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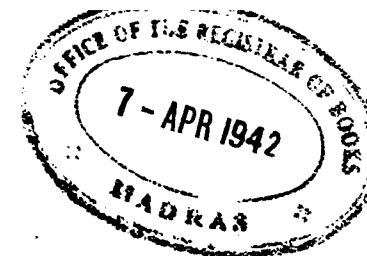
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Journal of Indian History

Chandragupta and Bhadrabāhu

By

DHIRENDRA NATH MOOKERJEE.

VINCENT SMITH remarks "The tradition that Candragupta, the Maurya monarch abdicated and committed suicide by slow starvation in the approved Jaina manner becomes readily credible. The story is to the effect that when the Jaina saint Bhadrabāhu predicted a famine in Northern India which would last for twelve years, and the prophecy began to be fulfilled, the saint led twelve thousand Jains to the south in search of more-favoured lands. King Candragupta abdicated and accompanied the emigrants, who made their way to Śravaṇa Belgola (the white Jaina tank) in Mysore, where Bhadrabāhu soon died. The ex-emperor Candragupta, having survived him for twelve years, starved himself to death. The tradition is supported by 'the names of the buildings at Śravaṇa Belgola, inscriptions from the seventh century after Christ and a literary work of the tenth century.' Lewis Rice stoutly maintained the credibility of the tradition of Candragupta the Maurya monarch's abdication in many publications, the latest being 'Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions.' 1909, pp. 3-9. Dr. Fleet was equally persistent on the other side and showed that the Ācārya Bhadrabāhu was not the Śruta Kevalin Bhadrabāhu; but the Upāṅgi Ācārya Bhadrabāhu II, nor was Candragupta the Maurya monarch of that name and has recorded his views in I.A. XXI (1897), p. 287, E.I. III, p. 171 note and vol. IV, pp. 22-28, and several times in J.R.A.S. After all this the last impression of Vincent Smith was that 'the tradition has a solid foundation on fact.'

Now let us enter into the literary and epigraphic evidence bearing on the above.

In the Jaina work 'Rājāvalī Kathe' which is based on a well-known Sanskrit work by Ratnanandin, entitled 'Bhadrabāhu Carita', it is stated 'Bhadrabāhu, the last of the Śruta Kevalins interpreted sixteen dreams of Candragupta, the king of Pataliputra, the last of which indicated twelve years of death and famine. The famine commenced, Candragupta abdicated in favour of his son Simhasena, and taking initiation in the Jaina faith joined himself to Bhadrabāhu.

From the same work we learn that the Candragupta in question was not the well-known grandfather of Aśoka, the Sandracottas of the Greeks—at all, but a son, otherwise quite unknown, of Aśoka's son Kunāla.

Moreover, there is nothing in any genuine local traditions, legends or epigraphic records to connect Candragupta, the grandfather of Aśoka, with Bhadrabāhu and Śravaṇa Belgola.

The literary evidence quoted above of course connects Bhadrabāhu, the last of the Śruta Kevalins with king Candragupta, the grandson of Aśoka. But Bhadrabāhu, the last of the Śruta Kevalins died in A (-nno) (Mahā-) V (-īra) 170 = (520-170, or) 358 B.C. i.e., 32 years before the death of the last Nanda king. Hence it is quite impossible for king Candragupta, son of Kunāla or the great Maurya monarch Candragupta to repair to Śravaṇa Belgola in company with Śruta Kevalin Bhadrabāhu. That this king Candragupta could not have been the Maurya monarch will be evident from this that in case the Maurya monarch really left the crown and became an ascetic, it is strange that none of the Greek ambassadors in the Mauryan court ever mentions such an important event. In fact Lewis Rice's identification of king Candragupta with the grandfather of Aśoka against all Jaina evidence was influenced by the literary evidence of the king Candragupta being contemporaneous with the Śruta Kevalin Ācārya Bhadrabāhu who flourished about the middle of the 4th century B.C. But the very distinct almost contemporaneous epigraphic evidence should have convinced him that the Ācārya was not the Śruta Kevalin Bhadrabāhu but the Upāṅgi (Minor Angi) Ācārya Bhadrabāhu II.

