla who is credited by him as having 'brought into submission the kingdom of Varendra in the east and afterwards the province of Odiviśa.'

The Tirumalai rock inscription of the 13th year of King Rājendra Coḷa credits the king as having seized by his great warlike army the Oḍḍa-viśaya in the course of his northern expedition. This Oḍḍa-viśaya is certainly identical with Oḍra-viśaya. The Coḷa king Rāja-rāja is also said to have conquered the Oḍḍa country. Doubtless during this period Oḍḍa-viśaya came to mean the whole of the present Orissa country.

18. "There was no longer any member of it (the royal family of the Candras) a king; in Odiviśa, in Vaṅga, and the other five provinces to the east, each Kṣatriya, Brāhmaṇa and merchant constituted himself king of his surroundings, but there was no king ruling the country.—Tārānāth. Ind. Ant. IV, 1875, pp. 365-66.

16. Pt. II, p. 358.

17. Vana P. LI, 1988; Bhṛṣ. P. IX, 365; Droṇa P. IV, 122.

The Fasli Era

By

DEVASAHAYA TRIVEDA

It is a common belief amongst the scholars that the so-called Fasli Era or the Era of the Crops was first instituted by Akbar, the Great Mogul. But so far the problem of this important era has not been dealt with fully at the hands of competent scholars and they have all accepted Akbar as its originator. The present writer wishes to set forth his views in the following pages for the learned consideration of the scholarly world.

Its Derivation from Arabic.

The Fasli Era prevails in almost all the parts of India with a little variation to be noted later on. It is used for both religious as well as secular purposes. The name of the reckoning is derived from 'fasl' and 'san' the two Arabic words meaning 'harvest and year' respectively. There are three main crops—Bhadai, Agahani and Caiti. The corresponding English names for the above are August-September, October-November and February-March. The above crops are so-called after the months in which they are cut off from the field. But the revenue department takes only two crops, fasl-i-kharif and fasl-i-rabi, i.e., the winter and summer harvests into consideration.

Fasli Era in Northern India.

In Bihar and the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, there is an Āśvinādi reckoning, i.e., beginning from Āśvina Kṛṣṇapakṣa pratipada I and it is Pūrṇimānta; the month begins after the full moon. Though the months are lunar, they are not divided into fortnights and the numbering of the days run on without being affected by any expunction or repetition of the *tithis*. But the years are made luni-solar for one intercalary month is added every third year and a month is sometimes expunged in

1. Although the word 'San' is said to be of Arabic origin, it may equally have a Samskrita origin for the word 'Sainvatsara' is often used for the year in the language of the Gods and it is often abbreviated into 'Sain' which later on became 'San.'

the course of 19 years.² The current Fasli Era is 1347 and so its initial year is A.D. 592-93 (1939-1347).

Amali Era.

In Orissa and some parts of Bengal, there is a reckoning called Amli San or the official year or the Vilāyati San, so-called because it was imported from abroad—the Hindustan proper. The months are solar and the new year begins on the lunar Bhādrapada Śukla 12th.³ Its epoch like the Fasli Era of Bihar comes to A.D. 592-93.

Bāṅgalā Sān.

The Vaṅgābda or the San-i-Bāṅglā is the most prevalent in Bengal and Assam. It is a solar reckoning beginning from the month when the Sun enters the Meṣa (Aries). The current year is 1346 and so its initial year comes to A.D. 593-94.

Bombay Presidency.

In the Bombay Presidency the Fasli years are popularly known as Mṛgśāla years because they commence when the sun enters the Mṛgāśiras (Orion) which occurs now on 6th or 7th June and the names of the months are Muharram, etc.

Madras Presidency.

In the Madras Presidency formerly it began with the Karka Sainkrānti (Summer Solstice); but since the year A.D. 1800⁴

2. I have gathered much information on this subject from Dr. J. F. Fleet's article on *Hindu Chronology* in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. XIII, p. 500.

3. According to Dr. Fleet this initial day is perhaps to be accounted for on the view that this was the day of the anointment, in the seventh century of the first Gaṅga King Rājasiṃha Indravarman I. See *Ibid.* According to Prof. R. D. Banerji, the initial year of the Gaṅga era would fall in 741 A.D. Indravarman's I, alias Rājasiṃha of the Gaṅga family, plate discovered at Acyutapuram in the Ganjam district is dated in the year 87. But he by no means is the first king of the Gaṅga dynasty. See R. D. Banerji's *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, pp. 228-41. But Śrī G. Ramadas (J.B.O.R.S., Vol. IX, p. 404) holds that the Gaṅga Era is reckoned from the Śaka year 271 or A.D. 249-50 and on this reckoning the Acyutapuram plate is dated 3rd March, 436 A.D.

4. *Essays on the Indian Antiquities*, by James Prinsep, London, 1858, Vol. II, Chronological Tables, p. 168.

it starts from the 13th July and since A.D. 1855 the Madras Government has fixed its start from 1st July.⁵

How to convert in Christian Year.

The San-i-Bānglā, the Amli San, the Tamil Fasli year all may be considered identical in character with the Śaka solar year, while the Fasli of the western provinces may in like manner be classed with the lunai-solar saṁvat there current. The number 592 must be added to convert the first two eras into Christian account, if less than 4 of their months have passed, and 593 years if more; also 593 for the first 9 months of the Bengali San and 594 for the rest. The constant for converting the Tamil Fasli year into Christian years is 590-91.

Khāmī Era.

The first attempt, according to Abul Fazl,⁶ to equate the year with the crop, was made by Ghāzān Ghān who introduced the Khāmī (i.e. Imperfect) Era. "Before its adoption the state records bore dates from the Hijrah and the lunar year was current. By this means the road was opened to grievous oppression, because 31 lunar years are equal to only 30 years and great loss occurred to the agriculturists, as the revenue was taken on the lunar years and the harvest depended on the solar. Abolishing this practice Ghāzān Khān promoted the cause of justice by the introduction of this era. Of this 293 years have elapsed." Since the *Ain-i-Akbari* was completed in 1595, the epoch⁷ of the Khāmī Era should be A.D. 1302 (1595—293).

Introduced by Akbar.

With the advent of the Muslim rule in India, the Hijri Era became their state era. According to Harrington⁸ the Fasli or the harvest year owes its origin to the year of Akbar's accession

5. *Prācīna Bhāratiya Lipimālā*, by Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. G. H. Ojha of Ajmer, Vikrama Saṁvat 1975.

6. *Ain-i-Akbari* of Abul Fazl, translated from the Original Persian by H. S. Jarret, Calcutta, 1892, Vol. II, p. 29.

7. According to the 'Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum, Vol. III, p. 1152, he ruled from A.H. 694 to 703. On this authority Ghāzān Khān came to throne in 1295 A.D. = (A.—3A/100+622=694—2082/100+622=694—21+622).

8. See Note 4, Prinsep's *Essays*.

to the throne on 2nd Rabi-ul-sāni A.H. 963 (14th Feb. 1556). A solar year for financial and other civil transactions was then engrafted upon the current lunar year of the Hijra, subsequently adjusted to the first year of Akbar's reign. Dr. K. P. Jayaswal⁹ holds that it was invented in the reign of Akbar by taking the years of Akbar's accession and deducting therefrom his accession year in Hijra. So the Bānglā San is a new calculation and 593 A.D. (1556-963) is the epoch of the Bengali San.

According to Dr. Fleet¹⁰ amongst the reforms aimed at by Akbar and his officials, one was to abolish, or at least minimise by introducing uniformity of numbering, the confusion due to the existence of various reckonings, both Mohammedan and Hindu. And one step taken in that direction was to assign to the Hindu year the same number with the Hijra year. It is believed that it was first done by the Persian clerks of the revenue and financial offices at an early time in Akbar's reign and that it received authoritative sanction in the Hijra year 971 (A.D. 1563 = V.S. 1620). The innovation was first made in Upper India and the numbering started there was introduced into Bengal and other parts as Akbar extended his dominions, but without interfering with local customs as to the commencement of the Hindu year.

Its Criticism.

The *Ain-i-Akbari* says nothing about the Fasli Era. It was the Illāhī Era that was counted from the date of Akbar's accession. According to the *Ain*, 31 lunar years make 30 solar years and hence there ought to be a difference of one year in the course of 31 years. On this basis there should be a difference of 341 (31 × 11) years for at present there is a difference of 11 years (1358-1347) between the Hijri and the Fasli Eras, whereas we find that 387 (1358-971) years or 395 (1358-963) years have elapsed since then! An era started by a Yavana King (Akbar) could not have been used for religious purposes by the Hindus who always clung to their orthodoxy throughout the Muslim rule in India, although during the Christian rule it has been dwindling to some extent. Moreover this era was in use even prior to Akbar's accession to the throne in 1556. So in no case this Fasli

9. J.B.O.R.S., Vol. XXII, *A Chronology of Nepal*, by K. P. Jayaswal, p. 172.

10. See, *Encyclopædia Britannica*, above referred to.

Era could have been instituted by Akbar for no contemporary royal record says anything about its introduction during his reign.

The Tamil Fasli Era.

According to Grant Duff¹¹ the Dekhānī or the Tamil Fasli Era owes its origin to the Emperor Shāh Jahān, who after bringing his wars in Mahārāṣṭra to a close in A.H. 1046 (A.D. 1636=V. S. 1693), endeavoured to settle the country and introduced the revenue system of Toḍar Muḷ, the celebrated minister of the Emperor Akbar. Along with the survey and assessment naturally came the revenue year which commencing as usual with the current Hijra year of the time, has naturally diverged from it. So there is a difference of about 2¼ years between the northern and the southern Fasli years.

We are at a loss to understand why the current revenue era prevalent in northern India was not introduced in south India along with the supposed assessment. Moreover, it was the Malik Ambarī system and not the Toḍarmali one that prevailed in Mahārāṣṭra. Bijāpur and Golkondā were conquered by Aurangzeb and not by Shāhjahān who certainly could not have introduced it there.

Introduced by Ghāzān Khān.

The Bāṅglā Viśvakoṣa¹² maintains as follows: 'According to the Muslim calendar the Bāṅglā San was introduced by Akbar after deducting 10 years from the then current Hijri Era. But it does not seem to be true. Akbar came to the throne in A.H. 963 or A.D. 1556 but we have come across manuscripts dated in the Bāṅglā San 945. So it has to be admitted it had been prevalent even before the accession of Akbar. There is a tradition that Sultan Allāuddīn Hussain Shāh the king of Gauḍ, changed the lunar Hijri Era into the prevalent solar month to equate the two. He came to the throne in A.H. 903 or A.D. 1498. So this time or sometime after this should be considered the beginning of the Bengālī San.'

11. *A History of the Mahrathas*, by James Grant Duff, Calcutta, 1912, Vol. I, 32.

12. *The Bāṅglā Viśvakoṣa*, edited by Nagendranatha Vasu, Vol. XXI, p. 18, under 'Samvatsara.'

A Tibetan Era.

According to Prof. Sylvan Lévi¹³ a Tibetan Era according to the dates 1203 and 1206 in Dalai Lama's letters of 1789 and 1792 A.D. should have begun in A.D. 586 (1780-1203). The Chinese register the foundation of the Tibetan empire in the K'ai-Hoang period which falls between A.D. 581 and 601. Tsan, the name of the Tibetan king is another reason why Prof. Lévi suggests that there was a Tibetan Era which was also the origin of the Bengālī Era called 'San'. The arguments of Prof. Lévi have been ably refuted by the late Dr. Jayaswal on the following grounds. The Tibetans never had an era, i.e., a continuous reckoning in their own country before the twelfth century and we are really led to the epoch of the Hijra Era, i.e., 622 on the authority of the epoch of 403 which has been read 430 by Lévi in 1025 A.D.

Introduced by Śaśāṅka.

Some would like to ascribe the foundation of the Vaṅgābda to Śaśāṅka the king of Bengal¹⁴ for he was a great champion of Brāhmanism and a persecutor of Buddhism. He might have come to the throne¹⁵ somewhere between A.D. 590 and 595 and the initial year of the San-i-Bāṅgala comes to A.D. 594. But Śaśāṅka was never a Cakravartī or a paramount sovereign. Moreover Harṣa the Cakravartī king of Kānyakubja¹⁶ (modern Kanauj) was the ruler of the whole of Magadha and parts of Bengal.¹⁷ So an era introduced by Śaśāṅka a petty chief could not have commanded universal respects. In ancient times people did not care much whether

13. J.B.O.R.S., Vol. XXII, as above referred to.

14. I am indebted to my learned Professor Dr. S. C. Sarkar for noting down this suggestion.

15. Śaśāṅka's Ganjam plate is dated in the Gupta year 300 and so, if we accept Fleet's theory, he was flourishing in A.D. 619 (319+300) but the epoch of the Gupta Era is very controversial. See *Śaka Kṛta* and the *Gupta Era* by Śrī Dhīrendranātha Mookerji in the *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 64-69. See also Vol. XVII, Part III for the same.

16. There is no record that Harṣa was the lord of Kānyakubja, the ancestral seat of the Maukhārī Gṛhavarman, which he managed conjointly along with his sister Rājyaśrī. But I have followed the convention.

17. J.B.O.R.S., Vol. XVIII, pp. 296-331. 'Extent of Harṣa's Empire' by Dr. Ramā Śaṅkara Tripāthī. It consisted of portions of Eastern Punjab, also the whole of the present United Provinces, Bihar, Bengal, and Orissa—including Kongodha or the Ganjam region.

a king was the supporter of Buddhism or Brāhmanism. So we must seek elsewhere for its introduction.

Grant of Vidyāpati.

We have inscriptional evidence that the Fasli Era had been in use even before the birth of Akbar or Hussain Shāh. There is a copper-plate inscription¹⁸ which is a deed of endowment granting a village Biśāpī to the Maithila Kokila Vidyāpati by his patron King Śivasimha in Lakṣmaṇa Era 283, Śrāvaṇa Śudi 7, Thursday. It also records the following other eras which correspond to it. San. 807, Saṁvat 1455, Śaka 1321. We know that the Vikrama Era generally known as Saṁvat was started in 57 B.C. by Vikramaditya of Ujjayinī to commemorate his birth.¹⁹ So the Saṁvat 1455 corresponds to A.D. 1398 (1455-57); and, therefore, the epochs of the Lakṣmaṇa Era, San or the Fasli Era, and the Śaka Era are A.D. 1115 (1398-283), A.D. 591 (1398-807) and A.D. 77-78 (1398-1321) respectively.

The Fasli Era is always written San just as the Vikrama Era is always called Saṁvat. It is just possible that the year might have been known by some other name but during the Muslim rule which had already penetrated into Bihar and Bengal since the thirteenth century, it was called the Fasli San. The inscription in question says,²⁰ "If any Hindu or Turk (Muslim) king ever annex this village, may he eat, together with his own flesh, that of cow and pig according to his religion; while about those, who protect this jewel among villages, songs of good fame may be sung by crowds of bards for ages in every land."

Its Cālukyan origin

In the early history of South India, Mangaliśa²¹ is the full moon in the firmament of the Cālukya race, his person being adorned by

a numberless series of virtues, whilst his mind is imbued with the essence of the objects of all sciences, who, victorious in battle, having made his feet brilliant with the glitter of the jewels of diadems of kings whose heads he bent with the edge of the sword wielded by his own arm, and having, by the conquest of the earth bounded by the four oceans, become the receptacle of prosperity. He came to the throne having set aside the claims of the three younger sons of his brother Kīrtivarman. In the copper-plate²² grant of the Governor of Revati, Śaka 532 is mentioned as the 20th year of the reign of a prince who, from his titles given there and from the fact that Maṅgaliśa had about that period conquered the island must have belonged to the Cālukya family. He must have been Maṅgaliśa²³ and if Śaka 532 was the 20th year of his reign, he must have begun to reign in 513 Śaka or A.D. 591 (513+78). He vanquished the Kālacūris of Cedi and is said to have carried his arms to both the eastern and the western seas. And the epoch of the Tamil Fasli era comes to A.D. 590-91.

Birth-date of Harṣa

The Harṣacarita of Bāṇa in whom Harṣa found his Boswell gives a clue on the authority of which the birth-date of Harṣavar-dhana can be definitely determined. Being given by a person, who was himself at the court of Harṣa, these dates may be looked upon as reliable. It says²⁴ 'there was suddenly a great commotion among the female apartment of the palace when the month of Jyeṣṭha approached and the twelfth day of the dark-wing was passing and the night was entering on her youth.' When the king was born the planets were in their ascendants. Mr. C. V. Vaidya²⁵ a distinguished Samskrta scholar rightly calculates the date of Harṣa's birth to be Sunday, 4th June, A.D. 590 at 10 P.M.

18. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XIV, p. 190-1.

19. *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XIX, p. 57.

20. *Grāme gṛhṇantya muṣmin kimapi nṛpatayor Hindavo (a) nye Turukkā Gokolaṁ svātmamānsaiḥ sahita manuṣiṇaṁ bhuñjate te svadharmam | Yecaiṇaṁ grāmaratnaṁ nṛpakarahitaṁ pālayanti pratāpistesaṁ satkirtigāthā diśi diśi suciraṁ gīyatāṁ vandivṛndaiḥ || 8*

21. *Indian Antiquary*, III, p. 305.

Cf. *Cālukyavarṇasāmbharapūrṇacandraḥ* *anekagunaganalanikṛtaśarīraḥ sarvaśāstrārtha tattvaniviṣṭabudhi ratibalaparākramotsāhasampannaḥ raṇavikrāntaḥ nijabhujabalāvalambitā khadgadharānamitanrpatiśiromakutaṁ prabhārañjitapādāyugalaścatuḥsāgaraparayantāvanivijayamangalikagāraḥ parama bhāgavatāḥ.*

22. *Journal of the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. X, p. 365-6.

23. *Early History of Deccan*, by R. G. Bhandarkar, 3rd Edition, Calcutta, 1928, p. 105.

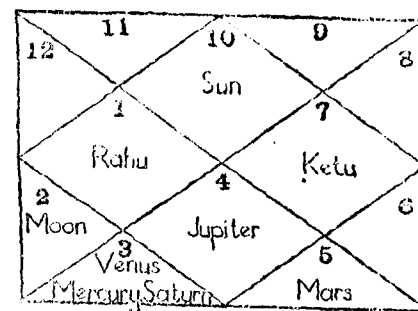
24. *Tataśca prāpte jyeṣṭhamūliyē māsi bahulāsu bahulapakṣa dvādaśyām vyatitē pradoṣasamaye samaruruksati kṣapāyauvane sahasaivāntaḥpure samudapādi kolāhalaḥ strijanasya. Harṣacarita*, Nirṇayasāgara Edition, Bombay, 1897, IV, *Ucchvāsa*, p. 128.

25. *History of Mediaeval Hindu India*, by C. V. Vaidya, Poona, 1921, Vol. I, p. 41.

The planets may be cleared as follows :—

Sun.	Moon.	Mars.	Venus.	Jupiter.	Mercury.	Saturn.	Rahu.	Ketu.
2	1	4	2	2	2	2	0	6
10	1	18	13	16	16	19	23	23
59	54	26	6	15	54	37	29	9

And his horoscope²⁶ would stand as follows:—



The year calculated by us regarding his birth-date may be wrong but his date of birth as given by Bāṇa cannot be so, as Harṣa's birth-day celebration must have taken place every year as emperor's birth-days usually are and Bāṇa who was so intimately connected with the court-affairs of the poet-king Harṣa, could not have committed a mistake in narrating an event of such an importance.

The Harṣa Era.

We have no definite record if there was any Harṣa Era in use for the epoch of the Harṣa Era as recorded by Alberuni comes to 458 B.C. According to Vaidya, Harṣa founded a special era of his own in 612 A.D. after he had completed his digvijayā dating from his accession in 606 A.D. as a momento of his being a Cakravartī.

But there is no proof that such an era dated from his accession was ever in use.

Conclusion.

The eras are started either from the birth, accession, conquest, death or any important event of a great man, a sage or a king. So is it not possible that the so-called Fasli Era whose epoch varies between A.D. 590 and A.D. 594 might have been started from the birth of Harṣavardhana which also may vary likewise for we are not sure of the exact year in which he was born but we do know that he was in his teens when he came to the throne and the accession of Mangaliśa, the Cālukya in A.D. 591 and the possible accession of Śāśāṅka the Gauḍ king as well fall near the same period. So the various factors combined to make the Fasli Era of universal acceptance throughout the whole of India.

26. Bundelkandā kā Saṁkṣipta Itihāsa, by Gorelāla, Tiwari, in Nāgarī Pracārini Patrikā, Vol. XII, p. 345.

Place-Names in the Kuṣāṇa Inscriptions

By

BAIJ NATH PURI,
Lucknow.

SOME light on the geography of Kuṣāṇa India is thrown by the epigraphic records of the Kuṣāṇas which mention the names of some of the places from where donors came to their sacred religious centres and created endowments. Since these inscriptions are records of private dedications, they reveal that donors came from near and far off quarters—from Vakana¹ or Vokhāna and Kapiśā² in Afghanistan to Bārāṇasī³ and Śrāvastī⁴ in the East. Due to the paucity of evidence, a few places are not identified, but a good many can be easily identified. It would be better to examine the places of the Brāhmī records first and then the Karoṣṭhī ones.

Bārāṇasī:—The Bodhisattva Inscription of the year 3 of king Kanishka⁵ mentions Bārāṇasī where the lord used to walk. This place is named after two rivulets, the Barna and the Asī. Their joint stream may have communicated the name to the city. It was the capital of Kāśī Janapada.⁶ The extent of the city is mentioned as 12 yojanas in the Jātakas.⁷ It was the most powerful kingdom in the whole of Northern India at the time of Lord Buddha.⁸ It was here that Lord Buddha gave his first discourse on the law of Dharma and turned the wheel of Law.⁹ The Inscription mentions the name of two Kshatrapas, Vanashpara and Kharapallāna, who were probably governors of Bārāṇasī, the later ultimately became a Mahākshatrapa.¹⁰ It can't be definitely said as to how far their jurisdiction extended.

1. Mathurā Brāhmī Inscription, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, No. 10, p. 55.
2. Mānikiala Bronze Inscription. Sten Konow, *Corpus* Vol. II, p. 150.
3. Sarnāth Bodhisattva Inscription, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 179.
4. Sahet-Mahet Image Inscription, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 181.
5. J. Ph. Vogel: Catalogue of the Sarnāth Museum, No. B(a) I.
6. Anguttara Nikāya, I, p. 213, IV, p. 252;
7. Jātaka VI, p. 68.
8. Jātaka III, p. 115.
9. Majjhima Nikāya, Vol. I, p. 170 ff.
10. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VI, p. 217, No. 2.

Śrāvastī:—The name of this sacred place is to be found in the Sahet-Mahet Inscription of king Kanishka or Huvishka.¹¹ This place is easily identified with the modern Sahet-Mahet in the Gonda district. The place Śrāvastī or Sāvattthī was so called because here the sage Sāvattthī lived. In the Papañcasūdanī¹² there is however a different explanation. The city contained every thing required by human beings, hence it was called Sāvattthī (Sabbam+atthī). According to the Vishṇu Purāṇa¹³ it was founded by a king of the solar race after his name Śravasta. Śrāvastī or the modern Sahet-Mahet is the Sāvattthī¹⁴ or Savātthipura of the Buddhists and Chandrikāpurī¹⁵ of the Jains. It was sacred to the Jains being the birth place of the third Tirthaṅkar Sambhavanātha and the eighth Tirthaṅkar Chandraprabhānātha. The question of the identity of Śrāvastī with Sahet-Mahet has been made certain by the Inscription of Govinda Chandra of Kanauj dated 1128 A.D.¹⁶

Nādigiri or Nāndigiri:—The place-name Nādigiri or Nāndigiri is found in an inscription¹⁷ on the pedestal at the left side and at the back of a small stone statue found in the west of Kankālī Tilā at the second Jain Temple. The inscription mentions a dedication at that moment of "Vasuya" by a washerman's wife from Nāndigiri. This place may be identified with Nundagaon close to the Kankālī Tilā in Mathurā. Nundagaon and Bharsānā are very famous spots in Mathurā.

Vakana¹⁸:—A Lord from Vakana had come to Mathurā in the time of Emperor Huvishka and had created a perpetual endowment. He was the Lord of Kharāsalēra also. Vakana may be taken as synonymous with Bakana mentioned in the Māt inscription of king Huvishka.¹⁹ This place has been identified by Prof. Sten Konow²⁰ with Vokkāna of the Divyāvadāna. It may be identified with Po-to-Changh-Na (Badakshan) of Huientsang²¹ which was celebrated for

11. *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 181.
12. I, p. 59. Dr. B. C. Law's reference.
13. IV, Chap. 2.
14. Majjhima Nikāya, III, p. 270 ff.
15. Dey: *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient & Mediaeval India*, p. 191.
16. Vogel: *Arch. Sur. Report*, 1907-8, pp. 131, 227.
17. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, No. V, p. 384.
18. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, p. 55.
19. J.R.A.S., 1924, p. 397, No. 3.
20. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, p. 59.
21. Beal: *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. II, p. 291.

its ruby mines. As pointed by Chavannes²² Badakshān remained the stronghold of the Yue-chis down to the fifth century. This lord of Vakana or Vokkhāna who was also lord of Kharāsālēra, may have been a petty chief or lord under the suzerainty of the Kushāna Emperor. The place Kharāsālēra is still unidentified.

Uḍiyana:—The Mathurā Buddhist Inscription records²³ a dedication by Jevaka an inhabitant of Uḍiyana. Its probable identification would be Udyāna which was situated to the north of Peshawar on the Swat river. It possibly designated the whole of the hill region south of the Hindu Kush from Chitral to the Indus including Dardistan and portions of Swat and Yusufzai country, now called the Swat-Valley. In short it was the country near about Ghazni to the north-west of Kashmir.²⁴

Abhisāra:—This place is mentioned in a record of dedication²⁵ by Bhaṭṭideva who was a resident of this place. Its position was correctly defined for the first time by Sir A. Stein,²⁶ according to whom Dārvābhisāra (Dārvas and Abhisāras) comprised the whole tract of the lower and middle hills lying between the Vitastā (Jhelum) and the Candrabhāga (Chenab). It was erroneously identified with the Hazārā District which really corresponds with Uraśā of the kingdom of Arsakes. Roughly speaking it corresponded to the Punch and Naoshera districts in Kashmir and was probably an offshot of the old kingdom of Kamboja.²⁷

Nagaraka or Nagarahāra:—The donor of this record²⁸ was the son of Mitravarman a native of Nagaraka, which may be taken as synonymous with Nagarahāra a town which was situated at the confluence of the Surkh-rud and Kabul rivers, near Jalālābād. It has been identified by McCrindle²⁹ with Nanghenhar or Nagarahāra 4 or 5 miles to the west of Jalālābād. It was thus on the extreme boundry of India on the southern bank of the Kabul river.³⁰

22. Toung Pa, II, viii p. 187. Sten Konow's reference.

23. *Indian Antiquary*, XXXIII, 1904, p. 101.

24. Henry Yule: *Marco Polo*, Vol. I, p. 155. N. L. Dey's Reference.

25. New Inscription from Mathura U.P.H.S., July 1937, No. 1.

26. *Rāj Tarangani* 1, 180, § p. 32.

27. Ray Chaudhari: *Ancient India*, p. 166.

28. Ten Inscriptions from Mathura U.P.H.S., July 1937, No. 10.

29. The Invasion of Alexander the Great, p. 338.

30. J.A.S.B., XVII, p. 492.

Rājapālī:—In another inscription from Mathurā³¹, a certain person Priya Deva is stated to have come from Rājapālī. In the Jain Kalpasutra there is a mention of the Rajjapāliya Śākhā under the Veśavāṭika Gaṇa and it appears to have derived its name from a place named Rājapālī.³² The place remains unidentified as yet.

Damana:—Among the Kharoṣṭhi records the Suivihār Inscription³³ mentions a place Damana which was the old name of Suivihar as the phrase *Iha Damanē* i.e. here in Damana means Suivihār is the name of a ruined stupa about 16 miles south-west of Bahāwalpur where a copper plate bearing a Kharoṣṭhi inscription was found in 1869 by Rev. G. Yeats.³⁴

Kapīśā:—Kapīśā or the Kipin of the Chinese travellers is situated 10 miles west of Opian on the declivity of the Hindu-Kush. Julian supposed the district to have occupied the Panjshir and Tagao Valleys in the northern borders of Kohistan.³⁵ Ptolemy placed Kapīśā two and a half degrees northwards from Kabura or Kabul,³⁶ while according to Lassen Kapīśā is the valley of the Gurbad river.³⁷ This town was once the capital of Gandhāra, while the Māṇikiāla Bronze Casket Inscription³⁸ mentions the name of a Kshatrpa Graṇavhryaka hailing from this place.

Obhara:—The Peshawar Museum Inscription No. 21³⁹ mentions the name of a place Obhara. Though the place cannot be identified still it would not be unsafe to presume that it was situated in the Gāndhāra deśa.

Sala:—There is a phrase 'Sala Nokrame' to be found in the Shakardarra Inscription.⁴⁰ The word Nokrama corresponds to skt. 'Naukrama' meaning 'bridge of boats.' It, therefore, naturally follows that the place must have been situated on the bank of some

31. Further New Inscriptions from Mathura, U.P.H.S. July 1939, No. 17.

32. Buhler: *Indian Sect of the Jains*, p. 60.

33. Sten Konow: *Corpus*, Vol. II, p. 138.

34. J.A.S.B., XXXIX, 1, 1870, p. 65.

35. Beal: *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. I, p. 54 and 56.

36. J.A.S.B., 1840, p. 484.

37. J.A.S.B., 1839, p. 140.

38. Sten Konow: *Corpus*, Vol. II, p. 150.

39. *ibid.*, p. 155.

40. *ibid.*, p. 159.

river. Sten Konow⁴¹ takes 'Sala nokrame' to be the old name of Shakardarra characterising it as the eastern Salatura, the present Lahor village on the other side of the river. Salatura was the birthplace of Pāṇini⁴² and has been identified by Cunningham⁴³ with the village of Lahor to the north-west of Ohind in the Punjab. It was situated within the ancient Gāndhāra deśa.

Khawat:—The Wardhak Inscription⁴⁴ of king Huvishka mentions a place Khawat. As is the case in the Sui Vihār inscription, this inscription also mentions the name of the place where it was found. Wardhak is situated about 30 miles to the west of Kabul.⁴⁵ This shows that even in the time of Huvishka, the Kushāṇa hold continued in Afghanistan.

Thus a perusal of these geographical names, clearly affirms that the Kushāṇa power extended from Afghanistan to Benares in the East and from Kashmir to lower Sindh in the South-west.

Mahayana Buddhism and Pauranic Hinduism

MUTUAL INFLUENCES

By

S. HANUMANTHA RAO,

Nizam College, Hyderabad, Deccan.

ONE of the essential features of Buddhism was its universality: its appeal to the lowly and the disinherited. It was emphasised in almost every one of the edicts of Asoka. "For this cannot be obtained by only a great man: on the other hand by a lowly man acting zealously wide heaven can also be obtained. And for this matter this proclamation: that both the lowly and the exalted may act zealously and the borderers also may know...."¹

The Bhāgavata Purāṇa makes a similar appeal that the higher path is not the monopoly of the few. "I bow to the Almighty Lord by adoring whose devotees low class people such as Kirāta, Hūṇa, Andhra, Pulinda, Pulkasa, Abhira, Kanka, Yavana and Saka as well as high class people who have fallen into sin, become absolved."²

A second feature of Buddhism is the conception of Buddha as a personal saviour, the Superman. To the memory of the Great Saviour were erected numerous stupas or tombs whereunder were deposited the relics of the Saviour. Later Hinduism, especially the Bhakti movement, emphasised the importance of the *Guru* or guide, who was himself the awakened one and who possessed the capacity to lead others towards that goal. The *Madhva* monks of South India like Śrī Rāghavendra Swāmi of Mantrālaya near Tungabhadra attained such a pre-eminence that the ashes near their relics are deposited in small caskets and worshipped in several South Indian households to the present day. Their tombs are known as *Brindāvanas*, and there are hundreds of them scattered over South India.

41. *ibid.*, p. 160.

42. McCrindle: *The Invasion of Alexander the Great*, p. 399.

43. Beal: *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. I, p. 114.

44. Sten Konow: *Corpus*, Vol. II, p. 165.

45. Wilson: *Ariana Antiqua*, p. 117.

1. Hyderabad Archaeological Series, Nos. 1 and 12. The Maski Edict and Gavimath and Palkigundu Inscriptions.

2. Bhāgavata Purāṇa, 2-4-18:—

*Kirātā Hūnāndhra Pulinda Pulkasā abhira Kankā Yavāna Śakādayah
Yēnyēcha pāpā yadapāscayā cchudyanti tasmai prabha Vishnave
namah.*

Again, the First Buddha is the exemplar but there are the followers: the awakened ones, the saints and sages. Wherever they reside, they are making their neighbourhood holy by their presence. A place of pilgrimage is "the hermitage, where pious persons, adorned with excellent virtues have their residence"³ (Ajanta, Part 2, Text by G. Yazdani, Appendix by Allan). The Bhāgavata Purāṇa also emphasises the idea that the sanctity of places is due to the presence of awakened men. "Saintly men frequently visit sacred places under the pretext of pilgrimage, really to sanctify such places."⁴ "The Bhāgavatas believe in the greater efficacy of a pilgrimage to the place where a saint resides than that of a pilgrimage to a famous temple."

Buddha was a prince. He abandoned all and left for the forest, overcome with the consciousness of the vanity of the world. The Bhāgavata Purāṇa is full of episodes of kings and emperors who have left their kingdoms and retired to the forest to receive sermons from the hermits. "O Lotus eyed Lord! Anga, Prithu, Bharata, Yayāti, Gada and other great emperors left their empires and lived in the forest to worship Thy feet."⁵

Residence in the forest alone is useless without complete conquest over the fleeting mind. Meditation is necessary to concentrate the mind on the Highest and divert it from thoughts that produce pride, anger, envy, malice, sloth, gluttony and lust. It is not an easy task. There are interruptions to start with. After a long training, one can meditate uninterruptedly. A long period of uninterrupted meditation leads to that peace which passeth understanding. Sculptural representations of the *Dhyāni* Buddhas of colossal size are to be found in the *viḥāras* at Ajanta and Ellora.⁶ Several aspirants meditated, and meditated successfully and obtained God-vision. Their names are sometimes forgotten but their

3. *Nivasanti hi yatraiva Santaḥ Ṣaḍguṇa bhūṣaṇaḥ*
Tan mangalyam manojñam cha tat tīrtham tat tapōvanam.
 Ajanta, Part 2, Text. Appendix.

4. Bhāgavata, 1-19-8:—
Tatrōpajagmurbbhuvanam punāna mahānubhāv chmunayaḥ.....
Prayēṇa

5. Bhāgavata, 10-75-45:
Yadvanchaya
Rajyam

6. Bhattacharya, *Buddhist Iconography*, 32, 37.
 Winternitz—*History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, 391, 125, 306.
 Underhill—*Practical Mysticism*.

inspiration remains. The Bhāgavata Purāṇa contains soul-thrilling descriptions of several kinds of meditation which enabled the aspirants to become the awakened. The appeal of Prahlāda to the Asura boys is very well known. There are also other episodes like the meditation of Dhruva and the teaching of Śrī Śuka to King Parīkshit (Bhāgavata: 2-2-9, 4-12-17; 5-24-42; 7-7-40).⁷ The highest enlightenment is reached in the teaching of the sage to King Rahu-gaṇa:—"Highest knowledge is not attainable by austerities, by study of the Vedas, by going to the forest, by bathing in sacred rivers, by sacrifice or by worshipping the Sun. It can be obtained only by propitiating great sages, by bathing in the dust of their feet."⁸

The paintings at Ajanta represent not only the life story of Buddha but also scenes from the Jātaka or birth stories of the Buddha in previous births. As Winternitz pointed out, many of these stories are not genuinely Buddhist. Many of them belong to the common property of Indian ascetic poetry. The *Buddhist Dharma* is illustrated in the Jātaka stories. So is the *Bhāgavata Dharma* depicted in the Puranic stories. The Viśvantara Jātaka teaches the *Dharma* of generosity. His mission in life was to give. His story strongly resembles that of Hariśchandra who was generous to a fault. Similar is the story of King Bali in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa.⁹ He was asked to give three paces of land. The whole earth was covered by the first, heaven was covered by the second and the king offered his head for the third pace, and thanks God that the loss of his kingdom brought him nearer to God.

The Mahājanaka Jātaka is another popular one. It is well depicted in the paintings at Ajanta. The story conveys a moral, that woman and wealth are obstacles for spiritual progress. The Bhāgavata Purāṇa¹⁰ contains numerous parallels to illustrate the same truth, e.g., the stories of Muchukunda, Priyavrata, Saubhari, Jaḍābharata, Pingaḷa. The same idea is conveyed by Kapila to Dēvahūti in the famous dialogue between the two.

The Kshāntivādi Jātaka is another popular one. It is the story of the preacher of peace and patience. There is an inscription in the Ajanta caves representing the teaching of the Kshānti-

7. Bhāgavata, 2-2-9, 4-12-17, 5-24-42, 7-7-40.

8. Bhāgavata, 5-12-11-12.

9. Bhāgavata, 8-19-7 and 8-15-23.

10. Bhāgavata, 10-54, 5-1, 9-7, 5-12, 11-8; 3-31; 32-41.

vādi. It runs as follows:—He who having obtained the blameless human state and being born in the full possession of organs and senses, sound and vigorous without any defect, neglects to do good actions every day from lack of attention—such a one is much deceived: is he not subject to the necessity of death?¹¹

The Bhāgavata Purāṇa presents a close parallel:—Having at the end of a long series of bodily existences obtained here, this human body, not easily to be attained, capable of fruitful work, though perishable, the thoughtful man should soon endeavour, before it falls off, to attain to the highest good; on the other hand, the ordinary objects of senses may be had indeed everywhere (in every life).—11—9—29.¹²

The Kshāntivādi never loses his composure under the greatest pain and provocation. An angry king cuts off his limbs. "And the joy which he experienced from giving, left no space for the feeling of pain caused by cutting and continually prevented his mind from being plunged into grief".¹³

The Bhāgavata Purāṇa¹⁴ has the story of Prahlāda who was unmoved when trodden under the elephant's foot, thrown into fire, thrown down from the hill and made to drink poison by his mother. There is the story of Jaḍā Bharata who was taken to the altar of Kālī for being sacrificed, and yet went with a cheerful countenance and readily bowed his head, when the king wanted to cut it off with his sword.

Mahāyāna Buddhism inculcated the worship of the Bōdhisatvas. Of the several Bōdhisatvas, Avalōkitēśvara is characterised as the jewel of the Buddhist church. The painting of the Great Bōdhisatva:—the Lord that looks down with infinite pity on all beings, Padmapāṇi, lotus in hand, in Cave 1 at Ajanta is considered to be the finest expression in Indian art.

The *Dhyāna śloka* in the Sādhana-māla describes him as aged about twice eight years—and endowed with various auspicious marks. The *mantra* or prayer hymn which is the profound secret of Avalōkitēśvara is "ŌM MANIPADMĒ HUM". The famous Chinese pilgrim Fa Hien who came to India in 399 A.D.

is said to have prayed to this Bōdhisatva for deliverance when he was overtaken by a storm, on the voyage from Ceylon to China.

Bhattacharya explains in his Buddhist Iconography that Avalōkitēśvara is still supposed to work and foster spiritual knowledge amongst his fellow creatures. He is characterised as taking the shapes of all gods of all religions, nay, even the shape of father and mother; in fact, the form of the worshipped of any and every worshipper, to whom he may impart knowledge.

We find a very close parallel in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa¹⁵ where the teacher of Bhāgavata to King Parīkshit is described as "*Sarva Bhūta Hṛdayam*" who is the inmost heart of all beings. The *Dhyāna śloka* of Śrī Śuka, the great Bhāgavata teacher describes him as "*Dvyaśṭa Varsham*" twice eight years. He is endowed with special marks. A great commentator of Bhāgavata writes that Śuka should not be regarded as a certain sage. He is the preceptor of all beings, capable of bringing salvation to all.

The above study of some common features between Mahāyāna Buddhism and Paurāṇic Hinduism confirms the view that Mahāyānism was only a sectarian phase of the great Vaiṣṇava movement.

11. Yazdani, Ajanta: I, Text xii and xiii.

12. Bhāgavata, 11—9—29.

13. Ajanta; Part 2, Text, Appendix.

14. Bhāgavata, 7-4 to 9. 5-9 to 14.

15. Bhāgavata, 1-2-2, 1-20-2 to 4.
Also Bhāgavata Sarōdhāra.

Date of Rakṣasa Kāvya or Kāvya-rakṣasa Before A.D. 1000

By

P. K. GODE, M.A.

Prof. A. B. Keith¹ speaking of the poems *Nalodaya* and *Rākṣasa Kāvya*² observes as follows:—

“Still more ludicrous is the suggestion that *Nalodaya* is his (Kālidāsa's) ; that rimed poem of intolerable affectation is perhaps not the production of Ravideva author of the *Rākṣasa Kāvya* of equal demerit, before the 17th Century but the work of Vāsu-deva, protege of Kulaśekhara and Rāma.”

I am concerned in the present paper with the chronology of the *Rākṣasa Kāvya*, irrespective of the question of its authorship and hence propose to record some data bearing on its chronology. As Prof. Keith observes that this work is “before 17th Century” we must try to take back this limit as far back as we can take it on the strength of documentary evidence.

1. Vide, pp. 97-98 of *Sanskrit Literature*, 1928.
2. Aufrecht records the following Mss of the *Rākṣasa Kāvya*, CC I, 498—
“राक्षसकाव्यं or काव्यराक्षसं a poem in 20 stanzas. Katm. 7 (and Comm.). Oudh XVI, 54. Burnell 161a. Peters 2. 189 (and Comm.), SB. 313 (and Comm.). This production has the honour of being attributed to three different authors:—
To Kālidāsa. K. 64. B. 2, 102 (and Comm.);
To Ravideva. W. p. 169 (and Comm.).
To Vararuci. L. 782 (and Comm.).
Comm. *Subodhini* by Kavirāja L. 2821.
Comm. by Kṛṣṇacandra, Oudh XIX, 28.
Comm. by Premadhara, L. 3151. B. 2. 102.
Comm. by Vidyākaramiśra, L. 2389.
CC II, 117—“Rg 399.”
—attributed to Kālidāsa. BL. 282 (and Comm.) Govt. Ori. Libr. Madras.
—attributed to Ravideva, Stein 72 (with his own and anonymous Comm.).
—Comm. by Bālakṛṣṇa Pāyagunḍa, Stein 72.
CC III, 106—“B.C. 487. Bel. 454. 455. 14, I.O. 2238 (and Comm.) Lz. (and Comm.)
—ascribed to a Kālidāsa. Ak. 556. C. Ak. 556. 557.
—attributed to Vararuci. As. p. 160.
—Comm. by Sambhubhāskara, Bd. 454.

According to Mr. Krishnamachariar³ “*Rākṣasa Kāvya* is a short piece of 20 verses in an enigmatic and alliterative style, containing a description of sylvan scenery around, by a person roaming about the forest with his spouse. There are commentaries on it by Premadhara, by Sambhubhāskara, by Kavirāja, by Kṛṣṇa Candra, by Udayākaramiśra, and by Bālakṛṣṇa⁴ Pāyagunḍa.” A study of the commentaries on the *Rākṣasa Kāvya* and their chronology would have given us some limits for the chronology of this *Kāvya* but unfortunately the Mss.⁵ of these commentaries are not available to me. Some Mss. of these commentaries available at the B.O.R. Institute⁶ have been examined by me but they have not given me any useful data on the strength of which any definite limits for the date of the *Rākṣasa Kāvya* could be determined with confidence. We are, however, fortunate to have in the Jain Bhandars at Jesalmere a unique dated Ms. of a commentary on the *Rākṣasa Kāvya* copied in Samvat 1215=A.D. 1159. This Ms. has

3. *Classical Sanskrit Literature*, Madras, 1937, p. 371. Section 330.
4. According to Dr. S. K. De (*Sans. Poetics* I, 199) Bālakṛṣṇa Pāyagunḍa is “later than the end of the 16th Century”, i.e., after A.D. 1600.
5. Vide p. 97 of *Indic Mss in U.S.A. and Canada* by Dr. H. Poleman, 1938:—
No. 2117—*Kāvya-rakṣasa (Rākṣasakāvya)* with Commentary—Samvat 1654 = A.D. 1598.
No. 2118—*Ibid.*, with Comm.
No. 2119—*Ibid.*—Text and Comm. attributed by Colophon to Kālidāsa—Samvat 1882 = A.D. 1826. (Copied by Jagannātha)
6. The Govt. Mss. Library (B.O.R. Institute), contains the following Mss. of *Rākṣasakāvya* and Commentary:—
No. 455 of 1887-91—Text and Commentary—looks very old.
No. 556 of 1891-95—Text with Comm.—Dated Śaka 1679=A.D. 1757—Reads “श्रीमत्कविचक्रवर्तिकालिदासविरचितस्य राक्षसकाव्यस्य टीका समाप्तिमगमत्
No. 555 of 1891-95—राक्षसकाव्यटिप्पण—Copied at Jaipur in Samvat 1823 = A.D. 1767 by Mukunda Lakṣmīrāma—quotes अमर, अनेकार्थमंजरी.
No. 86 of A. 1883-84—Text with Comm.—The Comm. quotes विश्व lexicon composed in A.D. 1111.
No. 399 of 1884-87—Text with Comm. (Quotes अमर)
No. 454 of 1887-91—Text with Comm. of शंभुभट्टकर
No. 172 of 1902-07—Text with some Notes in the margin. These Notes quote अमर, विश्वश्रिकांड lexicons.

“इति श्रीकविराक्षसकाव्यं समाप्तिमगमत्”

been described by Mr. C. D. Dalal in his *Catalogue of Jesalmere Mss.* The Scribe who wrote the Ms. was a pupil of Jinacandra Sūri of the name "Jinamata (pati?). Mr. Dalal says that there is possibility of this scribe himself being the author of this Commentary on the *Rāksasa Kāvya*.⁷ Be that as it may, the fact that we have a copy made in A.D. 1159 of a commentary on this *Rāksasa Kāvya* argues in favour of an early date for this *Kāvya* and it would be worth while examining the Jesalmere Ms. from the point of view of textual criticism. The *prāśasti* which contains the date⁸ of the Ms. reads as follows :—

“ चरणकरणदक्षः क्षीणदोषो जिताक्षः
क्षपितविधिविपक्षः क्षान्तिमान् बद्धकक्षः ।
यतिपतिजिनदत्ताचार्यदत्तोपदेश-
स्खलित महिमयोगात् कान्तकीर्तिमुनान्द्रः ॥ १ ॥
समजनि जिनचन्द्रश्चन्द्रवच्चारुरोचि-
गणधरपदलाभालुब्धलोकप्रतिष्ठः ।
जिनमत (?) यतिरेतत्तद्विने यः सुशान्तो
व्यलिखदमलबुद्धिः कृत्स्नकर्मक्षयाय ॥ २ ॥

7. *Cata of Jesalmere Mss.* (G.O.S., Baroda, Vol. XXI, 1923), p. 59:—

राक्षसकाव्यटीका क्र. ३४५ (४)—“ कालिदासकृतित्वेन प्रसिद्धमेतन्मूल-
मात्रं तु मुद्रितम् । टीकाकतुर्नाम नोपलभ्यते । शान्तिसूरिणा वृन्दावनकाव्य-
मेघाम्बुदयकाव्य-शिवभद्रकाव्य-चन्द्रदूतकाव्यसंज्ञकानां पञ्चानां यमकमयकाव्यानां
वृत्तयो विनिर्मितास्तेनैवयमपि टीका विहिता वाऽन्येन केनचिदिति स्पष्टं न विज्ञायते ।
एतत्पुस्तकविलखनं संवत् १२१५ वर्षे जिनदत्तसूरिशिष्यजिनचन्द्रसूरेः शिष्यो जिनमत
(१ पति) यतिव्यघादिति प्रान्तप्रशस्तितोऽवगम्यते । लेखकोऽपि व्याख्याता
सम्भाव्यते ॥”

8. The copy was made on Sunday, 15th tithi of the month of Nabhas (= Bhādrapada) of Vikrama Samvat 1215 [शर (5) चन्द्र (1) सूर्य (12)] which possibly corresponds to Sunday, the 13th of September 1159 (Vide p. 321 of *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. III).

शर चन्द्र सूर्य संख्ये संवत्क्रिमभूपतेः ।

अतियाति नभो मासे पञ्चदश्यां तिथौ रवौ ॥ ३ ॥

यावज्जिनप्रवचनं प्रवरप्रतापं

यावज्जिनागमविदो यतिनोऽपपापाः ।

यावत्सुदर्शनभृतः स्थिरधीरचित्ता-

स्तावत् सुपुस्तकमदः सुधियः पठन्तु ॥ ४ ॥

The Ms. of the *राक्षसकाव्यटीका* described by Mr. Dalal is a Palm-leaf⁹ Ms. in the Big Bhandar at Jesalmere. We have no access to this Ms. and hence must rest content with the extract and the description of it given by Mr. Dalal. Mr. Dalal describes the Ms. as *राक्षसकाव्यटीका* and if we have a Commentary on the *राक्षसकाव्य* copied in A.D. 1159 the date of composition of this commentary is earlier than A.D. 1159. In the same manner the date of the *राक्षसकाव्य* is earlier still and we may presume that it may be earlier than say A.D. 1000. In view of this limit it would be useful to record references to the *राक्षसकाव्य* earlier than say A.D. 1100 or so.

The Government Oriental Mss. Library, Madras, contains some Mss¹⁰ of a poem having the designation *कविराक्षसीय*. A des-

9. Vide p. 43 of Dalal's Catalogue—No. 345 contains 5 works:—(1) चन्द्रदूतकाव्य, (2) मेघाम्बुदयकाव्यवृत्ति, (3) वृन्दावनयमक, (4) *राक्षसकाव्यटीका* (contains also a *prāśasti* of 4 verses) संवत् १२१५. and (5) घटखर्परटीका.

10. These Mss. are as follows:—Vol. XX, p. 8024

No. 12000—Complete in 100 stanzas of Anuṣṭup metre.

No. 12001—*Ibid*.

No. 12002—*Ibid* in Grantha characters.

No. 12003—*Ibid* with a Comm. called *शृष्ट्याद्यदीपिका* in Kanarese characters. This commentary is by Nāgaṇārya, son of Devaṇārya of the Bhāradvājagotra.

No. 12004—Text with Comm. (anonymous).

No. 12005—*कविराक्षसीय पदान्वयः* (Prose order of the stanzas of the Text).

Aufrecht (CCI, 87) mentions some works and authors having the titles “*कविराक्षस*” (author of a lexicon *षडर्थनिर्णय*) Burnell, 51a.

cription of these Mss. has been given in Vol. XX (*Kāvya*) of the *Descriptive Catalogue* of that Library (1918). It appears from this description that the कविराक्षसीय is a poem of 100 stanzas while the राक्षसकाव्य consists of 20 stanzas only. I am unable to determine if there is any connection between the राक्षसकाव्य and the कविराक्षसीय¹¹ both of which are represented by some Mss. in the several Mss. catalogues. It appears, however, that the राक्षसकाव्यटीका represented by a Ms. of A.D. 1159 in the Jesalmere Bhandar deals with the राक्षसकाव्य of 20 stanzas only and not with कविराक्षसीय of 100 stanzas. If this view is correct we can definitely say that this poem of 20 stanzas was composed before A.D. 1000 or so in view of a Ms. of a commentary on it copied in A.D. 1159 actually existing at Jesalmere.

- (1) "कविराक्षसशतक" *Kāvya*, Burnell, 113b. Oppert II, 1089, 3117, 9708 with Comm. Oppert II, 3118.
 (2) "कविराक्षसीय काव्य" Oppert 35, 536, 769, 4958, 5507, 7536. Rice; 228. See राक्षसकाव्य Comm. by Nāganakavi, Oppert 2293.