Now a short summary of the epigraphic evidence is culled here for reference from Lewis Rice's Inscriptions at Śravaṇa Belgola (1889).

Two inscriptions said to be of the 9th century found near the Gautama Kṣetra of the river Kāveri at Śeringapatam, speak of the hill at Śravaṇa Belgola as having its summit marked by the impress of the feet of the great sage Bhadrabāhu and Munipati Candragupta. At Śravaṇa Belgola itself the inscription No. 17-18 (Epig. Carnatica, Rev. Ed. No. 31) of about the 7th century A.D. mentions, 'when the faith (the Jaina religion), which had greatly prospered at the time when the pair of the great sages Bhadrabāhu and Candragupta shed lustre on it, became afterwards a little weak, the coral tipped Śāntisena Muni renovated it and on the mountain at Belgola, having given up food and other things became the lord of the cessation of birth'. This together with the existence of the later name of the locality, 'Belgola' in this inscription shows clearly that Candragupta and Bhadrabāhu flourished long before the 7th century A.D. Inscription No. 71 of considerably later date, (about A.D. 1100) refers to worship being done to the footprints of Bhadrabāhu. No. 40 of A.D. 1163 speaks of Gautama in whose line was Bhadrabāhu, the last of the Śruta Kevalins; his disciple was Candragupta. . . . No. 54 of A.D. 1128 again mentions Gautama and Bhadrabāhu. No. 108 of A.D. 1433 mentions Gautama, in his line Bhadrabāhu, the last of the Śruta Kevalins, his disciple Candragupta.

But inscription No. 1 at Śravaṇa Belgola, the earliest and the biggest of the lot states 'After the time when Mahāvīra attained Parinirvāṇa, there was a *Bhadrabāhusvāmin*, who belonged to a lineage; that had been made illustrious by a succession of great saints who came in continuous order from Gautama, his disciple Lohārya, and Jambu, Viṣṇudeśa, Aparājita, Govārdhana, *Bhadrabāhu*, Viśākha, Proṣṭhila, Krittikārya Jayanāman, Siddhārtha, Dhṛitisena; Buddhila and other gurus. At Ujjayini Bhadrabāhu Svāmin thus introduced, mastered the science of prognostication, became a knower of the past, the present and the future, and announced a period of distress that would last for twelve years. Thereupon the *entire community* ('sarvas sangha') consequently including the Head, Ācārya Bhadrabāhu, set out from the North to the South and reached by

degrees a country, numbering many hundreds of villages, densely filled with happy people, wealth, gold and grains and herds of cows, buffaloes, goats and sheep. For this reason, the Ācārya (Bhadrabāhu) perceiving that the end of his life was approaching and desiring to accomplish Samādhi, left the company of the Sangha in all entirety ('niravaśeṣeṇa samgham visrjya') and settled on the mountain named Kaṭavapra (afterwards Candragiri hill) at a place where the stones were nicely arranged by his solitary disciple Prabhācandra by name and there engaged in Samnyāsa until he died. Lewis Rice's reading and translation were 'Ataḥ Ācāryaḥ Prabhācandrenāmā' 'For this reason Ācārya, (Bhadrabāhu) along with (amā=saha) Prabhācandra.' Whereas Dr. Fleet's reading and translation was 'Ataḥ Ācāryaḥ Prabhācandro - namā vanitala - lālāma - bhute - thāsmīn Kaṭavapra-nāmak-opalakṣite' 'Afterwards, on this mountain, the very forehead ornament of the earth, which is designated by the name of Kaṭavapra.....an Ācārya Prabhācandra by name.' This translation of Dr. Fleet is really objectionable. For, with the reading 'Ataḥ Ācāryaḥ Prabhācandro-nāmā' the translation should have been, 'for this reason, Ācārya Prabhācandra by name' settled on the summit of the hill Kaṭavapra by name. As the community of Jains were in search of more favoured lands which they eventually reached, it was 'for this reason' (ataḥ) that the Ācārya Bhadrabāhu (or Prabhācandra according to Dr. Fleet) settled on the summit of the hill. The expression 'Sarvas Samgha Uttarāpathād Dakṣiṇāpatham prasthitāḥKramaṇaiva....prāptavān' before 'ataḥ ācāryaḥ' etc., followed by 'niravaśeṣeṇa, Samgham visrjya' before the ācārya sat on Samādhi shows clearly that the migration to the South and the ācārya sitting on Samādhi were contemporaneous. This shows that Prabhācandra was a contemporary of Bhadrabāhu whom Dr. Fleet rightly identifies with the Upāṅgi Ācārya Bhadrabāhu II who became pontiff in 54 B.C.=Vikrama Year 4. Thus Lewis Rice's remark 'If this inscription (No. 1 of Prabhācandra) did not precede the Christian era, it unquestionably belongs to the earliest part of that era and is certainly not later than about A.D. 400, comes out to be perfectly true. Lewis Rice also attached a note that Prabhācandra was explained to him by the Jainas as the clerical name assumed by king Candragupta. Dr. Fleet was anxious not to admit a king Candragupta reigning after Aśoka who abdicated placing his son Simhasena on the throne and con-

temporaneous with Bhadrabāhu in 54 B.C. which was the date when Vikramāditya the Great would be ruling and identified with Candragupta Vikramāditya of the Gupta dynasty. Dr. Fleet translated 'ataḥ' as 'afterwards' i.e., some 800 years later when an Ācārya Prabhācandra (C. A.D. 750) died there. Even Ācārya Prabhācandra I (A.D. 395-420) died about 450 years after Bhadrabāhu II's death. But we should remember that 'ataḥ' has never the meaning 'afterwards', unless followed by the words 'param' or 'ūrdhvam', but means 'for this reason'. We should remember that 'ataḥ' is derived from 'etaḥ' or 'idam' 'this' referring to something very near the suffix 'tas' in place of the fifth case ending meaning 'hetau' i.e., 'for the reason'. Hence 'ataḥ' can never mean even 'after this' in the sense of a point of time some 500 or 800 years later. This proves clearly that Prabhācandra must have been a contemporary of Bhadrabāhu II (54-31 B.C.) and the former may well be the monarch Candragupta I, Vikramāditya of the Gupta dynasty. As such the date of the inscription by Lewis Rice (1st century B.C.) is the really correct one. On this date by Lewis Rice Dr. Fleet remarks 'The substantial grounds for this view depends chiefly upon Mr. Rice's acceptance as genuine the Western Ganga grants.* These Ganga inscriptions are genuine. Their genealogy has been supported by a stone inscription (vide Mysore Archaeological Report for 1930).

As already remarked by Dr. Leumann 'the person whose death required this very elaborate and unique commemoration was certainly no common ascetic,' and it is hard to believe that the same was inscribed in commemoration of an otherwise unknown Ācārya Prabhācandra by name who committed suicide by slow starvation in accordance with a practice that was very frequent among the followers of Jina Mahāvira some twelve hundred years after his death. In fact the unique epitaph was evidently inscribed in commemoration of Upāṅgi Ācārya Bhadrabāhu II by order of his disciple Prabhācandra (previously, monarch Candragupta) most probably through his son Samudragupta.

In the revised edition of the Śravana Belgola Inscriptions, *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. II, Mr. Narasimhachar assigns the inscription to the 6th century A.D. i.e., about 200 years after Candragupta I according to Fleet. In reality the Gupta inscriptions and the Śravana Belgola epitaph should belong to the same period

as will be evident from the date of Bhadrabāhu II and the use of the word 'ataḥ' in the inscription.

Dr. Fleet's reading is 'ataḥ Ācāryaḥ Prabhācandra nāma.... Śiṣyeṇ-aikena....'. The expression means 'for this reason (ataḥ) ācārya (Bhadrabāhu)....by his disciple Prabhācandra by name (Prabhācandronāma....śiṣyeṇaikena)' stands for 'Prabhācandra-nāmnā....Śiṣyeṇ-aikena', 'nāma' being an 'Avyaya'.