11. Vide p. 379 of Krishnamachariar (*Classical Sans. Literature*)—"Kavirākṣasiyam is a poem of 100 verses of involved meaning by an unknown author calling himself कविराक्षस. There are commentaries on it by Nāganarāya, son of Devanārādhyā, and two anonymous." The *Kavirāk-sasiya* has been edited with translation and Index by Y. Mahalinga Sastri in the *Calcutta Oriental Journal* (1935).

In the *Sūktimuktāvalī* of Śrīdharadāsa (Lahore, 1933) composed in A.D. 1205 the following stanza is ascribed to राक्षसः

Page 63—

“उदञ्चत्कावेरो लहरिषु परिष्वज्जरङ्गेलुठन्तः
 कुहकण्ठी कण्ठीरवरवल्व त्रासितप्रोषिनेमाः ।
 अमी चैत्रे मैत्रावरुणितरुणी केलिकङ्कोलिमल्ली-
 चलद्वल्लीहलोसकसुरभयश्चण्डि चञ्चन्ति वाताः ॥ ५ ॥

This stanza is given in the शाङ्गधरपद्धति—राक्षसस्य and there attributed to “राक्षसपण्डितौ”.

The India Office Library possesses two Mss. of the *Rākṣasa Kāvya*, one¹² of which is a copy made about A.D. 1875 while the other was written “about 1650 A.D.” The description of the 2nd Ms. as recorded in the *India Office Catalogue*¹³ also reveals the interest of responsible scholars in this petty poem of 20 stanzas, with some anonymous commentaries. In the *Catalogue of Mithila Mss.*¹⁴ there are three undated Mss. of this poem and its anonymous

12. Vide p. 1116 of Vol. II (Part II) of *Ind. Office Catalogue*, Oxford, 1935. The text is in 20 verses. The Ms. ends

“इति कालिदासकृतौ राक्षसकाव्यं सव्याख्यानं संपूर्णं”

“A note by Burnell (lot. 1) runs: “This seems to be the same poem as Hoffer published and which according to the Ms. (v. B. 4, No. 580), is by Ravideva. The original of this Ms. (at Tanjore, No. 4780) attributes it to Kālidāsa but it cannot have been written more than fifty years ago. So this authority for the statement leaves room for doubt.” “The Commentary differs from all of those given by Mitra, *Notices*, ii, 186, vii, 153; viii, 264; ix, 234. *Madras Catal.* XX, 7959, 7960. Eggeling No. 3932. The author of the poem is probably Ravideva, wrongly suggested as the author of *Nalodaya* (Pischel, *Z.D.M.G.*, lvi, 626). See also F. Belloni Filippi, *Giornale della Societa Asiatica Italiana*, xix (1906) 83-102, who translates the poem. With the Ms. are four half sheets of notepaper containing remarks on the style of the poem and the text of verses 1-6 and a translation of verses 1-4 by Burnell.” The colophon of the Jammu Ms. of the poem (No. 1118) reads:—

“इति श्रीमहाकविना मलयदेशजन्मना रविदेवेन विरचितं राक्षसकाव्यं
 विंशति ह्यपद्यसमेतं बुधजनमनसानन्ददायिनो राक्षसकाव्यटीका समाप्ता ॥”

13. Vol. VII (*Kāvya and Nāṭaka Mss.*) 1904, p. 1493—in 20 verses with *ṭikā*. The Ms. begins with v. 2 and does not mention the author's name at the end. Text and Commentary, are, however, identical with those printed in Hoffer's *Sanskrit—Lesebuch* from the Berlin Ms. No. 580, where the author is called रविदेव of मलयदेश. The text without the author's name is also given in *Jivānanda Vidyāsagara's Kāvya-saṅgraha*, p. 572 (21 śloka, the 6th of which is wanting in this Ms.). On this poem see also Weber's remarks, *Journ. Germ. Or. Soc.*, vi, 399. *Ind. Stud.* ii, 154.

14. Vol. II, (Patna, 1933) by K. P. Jayaswal, pp. 122 ff.

No. 119, 119 A., and 120.

No. 119—in Maithili characters on Nepālī paper. Text with Comm.

No. 119-A.—राक्षसकाव्य by वररुचि—Devanāgarī characters. White Paper. Text with Comm. प्रदीप on it.

commentaries recorded from private sources. One of these Mss. ascribes the authorship of the poem to Vararuci. The Ms. of the work at Ulwar¹⁵ contains a commentary on it by Vihārimiśra. There are two Mss. of the poem in the recently opened Oriental Mss. Library at Ujjain¹⁶. Both of these Mss. appear to ascribe the work to Kālidāsa. One of these Mss. contains a commentary. In the *Union List of Indic Texts in American Libraries* the work is attributed to Ravideva by Dr. Emenceau,¹⁷ Dr. Poleman records three Mss. of Rākṣasa Kāvya in American libraries.

In view of the data recorded above and in view of the existence of a Ms. of the Rākṣasa Kāvya commentary copied in A.D. 1159 it is necessary to search for quotations from the extant text of this poem in works composed earlier than A.D. 1159. It is also necessary to investigate the question of authorship of the poem, attributed to Kālidāsa, Vararuci and other writers indiscriminately. My object in the present paper is to take back the later limit for the date of the poem from "before the 17th Century" given by Prof. Keith to "before A.D. 1159" definitely and "before A.D. 1000" tentatively. The following chronology about the Mss. of the Rākṣasa Kāvya (=RK) may prove useful for further investigation of the exact date of composition and the authorship of the work:—

A.D.	Ms. of RK.
1159	Date of the Jesalmēre Ms. of the RK Commentary.
1205	Date of Śridharadāsa's <i>Sūktimuktāvali</i> which quotes a stanza as "राक्षसस्य"
1598	Date of a Ms. of the RK in America.
1757	Date of B.O.R. institute Ms. of the RK (No 556 of 1891-95).
1767	Date of B.O.R. institute Ms. of the RK (No 555 of 1891-95).
1826	Date of a Ms. of the RK and Commentary in America.
1875	Date of India Office Ms. of the RK.

No. 120— राक्षसकाव्याख्या—Maithi. characters—yellow paper—Ends:—
 "इति कालिदासकृतं राक्षसकाव्यं सटीकं समाप्तम्"

15. Peterson: *Ulwar Mss.*, Bombay, 1892, p. 39:—

"955— राक्षसकाव्य Ascribed here to Kālidāsa. With a commentary by Viharimiśra. Peters 2, 189."

16. Vide p. 42 of *Cata. of Ujjain Mss.*, Gwalior, 1936.

17. Vide p. 119 of *Union List (Ame. Ori. Series, Vol. 7)*, 1935:—

"Ravideva काव्यराक्षस or राक्षसकाव्य"

1219— "श्रीकालिदासकृतं राक्षसकाव्यं, सटीकम्" K. P. Parab. N. S. Press, Bombay, 1900.

1220—Il poema demoniaco (राक्षसकाव्य) Translated by Ferdinando Belloni-Fillipo GSAI (1906), 83-102.

18. *Indic Mss. in U.S.A., and Canada* by H. Poleman, 1938, page 97.

The British Administration of the Delhi Territory (1803-57)

[Continued from page 248 of Vol. XIX, Part 2].

By

DR. T. G. P. SPEAR, PH.D.,
St. Stephen's College, Delhi University.

SUCH was the Delhi system of which Metcalfe was so proud. For some time it continued unchanged. His successor as Revenue Commissioner, Thomas Fortescue, admired it and described its detailed working in his invaluable report of 1820. Twelve years later he stoutly defended it before the East India Committee. It was considered to be Metcalfe's chief administrative achievement, and one of his principal claims to fame. But it was not long before the head of criticism inevitably raised itself. Metcalfe had been too successful, too early for others not to feel jealousy and to look keenly for some chink in the great man's armour. It was just the subject for some clever and slightly bitter individual who might hope to bring himself to notice or to find compensation for frustrated ambition by exposing an idol's feet of clay. In 1823 a commission of the Western provinces examined the working of the Delhi Judicial system. Among their number was Mr. Ewer. His regulation mind was appalled by the slipshod methods of the Territory, and some twist of his soul delighted in the sport of belittling the efforts of others. There resulted a lively criticism of Metcalfe's methods by the whole Commission with special animadversions by Mr. Ewer. He found fault particularly with the heavy sentences imposed by Metcalfe, specially in crimes such as night robbery with housebreaking, and the receiving of stolen goods. Above all he was severe upon the practice of doubling the sentences of those who attempted to escape. These in some cases amounted to gross severity and in all meant that the same crime was punished with the most unequal punishments. Punishment was the reformation of the criminal, and if he failed to reform in prison, he should no longer be kept there. Metcalfe was in Hyderabad at the time, carrying on his great battle against hydra-headed corruption organised in a system in the screening of which a Governor-General was personally interested. Perhaps it seemed a favourable moment

to launch an attack, to demonstrate that the incorruptible paragon of the Service was himself not above oppression and laxity in his own chosen kingdom.

But the attack rebounded, boomerang wise, upon the critics themselves. Metcalfe had little difficulty in showing that the picture was far different from the one Mr. Ewer had tried to paint. Night robberies and the receiving of stolen goods had been part of the system of the plunder of the city by neighbouring villages, or by gangs sheltered by them. It was therefore extremely prevalent, and the heavy sentences were a necessary part of the campaign for putting an end to it. The men imprisoned for these offences were desperate and daring men and would stick at nothing in attempting or organising escapes. Surprises were planned, and night attacks made on the prison guards who were often killed in the confusion while the prisoners made off to the shelter of friendly villages. These would then pass them across one of the numerous frontiers into one of the petty neighbouring states. A short fixed sentence would be no deterrent to these desperate men already serving long terms, but their practical conversion into a life sentence would. For petty offenders, on the other hand, it would be a great hardship. "For instance, additional imprisonment for a year would be no object of fear to a hardened criminal condemned to fourteen; but if a poor wretch, sentenced to a month's detention for some petty offence, were in wantonness to attempt to escape, his supplementary punishment would be twelve times the original offence."¹⁹ The extraordinary suggestion that criminals who failed to show signs of reformation should be let loose again upon society, provided Metcalfe with an opening of which he did not fail to take full advantage. Punishment was primarily for the protection of the community and existing prison conditions gave little hope of reformation. Severe sentences were "to uphold the law against the hardened sinner." "The recollection of punishment may sometimes prevent a repetition of crime, but, in any other point of view, I hold him to be a visionary who expects to produce moral reform by congregating hundreds of hardened villains in a common gaol."²⁰ These criticisms were in fact a vindication of Metcalfe's rule, for they brought into clear relief the improvement which had taken place in the Delhi Territory in the course of seventeen years. To

19. J. W. Kaye. *Life of Lord Metcalfe*, 2 Volumes.

E. Thompson, *Charles, Lord Metcalfe*. (Thompson, *Metcalfe*).

20. Kaye, *Papers*, 44-47. Revenue Report of 1815. The whole passage, p. 43-47, contains the essence of Metcalfe's larger objective.

say that such methods were no longer necessary was only another way of saying that conditions had improved so much as to render them unnecessary. The law had been upheld against the hardened sinner. It was the man who had made the rules whose government had rendered their continued enforcement needless. It is interesting to note that the man who in this incident assumed the mantle of an enlightened reformer a few years later was protesting successfully against the extension to his own district of the Delhi rule against flogging.²¹ The only abiding result of this attack was a coolness between Metcalfe and Ewer which did nothing to help that gentleman's prospects.²²

The next attack was by Sir Edward Colebrooke in 1829. He accused Metcalfe of winking at a system of jobbery and corruption on the part of his servants at the Residency. His *munshi* had made a fortune at Delhi and his *syce* had made a *lakh* of rupees by selling his horses. This was true, but Metcalfe was easily able to show that he had long since been aware of these things, had dismissed the offenders and paid back what he could to the victims.²³ This attack glanced off harmlessly. It was indeed, in the nature of a *tu quoque*, for his accuser was himself a man undergoing an inquiry on much graver charges of a similar sort. It was the effort of the stag at bay to wound whom he could before the final kill.

A third criticism of much greater weight came from John Lawrence in 1838. It was not a criticism of Metcalfe himself, or indeed of the Delhi system, which he seems to have admired, but of its working. In his settlement report of the Rewari district he complained of gross over-assessment by previous officers. The revenue had actually declined between 1810 and 1837 from R. 214,503 to R. 184,383.²⁴ This in its turn brought the evils of pressure to realise the demand, of impoverishment and of depopulation. Metcalfe himself was aware of the danger and we find him not only insisting to government on the need for moderate assessments, but exhorting his subordinates against excess of zeal. In 1826 he remonstrated with his friend William Fraser, his first assistant,

21. *Ibid.*, p. 63. Metcalfe's reply to A. N. Ewer.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 57.

23. General Letter to the Court, 9th March 1830.

24. Ewer was a little later insubordinate and disrespectful to Lord William Bentinck, who transferred him with Metcalfe's cordial approval. E. Thompson, *Metcalfe*, 277.

against his practice of realising the full demand and argued against the short sighted policy of quick returns.

"No people labour so indolently as those who work in chains and by compulsion. Hearty exertion is always self-willed, and with a view to self-interest. The justice, the benevolence, the wisdom, the expediency, the necessity of a system of conciliation towards the *Zameendars*, would appear to me to be indisputable, were it not that you apparently pursue one of compulsion. If you think that force alone is calculated for the management of these people, I shall respect both your opinion and your experience, but it will require strong proofs to convince me."²⁵

Metcalfe's long term policy required easy settlements for long periods, both to inspire the countryside with confidence and to encourage the resettlement of waste lands. We may indeed be permitted to wonder whether his practice was quite so enlightened as his theory. In 1815 he boasted that the revenue of the Territory had increased in six years (1808-14) from four to fifteen *lakhs*. The figure is so large that it prompts the doubt whether, even granting Metcalfe's genius as a pacificator, it can be reconciled with the principle of easy settlements and the sacrifice of revenue to confidence. In his very first settlement under Seton, when a bad season had ruined the crops and he was advised to settle for one year only with the fact in mind, he yet managed to raise the demand by six thousand rupees.²⁶ But be this as it may there is no doubt that Metcalfe's principles were sound and far-sighted. He probably grew more lenient in practice, and saw more clearly the advantage of moderation, as he grew older. All that he can really be blamed for was a failure to control his revenue assistants sufficiently strictly. But with a whole province to superintend in addition to his diplomatic duties, and with never more than six English assistants scattered widely over it, the task was next to impossible. And what assistants! No man ever curbed William Fraser's independent spirit, or reined in his fierce self-will.

The changes which followed Metcalfe's departure were not of any great importance. The system continued under his brother's long rule and except for the momentary shock of Fraser's murder in 1835 Delhi was happy in having no history. The model

25. Bengal Public Consultations. Minute by C. T. Metcalfe, Nov. 1829.

The charge is to be found printed in C. M. Trevelyan, *Papers from India*.

26. Settlement Report on Pergunnah Rewari by J. Lawrence, 1838.

province was gradually forgotten in the alarms of the Afghan war and the excitement of the Sikh campaigns. Delhi was thought of only as a base for the army of the Panjab. The ablest exponent of its system, John Lawrence, earned promotion not through his village administration, but by his prompt organisation of a transport train in 1845, and thereafter it was the Panjab towards which men's eyes were turned as the centre of a model administration. We may well detect an echo of John Lawrence's Delhi experience in his Panjab preference to villagers rather than chiefs. Henry, with his diplomatic experience, was all for the chiefs or *sirdari*, whom John regarded as robbers and upstarts. John would have been right in the Delhi Territory as Henry had some right in the Panjab; the conflict between the two was the result of differing experience as much as of differing temperaments, and it could not be resolved because neither properly realised how widely Indian conditions can differ in comparatively small areas.

What changes there were may now be mentioned. The scattered team of assistants of Metcalfe's earlier years became the Collectors of five districts. At their district headquarters courts were set up and gradually extended their scope. They slowly trenched upon the village jurisdictions in much the same way as royal justice replaced the feudal courts in mediaeval England. Along with the courts went the police, and as the police increased the village sense of corporate responsibility inevitably grew less. But it still continued; the use of the *khojis* went on right up to the Mutiny.²⁷ The Regulations were still held at bay, but their spirit steeped in with the men who came to Delhi steeped in the practice and precept of the Regulation provinces. In the villages the *maqaddams* and *zamindars* continued to manage revenue questions. If they were no longer lords of the countryside, free to fight or to pay as they listed, they were now freed from the worst evil of early British rule—frequent settlements and chronic over-assessment. In the thirties and forties long term settlements were made throughout the Territory. Bentinck's and Bird's practice reinforced Metcalfe's precepts and they at last had a chance of thinking in the terms of Metcalfe's revenue minute twenty years earlier. A surplus for profit and improvement as well as for land tax was now theirs in fact as it had always been there in Metcalfe's intention. Their liberty of dealing with the village cultivators was restricted, it is true, by the exact measurements which the settlement officers brought with them; but that disadvantage could

27. Kaye, *Papers*, 49.

not outweigh the boons of security and the prospect of increasing profits. The *maqaddams* themselves began to be called *lambodars*, which itself was a corruption of the new coined word *numberdar*—the manager of the numbers or revenue figures. There was a tendency to encourage the appointment of a head, or *alambodar*, in villages where the *maqaddams* were numerous and this in its turn was bound to detract from the position of the others.²⁸ There was also a tendency to treat the *lambadarship* as a hereditary office, only to be transferred in case of serious misconduct. The office of *zaildar* also, which was usually given to a prominent *maqaddam*, tended to raise some at the expense of others. The ranks of the proprietors were full of butlers and bakers, dreaming of prosperity, whom the British unexpectedly exalted or depressed by these means. Nevertheless the village system continued in the main, and the *maqaddams* remained its accredited leaders. John Lawrence, no man for concealing unpleasant facts with the embroidery of official optimism thus described in 1838 the result of a well managed assessment.

"In a flourishing *pargana* on this side of the river, we have no large *zamindar* with his lac or two lacs of annual income, but on the other hand, we have thousands of small proprietors each with his brood mare, his buffaloes, his oxen, in short, with everything that makes a comfortable position in life. In no part of the Western Provinces, of which I have had experience, are the tenures so complete and so well recognised as here, no district where the ancient village communes are in such excellent preservation, or where the practice of our Civil Courts has hitherto done so little harm."

Another development which vitally affected village life was the restoration of the ancient canal system of the Delhi Territory. The canal system was originally constructed by Firoz Shah in the fourteenth century and extended on both sides of the Jumna. On the West the canal ran to Hissar, which was renamed after Firoz Shah and later was extended to Hansi. On the East it ran through the Doab and rejoined the Jumna near Delhi.²⁹ After Timur's invasion and during the confusion which followed this system broke down, and was not restored until the sixteenth century. Shah Jahan undertook this work and his engineer Ali Mardan Khan constructed in addition a branch from Karnal to the new city of Shahjahanabad. The restored system flourished until the troubles of the mid-eighteenth century, and was said to have provided the Wazir Sardar Jung with an annual revenue of

28. Delhi Residency and Agency, 25 and 33.

29. Delhi Settlement Report, 1882, 267-9.

twenty-five lakhs.³⁰ The branch to Safidon ceased running in 1740 after Nadir Shah's invasion. The Delhi branch was broken in Safdar Jung's Civil War of 1754. It was repaired by Ahmad Shah, but thereafter neglected. An accident to the headworks cut off the flow of water, and no one was strong or rich enough to undertake the necessary repair. Zabita Khan made an attempt to restore the eastern branch, but his power ebbed away and he achieved little more than the adding of his name to a ruined earthwork. It was left to the British to follow in Moghul footsteps and restore the whole network of Tughlak canals.

Metcalf early saw the possibilities of irrigation and strongly recommended restoration.³¹ A survey was made in 1810 and two reports thereafter, but nothing definite was done until Lord Hastings visited the Territory in 1815. He saw the traces of the old canal, including a fine stone bridge, near Karnal, learnt that the ordinary water of the district was brackish and that the district had formerly been called "The Sea of Plenty." Engineers reported that the canal could be put "in a perfect condition" for three lakhs of rupees, and he forthwith ordered the work to be done.³² Another survey was made and work started in 1817. On May 30 1820, the water ran into Delhi again for the first time for eighty years. It was a general festival; the people went out to meet the oncoming water and welcomed it with garlands of flowers. The next year a defect caused a stoppage, but thereafter the water flowed steadily and a new era started for districts it fed. The repair of the western branch, or Firoz Shah's canal proper, was undertaken on Fortescue's recommendation in 1820, and the water flowed in 1825. The eastern or Doab canal was the last of Firoz Shah's works to be restored. Begun in 1822 it was completed by Lieut. De Bude and Major Smith in 1830.³³

These canals had varied and important results. There was some talk of using them for power and one or two mills were started. It was also hoped to use them as a means of transport and locks were fitted for the purpose, but neither project came to much. Their main use was for agriculture and here the results were remarkable. Pastoral groups like the *Gujars* and *Ahirs*

30. Report on Sonapat and Panipat Districts, 1836, by J. Lawrence.

31. Shamsi-siraj Afif. *Tarikh-i Firoz Shahi*. Elliott and Dowson. *History of India as told by its Own Historians*, III, 298-300.

32. Asiatic Annual Register, 1800, II, 37. W. Hamilton, E. India Gazetteer, Delhi.

33. Kaye, *Life of Lord Metcalfe*, ed. 1858, I, 265.

showed a tendency to adopt agriculture when they saw the water flowing at their doors. Agriculturists made haste to increase their holdings and take in any available waste land. When the canal was still young there was a remarkable increase of fertility and prosperity, so that Lawrence could write.

"Sonapat Bangur is the finest, most populated and best cultivated *pergunnah* in the district The population and the produce bears a very good proportion to the area and at the same time is very equally spread over its surface. This circumstance and its extensive irrigation has rendered it a perfect garden. You may ride for miles and see nothing but the most splendid cultivation".³⁴

But there was a serpent in this as in most gardens. The workings of silt deposits and steepage were not understood then as they are now. The first great burst of fertility was followed after some years by a falling off caused by the accumulation of *reh* or silt deposit along the banks.³⁵ Villagers who had cheerfully paid increased assessments found their crops falling off and remission became general. From 1856-1860 some Rs. 23,000 was remitted in thirty-five villages.³⁶ In addition to this the canal on its old alignment ran along a depression in the apparently flat Jumna plain. In some places the bed of the canal was above the level of the land and a great steepage and waterlogging was the result. The canal was lined with a series of lagoons and stagnant marshes which were paradises for wild fowl and their hunters, and death traps to the villagers. As a further consequence, the annual rains were prevented by the canal from draining out of the "valley" into the river. Marshes became *jhils* and lagoons lakes. Malaria appeared and the health of the villagers in the canal tract became definitely worse than that of those elsewhere.³⁷ Conditions were worst in the district between Panipat and Karnal. Karnal itself suffered a change of climate which none could ignore, for Karnal had been a military station since 1806. This verdant spot with its cool waters and shady trees became, in the course of a few years, a mausoleum for civilian and soldier alike. Rows of graves in the quiet and deserted cemeteries still tell the pitiful tale of young men and infants cut off on the threshold of life. Lord Ellenborough acted, where others had only wrung their hands,

34. *Journal of Lord Hastings*, I, 282-284, 5 Jan. 1815.

35. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (J.A.S.B.), II, 105-128. Colvin, *Restoration of Ancient Canals in Delhi Territory*.

36. Report on the Sonapat District, 1836, by J. Lawrence.

37. Delhi Settlement Report, 1882.

and removed the cantonment to Ambala. Rows of barracks and lines of chimneys, crumbling bungalows and the solitary church tower still point to the former bustling activity. But the villagers could not move to Ambala, and it was fifty years before the root of the evil was attacked. Then the alignment of the canal was altered to correspond with the lie of the land, and it now sweeps round in a great curve from Karnal to Panipat. Karnal is now as healthy as any other place in the canal area.

The Delhi system was and remained a monument of what one man could do when armed with ample powers and given a free hand to use them. It provided one of the best arguments in British Indian history for trusting the man on the spot, and at the same time underlined the condition of such trust. An outstanding man could effect great changes and improvements, but the average official would either adhere rigidly to existing practice and the letter of the law, or by leaning on his subordinates over much would allow abuses to creep in. The Delhi Territory had an exceptionally able group of officials; it had also its quota of the average, though few of the really incapable, who were then a much larger proportion of the service than now.

There remains the larger question of the success of the system as a whole. How far were Metcalfe's ultimate objects, the conciliation and contenting of the *zamindars*, the maintenance of the village institutions in their pristine vigour, actually achieved? Metcalfe shared with Munro and Elphinstone the ambition of conserving village institutions as far as possible, and in many respects his were the most promising efforts of the three. Munro and Elphinstone grasped the position of the cultivator as the owner of the land and of the village as an organic social unit. But Metcalfe went further; he realised the relevance of the second as well as the first to the revenue measures of Government. He did not stultify his endeavours to conserve village institutions by settling with each villager separately and so leaving the village authorities with no reason for existence. Above all he did not regard the *panchayat* as the heart of village life. The *panchayat* for him was the heart-beat, not the heart; the heart itself was the yeoman *zamindar* with his immemorial holdings and rights. Metcalfe approached more nearly to the heart of Indian rural life than any of the early administrators. Nevertheless, if his spirit in after years ever brooded over the Delhi Territory and its people, he must have shared with Munro and Elphinstone their disappointment at the results of their work. His failure was not so com-

plete as that of the other two men, but it was definite and clear all the same. Since Metcalfe's grasp of village realities was greater than that of the others, his failure along with them is all the more puzzling and it prompts the query as to whether anything the British could have done would have saved the village institutions. Yet the same village, so anaemic in the 19th century, seemed to be the protoplasm of all Indian social life. It was at any rate something so tough that it had survived intact all the wars and revolutions, all the pestilences, floods and famines of twenty centuries.

In the reasons for Metcalfe's failure may be found a clue to the larger problem. In the first place Metcalfe's hope of so attaching the *zamindar* to the British Government that "we might depend on the villages for the defence of the country against foreign enemies, and the support of the government in any case of internal disturbance," has never been realised to this day. A crucial test for the Delhi Territory was the Mutiny. *Zamindars* who felt that they had something vital to lose from a rebel victory would have actively supported the British forces. They shared none of the specific grievances of the mutineers; they had been affected little by Dalhousie's westernising measures. But their support was not forthcoming, in spite of the fact that the new Moghul Government offered no very rosy alternative. There was passivity and waiting on events, there was a ready supply of provisions but no active intervention. It was a very different attitude to that of the Sikh chiefs, whose interest was clearly with the British and who might well dread a revived Mogul monarchy. It is no answer to say that villagers are always passive and apathetic. The Delhi villagers fifty years earlier were neither and were ready enough to act whenever they thought their interest involved. Clearly the villager, while he thought the government was not so bad as to be worth rising against, was also sure that it was not good enough to raise a *lathi* in its defence.

The first reason for this regrettable failure to appreciate "the manifold blessings of British rule" is to be found in the over-assessment already mentioned and its attendant consequences. Over-assessment meant first a loss of profits which the *zamindars* expected. Then it meant expensive loans to meet arrears, and all the time administrative "pressure" which means village oppression. If the evil continued the point was reached when the *zamindars* said—why should we labour to extend our fields if all our profits are swept away by a Government more insatiable than the Mara-

thas and more implacable than the Afghans? Then came flight and settlement elsewhere. The abolition of suttee and flogging and the death penalty was poor consolation to penniless farmers. All these things happened and happened constantly in the Delhi Territory. Its prevalence may be gauged from the fact that the first assistant for nearly twenty years, the man mainly responsible for revenue work, was the notoriously severe William Fraser. In Rewari the revenue actually dropped Rs. 30,000 a year instead of rising after Fraser had been at work. In Sonapat nine villages were assessed in 1821 for Rs. 16,131. In 1826 there were less than two thousand people left in them; in 1842 they were deserted. The assessment had to be nearly halved before recovery took place and even in 1880 a population of over 5000 was paying only three quarters of the original demand.³⁸ In the Karnal district "villagers absconded en masse" rather than face the settlement officer. One officer reported that Chattra Bahadurpur, which had just been reassessed for Rs. 860, was then paying Rs. 1400, and ought only to pay Rs. 500. "Malba Mazra assessed at Rs. 2180, beats Chattra Bahadurpur hollow in poverty and privation." In Kishmapur (assessed at Rs. 4130) "The zamindars are tolerably intimate with poverty." Atael "has not a tale to tell nowadays for it is deserted." Against the name of villages in the three years settlement lists was constantly written "Tahsil Kham"—broken down.

It must not be imagined that the revenue officers easily gave up the effort to realise the government demand. Edmondstone, an enlightened officer who rose to be chief secretary to the Supreme Government, wrote of the Panipat district in 1842.³⁹

"It was ascertained that the greatest difficulty had been invariably experienced in realising the demands of Government, that notwithstanding sternness and well-sustained efforts, the district officer and their subordinates had been baffled and that balances were frequent and large."

The sternness of the Collectors took the form of pressure applied from above. The Collector frowned on the *Tahsildar* and the *Tahsildar* frowned on the village *lambodar*. The *lambodar* frowned on the *zamindars* as long as he could, and when he could do so no longer, prepared with the whole village for flight. To help the *lambodars* in this process, soldiers were billeted at free quarters upon the villagers until they paid up.⁴⁰ The only relief

which could be obtained was by bribes, and it is not surprising to find a new Collector reporting of his district "that the Durbar of extorting bribes is in force." It was not only the severity of the revenue demands which caused discontent (it cannot be too often repeated) but the impossibility of ever escaping them as in former times.

The second reason for the failure of the British to win the positive support of the *zamindars* was the fate of the village institutions. This brings us to the second of Metcalfe's main objectives, their conservation and encouragement. He realised that the *maqaddams* and not the *panchayats* were the keystones of the village arch. But his perspicacity was rendered fruitless by forces beyond his control. These were in a word, the Courts and the Police. Together they worked to undermine the authority of the *maqaddams* that the revenue arrangements so carefully tried to preserve. The *maqaddam's* authority depended upon his influence both as the manager of the revenue and as the keeper of the peace in the village. The revenue rules recognised the former and the system of village responsibility the latter. The Courts came upon the scene in despite of Metcalfe and his assistants, simply because they were an invariable part of the British system and therefore could not be kept out. In Metcalfe's time his assistants were not stationed in any one district. Their tours of the country provided only spasmodic opportunities of appeal for the disgruntled villager. They were intended and probably actually succeeded in providing correctives rather than substitutes for village justice. But from 1820 the Territory was divided into districts, each with its Collector and steadily increasing apparatus of authority. The result was the multiplication of opportunities for appeal. Village courts became in effect courts of first instance only and no one any longer thought of allowing the *maqaddams* to have the last word. The well known character of the new Courts still further hastened the process. If the Courts were regarded as a lottery and a case as a profitable speculation, it followed that the man with a bad case would resort to the Court even more readily than the man with a good one. Everything was possible in the Courts, and, when family honour was at stake, everything possible must be tried. The rustic, in the presence of people who knew his life-time's thought and action intimately, would hesitate or scorn to depart far from the truth. If he did, his hopeful economies were easily and accurately discounted by his neighbours. But in the distant court there were no keen eyed, vigilant neighbours to

38. *Ibid.*, 148.

39. *Ibid.*

40. *Ibid.*, 141. The figures for 1880 were 5789 people and Rs. 12,755.

keep him in the way, no watchful assembly to carry on a running commentary of praise or blame. Instead he found vakils without whose help and rupees the court officials could not even be induced to put his case upon the record. They told him, as they elinked his grudging rupees, that the last thing needful for his case was the truth, that in fact it was the *one* thing to avoid. The case would depend entirely upon their skill in adapting the law to the alleged facts, or the facts to the law. Arrived in the Court, he was awed by the presence of the Collector who perhaps had recently visited his village to "settle" it in all the panoply of post-Mogul officialdom; he was astonished to find no account taken of tones of expression and bearing, of personal position and character; above all, no audience of familiar commentators. Instead, there was an unaccountable obsession with the spoken word-in-itself, and a frantic scratching of pens. The sincerest assertions had no more weight than the shamefaced mumblings of the man with guilt stamped on every line of his features. He would discover that for two annas a day witnesses could be found who would testify to anything under the sun and see their tales being written down as solemnly as though they were the oracles of the gods themselves. Truth and sincerity might make the rafters ring, but they would have not the slightest effect, for the judge probably only half-understood the language in which they were uttered. The whole process was one which seemed to the villager to neglect every relevant factor in the discovery of truth, and to concentrate, with terrifying pomposity, on the one thing which certainly had no objective reality—words. Words and statements were for him images and shadows, veils which half revealed and half concealed, that to which the shrewdness of the judge should penetrate. Yet here they were regarded as the only realities, the only basis of any decision. And that decision, when it came, was too often unaccountable too; elaborate where it should have been simple and blunt where it should have been subtle. Can it be wondered that the Courts were feared and despised and yet resorted to more and more? The villager would go home marvelling and (if he had lost his case) cursing the British, but in any case convinced that the *maqaddams* were much smaller men than he had previously thought. The Courts tended steadily to replace the village jurisdictions, not by direct encroachment, or by providing better justice, but by providing an alternative and speculative method of winning a point. The very uncertainty of their processes increased their magnetic attraction, because it gave the man with a bad case the hope of success. Hope is a more potent parent of change than

distress, and to the ambitious, the disgruntled and the jealous, it pointed unerringly to the Courts. After the Courts came the Police. They were admittedly effective against *dacoits* and *thugs* and equally admittedly corrupt. "The police again is universally condemned as a source of general oppression," wrote Bentinck to Metcalfe, and again to Auber "the police management, is beyond measure offensive." Everyone "in or out of authority, admits fully the extent of their exactions and most tormenting and exacting conduct."⁴¹ The Police had the power of inquiring into crimes in a village, which gave them the opportunity of exacting hush money. Or they might arrest men to answer charges which, on suitable payment, would not be proceeded with. The pages of the Judicial Consultations are full of "animadversions" upon this prevalent practice. When a case actually came to court, witnesses would be dragged long distances to give their evidence. One magistrate in the Agra district noticed long lines of what he took to be convicts chained together. No, he was corrected; they were chained, it was true, but they were not convicts. They were witnesses, who only in this way could be got to participate in the benefits of British justice.⁴² But if no policeman could recognise the tinkle of coin or the sheen of silver, the effect of the institution would have been the same in the long run. They undermined the authority of the village elders and the whole system of village responsibility by providing an alternative system. Intended to "improve" it, the police in fact destroyed it. Their corruption, by tending to make crime a great lottery as well as litigation, only hastened the process. The proprietors became year by year less and less masters in their own villages. Outside interference undermined their authority, and the uncertainty of its working sapped their self-confidence. The village lords of an earlier day, *lathi* in hand or matchlock on shoulder, became little by little querulous sticklers for annas and pice.

If this be a correct explanation of the withering of village institutions in spite of the most earnest efforts to preserve them, it raises the larger issue as to whether anything the British could have done would have saved them. The discussion of so great a question is hardly within the scope of this study, but one or two considerations may be noted. It must be remembered that British action in the main was not due to any personal idiosyncrasies or turpitude. The officials were driven on by a rising tide of

41. *Ibid.*, 138 seq. Quotations from the Karnal Records.

42. *Ibid.*, 148.

opinion in England, which was now, for the first time, able to transfer itself *continuously* to India. Episodes like the trial of Warren Hastings were sporadic comet-like manifestations, but from the early years of the 19th century opinion in England exercised a continuous and increasing pressure. And as yet there was no effective Indian opinion to act as a counter weight. Ram Mohan Roy was a portent, but not during his life an effective influence. This rising tide of opinion was Utilitarian, and its manifestation was the improving spirit. Bentinck was typical of his time when he prided himself on the title of Improver. Elphinstone read Bentham on his tours, Holt Mackenzie preached Utility in high places, and Metcalfe imagined himself a utility man. Thus it came about that the more aware the official, the more anxious was he to improve, and the very men who were most anxious to conserve the best in Indian institutions were bound by their principles to try to improve them as well. The elder Mill had given the Utilitarian view of India. It was for him one vast field for improvement of every kind. Following his cue, there was one class of men who held that everything Indian was bad, that new wine must be put in new bottles. Of such were Macaulay and latter Dalhousie. And there were those who, seeing the value of things like the village and the *panchayat*, thought our mission was to improve and develop them. It was this attempt to improve which precipitated the destruction of village institutions. It was the tragedy of the time that this was brought about, not by dark Satanic plottings, but by the best efforts of British benevolence. The mistakes of the 18th century were the results of their faults; the mistakes of the 19th the expression of their virtues.

To the Utilitarian, law was an inspired scripture and legislation a Delphic oracle. An Act of Parliament had for them the sublime force of the divine decree 'Let there be light; and there was light.' Order was the necessary condition of law, the ether which surrounded and permeated it. Together they were the twin pillars of the utilitarian state, beneath whose shelter rational man sought enlightened pleasure and avoided pain. The conviction found expression in India in the pathetic belief in the efficacy of Law Courts and Police. Its force was such that it swept before it the strongest protests of the most influential men on the spot. Malcolm, Metcalfe, Munro and Elphinstone prophesied together against them, but the Courts rolled over them all. They were no better than so many Canutes pushed back by the rising waters. And the conflict was within them as well as without for most of them, as has been noted, were utilitarians in principle.

They could only plead local conditions or temporary expediency; they could only mitigate instead of excluding.

One other factor must not be omitted. The new government was much more thorough in its action and much wider in its scope than any which had gone before it. So the occasions for interference with village life were much more frequent and the results more widely felt. The trouble with the land revenue was not so much that the British demanded more than before, but that they realised every penny they demanded. The trouble with finance was not that they spent the money of the peasants in riot and excess, but that they maintained a larger and more expensive official cadre. The trouble with the villages was not that they were more oppressive and arbitrary than their predecessors, but that they interfered in the same ways much more frequently. A bullet a year fired at a house leaves the house intact, but under successive machine gun volleys the walls soon crumble. In all these things the British were better than their immediate predecessors; but the effect of the measures on the organic village life was for worse.

To the 19th century administrator to rule well was to improve; to improve was to interfere. Their mistake was as simple as it was abysmal. They thought that the Indian village had survived down the ages in spite of constant neglect by governments. The reverse was the truth; the Indian village had survived *because* of its constant neglect.

Karachi 1700—1840

By

C. L. MARIWALLA, B.A.

TO-DAY the city of Karachi presents the spectacle of an up-to-date city and port, enjoying as it does all the amenities of the largest cities in India. All the amenities of civic life, all conveniences to the traveller and the visitor, and all facilities for every commercial enterprise, presumes for the city a long period of antecedent growth resulting in the brimful life that it presents at the present day. But History has a different story to offer. A history of Karachi reads like a page from romance. It is only after the ascendancy of the British that Karachi has assumed its present proportions. It makes an interesting study to be recounting the early period of the growth of the city of Karachi, one of the largest in our country.

Picture to yourselves a small fishing village containing hardly 25 huts, round which grew tamarind and mangrove trees, near the present Ami Talao on the Mauripur motor road, then known as Dirbo. This village had near it a pool of water, then known as Kalachi-jo-kun, after the name of Wadero Kalachi. Such was Karachi in the first quarter of the 18th century—a mere hamlet, quite unworthy of a conquest.

In those early days the trade of Sind ever sought a town on the ever changing mouth of the Indus, while that of Baluchistan and the North came down to a port formed by Cape Monze and the Hubb river. Thus there stood a sea-port town at the conflux of the Hubb with the Arabian sea. This, Kharak Bunder, was great in commercial renown as can be gauged from the number of places with which the traders traded. One Seth Bhojoomal—after whom the Bhojwani family came into existence—had commercial relations with Muscat, Bahrein, Sonmiani, Gwadar, Bela, Bushire and Shiraz etc. This Seth Bhojoomal was one of the prominent and foresighted men who left the decadent regime of the Kalhoras and took up this new enterprise in commerce by founding a colony at Kharak Bunder.

After a lapse of time the entrance to the port was silted up by the sand and no ship could enter the harbour. So it became

imperative that the port be abandoned. But whither were the merchants to move? Jagannath, the city astronomer, consulted his art and Bhojoomal, the city father his experience, and both preferred a place a few miles on the South-east of Kharak Bunder, a place in the vicinity of their old port, quite suitable for their mercantile purposes. So on the 26th of January in the blessed year of the Lord, 1729, this enterprising band of merchants quietly came and occupied this village of Dirbo. Thus by their foresight they perceived the importance of the place much earlier than the British, who solely are credited with appreciating the importance of this natural port. After the colonisation of Kharak Bunder merchants, the place came to be known as Kalachi-jo-Goth. At this time the Manora Bar did not exist. A ridge of hills then barred the Manora entrance. Another bar above the Baba Island, now known as the Nawa Nar was used for traffic. Thus was Karachi occupied by the Kharak Bunder merchants.

Soon Seth Bhojoomal perceived the necessity of fortifying the town, for purposes of safety. He talked over the matter with one Assoodomal who consulted Beebee Muradan—the head of the muslims residing at Karachi then—on the desirability of erecting a defence to the town. The suggestion being generally acceptable, the work soon started. Foreign labour was engaged to assist in the task ahead. And soon there arose a fort made of Mangrove wood and mud, enclosing an area of 30 to 35 acres. This fort had round towers at each angle and along the sides which were mounted with cannons brought from Muscat. The fort had two entrances. The one facing the west was called Khara Darwaza or the gate leading to Brackish water, and the other facing north-east called Mitha Darwaza as this led to the Sweet water of the Lyari river. All the people lived inside the fort, which was surrounded on the outside by a forest of Timar Trees.

The entrance to the harbour at Shah-Bunder was choked up with silt brought down by the Indus and the merchants had to remove to Karachi for their business. Thus Karachi increased in population and importance.

So far Karachi was no-man's-land. No kingdom owned Karachi, due to its insignificance. But with the advent of brisk sea-borne trade with outside places, the attention of the rulers was drawn to Karachi and the Kalhoras, without the slightest opposition, annexed the place to their power.

But they had not to keep Karachi for long. In an engagement with the Kalhoras, Jharak Khan, brother of the Khan of Kelat

was killed and Karachi was offered to the Khan of Kelat to expiate the royal life. It remained a Kelat territory for pretty long. The state took no interest in its advancement. It was solely managed by the merchants, though formally a worthless Nawab represented the Khan of Kelat. The peace of Karachi remained undisturbed till 1792 A.D. The merchants were engaged in their prosperous and roaring business, the fishermen plied their nets profitably and the Nawab enjoyed his little residency.

The Kalhoras were ejected by the Talpurs and in the last years of the 18th century Sind came under the rule of the well known Char-Yars or the four friends. Mir Fateh Ali possessed lower Sind. He was ambitious and so coveted Karachi, realizing as he did the future of this tiny beehive of activity, the haunt of filthy fishermen and the pot-bellied Banias.

In the early part of the year 1792, for the first time, Karachi faced a foe fifteen thousand strong, under the command of Mian Fakiro—after whom we have a quarter in Hyderabad known as Mian Fakir-jo-pir and Mian Palia. The army encamped on the other side of the Lyari and took up rather a threatening attitude. Balramdas, the youngest son of Seth Bhojoomal was a brave young man and seeing a siege laid to the town he volunteered to put up an effective opposition to the Army of the Amirs. The Kelat garrison was quite unfit for the task, so Seth Balramdas collected all fishermen, mariners and others, explained to them the state of affairs and thus roused them to defend their town. Guns were mounted on the Bastians and so stoutly did Balramdas and his men put up the opposition that after two months of ceaseless siege, the Baluch army had to return back to the Capital rather wearied out. Seth Balramdas perceived the necessity of sending for Guns from his Godowns, for any eventuality. And he was correct in his presumption. Hardly had Karachi passed a few months in peace, when again Mir Fateh Ali's force came to capture Karachi. "Guns boomed and threatened to breakdown the fort" but; equally did the Guns of Balramdas play a havoc in the enemy's camp. Valiantly the Baluchis fought and equally stoutly was Karachi defended. The army never expected such an opposition and within 3 months it returned discomfited and disillusioned. It now dawned on the Amir's mind that diplomacy alone could deliver to them the port of Karachi and hence brute force needed to be replaced by tact.

Seth Dharianomal, the eldest brother of Seth Balramdas was aware of the consequences of his opposing the rising power of the Amirs. So he wrote to the Khan of Kelat that it had been possible

for him to defend Karachi twice, but should it happen that the city is besieged once again, the Khan must provide ammunition and men for the effective defence of the town. The Khan wrote back to say "I am unable to carry on any warfare, nor can I command any army for the purpose. If you can defend the town, well and good, or else you are not to blame." The Nawab at Karachi was informed of this reply and seeing his life in danger he begged of the Bhojwanies that he might be escorted safe to his place, which act of kindness was done to him by Seth Dharianomal. So by 1794 the Kelati symbol of authority quietly retired, and Karachi was to all intents and purposes in the hands of the Bhojwani family.

Now Seth Dharianomal's daughter was married to the son of Diwan Wadhupal, a responsible officer of the state. He resided at Hyderabad Mir Fateh Ali sent for Diwan Wadhupal and asked him to get him the keys of Karachi, which, he informed him, were now in the custody of Seth Dharianomal, his daughter-in-law's father. The Mir had adopted rather a threatening attitude; so Diwan-Wadhupal started post-haste for Karachi, to do the needful. But he did not succeed in his errand. And on his return he was put under arrest by the Amirs. His daughter-in-law smelt more danger and could not tolerate her father-in-law's captivity; so she wrote a letter to her father explaining her position. Seth Dharianomal realized the misery caused to his daughter. Mir Karam Ali Khan (ruler of Hyderabad) had also written to Seth Dharianomal in this connection since they were on friendly terms. Seth Dharianomal saw only one course open to him i.e. to surrender Karachi. But he was a businessman. He wrote to the Amirs that for such an act, it was necessary that the Amirs shall have to grant to them certain immunities and the Nawabs appointed for Karachi by them shall act with the advice of his family. He sought the immediate release of Diwan Wadhupal and suggested that a fresh siege might be laid to the town when at night, the keys would be passed on to the commanders secretly, to come and occupy the town. These terms were accepted; Diwan Wadhupal was released and a fresh army of 20,000 Baluchis came to attack Karachi in September 1795. Guns were fired and at night on 11th Bado Sambat 1851 (1795 A.D.) keys were handed over to the commanders of the attacking army and Karachi was occupied by them. After enjoying Sherbet and installing a hundred sepoy of Karmati Baloch clan for guarding the town, the troops marched back to Hyderabad. In this bargain for the sale of Karachi, the Bhojwanis secured remission of 1/3 of all Excise duty on their trade and of the land tax on their gardens. The Bhojwani family was allowed the privilege of extracting

liquor for private consumption at Seth's own distillery. Above all, Seth Dharianomal was the recipient of many costly presents from the Amirs. Thus Karachi changed hands in the dying years of the 18th century.

With the passage of time the rocky reef that barred the present entrance to the harbour had disappeared and of it only the present oyster rocks remained. So that the Nawa Nar entrance was abandoned and the opening to the South-east, just created by the melting of the rocks on that side, was taken up as the new entrance to the Karachi harbour. By this the harbour became more safe for anchorage. The harbour of Karachi was now protected from the sea and foul winds by the rocky promontory, the island of Manhora, the Conglomerated capped, cone-shaped rock of warm yellow sand-stone, rising 150 feet above sea level and extending over 1½ miles. The opening to the South East was protected by several insulated rocks (the oyster rocks), the harbour was land-locked on the South. However some defence needed to be provided at point Manhora. This, the ambitious Amir perceived and soon after the conquest of Karachi by him, he got a fort built at the entrance of the harbour in 1795. The fort was square in form with a round tower near it. The fort had bastions at the angles and the side looking inland was strengthened by a kind of semi-circular redoubt. It had a parapet running round it with numerous loopholes for musketry. There were 11 guns on the fort. There was also a three gun-battery level with the water, as one passed the fort and entered the harbour. There has been serious difference of opinion as to the effective defence provided by the fort. Col. Pottinger felt that the fort was judiciously placed, but the actual experience in 1839 proved that Captain Carless, who had inspected the harbour of Karachi was more correct. He writes in this connection:—"The fort was built to command the entrance but it is built too far from the edge of the cliff to do so effectually, and could not in fact offer any serious opposition to a vessel attempting to enter it. A sloop of war anchored at a proper distance would soon reduce it to a heap of ruins and the round tower too would follow suit and fare the same fate."

After nearly a century of occupation Karachi had a population between 8000 to 10000 souls in 1837. The Hindus formed two thirds of the whole; the rest were Muslims. For the education of the Hindus 3 or 4 schools were conducted by Sarsood and Pokrana Brahmins. Here, the Hindoo children were taught the Sindhian language, Book-keeping, reading and writing letters was all that was taught in these schools, for which each child took a handful of

rice and a few tooth-sticks daily and a rupee or two was paid by the parents every month. The mullas taught the muslims, the Persian language in the mosques. The Court language was Persian and all desirous of government employment had per force to repair to the mulla's mosque for their advancement of knowledge entitling them to the goal they had in mind. Here the charge varied according to the progress made by the pupil, the least being Rs. 3 per month.

At this time (1837) Karachi possessed 21 mosques and 13 *astans* of Pirs. Out of all these only one of Pir Mangha received Government allowance of oil. Hindu temples, *tikanas* and *dharma-sālas* numbered 34. Here also only one received Government aid, namely the temple on the site of the present temple at Juna Bandu. The Government offered 7½ seers of oil per month for the lamp that eternally burnt here. There was no idol in his temple then, and the temple was dedicated to the deity of the sea. It was much thought of, and no Hindu vessel ever entered or left the port without a small offering having been made at the temple door.

Though it is well known that the princes of Sind had no ocean shipping interest and they attached but little value to imports and exports, except in so far as they might tend to increase their revenues and add to their personal comforts, still the trade of Karachi had greatly increased in its volume. The annual average value of trade transacted at Karachi exclusive of opium and precious stones amounted to Rs. 3747000. The average customs revenue from the port of Karachi during the 1st quarter of the 19th century was Rs. 150,000 consisting as it did the amounts realized from the following duties:—

Advalorem duty of 4% on all imports.

Extra duty of 2½% on all goods that left Karachi for Upper Sind.

A duty of 1% on all exports except silk piece goods and copper.

Extra duty of 3% on every *Kurwar* (1800 lbs) of goods imported and exported.

A duty of Rs. 130 on every camel load of opium.

The following were the chief imports:—

Sugar, pepper, cocoanuts, betel-nuts, iron, copper, cardamomes, ~~spices~~ etc., silk (raw dyed, Bengal, China, 1st sort) ivory, English cotton yarn, copra (dried cocoanuts), tin, cotton, dates, plants, slaves, and Oilcakes, the total imports being Rs. 1,599,625.

The chief exports were as follows:—

Ghee (Rs. 170,000), Wool (Rs. 35,000), Indigo (Rs. 120,000), wheat (Rs. 67,500), fish and shark fins (Rs. 30,000). Total exports being Rs. 547,000.

One of the chief local industries was printing in gold and silver. The remnant of this industry can be seen in the number of old printers now doing silver-nitrate printing chiefly in the old town. Karachi enjoyed great celebrity in the preparation of hides. At this time Karachi enjoyed great celebrity in the preparation of hides. At this time Karachi extensively traded with Bombay, Daman Mandvi, Malabar coast etc., Muscat, Behrein, Bushire, Shiraz and many other places.