A few lines from the inscription are reproduced here to show that the Ācārya Bhadrabāhu who led the migration to the south was not the Śruta kevalin Ācārya Bhadrabāhu I, but the second Ācārya with that name and hence the question of the Maurya monarch at once vanishes '....Mahāvira-savitari parinirvṛte bhagavat paramarṣi-Gautama-gaṇadhara-sākṣācchiṣyasya Lohārya-Jambu-Viṣṇu-dev-Āparājita-Govardhana Bhadrabahu-Viśākha-Proṣṭhila-Kṛittikārya-Jaya-nāma-Siddhārtha-Dhṛtisena-Buddhil-ādi-guru-param-pariṇa-krama-ābhyāgata-mahā-puruṣa-santati-samavadyotit-ānvaya-Bhadrabāhu-Svāminā Ujjayanyam aṣṭāṅga-mahā-nimitta-tat-tvajjā-ena traikālyā darśina nimittena dvādaśa-samvatsara-kāla-vaiṣamyam upalabhya kathite sarvas samgha Uttarāpathād dakṣiṇāpatham prasthitaḥ Krameṇ-aiva Janapadam anekagrāma-śata-samkhyam mudita-jana-dhana-kanaka-go-mahīṣ-ājāvīkula-samākīrṇam prāp-tavān-ataḥ-ācāryaḥ Prabhācandro-nāma.....'

Thus the migration having been led by Ācārya Bhadrabāhu II who became pontiff in 54 B.C.=V.S. 4, we are to search for the monarch Candragupta who became his disciple and on the commencement of the twelve years' famine abdicated, placing his son Simhasena on the throne and repaired to Śravaṇa Belgola in company with Ācārya Bhadrabāhu II. This twelve years' famine about 58 B.C. a date which has been correctly arrived at by the late Jayaswal in his 'Historical Date in the Garga Samhitā and the Brahmin Empire' (J.B.O.R.S. Vol. XIV. pp. 397-421) after the great defeat of the Śakas on the Sīprā, is mentioned in the Garga Samhitā composed about the same time. Jayaswal says "this is the report" that he heard of the events on the Sīprā. This means that he is here recording contemporary events. A long drought and famine following on the invasion of the Sīprā is the last fact which the historian gives. He surveys the whole of India. The distress was very great particularly in Northern India,

"God will cause a drought for twelve years—". It seems that the Sīprā invasion of the Śakas is of a period following 58 B.C. Principal K. H. Dhruva in his article on 'The Contents of the Yuga Purāṇa (of the Garga Samhitā)' (J.B.O.R.S. Vol. XVI. pp. 18-64) remarks 'They make a hyperbolic allegation of a twelve years' famine which puts us in mind of a similar Jaina tradition' also 'In time to come there will be a king of a new dynasty there, that is to say, it will again be the capital, bless the city,' referring clearly to the reign of Vikramāditya. We have also the tradition of a twelve years' famine in the reign of Vikramāditya (vide *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. IX. p. 128). This will be supported by the Jaina tradition, that the twelve years' famine ended sometime during the life time of Ācārya Vajra Svāmin (V. S. 26-114 i.e., 32 B.C. to A.D. 57). 'Ekadā dvādaśa-durbhikṣānte Vajrasvāmi-vacanāt....' (vide 'Kharatara gaccha Pattāvali Samgraha' by Śrījina Vijayaḥ, p. 18). The name of the son of Vikramāditya the Great according to tradition was Samudrapāla (vide *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. IX. p. 135) evidently Samudragupta and the name of Vikramāditya the Great as read by Alberuni in the work 'Sudhava(?)' by Mahādeva was 'Candrabiḥ' evidently Candravīrya (= Vikrama) i.e., Candragupta (I) Vikramāditya.

Now the question is if there is any reference in the Gupta inscriptions of King Candragupta I handing over the crown to his son and retiring as an ascetic. Fortunately the reference seems clear. In the Allahabad inscription we have a vivid description of the selection of Samudragupta as successor by Candragupta. 'Here is a noble man' with these words the father embraced him, with shivers of joy that spoke of his affection, and looked at him with eyes heavy with tears and overcome with love, the courtiers breathing freely with joy and the kinsmen of equal grade looking up with sad faces—and said to him 'Protect thou this whole earth.' There was sadness and joy-sad, because Candragupta was retiring as an ascetic and joyful because Samudragupta was receiving the crown from his father's hands.

That the list of the Theras of the Śvetāmbara Jains is very badly incomplete, there being only one Bhadrabāhu, the Śruta Kevalin in their list and it was due to this that they mistook Bhadrabāhu II and Candragupta of the Gupta dynasty to be Bhadrabāhu I and a Maurya monarch Candragupta, grandson of

Aśoka will be evident from the following quotations from Jacobi's 'Introduction to the Jaina Parīṣiṣṭa Parvan.' 'The author of the Niryuktis, Bhadrabāhu, is identified by the Jains with the patriarch of that name who died 170 A.V. There can be no doubt that they are mistaken. For the account of the seven Schisms in the Āvaśyaka Niryukti VIII. 56-100 must have been written between 584 and 609 Vira era. These are the dates of the 7th and the 8th of which only the former is mentioned in the Niryukti (p. vii).

'As the Niryuktis had been written between 584 and 609 A.V. its author was no doubt well informed of the events connected with the two last schisms which had occurred not long before his own time. Now Rohagutta (—gupta), the author of the 6th schism being a praśiṣya of Suhastin the 8th patriarch, lived in the second generation after the latter i.e., probably under the tenth patriarch. Accordingly between him and Bhadrabāhu (6th patriarch), there intervened four patriarchates. And as Bhadrabāhu died in 170 A.V. and Rohagutta was living in 544 A.V. the intermedia to four patriarchates should have lasted 374 years.' (p. xvi). Then says Dr. Jacobi: 'To sum up: if we base our inquiry on the well established dates of the schism we arrive at the conclusion that the list of the Theras is imperfectly handed down, there must have been far more Theras than are contained in the Therāvali' (of the Svetāmbaras).

The reason why the list of the Theras of the Svetāmbaras is very badly incomplete seems to be this that the Svetāmbaras had their origin from the time of king Candragupta who we have found was a contemporary of Bhadrabāhu II (54-31 B.C.). Hence the Svetāmbaras did not care much to remember the names of the Ācāryas before Bhadrabāhu II and at a later date they mistook this Bhadrabāhu II to be the first of that name who was the last of the Śruta Kevalins. The tradition of the origin of the Svetāmbaras is thus given by Gen. Cunningham (A.S.I.R. Vol. X. p. 55): 'I see no difficulty in giving credit to the common story of the origin of the Svetāmbara Jains, who trace their beginning to the time of Candragupta. Up to his time all the Jaina priests went about naked. But one day when he was residing at Ujjayini, his queen, who was in the family way, happened to meet a naked Digambara, or "Sky-clad" Jaina priest in the city, at which she was so horrified that she returned home at once and had a miscarriage. The king then issued

an order that the Jaina priests, whenever they visited the city, should come properly clad. All the stricter votaries at once retired from Ujjain, but they who remained adopted a white dress and became known as Svetāmbaras or Svetavāsas, or the "white-clad."

An instance of how confusions between Candragupta of the Gupta and the Maurya dynasties are made even now will be evident from the following.