On behalf of the Amirs, the administration was carried on by two governors, one Civil and the other Military. Usually he was the one and the same man; Nawab, as he was officially termed, the Civil Administrator administered justice and his establishment collected the customs dues. His authority was uncontrolled, the only limit being provided by complaints registered against him at the Amir's Court. The extent of his authority was not very defined, but it was supposed that he could not put a man to death without the previous permission of the Amirs. Mutilation, flogging and exposure in stocks were usual punishment but the more usual was the punishment of fines, when the Nawab was assured that the accused could afford to secure his release by payment of money, since in most cases it went to enrich his own coffers. The very trifling remunerations paid to the servants of the state, specially the *amils* and *sepoys*, was a fruitful source of corruption and could not be wondered at. Apart from the Nawab who drew Rs. 100 a month his establishment consisted of two *munshis* drawing Rs. 24 a month, for keeping books and correspondence and a score of *amils* and *sepoys* whose pay varied from Rs. 3 to Rs. 19. The treasury officer of the times drew the grand sum of Rs. 7-8-0 per mensem. The military governor had the command of the mud fort and Manhora and had about 50 men under him drew a pay varying from Rs. 2 to Rs. 5 a month, while the Jamadar of Boat-men got Rs. 20 a month and he, the honourable sum of sixty rupees. Under this administration Karachi thrived for nearly half a century when once again it was faced with a foe.

During the days of the Kalhoras, for the first time the East India Co., extended their mercantile enterprise to Sind. But their connection had a chequered career. In the first quarter of the nineteenth century the East India Co. negotiated a fresh treaty with

the Amirs for trade facilities. Col. Pottinger had just negotiated the requisite terms of the treaty, and the first Afghan war was just breaking out. Early in 1839, His Majesty's 40th regiment, and the 2nd Bombay N. I. Grenadiers and a company of Black Artillery (European) stationed at Bombay, received instructions to proceed to Sind via Karachi. H.M.S. *Wellesley* and the *Hannah* transport took them to Karachi. While on their way, at Mandvi they were informed that they might have to face opposition at the port of "Kurrachee" and hence they should be in readiness to resist. The final instructions received on 31st January 1839 were "Proceed to Kurrachee and take it." And accordingly everyone was alert. At Hujamaree, the principal mouth of the Indus, 50 miles east of Karachi, the expedition was joined by H.M.S. *Algerine* and the *Constance*. On the morning of 1st February the point 'Manhora' stood in the far distance. It was just in the late afternoon that H.M.S. *Wellesley* and the *Hannah* transport along with the *Algerine* and the *Constance* lay anchored at a distance of about seven to eight hundred yards to the west of 'Manhora' point on the ocean side. All men on board the ships anxiously awaited the arrival of the morn when the attack would begin. "Morning at length broke and the sun burst in all that glorious effulgence which can only be witnessed in the tropics; there was not a breath to ripple the sea or disturb the vast uniform brightness of its glassy surface. The white walls of the little fort, perched on its rocky cliff, stood erect and the city of 'Kurrachee' in the far distance, with its long chain of bold, beautiful but sterile hills in the back ground, all contributed to form a picture of no ordinary 'grandeur.'" Thus all were on the brink of a great expectation. The boatmen of the port having spied the ship came to communicate with the men on the ship, but the officers of the ship lowered their own boats to put a stop to this communication with the port. These boats were fired at from the fort with no effect and the fight was anticipated for the morrow. At 8 a.m. on February 3rd, a flag of truce was sent on shore under Lieutenant Jenkins for the immediate and unconditional surrender of the fort. 'I am a beloch and will die first' was the reply of the bold barbarian who commanded the garrison. Moreover he despatched a few Sindhi spies to "Humbug" the British Admiral and Brigadier into the belief that 'Manhora' was a Gibraltar, and the Balochs were perfect devils to fight. 'And so are we' quoth these not-to-be-humbugged personages. By this time four companies of the 40th Regiment were landed on the western side of the fort. A second truce flag was sent but with

little success. The *killadar* (fort-keeper) admitted the superior prowess of the English force but would not give up his post and thus disobey the orders. He offered to send a man for the permission of the surrender of the fort, which, he was sure would be granted; but the Britishers would not hear any such nonsense. A notice of fifteen minutes was given for the surrender of the fort, and the ships cleared their decks for action. "When all was ready the fort was again requested with true British humanity, to open its gates," whereunto it replied laconically, and *Tantsoitpen* gallically, that 'forts might be stormed, but they never surrender.' Upon this the *Wellesley* rejoined tartly with a broadside. The British force opened fire with admirable precision and soon the whole southern face of *enceite* of miserable masonry was blown away. In the meantime a second division of the 40th regiment was ordered to land and before it actually landed British Ensign was waving on the breach which had been affected in the wall and not withstanding the high tone assumed by the *killadar* a bloodless victory was gained by the British at the expense of some five to six thousand pounds of powder and proportionate number of 32 lbs. shot. The *killadar* and his comrades ran for life—deserting the garrison—after the 4th or the 5th round, and sought refuge in the crevices of the rocks. About thirty people were made prisoners. Doubtless the garrison would have favoured the Britishers with many more specimen of their prowess in the art of gunnery, but unfortunately, this gratification was placed beyond their attainment by the obstinacy and incapability of their guns—one of which had no carriage, another had jumped off from its carriage, which it had destroyed in its violent effort for freedom, while the only remaining one had evidently resisted every attempt to make it serviceable in the defence of the fortress and had positively declined going off.

The firing of *Wellesley* was followed by a dust-storm. The people of Karachi were alarmed and began leaving the place. The people felt that the cause of the 'change of day-light into a night' by a thick cloud was the result of heavy firing. And under such circumstances the officers of the Talpur Government at Karachi viz., the Nawab Khermahomed, a beloch of the Nizamani tribe, Haji Allah Rakhia, with other minor officers, all waited on the elder brother of Seth Naumal Hotchand Bhojwani—who was in the employ of Col. Pottinger in Sind—Seth Pritamdas, and represented to him that the smoke had begun to suffocate the people, that they had no power to face the English, and that steps should be taken to stop the firing of the Cannon. In the meantime Captain

Grey and Lieut. Jenkins were sent to offer terms to the Karachi authorities. Seth Pritamdas was informed of the landing of these officers and he immediately went to receive them at the port where the Mir's people too appeared soon. These officers had been instructed by Col. Pottinger to have complete faith in Seth Pritamdas and so they accompanied Seth Pritamdas to his residence. There the officers offered their terms for peace which were readily accepted.

On the morning of 4th February 1839 the British troops started landing at Karachi. The ships moved towards the port, into the channel but soon found that the water was shallow. Hence the troops got down into the native craft called *Batelo* and from *Batelo* they got into smaller craft called *Machwa*. Finally all were compelled to bestride the damp backs of brawny Sindhis or to walk with legs *aunarel* and nether garments slung over the shoulders, through nearly a mile of mud and water, averaging two feet deep and overlying a strata of sharp shells and aquatic roots, which admirably performed the office of mantraps. On setting foot at Karachi the troops were encamped where now stands the Rambaugh recreation ground. N. M. B. Neil gives a graphic description of the town. "The town of Karachi is exceedingly dirty and the inhabitants generally are a most squalid looking set of wretches about 10,000. The great majority are Hindus. The houses are generally mud built and flat roofed, on the top of them are wicker ventilators facing the sea which perform the double duty of wind-sail and sky-light. The streets are narrow and inconvenient. The Bazaar is covered-over with matting to prevent the rays of the sun penetrating but which also precluding a free current of air, adds much to the *desagremens* of those frequenting it. The remains of a mud wall surround the citadel where there are a few wretched guns. Altogether the defences are in a most dilapidated state and had we been obliged to attack, we should have found numerous very practicable breaches readymade. The principal portion of the better description of houses are in the centre of the town, but there are no public buildings worthy of notice."

The 40th Regiment, the 2nd Bombay N. I. Grenadiers and the Company of the Black Artillery were settling down to rest when the officers proceeded to the central police Chowky of the town and unfurled the British flag; and notices of the conquest of Karachi by the British were posted on the outer walls of the station. Thus Karachi became a British possession and throve till it assumed the present form of a fine city.

Was the Abdali Invasion of 1766-67 A Real Menace to Bengal?

A REPLY TO THE REJOINDER.

By

DR. A. L. SRIVASTAVA, M.A., PH.D., D.LITT.,
Dungar College, Bikaner.

DR. NANDALAL CHATTERJI'S rejoinder to my paper bearing the above title (vide *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XIX, Part I) in which an honest attempt had been made to correct some of the learned doctor's faulty theories propounded by him in the first chapter of his thesis, namely, "Verelst's Rule in India" (*Indian Press, Allahabad*, 1939), betrays bad taste. He seems to have endeavoured to avoid the main issues and the real quest for truth in which both of us are obviously engaged. I will not, however, allow the main issues to be side-tracked; but will confine my attention to the points raised by him in his rejoinder.

(1) From Dr. Chatterji's statement that "To argue in 1940 on the basis of facts and evidence unknown to Verelst in 1767 that such defensive measures were needless is a curious method of reasoning", it is evident that the learned doctor *now* agrees with me that there is evidence which shows that Verelst's preparations were needless. But Dr. Chatterji maintains that this evidence was unknown to Verelst. My reply to his contention is two-fold, firstly, that much of the evidence on the basis of which I have fully established that there was no danger to Bengal, was not only fully known to Verelst in 1767, but is contained in *his own letters and despatches* (quoted verbatim in my paper) and in the letters from his contemporary Indian notables like Shuja-ud-daulah and Munir-ud-daulah address to Verelst himself and received, read and replied to by him (vide paragraphs 6, 7 and 13 of my paper referred to); and secondly, that my criticism was not and is not so much directed against Verelst, who could at most be charged with weakness as the head of a government or with committing an error of judgment as against Dr. Chatterji who ignored this powerful evidence in its entirety and failed in his duty as a critical and impartial historian. I emphatically maintain that no reader of his "Verelst's Rule in

India", however imaginative, would suspect even for a moment, so thoroughly one-sided is Dr. Chatterji's presentation, that there could be want of unanimity of evidence regarding danger to Bengal. Dr. Chatterji's omission of these facts is significant.

(2) Dr. Chatterji argues that "Verelst could not ignore the warning of his predecessor" (Clive) as contained in the later's last minute, and it was his lordship's "clear instruction to fight the Abdali", and not a hint. In the first place, it seems to be unnecessary to quarrel over the words 'hint', 'strong warning' and 'clear instruction', for obviously no retiring governor, however highly placed, could issue "clear instruction" to his successor in that office to do this or that, and Clive began his so-called warning "we ought to unite" etc. In the second place, despite Dr. Chatterji's dogmatic assertion that "Verelst could not ignore the warning of his predecessor", such a warning had absolutely no moral or legal binding on the new governor who was free to accept or reject it according to the exigencies of the situation; and we know (including Dr. Chatterji) that Verelst did reject this 'clear instruction' at least in part, when he sent five battalions of troops and a few pieces of cannon to Sheorajpur, 20 miles north-west of Cawnpur and not less than 240 miles from the western frontier of the Company's territory, while Clive had desired him to fight within the boundary of Bihar. Here are Clive's own words: ". . . . we should avoid extensive plains and endeavour to bring him to action in an inclosed country. I should prefer giving him battle on this side the Soan, as near the Ganges as possible, which will be our security against any disastrous event". In the third place, a careful perusal of this very minute of Clive, the relevant portion of which has been quoted by Dr. Chatterji himself and I should not repeat it here, shows beyond the shadow of a doubt that Clive wished Verelst to fight the Abdali, but only when the latter had approached the western frontier of the Company's possessions; otherwise Clive's advice of avoiding plains and giving battle to the enemy on the Patna side of the Soan (somewhere near the confluence of the Ganges with the Soan) has no meaning. And lastly, Clive's conviction that the Abdali could not threaten, it, becomes absolutely clear from his letter to Shuja-ud-Daulah, dated 15th January, 1767, in which he wrote, "As regards Shah Abdali, he may penetrate towards these parts as far as Shah-jahanabad (Delhi), but his progress will not extend further" (C.P.C. I. 2802), which Dr. Chatterji did not care to notice, though it was quoted in my paper to which the learned doctor has issued a rejoinder. Had these not been Clive's real views there was no point

in his lordships asking Verelst to withdraw all the troops within the boundary of Bihar and informing him that "The Abdali's invasion of Bengal must be a mere bugbear. So long a march is next to impossible; therefore I think he will never attempt it." I had shown in my paper that Clive left Calcutta for England nearly two months after the Abdali had crossed the Indus and a month and a week after he had occupied Lahore, and yet his lordship had not thought it necessary to make any preparation for the defence of Bengal. The situation had not materially changed between Clive's departure on 26th January and Verelst's final decision on 23rd February to formulate a grand scheme of defence, as the invader had not even crossed the river Satlaj. The worthy historian of Verelst, who has taken shelter behind the so-called warning of Clive, should have read the latter's meaning in the light of his lordship's own conduct towards the invader and the clear expression of his views about the invasion before and after his last minutes.

(3) Characteristically enough Dr. Chatterji did not think it necessary to ascertain by a careful examination of all the available evidence whether Shuja-ud-Daulah was *really nervous*, because of the Abdali's appearance in the Punjab, or *he only pretended to be nervous in order to make capital out of the confused situation*. By a clear analysis of the Nawab-Wazir's foreign policy during 1765-67, I showed in my paper that being a cool and cunning diplomatist, Shuja-ud-Daulah *purposely betrayed alarm* against the alleged Ruhella alliance with the Shah *in order to instigate the English to help him in occupying Ruhelkhand on which he had long been casting his longing eyes*. I should not be guilty of the repetition of that discussion and the long quotations from Shuja-ud-Daulah's correspondence with Clive and Verelst, but must admit that Dr. Chatterji's sense of values must be radically different from ours, for unless it be a greater stigma to be nervous than to pretend to be nervous in order to instigate one neighbour to launch a war of aggression against another neighbour so as to allow him to turn such an occasion to his personal advantage, Dr. Chatterji's characterisation of me as an "avowed apologist for Shuja-ud-Daulah" arguing "in the fashion of a nervous lawyer called upon to defend a weak case" is not only devoid of justification, but is also altogether pointless.

(4) After I have exposed the learned doctor's serious error of anachronism, he pleads that his point was "that the authorities formulated their plan of defence on the 23rd February, not because of Colonel Barker's letter (written on 12th March and reached Calcutta on 24th March), but because they had already been warned

by others, including Smith and Clive" and that "Barker's letter only deepened the growing anxiety of the authorities." Obviously this is an after-thought that suggested itself to Dr. Chatterji after he had perused my criticism. In the course of the discussion of the reasons which prompted Verelst and the Select Committee to formulate the said scheme of defence of the 23rd February Dr. Chatterji has given Barker's suspicions of Shuja-ud-Daulah's intentions (conveyed to the committee in Barker's letter of 12th March), *but has given absolutely no indication of this 'point' either there or anywhere else in his thesis*. Dr. Chatterji's presentation of the first six paragraphs in his 'Verelst's Rule in India' leaves no room for doubt that the learned doctor clearly included Barker's suspicion of Shuja-ud-Daulah among the reasons that led to the formulation of the Committee's plan of 23rd February. Here is an analysis of the paragraphs: In the first is quoted Clive's minutes of 16th January, in the second it is shown that there were wide-spread rumours that the Abdali was coming to restore Mir Qasim to the *masnad* of Bengal; in third it is maintained that Shuja and Shah Alam wanted an immediate compromise with the invader and in the fourth—and which is relevant to the question at issue—it is stated that "The Vazir was particularly nervous" and wanted "to be sure of English protection." Immediately after is given the following sentence based on Barker's above-mentioned letter—"The Vazir's irresolute and doubtful attitude made Sir Robert Barker almost suspicious as to his intentions." In the footnote as an authority for this remark is given Bengal Select Committee, March 24, 1767 and a quotation from Barker's letter of 12th March. At the end of this para it is stated that the Emperor too was panic-stricken, and so Verelst promised to defend the dominions of Shuja and Shah Alam. In the fifth para Dr. Chatterji has summarised the main points of the discussion that took place while the comprehensive plan of defence was being formulated and in the sixth the plan (of 23rd February 1767) itself. From the above analysis scholars can easily judge whether I have been guilty of "a perversion of facts" with which Dr. Chatterji has charged me, or he has really been responsible for committing a serious error in chronology.

(5) In his endeavour to defend some of his untenable theories based solely on the evidence furnished by Smith and Barker, Dr. Chatterji argues that the Calcutta authorities were bound to be guided by the reports of their responsible officers (Smith and Barker). Surely so. But it does not follow that all that they reported was gospel truth and must be accepted, though it might not be corroborated from other sources. It did not suit Dr. Chatterji to note

that I had shown in my paper that Barker's report (behind which the learned doctor takes shelter) that "However, the Nabob Shujahul Daulah may now appear, I must suppose that he will join him (the Abdali) also" stands altogether alone, uncorroborated from any other sources. I had quoted another wrong report of Barker "that he (the Abdali) proposes to bring Shujah Dowlah and other *sardars* to an account for their arrears, particularly the former, for the plunder he has taken from Cossim Ally Cawn," which was promptly refuted by Shuja-ud-Daulah as untrue. (See Barker's letter, 15th March—refuted by Shuja, vide C.P.C. II. 265). As regards Smith, besides, the wrong report of 20th December 1766 "that Cossim Ally Cawn by some advance of money and larger promises has much contributed to Abdalla's irruption," he was responsible for filling the Bengal government with unfounded suspicion against Shah Alam and Shuja-ud-Daulah, when on 12th February 1769 the Emperor set out to pay a visit to Faizabad in response to the Wazir's invitation. Although the Emperor had assured him that he was going on a pleasure trip *only*, Smith wrote to Calcutta that he suspected the King's motive, as the whole scheme was kept a secret till a few hours before the royal start, and hence he refused to accompany him. On the seventh day of Shah Alam's start, Smith, of his own accord, left Allahabad and after a post-haste march, joined the party on the way on the 20th February "in order to act as a check on their prejudicial negotiations." He was cordially received by the Emperor and the Wazir, and found no conspiracy, no scheme and no negotiations (Vide Smith's letters to the Bengal Select Committee, 12th and 25th February 1769 and Committee's letter to Smith, March 1, 1769). The above instances are enough, though I can quote a dozen more, to show that Smith and Barker were not above prejudice and fallibility and all their reports should not be accepted without a critical examination. Those who have some experience of the political Department of the Government of India know that their agents in Native States have had most assuredly something to do with spying, and Smith and Barker were political officers at the court of Shah Alam II. I maintain what I had written in my paper that "Barker, Smith and others were not merely British officers, but also something like spies whose business it was to watch the Wazir and the Emperor, and report all they thought necessary about their desires and movements and many of these officers sent sometimes fantastic reports, devoid of genuine facts, to Calcutta." The motive of Dr. Chatterji in ascribing to me "that Smith and Barker gave *only* alarmist news and that they were *mere* spies" (note his adjectives '*only*' and the '*mere*') is obvious;

but I will only add that such a thing hardly becomes the dignity of a scholar of Dr. Chatterji's position.

(6) I have not only proved that there is no evidence to show that the Abdali invaded India at the instigation of Mir Qasim, as Dr. Chatterji thinks but also that no alliance was formed between him and the ex-ruler of Bengal—a point that Dr. Chatterji did not care to see. Dr. Chatterji may comfort himself with the thought that after all he "had suggested that there was a rumour or suspicion" to the effect that Mir Qasim was at the bottom of the invasion; but the truth is that his whole theory of "the Abdali Menace to Bengal" is based on the fictitious supposition that Mir Kasim had invited the invader and had entered into an alliance with him for the recovery of Bengal. If this was not Dr. Chatterji's belief, why did he then write, "It is, however, easy to account for his (Abdali's) ultimate abandonment of Mir Qasim's cause." (Verelst's Rule in India, P. 13), which was to help him in regaining Bengal. Verily, the learned doctor's inner-most thought could not but find its expression at least in one place in the first chapter of this thesis.

Dr. Chatterji draws my attention to Shitab Rai's letter. I am sure if the learned doctor had been just a little careful, he would have found not one but two of these letters referred to in my article (Vide foot-note No. 16 of my paper).

(7) Dr. Chatterji insists that as Barker had given a clear warning that "he (the Abdali) *will* endeavour to penetrate to our frontiers and even to possess himself of these provinces", the invader must have fixed his eye on Bengal. In Dr. Chatterji's estimation the views of Barker are more important than those of Clive, Shuja-ud-Daulah, Munir-ud-Daulah and Verelst himself (or those of all of them put together), who had held that the Abdali had no eye on Bengal and that it was not possible for him to advance beyond Delhi. The curious reader will find in my paper (J.I.H., April, 1940) more than half a dozen quotations from the letters of the above-mentioned personages, showing in clear and unambiguous words that they did not believe in the possibility of the invader's ever attempting to advance beyond Delhi. At the risk of lengthening this paper I will repeat only one of these from Verelst in which the governor writes that he "cannot imagine that the Shah will ever attempt an invasion of this country (Bengal) or come to war with the English." (C.P.C. II. 269). What Dr. Chatterji means by saying "How could Verelst ignore such a definite warning from a responsible officer" amounts to saying that the head of the Bengal

government was himself not as responsible an officer as one of his subordinates (Barker), and that his own views are not worth as much as those of Barker. Dr. C. Collin Davies, Reader in Indian History in the University of Oxford, full agrees with me when he writes, referring to this invasion, in his recent work "Warren Hastings and Oudh":—"Although the advance of Ahmad Shah Durrani, who had inflicted a crushing defeat on the Marathas at the third battle of Panipat in 1761, caused a stir in Hindustan, there was no real danger." (Warren Hastings and Oudh, P. 11). Do not the students of Indian history have a right to enquire from Dr. Chatterji as to why he altogether ignored all the evidence that cuts the very foundation of his cherished, though untenable and fallacious, theories?

(8) Again, in his anxiety to white-wash his clear mistake, Dr. Chatterji writes that he did not mean that "the Abdali had expected that the Vazir might join him" and that his "point was that the Calcutta authorities feared that there might be an alliance between the two and that fear was due to the report they had received from Barker." And he concludes by having recourse to his oft-used shield "that Verelst could not have wholly ignored the report of a responsible officer of the Government." Fortunately Dr. Chatterji's book is available to us and scholars can easily verify whether on p. 14 of his "Verelst's Rule In India" he does not write, while enumerating the so-called reasons which led the Abdali to abandon his project of invading Bengal,—*"In the second place, the Abdali had been led to expect that the Vazir, the most powerful Muslim Chief in Hindustan, would join him in a crusade against the English, but he was disappointed at the latter's refusal to break with the English."* Will Dr. Chatterji deny that this sentence is from his book and unjustly charge me with "pure mis-representation" as he has done? If not, will he be good enough to quote the authority on which his statement is based?

(9) Dr. Chatterji does not relish the idea of being told the real implication of his theories. "It is, however, easy", writes the learned doctor, "to account for his (the Abdali's) ultimate abandonment of Mir Qasim's cause. In the first place, the Shah found on his appearance in India that the Sikhs had grown too formidable and troublesome to be easily subdued; while without subduing them it was obviously not safe for him to leave the Punjab and undertake a distant expedition." (Verelst's Rule in India, P. 13). But, when it was pointed out by me that this statement was inaccurate as the Shah knew before 1767 that the Sikhs were already formida-

ble, he replied that his "point was that by 1767 the Sikhs had grown too formidable for the Shah" and that he did not mean that they had not been formidable before. When we remember that in interpreting the meaning of Dr. Chatterji's original sentence two things have to be borne in mind, firstly that it was intended as an explanation as to why the Shah, who had come with the idea of helping Mir Qasim, abandoned his cause, and secondly that the words "on his appearance in India" could not have been used without a definite object and meaning, it becomes clear that the worthy doctor's original meaning could not have been anything else than that the Shah's information was that the Sikhs could be easily subdued, but on his appearance in India in December, 1766 he found that they were formidable. The reason why Dr. Chatterji has now put a new and unwarranted interpretation on his statement is obvious and needs no comment. It may also be pointed out in this connection that Dr. Chatterji is mistaken in thinking that I had quoted Sir Jadunath Sarkar. What I did was to refer to his work, "Fall of the Mughal Empire", II. pp. 493-95 wherein is given an account of the Abdali's invasions prior to his irruption into the Punjab in 1766, which shows that the Shah knew even then that they were formidable and could not be easily subdued.

(10) Dr. Chatterji protests that he does not hold that "the Abdali meant to stay two or three years in Hindustan", and says that I should not have omitted to quote that this statement was reported by Najibud-Daulah." Although I did not ascribe the above statement to my learned friend, as he wrongly supposed it, and merely called the statement "inaccurate" (vide my paper), still in my humble judgment it did not matter as to who was the author of it, Najib-ud-Daulah or somebody else. It is enough that it is utterly false, and, as I had pointed out, that it was intended as a propaganda for extorting money from Shah Alam, Shuja-ud-Daulah and other Indian princes. May I ask as to why my learned friend quoted this report from Najib-ud-Daulah and did not even refer to a paper of intelligence received at Calcutta containing the truth "The Shah is determined to retreat to his country, though he himself gives it out to the world that he proposes remaining a year longer at Lahore to complete the destruction of the Sikhs"? (C.P.C. II. 310).

Finally Dr. Chatterji has quoted testimonials from two eminent historians Sir Jadunath Sarkar and Professor Dodwell and appealed to the sentiments, and not to reason, of scholars, to believe what they have written, and not the criticism from an obscure student.

This is the finishing touch of my learned friend's strange reasoning, which consists, in six (Nos. 1, 3, 4, 5, 7 & 8), out of ten points replied to by him, of a special pleading that how could Verelst ignore the warning from a "responsible officer of the government" (govt. deified with capital g) in one (No. 2) that "Verelst could not ignore the warning of his predecessor" (Clive) and in two (Nos. 1 and 7) that the evidence known to the critic was unknown to Verelst. What was under these circumstances the duty of the historian (I will not find a place in Dr. Chatterji's conception of the work of a historian in general) ?

Fortunately or unfortunately the period of my special study coincides with that of Dr. Chatterji, and if I have differed from some of his conclusions, I have done it with the greatest sense of responsibility and with the only object of furthering the quest of truth in which we are engaged.

Meanwhile I should suppose from his complete silence in his rejoinder that my learned friend has accepted my views about two or three of his theories, namely, that there is no evidence to support his statement that this Abdali invasion "was without doubt undertaken with the ostensible object of punishing the infidels like the Sikhs, the Jats and particularly the English who were represented to have overthrown a Muslim Ruler of Bengal." (Verelst's Rule in India, p. 13), that the measures adopted by the Bengal government were only *precautionary measures*, and that the Shah's so-called invasion of 1768 was nothing more than a nominal raid.

This discussion will now close, as both sides have had the opportunity of presenting their case in full. Readers of the journal have the material to form a judgment of their own.

EDITOR.

Obituary

We regret very much that the following scholars and workers in the field of Indian History in one or other of its various branches should have passed away. Among them Rai Bahadur Kanaklal Barua, the Assamese scholar took very active interest in the newly started Assam Society and in the publication of records and literature bearing on Assamese history. He could have lived longer, and was capable of a great deal more of work in the line he had chosen. His main publication was *A Short History of Assam*.

The Ven'ble Archdeacon W. K. Firminger is the next one, connected with the Records Department of Calcutta and was responsible for the publication of a large part of the journal, *Bengal Past and Present*, etc.

Sir E. Denison Ross, Principal of the Calcutta Madrasa, became the Keeper of the Records of the Government of India at Calcutta, and subsequently Director of the London School of Economics and Oriental Studies. He had a varied career, and was an educationist of eminence in addition to a large volume of work he did as translator of important sources of Indian History. He came to Calcutta in 1901 as Principal and became subsequently Curator of the records. He was also responsible for the starting of the Persian Correspondence Series. He promoted the study of Tibetan, and was responsible for cataloguing the Khuda Baksh Library, considered the finest collection of Arabic and Persian works in the world. He was appointed subsequently the first Director of the London School of Oriental Studies, and carried on his work under discouraging circumstances till he retired in 1937. He was sent last year to Istanbul as Head of the British Information Bureau in Turkey where he died in April 1940.

The next loss we have to note here is Dr. Balakrishna, Principal, Rajaram College, Kolhapur, who cannot be described as an old man. He was an energetic and enterprising worker and was deeply interested in the records bearing upon Indian History. He had done a considerable amount of work on the Dutch records in Leyden. He was more recently interested in Mahratta history, and was responsible for the publication of a comparatively large work on Shivaji and early Mahratta history. He was an indefatigable worker in Indian History and even Indian Philosophy.

Another loss may be noted in the death of Dr. K. N. Sitaraman, Curator of the Punjab Museum, Lahore. A research scholar of the Madras University, he went over to England for further studies and returned from there and secured the appointment of the Curator of the Museum, and showed great promise of work. It came upon us with something of a surprise that he passed away after a comparatively short illness in September last. He was responsible for organising and putting the Punjab Museum in order, and showed considerable amount of energy in even making fresh collection for the Museum. His death is a premature loss to the Archaeological Department.



HIS HIGHNESS SRI JAYACHAMARAJA WADIYAR
MAHARAJA OF MYSORE

Editorial

HIS HIGHNESS

SRI JAYA CHAMARAJA WADIYAR BAHADUR
MAHARAJA OF MYSORE

Born in July 1919, His Highness came to the throne just on the attainment of his majority, the actual ceremony of Pattabhisheka having taken place on the 8th of September last. His Highness comes to his great responsibility with qualifications and training quite appropriate to his high position. He has had the exceptional opportunity, for a ruler, of a regular school and collegiate education, and has a first-class degree to his credit. More than this, he enjoyed the advantage of the advice and guidance all along of both Their Highnesses, the late Maharaja of Mysore and the late Yuvaraja. He has had, after completing his University Education, a course of regular official training for a few years, specially intended to equip him for the high responsibilities to which he was so soon to be called. Young as his Highness is, he comes to his exalted position with all the equipment one would desire, and well-attuned to his new responsibilities. We wish him a long, successful and prosperous life as ruler, filling the great void for Mysore created by the early demise of His late Highness.

OUR EDITOR-IN-CHIEF.

The 19th volume of the *Journal* is closing, and the 20th begins with the new year. The closing year is a happy one for the *Journal* as our Editor-in-Chief is the recipient of signal marks of public recognition. The Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society presented him their Campbell Gold Medal in recognition of his work. In inviting His Excellency the Governor of Bombay to present the medal, the President of the Society, the Hon'ble Chief Justice, Sir John Beaumont, K.C., explained the history and work of the Society and the institution of the medal in honour of Sir James Campbell, a distinguished civilian who devoted his leisure time to work relating to the history and antiquities of India in general. Referring to our Editor, he said:—"The selection of Dewan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar was unanimous. The Society is proud to recognise the valuable services he has rendered to learning in general and Indian History in particular. In selecting him, there is no doubt that the traditions associated with this medal have been fully maintained, and I am sure, that all oriental scholars will be glad to feel that a scholar of the eminence of Dr. Aiyangar has received this token of regard and appreciation of his valuable and scholarly efforts." His Excellency, Sir Roger Lumley, made the presentation with these words:—"Dewan Bahadur Dr. Aiyangar's contributions to a knowledge of the history and traditions of this vast sub-continent will be a guide and an inspiration to all future explorers in these fields of difficult and laborious study. It is in every way fitting that one who has made by his teaching and writings such a good contribution to history in South India should be honoured by this Society." We wish him all happiness.

Another interesting and significant event is the unanimous election of the 'Editor of the Journal of Indian History' to the Presidency of the 4th Indian History Congress assembling in Lahore. The Lahore session was a very successful one, and the general opinion in Lahore is that a very considerable amount of the very successful character of the session was due to their President. In an interesting speech welcoming him, the Hon'ble Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, Prime Minister of the Punjab (whose speech, however, to the great regret of all had to be read by the Finance Minister, the Hon'ble Mr. Manohar Lal, owing to Sir Sikander having been called away suddenly), referred in graceful terms to the presentation of the medal referred to above to the President-elect. His Excellency the Governor of the Punjab also made highly complimentary references to him and his work. His Excellency Sir Henry Craik



HIS EXCELLENCY SIR ROGER LUMLEY, GOVERNOR OF BOMBAY, presenting the
Campbell Gold Medal of the Bombay Asiatic Society to Dewan Bahadur
Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar on the 10th December 1940.

made a speech at the University dinner in honour of the President and members of the Indian History Congress from which the following has been taken:—"Of all the studies which engage the attention of learned men none, I think, except possibly Economics, is of more importance to the administrator and man of affairs than history. Men of action are sometimes tempted to boast that they make history, while the historians only write it. But historians might perhaps retort that they do both: and in support of their contention they could cite the names of two of the most famous writers of history. For Thucydides, besides being a historian, was also an unsuccessful general; while Macaulay, before he wrote his history, had been Minister of War and has made an indelible impression on the life of this country by drafting the Indian Penal Code."

It was indeed a proud day for the *Journal of Indian History*, and marks an epoch in its career.

THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

The Society held a special meeting on the 10th December 1940 for the presentation of the Campbell Gold Medal and the Society's Silver Medal to the respective recipients, Dewan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar and Mr. R. P. Masani, Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University, respectively. There was a fairly full attendance of the members of the Society. His Excellency Sir Roger Lumley presented the medals on receipt of the report from the Hon'ble Chief Justice, Sir John Beaumont K.C., President of the Society. Both the report of the President and His Excellency's speech are printed hereunder.

THE SPEECH OF

SIR JOHN BEAUMONT K.C.,

*Chief Justice of the Bombay High Court and President,
Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.*

We are met to-day to do honour to two worthy scholars of India; but before giving you details of their achievements it may not be out of place for me briefly to refer to the history of the Society. A fortnight ago it completed 136 years of service. It was on the 26th of November, 1804, that Sir James Mackintosh and 17 others met at Government House, Parel, and formed the Literary Society of Bombay, later to be changed to the Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society. This was a change of name only—as whilst linking itself with the Mother Society and its branches, it preserved complete autonomy in its administration and finance.

The original objects were the promoting of Literary and Scientific investigation connected with India and the study of Literature, Antiquities, Arts and Sciences of the East. The scope of its activities, however, was

very shortly afterwards widened to include Western Literature which is borne out by a minute in the Minute-Book stating that a large purchase of standard books best fitted for a public library was sanctioned. The Society too was instrumental in forming possibly the first collection of Archaeological specimens and curios in Bombay which was handed over to the Prince of Wales Museum on permanent loan when the Museum was opened.

Our collection of books is probably the most important in India and contains many rare and valuable works. It has also an excellent collection of manuscripts and coins. Oriental scholars throughout the world are familiar with the Society, and, whenever any of them visits India, it is one of the first places on which they call. Here they have reference to our Library and can meet fellow Oriental scholars for information and discussion.

The Journal published by the Society is highly valued by all Orientalists throughout the world. Its first issue was published over 130 years ago.

The Society has included among its members many very eminent scholars and distinguished citizens; and those interested will find the names given in the article written by the late Dr. Scott of the Centenary Memorial Number of the Journal.

The Library has now well over 100,000 volumes and contains important works on all subjects likely to interest the student of Western as well as Eastern culture.

There is a danger in these troublous times of the importance of the Society being overlooked. In the past it has rendered most valuable service to the student and the scholar, and those who are following on will find it even more useful as it will provide them not only with the best material relating to current affairs but with records, contemporary and otherwise, of the ideas and events of the past. There is no time to dwell further on this subject; but those of you who are present I would certainly ask you to realise that the builders of the cultural life of Bombay have left us a magnificent heritage. I would urge you to use your best endeavours to see that we show our gratitude to them for their zeal by whole-heartedly supporting the Society and getting others to do the same.

The two medals in the Society's presentation are the Campbell Memorial Medal and its own Silver Medal. The former is a memorial to the late Sir James Campbell who died in 1903. He was a distinguished member of the Civil Service and well-known as the Editor of the *Bombay Gazetteers*. In addition to the usual subjects, they contain valuable articles by him on history, antiquities, anthropology, folklore, etc., in the Province which testify to his deep and special knowledge of these subjects. His volumes are considered the best of all Provincial *Gazetteers* in India and are still unsurpassed.

In recognition of his valuable services some of his friends mostly colleagues in the same service, raised a fund of Rs. 3,000 which they presented to the Society, the interest on which was to be used for providing a Gold Medal, to be called the Campbell Memorial Medal to be awarded every three years to a scholar, not necessarily a member of the Society, 'in recognition of distinguished services to Oriental Research calculated to further the objects of the Society, namely, the investigation and encouragement of Oriental Arts, Sciences and Literature.' The first presentation was made in 1908 by H. E. Lord Sydenham to Sir Aurel Stein, and since then the medal has been presented every three years to scholars of outstanding merit.

Unfortunately, on this occasion there has been some delay in the presentation as the report of the Selection Committee was received late due originally to the member in England not being able to act and some one else having to be appointed in his place and later to postal difficulties.

The selection of Dewan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar was unanimous. The Society is proud to recognise the valuable services he has rendered to learning in general and Indian History in particular. In selecting him there is no doubt that the traditions associated with this medal have been fully maintained and I am sure that all Oriental scholars will be glad to feel that a scholar of the eminence of Dr. Aiyangar has received this token of regard and appreciation of his valuable and scholarly efforts.

The Society's Silver Medal is of comparatively recent foundation. The conditions attached to it are similar to those of the Campbell Memorial Medal except that the recipient must be a member of the Society. There have so far been only two awards, the first to Mr. S. V. Karandikar for his excellent work on Hindu Exogamy; and the second to Dr. G. S. Ghurye for a learned work on "Caste and Race in India".

The present recipient, Mr. R. P. Masani, is too well known in Bombay to need any introduction from me. His interest in social welfare and allied subjects is hardly of less importance than his work in the cause of Oriental learning. But the publication of (1) *Caste and Other Structure of Society*, (2) *Court Poets of Iran and India*, and (3) *The Religion of Good Life*; Zoroastrianism, alone entitle him to recognition by the Society, and I have no doubt that the selection of him by the Committee as the recipient of the Society's Silver Medal will be unanimously approved.

SPEECH OF HIS EXCELLENCY, THE GOVERNOR OF BOMBAY.

TO THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, AT THE TOWN HALL, BOMBAY.

Mr. President, Members of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, ladies and Gentlemen,

I deem it a privilege to come here to-day to present these medals which have been given in recognition of services to scholarship, and I thank you, Mr. President, for the welcome which you have extended to me.

Your Society has a long and distinguished history, going back to the very beginnings of western scientific methods of scholarship in India, and it is very gratifying indeed that the tradition so well started is being so worthily maintained. In congratulating the learned recipients of these rewards, Diwan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar and Mr. R. P. Masani, on the high distinction conferred on them by your Society, I wish to add a few words of my own. When I see the array of very famous men whom your Society has honoured in the past, I feel no doubt whatever in my own mind that the responsibility for recognising only the best has been fully and worthily discharged.

Diwan Bahadur Dr. Aiyangar's contributions to a knowledge of the history and traditions of this vast sub-continent will be a guide and an inspiration to all future explorers in these fields of difficult and laborious study. It is in every way fitting that one who has made, by his teaching and writings, such a great contribution to history in South India, should be honoured by this Society.

Mr. R. P. Masani has a special place of his own in the life of Bombay and India. He is indeed one of the "wise men" whom Plato would have loved to appoint as a ruler of his perfect Republic, for he has combined high intellectual effort in the sphere of pure knowledge with practical ability in the world of every day affairs, a versatility which is given to very few indeed. We are indeed lucky to have him to-day as Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University. With sincere conviction, Mr. President, let me say that the Society has made its choice well, and I am happy to be able to hand personally the gold and the silver medals which, on mature consideration you have decided to bestow.

Your Society is a learned Society, and for over four generations now has held high the torch of learning and the lamp of knowledge. Your motto through all that time has been that of the Philosopher Spinoza, "With care have I sought not to laugh at human actions nor mourn them, nor hate them, but to understand them". Learned societies have an important function to perform to-day. Over the greater part of Europe which for a thousand years has led the world in encouraging the free spirit of men to range and roam, a blight has fallen. Ideals which men have long thought noble and fine by the test of experience are being cast in the furnace, crushed in the crucible and destroyed by the flames of unreason. A weird and awful heresy has, over a large area of Europe, stifled the life of thought. Freedom of thought is being extinguished, universities are being closed, good books are being burnt, and students and professors of learning are being tortured and killed. Learning is regarded no longer as learning, unless it meets with the approval of the tribal god of racial arrogance. Knowledge is crushed unless it submits itself to the ignorant brutalisation of a crude form of state tyranny. The goddess of learning is weeping amongst the ruins. Unless reason is restored to these stricken areas of the earth—and, thanks to the strong right hand of free peoples, it will be restored—humanity will be thrust back into the dark ages once more. In such a pass, learned societies have an all-important duty to perform. They must keep aloft the flag of free thought, of disinterested belief. They must ensure that knowledge is not defiled and bestialized. Take your minds back to the condition of the world when the Roman Empire, then the great bulwark of the higher aspirations of men, was in the fifth century, threatened with extinction at the hands of men who did not know what these aspirations were and could not judge their values. As you know, the political system of the day collapsed in irrevocable destruction and Barbarians, Goths and Vandals, were in the seats of the mighty. But through all the blood and tears, the torch of learning was held high by little groups of learned men and scholars who preserved for posterity the fine blossom of what was battered down and destroyed by ignorant, brutal and unthinking men. In the end, after hundreds of years of agony and struggle, the ideals emerged once more, thanks to their efforts and "the first fine careless rapture" of learning was caught afresh. Now, when a second catastrophe threatens the world, learned men will not be found wanting. Their duty is as plain now as was the duty of the Stoics and the philosophers and the priests in the fifth century. Go on, therefore, and prosper, continue your labours, and the free spirit of man will remain triumphant and stronger for all its testing. It is the things of the mind that persist, not the mundane things.

Mr. President, your Society is not only a learned body which adds, year by year, to the archives of scholarly achievement, it is also the trustee of what is, in some ways, the finest library in India. My Government has been considering how best to develop the library system in this Province so as to supplement the immense efforts now being made to broaden and universalise the education of all the inhabitants of the Province of Bombay. It may be that your Society could help in furthering the object which Government has in view by permitting your wonderful collection of books to become the basis of an institution like the Reading Room of the British Museum, a place where, under proper regulations, scholars can come and sample of the riches of your collection. This is a matter for the future. My Government will do what it can to see that the foundations of scholarship are well and truly laid in such an endeavour, and I am sure that, if any reasonable proposals are made to your Society, Government may depend on your advice and help.

In conclusion, I wish you every success in the future, and leave a hope that your Society may long enjoy the position of honour which it has held so worthily in this City and Province.

Again, Mr. President, I thank you sincerely for your welcome to me to-day, and I now have great pleasure in presenting the medals to the two distinguished gentlemen to whom they have been awarded.

FOURTH SESSION OF THE INDIAN HISTORY, CONGRESS, LAHORE.

The fourth session of the Indian History Congress assembled in Lahore on the 16th of December 1940, and was at work during the 16th, 17th and 18th idem. The session was popular, and was attended by a larger number of delegates than the previous sessions. In the unavoidable absence of His Excellency the Governor of the Punjab, Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, the Prime Minister of the Punjab opened the Congress in a preliminary speech given below, and invited the President to deliver his address:—

ADDRESS OF SIR SIKANDAR HYAT KHAN, READ BY MR. (NOW SIR)
MANOHAR LAL,

AT THE INAUGURAL MEETING OF THE INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS,
ON MONDAY, DECEMBER, 16, 1940.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,

When His Excellency found that he could not be present himself to inaugurate your Session and welcome you to Lahore, I gladly, at his request, undertook to perform this pleasant duty on his behalf. As Chairman of the Reception Committee I was already interested in extending to you a warm welcome and in doing what I could to make your meeting in the Punjab a success. All the more keen therefore is my regret that, owing to unforeseen circumstances I have to be unavoidably absent to-day

and am unable to fill my dual role as Chairman of the Reception Committee and representative of His Excellency. The best I can now do is to express to you, through my colleague, Mr. Manohar Lal (now Sir Manohar Lal), who has kindly consented to take my place, the pleasure with which we in the Punjab welcome you here and to wish every success to this your Fourth Session.

There can be few cities more suitable as a meeting place for a History Congress than Lahore. For Lahore is, I believe, after Delhi most rich in historic associations in the whole of India. Few cities in India, if any, have witnessed the rise and fall of so many dynasties or suffered so many vicissitudes of fortune. Lahore has been successively under the domination of Hindus, of Muslims and of Sikhs. It emerged from the mists of antiquity as a Brahmanical city which attracted the attention of the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsiang in 630 A.D., as he journeyed from Sangala to Jullundur. A thousand years later it became for a while the capital of the Moghul Empire. It is here that Akbar passed the happiest period of his rule; it is here that Shah Jahan was born and Jahangir buried. With the death of Aurangzeb, it lost much of its glory; and a visitor in 1809 described it as a 'melancholy spectacle of former grandeur.' But its fortunes revived once more when Ranjit Singh made it the capital of his Sikh kingdom. I hope, there, that you will find in Lahore enough material to occupy your thoughts and I hope too that you will find here an invigorating atmosphere to stimulate the keenness of your reflections.

The question has, I believe, been asked:—"why should people meet to-day to discuss history, when history is being made on such a gigantic and significant scale before our eyes"? It is perhaps hardly for me to attempt to answer this question; nevertheless I would venture to suggest that a partial answer is to be found in the person of the present Prime Minister of England. For Mr. Churchill is not only a statesman and a man of action; he is also a man steeped in historical knowledge, a distinguished historian. There have been many men of action who have written accounts—and valuable accounts—of contemporary events in which they themselves have played a leading part. Mr. Churchill has not only done this; he has also, as biographer of his ancestor, the Duke of Marlborough, produced a historical work of high authority, a work where the brilliance and vigour of his style have lent added force to his scholarship. And can any one doubt that much of his secret as a leader, much of the high inspiration which has sustained him amidst the terrible hazards through which England has been passing has been his ability to see the present struggle against the background of history; much of his strength lies manifestly in his keen consciousness of the role which England has played in the past in the great drama of human affairs, in his deep knowledge of foreign and domestic policy and of the course of unfailing and effective strategy which always won England success in the past.

True admiration, said a great French writer, is historical, and nothing affords a better illustration of this truth than the admiration of one's own country. Every patriotic Indian must, therefore, I think, welcome these periodical meetings of historical scholars which afford an opportunity of piecing together the fragments of our country's past into a coherent, in-

telligible and comprehensive whole. And I for one am only too pleased to think that the distractions of war have not interrupted these meetings which, now that India is entering upon perhaps the most critical phase of her national development, are of greater value and importance than ever before. For only with a proper understanding of India's past, of its different peoples and customs, of the many and diverse civilizations which have grown to greatness in this ancient land, can we hope to devise the right constitutional expedients, the appropriate social and economic organization for the new India which, we hope, is being born in these times of stress and rapid change in which we live.

With these reflections, gentlemen, I beg leave to open the Session, and call upon your new President to address you. His predecessor, who now retires, is distinguished for researches which have greatly illuminated a very difficult period of early Indian History. He himself comes here glowing with the honour just conferred upon him by the Royal Asiatic Society. Sir, I request you to pronounce your Address.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

By

DEWAN BAHADUR S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR, HON. PH.D.,

At the Indian History Congress on Monday, December, 16, 1940.

YOUR EXCELLENCY, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

*The year 1940 marks the centenary of the death of James Prinsep who may be called appropriately Father of Indian epigraphy. Just a few years before his death, he succeeded in 1837, by what seems to have been a comparatively small effort for him, in reading the whole of the Delhi-Topra Pillar Edict of Asoka. Successful deciphering of Indian inscriptions became thence forward a well recognised department of work in Indian scholarship. The century which has since elapsed has accumulated such a volume of inscriptional material that they may be said to constitute the most accurate and useful source of Indian History. It is well known that Indian studies really began with the study of Sanskrit in a fashion long before. Systematic study however began with the foundation of the mother of Asiatic Societies, the Asiatic Society of Bengal, recently elevated to the dignity of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. It is in connection with that Society, and as an active member of that body, that Prinsep made the discovery, and his reading of the Asoka inscription was published there. This opened the way as usual with individual study of the abundant inscriptional material in the country, and led in the generation following to the organisation of an Indian Archaeo-

Nevertheless it is common knowledge that, in the early days of our own studies it was widely accepted that India was a happy nation, whose annals were a blank, as among the voluminous mass of literature known, there was nothing that could be called a historical work before the Muhammadan invasions. A sober historian, who was the author of the first modern standard History of India, Montstuart Elphinstone, could say not only, that there was no known date in Indian History before the invasion of Alexander the Great, but also dismiss the Hindu period of Indian History in his standard work with a few chapters like the Aryans and the Vedas, the Buddha and Buddhism, a chapter on the Code of Manu, and just a few other chapters bearing on miscellaneous matter. The advance we have since made could perhaps be measured and a much juster estimate be formed of the History of India by comparison, between Elphinstone's History and the Cambridge History of India, which, alas! remains yet uncompleted; the second volume has yet to appear. Even in that uncompleted condition, this work actually gives us a clear idea of the progress made in Indian studies in the course of the century that has just elapsed since the days of Elphinstone.

4. During the century Indian studies have been steadily pursued in all its varied departments, and the work of research carried into many obscure corners with earnestness and enthusiasm to such an extent that it has become possible for us now to associate ourselves in a big group, the Indian Historical Congress, and discuss learnedly on the many themes of Indian History in their recondite aspects even. Professor Maitland it was that cautioned students of history in his inaugural address that history was ever lengthening both ways, backwards as our knowledge increases and forwards as we are making history from day to day. In the case of our own history at the present time, we can very well improve upon the statement that history widens out also all round. Within the last twenty years our knowledge of Indian History has been carried backward by two or three millenniums by the discovery of the remnants of an Indus Valley Civilisation. India is the land of palaeolithic—nay, even of the Homo Sapiens—man. This however takes us to the Calcolithic age, and brings us into historical contact with the West, taking back our civilisation to come into touch with the Aegean. Proceeding from the Calcolithic into the more modern times, we find that Indian civilisation and culture carried across the thousand miles of the Bay of Bengal into the islands of the Eastern Archipelago and the continent of Indo-China. We are not sure how far we could carry it back in date,

and we may be certain that there was some knowledge of these parts in the days of Asoka. That region of Indian History and the outspread of Indian culture has now become, by quite recent work, a region quite worthy of our attention, and no History of India would be considered full unless attention be paid to this. A history of about 1,500 years seems possible for the Hindu outspread, and the subsequent history of this region is a study of a new synthesis of Hindu and Islamic culture. Across the North-West frontier our knowledge has expanded enormously. Recent work by French Archaeologists in particular have unearthed the early history of Afghanistan and carried us beyond the Hindukush into Central Asia, and since the Chinese contact in the first century, communication and commerce have been carried on in a continuous stream through the Taklamakan region and the Tien-shan slopes. Communication with China has thus been established for a period of over a thousand years, and the memorials of this contact which have recently been acquired open out a new vista of study. There is the further fact that communication by the sea between China and India has now become more or less an established fact over the high seas during the same period. These new vistas have been opened before us by quite recent work, and the horizon of Indian civilisation has thus been extended beyond the dreams of our grand-fathers. There has thus been such a steady volume of work and output that we might well claim that we are in a position to know our History and Culture far better than the generations that have gone before us. While therefore acknowledging to the fullest extent our obligations to the body of European Indianists who have been our teachers in this line, and who have so successfully made an effort to discharge our duty of understanding our culture, and presenting it to the public in a form capable of being appreciated and understood, the question naturally arises whether the time has not come for us to make an effort to present Indian culture and civilisation as we understand it after five or six generations of tutelage to those European savants and scholars who not merely led the way, but who really put us in the way in the prosecution of our researches in this comparatively new line of work. It strikes me that the time is come for us to make a constructive effort at a History of Indian civilisation and culture in all its multifarious ramifications of the studies that it has actually involved, if only to show what apt pupils we have been in what is generally taken to be comparatively new lines of work for us. It need not be want of respect or gratitude, if it is stated that the time is come and our studies in the subjects are

- sufficiently advanced for us to make an effort to explain our culture and civilisation through the centuries as we have understood it, to the outside world. If our predecessors in this field of work, European and Indian alike, were not in a position to appreciate the tendencies of Indian culture in the way that we might well do, it would certainly do them no discredit; and, if we claim a better understanding, it is not in simple egotism, but in the natural course of progress.

5. While therefore we may flatter ourselves in the belief that the progress of Indian studies would justify our launching into a comprehensive and constructive effort at gathering together the results of a century and a half of work in one full sized historical conspectus, circumstances around us seem to call for this as a matter perhaps of emergency. The world around us seems involved in a deliberate effort at sending civilization itself into smoke, as Carlyle said of the French Revolution. Europe seems to be straining every nerve to do this in the name of a new order. The contagion seems to be catching rapidly East Asia by means of Japan. The demand is for a new order, the order not coming about in the course of historical evolution, but introduced by the deliberate effort of the moment, and in many respects, contrary to the tendencies of history and tradition. It cannot well be said that India is free from that totalitarian taint whatever be the actual form of it. Everybody seems impatient that anything that offended him and his sense of fitness should certainly go out of existence, giving place to what he considers the need of the hour. Be it economic reform or social, the impatience of the shackles of a continuing civilisation is there. The one demand is, whether it be religion, society or politics, for a clean slate, for the abolition of other minds altogether, and the completest freedom for the imposition of one's own will, be it that of an individual or a group, upon all matters of interest to progress. This impatience sometimes takes the form, of a call and one hears it actually said, abolish all history, abolish religion, or more comprehensively considered, abolish all that is historical and traditional, so that life might start anew perhaps for each community separately to begin with, but it may be ultimately for all humanity. Nothing could be more comfortable than this, if it were possible, and all human experience seems to be more or less definitely against it. The idea is not unfamiliar to the Indian mind. This is what is generally known, and usually described, as *Viśvāmitra Śrishti*, creation on the ideal of *Viśvāmitra*. This great Kshatriya, by a prodigious feat of penance, acquired extraordinary

powers, and imagined that it was open to him to change the order of progress; but found that the first serious effort on his part failed egregiously. It may be that with our present resources and the advance made by the human mind, it may be possible we succeed where even *Viśvāmitra* failed; but it yet remains a fact that we have no experience of such success, killing all individuality and creating a new order at the dictation of an individual mind, or even of the mind of a group. This seems an effort at usurping the functions of God Himself, according to the conception of some people. Even God himself, or Nature in the language of Science, does not appear to act in this arbitrary fashion, as accumulated human experience seems to show. The question really is which is the safer procedure, to proceed in accordance with experience gained gradually, or by the simple intuition of individuals, however remarkably gifted they be. It resolves ultimately into this whether progress is a growth, or a momentary act of creation. All our experience seems to show that civilisation in progress is a matter of gradual growth, and certainly not of momentary creation. If that general position is admitted, the value of a comprehensive and correct knowledge of the course of progress of humanity generally, or even of large communities like that of the Indian community, would seem to be indispensable for those who are anxious to promote the welfare of the people, and not their wholesale destruction. At the moment therefore the demands seems peremptory in India, for a fuller study of her history and the understanding of the lessons of actual human experience. If such a need is to be satisfied, a comprehensive knowledge of the history of a vast community like that of India in all its variety is very necessary. It is time therefore that the material, on the basis of which a more or less correct account of our actual experience could be built, should be utilised to purpose.

6. It would seem hardly necessary to enforce by argument that, in our present situation, it would be desirable that an attempt is made to produce a comprehensive History of India utilising to the fullest extent all the material for history that has been made accessible to scholars in the wide field of Indian History and culture. Though the Cambridge History of India is undoubted-ly a successful effort in this direction, and meets the need to a considerable extent, it still leaves much that it has actually not taken up in full, particularly in the field of the cultural history of India which is really the more important part of it on the scheme contemplated. There is besides much that a foreigner could not understand.

n full and explain satisfactorily, as European savants of first rank often admit. A kind of comparatively specialised study like that of the Veda itself conceded that while the European study of it has certainly made the meanings of words clear, a similar claim could not be advanced with truth in respect of the understanding of the ideas, the allusions and all that makes it literature. Much that has hitherto been dismissed as tradition and unworthy of any credence has certainly to be reconsidered, and Vedic interpretation has to be reconstructed on the basis of a wider study. The opinion prevails that the commentary of Sayana is of secondary importance to the modern philological interpretation of the Veda; it would certainly require reconsideration in the light of information which is now available by way of commentarial tradition, in the facts that have been brought to light recently that the Vedas were interpreted and taught centuries before Sayana. It would be absurd that there should have been any study of the Veda, and that the Veda could have received the continuous attention that they did, without some kind of an effort at understanding the text. There is much else in the reading of Indian History which has gone astray for lack of a comprehensive view of the whole position. There has also been a considerable amount of misunderstanding arising from the wrong order in which the study has gone on so far, so that there has been a general tendency to regard everything Buddhist for instance as being necessarily older than things Hindu, to use a modern though much misunderstood term. There is therefore clearly room for a reconsideration of the growth and development of Indian culture and civilisation as such from many points of view. An exposition of Indian civilisation therefore all round seems eminently desirable, and it may be said with confidence that our studies in this line as a whole have reached a stage when a comprehensive reconstruction seems called for and could be undertaken with the possibility of successful accomplishment. This is matter which has occupied the attention of the thoughtful among the Indians for very near the length of a generation and has been in abeyance for lack of concerted effort at pooling all the resources. An All-India Congress of Indian History which has been fore-shadowed as long ago as 1931 in the so-called first Bombay History Congress, has now been realised in the organisation of the All-India Indian History Congress started in Poona. This organisation had already had successful sessions in Allahabad and Calcutta, assembling here in Lahore for its fourth session. If an organisation or a body in India should make an attempt at realising this great project, it should be a body like this which offers a sufficiently wide

common platform for bringing together all the talent available in the country for the common effort. Some work has already been done. The proposal was brought before the Allahabad Conference. The general project was considered. There was general agreement in regard to a scheme. A Sub-Committee was appointed to consider the feasibility of the large project, a general syllabus, merely to indicate the scope of the work contemplated without any attempt at giving an idea of the actual character of the work to avoid unnecessary expansion of an outline scheme, was circulated, it may not be widely enough. The Calcutta Session of the Congress considered this scheme again, particularly in its financial aspects, and the support, the general support, that it is likely to get. Conditions unfortunately are not quite propitious for launching a scheme immediately because of the war pre-occupations of all those whose support would have to be the mainstay for the successful prosecution of a project like this. Notwithstanding this disadvantage there has been sufficient encouragement and countenance which would enable a practicable scheme being made and working power mobilised therefor. The full implications of the financial side of the scheme would take some little time, to measure with any degree of accuracy, having regard to the volume of the preliminary organisation and work which a large scheme like that would involve. There have been efforts in this direction; but one may feel thoroughly convinced that the greatness of the project, and the large extent of co-operation which has to be secured, the actual carrying on of the work on a scale commensurate with the importance of the work, the extremely varied character of the matter that has to be dealt with and the intellectual forces to be commendeered, should give the warning that schemes in this behalf should not be launched lightly, and by small bodies of workers, however enthusiastic they may be. It would be most foolish to launch on a large scheme without adequate preliminary consideration of its implications.

7. In any effort we might make for the recovery of the history of the past, we must bear in mind the principle laid down by Lord Morley that we have no right to expect from the past anything but that past in all its completeness; which means that a history of the past is intended to tell us what that past was, nothing more, nothing less, and the function of history consequently is nothing more nor less than to recover in all its completeness the story of the past, as it happened. This caution seems eminently called for now more than at any other time urgently, as the current theory of history

is something far different, and that kind of history is making itself felt in all its dire consequences all over the West. We have no right whatever to make history subserve our purposes, however noble they may be in themselves, and the value of a study of history is lost completely for good and for evil by the slightest interference with the recording of its actual course. For one example, teachers of history have been admonished to teach history leaving out of it altogether all that would tend to promote sectarian fanaticism. An effort at abolishing what would promote fanaticism is certainly a good thing to do, and the way to teach it is not to remove from history the acts of fanaticism and fanatical personalities who played their part in history. The plainest way of teaching the youth to put an end to fanaticism in their convictions and character is not to tell the lying tale that people were never fanatics, that there were no fanatics before us and no acts of fanaticism were perpetrated in history. The right way to proceed is directly and fully to point out the fanatical acts and those influences which were responsible for the perpetration of fanatical deeds, and expound the dire consequences to human society that these actually brought. It is by convincing people of the evil consequences of a bad act that fanaticism should be removed, and the evil removed by an act of conviction and not by an act of smooth glossing over or abolishing, the statement of their occurrence, by perpetrating lies which certainly ought not to be the function of history. It is enough that our knowledge of history, do what we may, may not be quite accurate and absolutely correct in all its details from the imperfection of the material and even of the minds that go to work upon it; but we are bound in honour, nay even in common honesty, to set ourselves down to write history merely to tell the tale of what had actually happened, and to the utmost extent possible, as accurately as we can get at that. It is then that history becomes a study of value, and value as a record of actual human experience. It is then, and then only can we make use of it for studying the evolution and progress in the past to know what promoted real progress and what prevented it, and thereby cultivating a critical judgment, which would eschew all that is actually evil or is likely to be productive of evil. That and that alone is the real teaching of history, and the function of the historian is to serve honestly the Muse of History with that ideal before him. So written, there is nothing to be afraid of history leading to bad acts; but the danger of an imperfect knowledge of it is that it might lead to evil consequences. That we ought to try to avoid, and recover from the past, the forgotten past in most cases, all that we can possibly recover, and recover in their true perspective.

8. A History of India so written has its own lessons even for the present as well as for the future. It was Ramsay Macdonald who stated broadly that a statesman or an administrator has to set about his business in an empirical fashion impelled by the circumstances of the moment into committing himself to acts of administration without having the time or even the means to set about and come to a correct course of action, and that it is the valuable function of the historian, coming generally years after, to proceed with rule and compass to unravel every circumstance and appraise the influences which led to a particular course of action, and thus produce an accurate record of occurrences that took place, and how they actually came about. It is that process of work that is of the highest value in the historian, and he ought to see to it that he takes all pains possible to secure the material, and provide himself simultaneously with the mental equipment, for making use of the material for the high purpose of producing an accurate account of the events that happened, it may be long before us, it may be comparatively speaking recently before us. Bearing that in mind, a comprehensive History of India should be attempted on scientific lines of work, and what scientific lines of work involve is what has been stated above. To reproduce accurately what took place in the past and to provide a picture of the actual state of things at any particular time that an important act of administration, or a specific cultural development took place, to show at the same time, as accurately as may be, the influences which went to produce the events, and the consequences good and bad that had actually flowed from them, that is the full function of the historian.

9. In order to achieve such an object of high ambition, we have really to mobilise all our resources, the intellectual resources of all votaries of history assembled here, and those who may not be here for the moment, and whose assistance would be of value. In this mobilisation of resources, the Universities, the States and the Governments, each one of these has its own part to play. We must beat up enough sympathy for them to enable us to go forward with the momentous and difficult work with all the facility attainable for the present. Notwithstanding the fact that a great deal of work has been done, and a vast volume of material has been made available, there are still nooks and corners all over where light is desirable, and that light is not perhaps easily attainable. All those dark corners must be illuminated, at any rate as much illumination as is possible should be brought into these, in order to make the work succeed. Individual effort and individual work can do much; but the time has come for concerted work now. It was

twenty years ago that I experienced difficulty in the course of my work where certain passages of the historian Firishta, accessible to me only in translation, were not accurate enough in all detail, and speaking of the need for a revised text and a more accurate translation of the work, the late Professor Abdullah Suhrawardy of the Calcutta University offered to do for me the translations of particular passages; but at the same time he felt convinced that the time had come for the Universities to take up the systematic work of producing correct texts as well as good translations of the acknowledged classics of Muslim History. Soon after I heard reliably that the Muslim University of Aligarh had gone on with the collation of texts, and when that work should be completed they would examine the question of providing translations. That arose in connection with the work of Amir Khusru and Ziaud-din Barani. Since then the Osmania University has been making efforts in this direction as well. The Indian Historical Records Commission in its Gwalior Session in 1929 wanted the Government of India to do something to help the publication of a more correct and revised edition of the valuable work of Sir Henry Elliot's History of India as told by Her own Historians. That is so far only for the Muslim side of it. Much is being done by Governments and individuals in respect of the Hindu sources. A body like the Bharat Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandala of Poona and the newly started Assam Anusandan may be mentioned as prominent examples. What is wanted, however, is work upon a plan with a view to serve fully the purpose of the writing of a full and complete History of India on critical and scientific lines. In bringing about this, the Indian History Congress may devote a part of its attention to secure the requisite amount of co-ordination.

10. Thanks to the persistent demand of research scholars and the good offices of the Indian Historical Records Commission, the records in various sections and centres in India have now been thrown open to scholars engaged in research under certain rules. That would enable us to work up in detail even the later period of history, and bring the history down to the quite modern period of reconstruction which happens to cover a period of about eighty years now. The public records are thrown open up to the period of the Mutiny, and the Governments happen to be shy of records since, for a variety of administrative reasons, which in themselves are quite valid so far as they go. We may certainly hope for further facilities being provided, it may be under safeguards, for all requirements of history. It therefore seems that the cir-

cumstances are propitious for organising our resources with a view to the production of this large scale History of India in all its width and correctness of detail. What is really wanted is the co-operation of all the organisations and individuals concerned in this matter, with the sole object of prosecuting this great enterprise to success, each body or individual will have to do the utmost possible without any narrowness in the conception or the carrying out of the work with a single-minded purpose of bringing the great enterprise to success. All narrowness in sentiment, sectional, local and other kinds of patriotism must be kept aside, and every one who can do any little work ought to do his best thoroughly, confident that those whose function it must be to utilise the material to purpose would do so in a comprehensive spirit of tolerance and justice to all claims, and with no motive other than that of our presenting a picture of India of all periods of its growth in a dispassionate and true perspective. The Universities, the learned societies, the Departments, individual scholars and institutions of all kinds, both private and public, each one of these has its part to play, and they ought to do their part with the greatest freedom and breadth of view. This land of the Indus in which I am addressing you may perhaps be regarded appropriately as the cradleland of Indian civilisation. Man has been in India far anterior to the earliest period that we know of in the Indus region. But real historical knowledge which takes us back to the Calcolithic and immediately preceding ages, we know of only in association with the Indus Valley so far. Early Vedic civilisation is in association with this region of the Sindhu (Indus), which indeed is the name by which our neighbours, the Persians and the far more distant neighbours, the Greeks, knew us by, and that is our modern term "Hindu", which by extension of idea has come to connote the whole sub-continent extending from the mountains to Cape Comorin and to the mouths of the Ganges at least. The Panjab was the land far-famed for learning in the age of the Veda, Uttarakuru and Uttaramadra being referred to as remarkable for ancient learning. These fabled lands are now become real. Within historical times, this continued to be the land of learning by the fact of the location of the university of Taxila here. The Buddha is said to have gone for his education there, and so did his royal contemporary, Prasenajit going like any poor bachelor to complete his education. It was from here that the torch of Indian civilisation has been handed on to be carried forward straight ahead to the mouths of the Ganges on the one side, and across the whole continent to Cape Comorin in the other

direction. The whole country of this vast extent had a common name Bharatakhanda, and was known in the distant south in the Tamil land in the abbreviated form, *Bharata*, or *Bharatam* with the Tamil termination. That betokens a unity which we often times seem to forget, and the specially synthetic character of our Indian civilisation seems again to have sprung from here. As a matter of fact, it was conquest in the Bāhlika country by the Hindu emperor Māndhātā, and the bringing of barbarous people under his authority which set the problem, which is alive to-day, how to secure a unity in this multitudinous variety. The story has it that puzzled by the complexity thus introduced, and the seeming impossibility of bringing these new peoples into the fold of Hindu civilisation of those days, he went to Indra to consult him, who in turn was about as much puzzled as Māndhātā himself. Vishnu is said to have got into Indra, and offered the solution to the puzzle by stating that where the practices of life proved flagrantly evil, insist upon their giving up the evil to that extent; but otherwise suffer the varieties without any qualms; and that character of synthesis for which the turn was given by the first emperor, Māndhātā, continues to-day here in India as the guiding principle of Indian civilisation. Variety is the character of Indian people and tolerant synthesis is the guiding principle of organisation of Indian society. That has held for so long. While certainly it has admitted, and it will admit, of adjustments and readjustments to altered conditions and changing circumstances of life, it remains to be seen whether it will undergo sufficient alteration for a stricter unification which many people do desire. Be it remembered that India and Indian civilisation are peculiar in this respect, that every man whatever his condition had his place under the sun. Whether that is not a principle which will revitalise the dying civilisation of the West is a matter which the future will have to decide.

On the threshold of three score and ten, with a period of active work, in my own humble way in this line, extending for almost half a century, I would fain hope that I shall have the pleasure at least of knowing that this great national, or rather Indian, enterprise has been launched well under way in the land of the *sapta-sindhu* with good assurance of ultimate success. The responsibility lies on all of you here assembled, more particularly the younger among you to bring the great enterprise to success. I leave it in your hands and hope that, while the enterprise takes shape, the condition of affairs around us would so far improve as to permit of the unhindered progress of the great effort. I thank

you all, ladies and gentlemen, for having asked me, born on the banks of southern Kaveri, to preside and address you on the banks of the Ravi on a subject of deep interest to all of us. Is it not in itself a new sign of the unity of Indian History? I had to accept your invitation as a call of duty, though personal considerations ought really to have weighed on the opposite scale. I have accepted the responsibility, and I only hope I have discharged the duty to some extent satisfactorily.

THE 17TH SESSION OF THE INDIAN HISTORICAL RECORDS COMMISSION.

This session of the Commission assembled in Baroda and held its meeting in the College Hall on the 21st and 22nd December 1940. Owing to family mourning, His Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda could not open the session. His speech was read by the Dewan, Sir V. T. Krishnamacharyar, who inaugurated the session. As the Hon'ble Sir Girija Shankar Bajpai, Member for Education, Health and Lands, Government of India, was prevented from presiding over the session at the last moment, his speech was read by Dr. Surendranath Sen, the Secretary to the Commission, in his behalf. The session began with Sir Jadunath Sarkar's reading his paper immediately after the inauguration of the session. The session continued, after lunch interval, in the afternoon, with Sir Jadunath Sarkar in the chair. Almost all the papers presented to the session were read, and the session for presenting the paper came to a close with a vote of thanks to the chair by Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Vice-Chancellor of the Dacca University. In the course of the session visits were arranged to the Record Office, the Manuscripts Library, and other places of interest, such as the Makarpura Palace, the Kutb-ud-din Monument, the Kala-Bhavan, etc. The Commission was entertained to tea by His Highness the Maharaja on the 22nd December 1940, and a musical entertainment was provided by the Dewan Saheb on the night of the 21st. It was a successful and enjoyable session, the Gaekwar's Government having made excellent arrangements for the session all round. The next session of the Commission will assemble in Mysore by invitation of His Highness the Maharaja's Government.

THE SAYAJI CHAIR OF INDIAN CULTURE.

This foundation directly intended to promote study in Indian culture has been offered to the Benares Hindu University by His Highness the Maharaja Sayaji Rao Gaekwar of Baroda and has been accepted by the University. It is a very timely foundation and very appropriate to His Highness the late Maharaja of Baroda, whose interest in Indian culture was great. Nothing could be more appropriate to perpetuate his memory than to lay emphasis on the unity of Indian culture with all the multitudinous variety of geography, people, etc., that meets the eye of a superficial observer. We hope the foundation would prove to be of the greatest benefit in the promotion of the correct understanding of Indian culture generally.

Reviews

ADMINISTRATION AND SOCIAL LIFE UNDER VIJAYANAGAR. By T. V. Mahalingam, Madras University Historical Series, No. 15.

The subject, administration and social life under Vijayanagar, has received the attention of research students for several years past. Several topics coming within the purview of this caption have received attention from time to time from various scholars; the most noteworthy among writings in recent times, we must mention, is the Vijayanagara Sexcentenary Commemoration Volume, 1936. That is followed immediately by a number of contributions of value bearing on the subject. Dr. Appadurai of the Loyala College, attempted a study of the subject in two volumes, also published by the Madras University on the Economic Condition of Vijayanagar, and Mr. B. A. Saletore of the Bombay University published also a two volume work of a comprehensive character on the same subject.

Mr. Mahalingam attempts in this work what was obviously needed, a rather more careful and sustainable analysis of the various problems connected with the subject. He sets about the work seriously, attempting in the first division, the administrative organisation and in the second social life. The main source of authority for these, as in fact, of the whole history of the period, is the very large number of inscriptions which contain the *disjecta membra* of details, which have been collected, studied, sorted out, and analysed, with a view to the information that they supply. This work proceeds systematically in that direction, and makes an effort at a careful study of these, drawing upon every available source of information, particularly literary, wherever there is possibility of fresh light. Mr. Mahalingam has produced a work of value, which shows a considerable amount of careful and painstaking research. The work brings into review the architecture, and the arts as well as literature. We noted here and there points of detail, which may perhaps require further scrutiny and careful study. But on the whole, the book presents, in a handy form, the multitudinous facts going to make the general conspectus of administration and social life under Vijayanagar.

EXCAVATIONS AT HARAPPA. By Madho Sarup Vats, Deputy Director-General of Archaeology, in 2 volumes.

These two volumes of the Archaeological Department of the Government of India form a very good supplement to the valuable and voluminous works on Mohenjo-Daro already published by the Department, the first report in three volumes by Sir John Marshall, followed by a supplementary work in two volumes by Dr. Mackay. Notwithstanding their voluminous and exhaustive character, the study of the Indus Valley Civilisation would but remain imperfect but for the supplementary volumes on Harappa now under review. This last work incorporates the work of the Archaeological Department on the site done during the years 1920-21 to 1933-34, a continuous work of fifteen years. The two volumes, the first of which consists of the report, and the second the plates and illustrations, are quite worthy of their predecessors and of the important character of the subject dealt with. The work follows the main divisions of that on Mohenjo-Daro, and gives a detailed account of the finds on the site, which happen to be older and take us back distinctly through a further period in the pre-history of India, and tells us much more about the Indus Valley Civilisation. Mr. Vats for his part has incorporated in the work the results of the excavations done by his predecessors in addition to his own particular excavations, and has provided us with as readable and exhaustive report as the three volumes of Sir John Marshall.

One feature of the Harappa finds is, it is not so rich in the remains of houses, etc., such as constitutes the feature of Mohenjo-Daro, but it is far richer perhaps even a little more varied, in respect of the smaller finds that have been unearthed from there. These take us distinctly to an early period and contain things of far greater value than those found in the other centre. The two stone statues are quite characteristic and exhibit a workmanship, which seems to take us to a distinctly older period. The special importance of Harappa consists in the human remains which have been unearthed. They are larger in number and of a much greater variety than Mohenjo-Daro. Mr. Vats has produced this extremely interesting work with conspicuous care and ability. The material of this new civilisation is now before us in complete form, and the more important work, the deciphering and the interpretation of the script, and a more complete understanding of the subject yet remains. It is to be hoped that this problem will soon be attacked, and satisfactory solutions offered for the many questions that they raise.

A COLLEGE TEXT-BOOK OF INDIAN HISTORY, VOLUME I, INDIA DOWN TO A.D. 1200. By R. Sathianathaier, M.A., L.T., published by Rochouse & Sons, Ltd., Madras, 1940.

During the past few years much valuable work has been done in Indian historical research and many striking contributions have been made by scholars to our knowledge of the History of India. A change has come over in our angle of vision in Indian history, and it is now generally recognised that the true history of a country is more than a chronicle of so many successive kings and queens and their wars and triumphs, and that it is a study of the gradual evolution of a people from the earliest beginnings through centuries of vicissitudes of fortune. It is also felt that so far sufficient attention has not been given to the part of the history of South India in the general scheme of Indian history though its place in the political and cultural history of India has been considerable.

There have so far been published many advanced text-books on Indian history at different places in the country, but the book under review by Mr. Sathianathaier has certain distinctive features which many similar books do not exhibit. The author who has been a brilliant teacher for the past two decades has a good conception of the scope of the subject, and has given due prominence to the cultural history of the country. A very welcome feature of the book is that it gives its proper position to the history of South India. The book exhibits that Mr. Sathianathaier has closely followed the latest researches in the history of the country. He summarises in many places the different theories in regard to controversial subjects, though he does not, on that account hesitate to express his own views on them.

We congratulate the author, and the enterprising publishers, on the production of this book and recommend it to students of Indian history. It stops with A.D. 1200 and we hope that the other volumes will soon follow.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE DISTRICT OF BHAGALPUR in 1810-11. By Francis Buchanan. Printed from the Buchanan Mss. in the India Office Library, with the permission of the Secretary of State for India in Council. Patna: Published on behalf of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society by Rai Bahadur Radha Krishna Jalan, and printed at the Patna Law Press, 1939. Price Rs. 12. Pp. 663.

The Buchanan Manuscripts regarding his survey of the districts in Patna, are being very carefully edited under the auspices of the

Bihar and Orissa Research Society. His *journals* for Bhagalpur, Patna and Gaya and his *Survey Reports* for Purnea, Bhagalpur, Bihar and Patna and Shahabad districts have so far been published. The abiding value of the topographical and antiquarian information contained in Buchanan's survey can, as noticed by the editor of this volume, be properly appreciated only if all the journals and reports are studied as a whole. The reports and the journals so far published go to complete all available matter regarding the Bihar district in the original statistical survey of Bengal by Buchanan. The defects of the abridgement of the report made in an uncritical manner in 1838 by Montgomery Martin in his 'Eastern India' 3 volumes, and their rectification by these publications have now become a matter of common knowledge to students of History. The reader may well refer to a notice of the Buchanan-Hamilton Mss. embodied on pages 580 to 664 of 'European Manuscripts in the India Office Library, Vol. II, Part II—Minor Collections and Miscellaneous Mss.—Kaye and Johnston. Section 1, Nos. 1-538 Kaye—H. M. Stationery Office'. Dr. A. B. Sastri gives a very useful summary of the reports and of the way in which he had worked this present volume with the help of corrections and omissions supplied by the India Office Library.

We learn from his life-sketch that Buchanan-Hamilton spent 21 years in India during the greater part of which, he was employed upon special missions and upon survey work of the most general character. Buchanan started on his survey work in Bengal in the autumn of 1807 and continued in it till the hot weather of 1814, having toured during these years the districts of Dinajpur, Rangpur, Purnea, Bhagalpur, Bihar and Patna, Shahabad, Gorakhpur, Benares and Allahabad and in collecting information and specimens etc. for a statistical survey and in writing a report on all the districts, except Allahabad and Benares, for which his only records are a set of interesting drawings. The Manuscripts relating to the Bengal survey have been discussed in a number of places and tabulated in their distribution. Duplicates of some of the Reports are said to be in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society. The Reports follow the definite instructions given by the Government of Bengal in their order of September 1807. The Journals must have been evidently copied by copyists as pointed out by Mr. Oldham. It may interest the curious reader to know the contents of a manuscript volume in the Buchanan-Hamilton Collection, entitled "Account of the District or Zila of Bhagalpur":—"165. 1 Mss. Eur. D. 81. Volume I. 35 × 21 cm. pp. 783.

"Book I. A topographical account of the district of Bhagalpur and its antiquities. (Vol. I, pp. 301).

"Book II: An account of the people of Bhagalpur. (Vol. I, pp. 239).

"Book III. An account of the natural productions of Bhagalpur. (Vol. I, pp. 136).

"Book IV. An account of the state of agriculture in Bhagalpur. (Vol. II, pp. 293).

"Book V. An account of the state of Arts and Commerce in Bhagalpur. (Vol. II, pp. 120).

"Index of key to the map of Bhagalpur. (Vol. III, pp. 117).

"Index of native words used in the account of Bhagalpur with the native characters annexed. (Vol. III, pp. 92).

"Comparative vocabulary of some of the languages spoken in or near the district of Bhagalpur (Vol. 165. 5).

"Forty one statistical tables respecting the district of Bhagalpur. (The title of each table is given. Vol. 165. 4)

"List of Drawings".

"165 2, pp 301: Book I. Topography and Antiquities. pp. 1-27; cont. Extent, general appearance and soil. pp. 27-90: Rivers. pp. 90-94: Lake and marshes, pp. 94-98: Air and weather. pp. 98-301: Topography of the divisions.

3, "pp. 239: Book II. Of the People. pp. 1-18: Population. pp. 18-61: Condition and manner of living pp. 61-82: Education. pp. 82-239: Religion and sects.

"4, pp. 236: Book II. Of the natural productions of the District of Bhagalpur, pp. 1-53: Animals. pp. 54-161: Plants. pp. 161-236: Minerals."

C.S.S.

THE MAHARAJA RANJIT SINGH—CENTENARY VOLUME.
Published by the Centenary Celebrations Committee, Cawnpore, 1940. Pp. xx and 188.

The Committee formed for the celebration of the Centenary of Maharaja Ranjit Singh in 1939 at Cawnpore has brought out this

volume containing an introduction by Mr. St. Nihal Singh, who was greatly responsible for the successful conduct of the celebrations, the Presidential Address of Dr. Sir Shafat Ahmad Khan, who was invited to preside over the function, the Welcome Address of Mr. Narain Prasad Arora, Chairman of the Reception Committee and also 17 historical papers bearing on the Sikhs from various scholars scattered throughout India. Mr. St. Nihal Singh gives a striking picture of some phases of the complex personality of Ranjit Singh, stressing his capacity, appetite for acquiring knowledge and his concept of kingship. The Presidential Address of Prof. Sir S. A. Khan is sweeping in its range and striking in its conclusions as usual. It brings out the core of Ranjit Singh's relations with the British and the Afghans, and judges his administration from the realistic stand-point and from the amount of success that they attended it. The army reforms effected by the Sikh ruler, his relations with the Muslims and the versatility of his intellect are pointed out as being very striking. Dr. Khan's conclusions regarding the character of Ranjit Singh's government are worth noting:—"He evolved a system of administration which served its immediate purpose admirably; but it lacked the flexibility and integrity of modern systems of administration and was destitute of a corps of trained administrators. The Sikhs had destroyed the fragments of Moghul administration which had survived the confusion of the eighteenth century, and substituted a system which seemed admirably suited to the occasion. But it lacked a solid foundation and an efficient personnel, and fell to pieces immediately after his death."

Among the papers included in the volume, besides biographical sketches and illustrative pictures of the great Sikh hero, we have got studies on the evolution of the Indian artillery, the military and civil institutions of Ranjit Singh and a notice of the religious toleration as practised in his reign. A courtier from distant Malabar flourished in Lahore as pointed out by Mr. V. R. R. Dikshitar, and we learn in one of the papers by Mr. Caveeshar that, according to Lethbridge, there were probably more literates in the Punjab under Ranjit Singh's rule than anywhere else in India at that time, or even a long time after, when the Punjab became a British possession. Much light is thrown upon the darkest period of Sikh history, from 1716 to 1739, by Prof. H. R. Gupta.

C.S.S.

ENGLISH RECORDS OF MARATHA HISTORY — POONA RESIDENCY CORRESPONDENCE. Printed at the Government Central Press, Bombay, 1940.

(1) (Extra Volume). *Selections from Sir C. W. Malet's Letter-Book 1780-1784*—Edited by Raghubir Singh, M.A., LL.B., D.Litt., pp. xxv and 176.

(2) Volume 7—*Poona Affairs—1801-1810 (Close's Embassy)*—Edited by G. S. Sardesai, B.A., pp. xxxiii and 579.

The Extra Volume containing a selection from the Manuscript letter-book of Malet, who, in the course of his Residentsip at Cambay, came to be connected with the negotiations for the treaty between the ex-Peishwa, Raghoba, and the English to whom he applied for help. Malet was, in one sense, partially responsible for the conclusion of the Treaty of Surat in March 1775, and credit is claimed for his having preserved "Raghoba's person, jewels and several grants of territories to the Company." He was also proficient in Persian and was appointed Interpreter in that language to the Surat Board. He tried to acquire detailed and intensive knowledge of Gujarat, and particularly of the conditions in Cambay with whose Nawab he had a number of quarrels. Likewise he helped in securing the renunciation by the Gaikwad, Fateh Singh, of the Chauth of the city of Cambay which had become his right by reason of his agreements with the British.

Malet, as is pointed out by the pains-taking and thoroughly competent editor, Dr. Raghubir Singh who acquired by purchase the manuscript letter book which is the basis of this volume, was a severe critic of Fateh Singh Gaikwad and of his oppressive and high handed rule, and was against the latter's position being strengthened in Gujarat. He advocated a forward policy for the English in the Province and even proposed the acquisition of places round about Cambay. He was certainly averse to the handing over of Ahmedabad to Fateh Singh. The letters selected give us a number of interesting details. Among these is a notice of the infamous Ghaziudin II, Imad-ul-mulk, who, after various misadventures, went on a pilgrimage to Mecca and after his return therefrom, went over to Nagore. His previous career had been so stormy that even at this stage, we learn from Malet, his personality and activities created some degree of stir and excitement. From Malet we also learn that Mahadji Cindia was carrying on a secret correspondence with the Nawab of Cambay, which was very troublesome. His opinion as to the peace of Salbai is found best expressed in the following extract of his letter to the Chief at Surat, dated 23rd April, 1783:—

"The origin of Nana's power has been disputed by us, by the Chieftains of his own nation; the identity of the Prince whose claim he affects to support is doubtful and the independence of our mediator and guarantee is evidently our own work. Do not seeds of future and early discord appear here?" That on the Treaty with Tippu is equally unfavourable. The character of Governor Hornby and his successor, Boddam, is well sketched.

The second volume under treatment, No. 7 of the series, deals with Major Barry Close's Embassy in the years 1801-1810 at Poona. Close had gained reputation in the Mysore War and later in the reorganisation of that kingdom in conjunction with Diwan Purnayya. His Residentsip at the court of the imbecile Baji Rao II was mainly spent in keeping up that imbecility effective by "indulging his fancy in all kinds of innocent pursuits and by never allowing the use of the subsidiary force," even in his sorest need of putting down his disobedient jaghirdars." Perhaps Close's most remarkable service in the course of his tenure was in preventing an outbreak of the combined force of the Sindia and the Holkar supported by others, at a moment (1805) when every prospect seemed encouraging for a renewed Maratha outbreak. It was Malcolm that detached Sindia from the hostile influence of Holkar and Close successfully kept Baji Rao under restraint. Thus as Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai, the editor, remarks: "For thus saving British fortunes in India at a critical juncture, Malcolm and Close are the two persons who deserve a debt of gratitude from Britain. Indeed, the Maratha Power was built up by Baji Rao I and Mahadji Sindia in the south." It is pointed out by the editor that the administration of the Residency, while aiming at the undermining the prestige and influence of the Peishwas tried to earn the goodwill of the people in general. Thus what is known as the incident of the Kuttari garden, ended, according to letter No. 333, in the Resident intervening for the mitigation of the punishments inflicted by the Peishwa in order to please the Resident.

Close had to devote a great deal of attention to the Southern Jaghirdars, who caused endless troubles and concern both for the British and for their own suzerian. The editor claims no other merit for the letters selected in this volume than that of providing a fresh and realistic picture of the declining days of the Maratha empire and of the clever manoeuvres of British diplomats, who offered such a vivid contrast to the impotent Indian personnel opposed to them strutting on this political stage. Close and after him the great Elphinstone were head and shoulders over the courtiers and minis-

ters of Baji Rao, who had the misfortune to prefer as his guide the evil genius of Sadashiv Mankeshwar over the head of his rival Khande Rao Rastia who was very much his superior in ability and character. The letters are full of the turbulence of the jaghirdars; highway robberies, local rebellions and disputes about lands and boundaries, and also of the ineffectual attempts made by the Peishwa's brothers to improve his ways. Mr. Sardesai clearly pointed out that the root cause of all the mischiefs was Baji Rao himself; but the British hastened his decline and refused to utilize the chieftains in the support of the Central Government. Elphinstone hastened the inevitable process and closed the inconvenient show of the futile maintenance of an incompetent peishwa under the insidiously enervating control of the British suzerain, and this is proposed to be illustrated in the subsequent volume. A letter of the Resident, Henry Russell, dated August 1810, describes the history of the festival of the Dakshina, or distribution of alms to a large number of Brahmins amounting to nearly half a lakh, which was later developed into the nucleus fund for the maintenance of the Deccan College, Poona.

C.S.S.

Select Contents from Periodicals

Indian Culture, Vol. VI, No. 4.

- The Atharvaveda and the Nyayamanjari of Jayantabhatta. By Mr. H. G. Narahari, M.A.
- Candra-gupta II, Sahasamka Alias Vikramaditya and the Nine Jewels. By Mr. S. K. Dikshit, M.A.
- Sivaji's Surat Expedition of 1664. By Mr. J. C. De, M.A., B.L.
- Political Philosophy of the Mughal Empire in India. By Prof. Makhanlal Roy Chowdhury Shastri, M.A., B.L., P.R.S.
- Observations on Certain Post-Mauryan Dynasties. By Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri, M.A., Ph.D.
- The Harappa Hoard of Jewellery. By Mr. Kalyan Kumar Ganguli, M.A.
- Economic Guilds in the Kusana Period. By Mr. Baijnath Puri, M.A.
- Harsa's War with Pulakesin II. By Mr. Nalini Nath Das Gupta, M.A.
- Chronology of the Kamarupa Kings. By Mr. R. M. Nath, B.E., A.E.S.

The Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. XVI, No. 3.

- Indo-Europeans in the Mediterranean Area. By Prof. Dr. A. Berriedale Keith, M.A., D.C.L.
- India and the Archaeology of Malaysia and Indonesia. By Dr. Kalidas Nag, M.A., D. Lit.
- The Date of the Sanskrit Inscription of Vo-can. By Dr. G. Coedes, Ph.D.
- The Oldest Representation of the Sakta Cult in Bengal Art. By Dr. U. N. Ghoshal, M.A., Ph.D.
- Devices on some Tribal Coins. By Jitendra Nath Banerjee, M.A.
- A Large Hoard of Satavahana Coins. By Prof. V. V. Mirashi, M.A.
- Symbols in Early Indian Jewellery. By Kalyan Kumar Ganguli, M.A.
- Proto-Indian Ceramics. By S. Srikantha Sastri, M.A.
- Alexander's Invasion of India: a revised Study. By Dr. Rama Sankar Tripathi, M.A., Ph.D.
- The Andhras their Position in Brahmanical Society. By Dr. Dines Chandra Chircar, M.A., Ph.D.

SELECT CONTENTS FROM PERIODICALS 391

- A New Light on the History of the Cahamanas. By Dr. D. C. Ganguly, M.A., Ph.D.
- Nilakantha the Saiva. By Chintaharan Chakravarti, M.A.
- The Authoress Binabayi. By Dr. J. B. Chaudhuri, Ph.D.
- On the Identify of the two Patanjalis. By Dr. L. Renon, Ph.D.
- A Persian Inscription from Gwalior State. By Ram Singh Saksena.
- The Arab Conquest of Sind. By Prof. S. N. Dhar, M.A.
- An Examination of the Nature of Indo-Aryan and Indo-Islamic Polity. By Dr. H. N. Sinha, M.A., Ph.D.
- A forgotten treaty between Shuja-ud-daulah and the English. By Dr. Nandalal Chatterji, M.A., Ph.D., D.Lit.
- The Ostend Company in Bengal. By Dr. Kalikinkar Datta, M.A., Ph.D.
- Baghaura Narayana Image-inscription of Mahipala. By Dr. H. C. Ray, M.A., Ph.D., D.Lit.

New Asia, Vol. II, No. 4.

- Culture and Life of the Japanese Nation. By Hasegawa-Nyozekan.
- The Asiatic Society of Bengal. By Mr. Dr. Kalidas Nag, M.A., D.Lit.
- The Khasis. By Miss Durgabati Saikia, M.A.

The Calcutta Review, October, November 1940.

- Java in Asiatic History and Culture. By Mr. Kalikas Nag, M.A., D.Litt.
- The North Western Question of Indian History (1793-1830). By Dr. Boof Chand, M.A., Ph.D.

The Journal of the Benares Hindu University, Vol. V, No. 1.

- Lumbini, The Birth-Place of Buddha. By B. C. Bhattacharya, M.A., Ph.D.
- A Note-The Finds at Rajghat. By Bhagwat Saran Upadhyaya, M.A.

The Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society, Vol. XIII, Part 1.

- A New Campaign of Excavation at Begram (Afghanistan) 1939. By Dr. J. Hackin.
- Place-Names in the Inscriptions of Darius. By Vasudeva S. Agrawala.
- The Moncton Embassy to Queda 1772. By S. N. Das Gupta, M.A.

- Alivardi and the Mayurbhanj Rajah. By Dr. Kaikinkar Datta, M.A., Ph.D., P.R.S.
- The Capture of Qandahar by Humayun, September 3, 1545. By S. K. Banerji.
- A New Indo-Scythian Head from Mathura. By M. M. Nagar.
- Some Vagrant Tribes of Northern India. By D. N. Majumdar, M.A., Ph.D., P.R.S.
- Further Light on the Coinage of the Yaudheyas. By Rai Bahadur Prayag Dayal.
- Agriculture as Known to Panini. By Vasudeva S. Agrawala.
- Man in India*, Vol. XX, No. 3.

- Totemism Among the Gonds. By M. P. Buradkar, M.A.
- My Central Indian Expedition, 1938-39. By Rev. Dr. W. Koppers.

●

The Journal of the Sind Historical Society, Vol. IV, No. 4.

- Prof. S. H. Hodivala's comments on the Ibn Haukal. New light on Sind History. By N. M. Billimoria.
- British Impressions of the Amirs in Sind. Mr. C. I. Mariwalla, B.A.
- Humayun's return to Rohri-Seige of Sehwan 1541-42. By Dr. S. K. Banerji, M.A., Ph.D.
- Defence of the British Residency at Hyderabad. By A. B. Advani, M.A., LL.B.
- Humayun's sojourn in Sind and the birth of Akbar, 1541. By C. I. Mariwalla, B.A.
- Antonio Bocarro's description of Sind-translated and annotated by Fr. Achilles Meersman, O.F.M.
- The English Factory in Sind, part 1 (1758-1775). By B. D. Mirchandani, I.C.S.

The Hindustan Review, September, October-November, December 1940.

- The Viceroy's Statement—Is it an Advance. India and International Situation.
- The Muslim League and the Future of India.
- The Political Situation in India. By Mr. P. Kodanda Rao.
- Is It An Imperialist War? A Study. By Sriji M. N. Roy.
- Is Man Climbing Upwards? By Mr. G. A. Chandavarkar, M.A.
- A New World Order. By Mr. N. R. Vakil.
- The Pilgrimage to Amarnath. By "One Who has done it."

The Aryan Path, Vol. XI, Nos. 10, 11 & 12.

- The Blend of Cultures in India: The Contribution of Old Iran. By K. S. Ramaswami Sastri.

Asoka Emissaries.

- Light in Islamic Mysticism: III—in Ibn Al-Arabi and His Contemporaries. By Margaret Smith.
- Distribution of Provinces on a Linguistic Basis. By A. S. Menon.
- Fundamentals of Democracy. By P. Nagaraja Rao.
- Light in Islamic Mysticism; IV—Later Sufi Teaching. By Margaret Smith.
- Truth Will Prevail. By Edward Farrell.

Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. 16.

- Ismailis and Qarmatians. By W. Ivanow.
- Materials for an Ismaili Bibliography: 1936-38. By Asaf A. A. Fyzee.

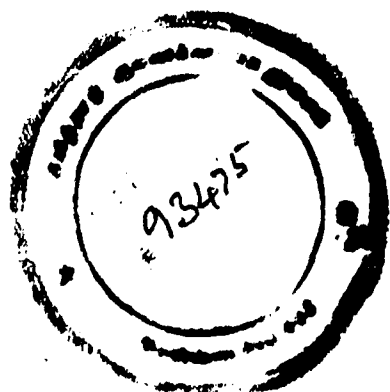
The Poona Orientalist, Vol. V, Nos. 2 and 3.

- Ancestry and Caste of Candragupta Maurya According to the *Mudraraksasa*. By Dasharatha Sharma.
- An Unpublished Inscription of King Kumarapala. By Bhogilal J. Sandesara.
- Katyayana. By K. Madhava Krishna Sarma.
- Indian Bullock-Cart: Its Pre-Historic and Vedic Ancestors. By P. K. Gode.

Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Vol. XXI, Parts 1 and 2.

- Paisaci Language and Literature. By Dr. A. N. Upadhye, M.A., D.Litt.
- The Upapuranas. By R. C. Hazra, M.A., Ph.D.
- On the probable date of Jaimini and His Sūtras. By Prof. G. V. Devasthali, M.A.
- Identification of Udayana of Kausambi with Udayin of Magadha. By Prof. H. C. Seth, M.A., Ph.D.
- The Samadhi—Laksanam and The Bhagavad-Gita. By H. G. Narahari, M.A.
- Fresh and further light on the Mohenjo-daro Riddle. By Anant P. Karmarkar, M.A., LL.B.
- The Dates of Narayana Diksita and other commentators of the Vasavadatta of Subandhu. By P. K. Gode, M.A.
- Who is the Author of 'Sutra-Vritti'? By S. N. Tadpatrikar.

- Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vol. XXXI, No. 2.
 The Boyis of Baroda. By S. T. Moses, M.A., D.Sc.
 Onam-The Characteristic National Festival of Malabar. By L. K. Balaratnam.
 Local Administration in Ancient South India. By S. S. Santhanam, M.A.
 The Vithala Temple at Hampi—S.S.S.
The Adyar Library Bulletin, Vol. IV, Part 4.
 Sphotasiddhi: Rudrabhasyas and dates of Mahidhara and Venkatanatha. By K. Madhava Krishna Sarma M.O.L.
The Journal of the Madras Geographical Association, Vol. XV, Nos. 3 & 4.
 Trade Centres of Tinnevely District. By Dr. V. Krishnan, M.A., Ph.D., Dip. Geog.
 Population of Tinnevely District. By M. P. Rajagopal, B.A., L.T.
 The 'Race' Idea and the Present Conflict. By Nafis Ahmed, M.A., B.E.S.
 Geology of the Tinnevely District. By Mr. P. G. Dowie.
 Place-Names of the Tinnevely District. By Mr. T. S. Sundaram Iyer.
 Communication Lines of Tinnevely District. By Mr. N. Subramanyam.
 The Port of Tuticorin. By Mr. V. Thyagarajan, M.A., L.T., Dip. Geog.



Our Exchanges

- *The Annals of the Bhandarkar Research Institute*, Deccan Gymkhana P.O., Poona.
- Bharat Itihasa Samshodaka Mandala*, Poona City.
- Bulletin de l' Ecole Francaise D'Extreme-Orient*, Hanoi.
- Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, London University, London, Longmans, Green & Co., London.
- Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, London Institution, Finsbury Circus, London.
- *Calcutta Review*, 3, Senate House, Calcutta.
- Hindustan Review*, Patna Junction, E. I. Ry.
- Indian Historical Quarterly*, 96, Amherst Street, Calcutta.
- Journal Asiatique*, Librairie Orientaliste, Paul Geuthner, Paris.
- Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Patna.
- Journal of Oriental Research*, Managing Editor, "The Ashrama", Luz, Mylapore.
- Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Bombay.
- Journal of the Kern Institute*, Leiden, Holland.
- Journal of the Bombay Historical Society*, Exchange Building, Sprott Road, Bombay.
- Le Monde Oriental*, Kungl: Universitetets Bibliotek, Uppsala.
- Nagari Pracharini Sabha*, Benares.
- The Political Science Quarterly*, Columbia University, New York.
- Quarterly Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Andhra Historical Society, Rajahmundry.
- Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Daly Hall, Cenotaph Road, Bangalore.
- Yoga-Mimansa*, Kun'javana, Lonavla, Bombay.
- The Modern Review*, 91, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.
- The Vedic Magazine and Gurukula Samachar*, Gurudatta Bhavana, Lahore.
- The Ceylon Journal of Science*, Office of the Archaeological Survey, Anuradhapura (Ceylon).
- The Historical Studies*, Accession Department, University Library, University of California, Berkeley, California.
- *The Indian Review*, Esplanade, Madras.
- The Servant of India*, Servant of India Society, Poona City.
- The Telugu Academy Journal*, Cocanada.

- The Gaekwad's Oriental Series*, Oriental Institute, Baroda.
 The Superintendent, Government Museum, Madras.
The Federated India, Madras.
 The Superintendent of Archaeology, Gwalior State, Gwalior.
 Verlag Der Asia Major, Leipzig C1, Scherlstr, 2.
 Triveni, Editor, Y. M. I. A. Buildings, 9, Armenian Street, Madras.
Journal of the Madras Geographical Association, Cathedral P. O., Madras.
Journal of the Bombay University, Senate House, Bombay.
Muslim University Journal, Muslim University, Aligarh.
 The Karnatak Historical Research Society, Dharwar.
The Punjab University Journal, Lahore.
 The U. P. Historical Society, Lucknow.
Indian Culture, The Indian Research Institute, 170 Manicktola St., Calcutta.
 Bharathi, The Bharathi Office, 7, Thambu Chetty Street, G. T., Madras.
 Karnataka Sahitya Parishat, Sri Krishnarajendra Parishat Buildings, Hardinge Road, Chamarajpet, Bangalore City.
The Man in India, Ranchi.
The Journal of the Greater India Society, 21, Badurbagan Row, P.O., Amherst St., Calcutta.
Brahmavidya; The Adyar Library Bulletin, Adyar.
The Journal of the Benares Hindu University, Benares Hindu University P.O.
Ostasiatische Zeitschrift, Berlin Und Leipzig, Verlag Von Walter De Gruyter & Co., Indiana, Gandhigraham, Benares City.
The Poona Orientalist, 15, Shukrawar, Poona 2.
Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute, Poona 6.

DR. S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR

COMMEMORATION VOLUME

This work consists of 70 papers by various scholars on different topics of interest and contains articles of great value to the research scholar and of interest to the general reader. Among them may be mentioned as articles of particular interest the *Royal Prerogatives in Ancient India* by Dr. Bhattacharya, *Vedic Monotheism* by Dr. Ananda Coomarasamy, *Irrigation under Vijayanagar* by Mr. Mahalingam, *Saivism and Tamil Genius* by Dr. Suryanarayana Sastri, *Muhammad Gawan's Political Thought and Administration* by Professor Sherwani, *Pepper Trade of India in early Times* by Professor Thomas and others. The work is much appreciated by competent scholars and would prove a valuable addition to libraries, public and private. The price of the book is Rs. 10, and copies can be had of:—

THE G. S. PRESS,

Narasingapuram Street, Mount Road, MADRAS.

THE ADYAR LIBRARY

Director: Dr. G. Srinivasa Murthi, B.A., B.L., M.B. & C.M.,
Vaidyaratna.

Jt. Director and Curator for Western Section: Bhikshu Arya
Asanga.

Curator for Eastern Section: Prof. C. Kunhan Raja, M.A.,
D.PHIL. (Oxon.).

BRAHMAVIDYA

THE ADYAR LIBRARY BULLETIN

APPEARING FOUR TIMES A YEAR.

Editor: PROF. C. KUNHAN RAJA, M.A., D.PHIL. (OXON.)

Rates of Subscription:

Life Subscription Rs. 100

or \$ 50

or £ 10

Per Annum

India & Ceylon ..

Rs. 6

Single Copy

Rs. 2-8

U. S. A. ..

\$ 3

\$ 1.25

British Empire ..

Sh. 12

Sh. 5.

Other Countries ..

Rs. 9

Rs. 3-8

All Communications to be addressed to:

THE DIRECTOR,

Adyar Library,

Adyar, Madras, S., India.

JOURNAL OF THE UNIVERSITY OF BOMBAY

Published five times a year with original articles and abstracts
of theses of Research Work done by the students and teachers of
the Bombay University, in the following subjects:

No. 1. History, Economics & Sociology (July)

No. 2. Arts and Law (September)

No. 3. Physical Sciences, including Mathematics (Novr.)

No. 4. History, Economics & Sociology (January)

No. 5. Biological Sciences, including Medicine (March)

Rates of Subscription

Annual subscription for Five Issues .. Rs. 12

" " Nos. 1 & 4 .. Rs. 5

" " Nos. 3 & 5 .. Rs. 5

Number Two or a Single Copy .. Rs. 3

For advertisement rates and further particulars please write
to:—

THE MANAGER,

Journal of the University of Bombay,

University of Bombay, Fort, Bombay.