From Dr. Walleser's 'The Life of Nāgārjuna from Tibetan and Chinese Sources' (Reprint from 'Asia Major', Hirth Anniversary Volume) and from the late Sarat Chandra Dass (J.A.S.B. Vol. 51. pt. I, 1882, p. 115) we learn that according to the Tibetan historians who wrote on the authority of ancient Indian historians, Nāgārjuna was born when the dynasty of Aśoka waned and gave place to that of the illustrious Candra, the first of the Candra (—gupta) family. Nāgārjuna is also stated by them to have been born a century before Candragupta. The late Sarat Chandra Dass proposed to identify Candragupta with the Maurya king of that name and placed Nāgārjuna about a century after him (i.e., in the 2nd century B.C.). Hence Dr. Walleser rightly remarks that the late Sarat Chandra Dass thereby alters his own information. For, after the waning of Aśoka's dynasty during the reign of the illustrious Candra, the first of the Candra family shows clearly that it was during the reign of Candragupta I the first of the Gupta dynasty that Nāgārjuna was born. Dr. Walleser rightly identified Candragupta with Candragupta I of the Gupta dynasty but as Nāgārjuna could not be placed so late as C.A.D. 319 (on Fleet's epoch of the Gupta era) he placed Nāgārjuna a century before, in about A.D. 200. In fact, Nāgārjuna was born about 58 B.C. during the reign of Candragupta I of the Gupta dynasty and this date was about a century before Candragupta II (last inscriptional date Sam. 93=A.D. 35).

From Jaina records we also learn that the Ācārya Bhadrabāhu whom king Candragupta accompanied was a brother of Varāha Mihira, the astronomer. We know the Indian tradition of Varāha Mihira being a contemporary of Vikramāditya. All this shows the contemporaneity of Bhadrabāhu II and Varāha Mihira I with Candragupta I Vikramāditya.

That Varāha Mihira and therefore Bhadrabāhu II and Candragupta flourished in the 1st century B.C. also follows from the Kutūhala Manjari (vide S. B. Dixit, 'Bhāratiya Jyotis Śāstra', pp. 212-13 f.) where it is stated that Varāha Mihira became an expert in Jyotiṣa in Kali year 3042=60 B.C. (=546-60, or 486 Śākya or Śaka era), i.e., two years before the coronation of Candragupta I Vikramāditya. According to Āmarāja Varāha died in Śaka 509. This referred to the Śākya era, is equivalent to (546-509, or) 37 B. C.=V. S. 21 when Varāha Mihira I died. We know Bhadrabāhu II became pontiff in V.S. 4=54 B.C. and died in V. S. 27=31 B.C.

Only one astronomical evidence in support of the early date of Varāha Mihira I will be put forth here. Varāha in his Panca Siddhāntika states the positions of certain stars. Thibaut and Sudhākara Dvivedi took these to have been stated in the equal space divisions of the Nakṣatras. Whereas in reality these are stated in the unequal space divisions of the nakṣatras. However, we find that Varāha states the position of the star Puṣyā as in the fourth degree of the nakṣatra which in the equal space divisions is $97^{\circ} \cdot 33$ and in the unequal space divisions $96^{\circ} \cdot 23$, a difference of one degree only which is immaterial. From the polar latitude given the star intended is Y Cancrī. The polar long. of Y Cancrī was $98^{\circ} \cdot 0$ in 119 B.C. (=421 Śākya or Śaka era). This shows that Varāha Mihira's epoch was 119 B. C. So that during Varāha Mihira's time summer solstice was occurring some 90 degrees west of the star Puṣyā and this point was the beginning of Cancer (Karkaṭa-kādyam) in his time. Varāha Mihira I's date can never be (427-78, or) 505 A.D. in as much as at that time the polar long. of Puṣyā (Y Cancrī) was 107° .

The Jaina Ācārya Samaya Sundara Upādhyāya in his Kalpa Sutra Tikā writes that 'King Vikramāditya was the follower of Siddhasena and it was on his advice that he introduced the Samvat (of Vikramāditya). Formerly the Jainas used the 'Vira Samvat.' That Siddhasena was the guru of Vikramāditya also follows from Varāha's own statement. 'Āyur-dāyam Viṣṇuguptopīcākṛe deva-svāmi Siddhaseno-pi caivam' (Bṛihat-Jātaka or Horāśāstra, vii. 7. Trivandrum Skt. Series) i.e., 'Āyur-dāya was constructed by Viṣṇugupta as well as by Siddhasena, the guru (Svāmi) of our king (deva).' So that Siddhasena, Varāha Mihira, Bhadrabāhu II and

Candragupta I Vikramāditya all come out to be contemporaneous in conformity with Jaina and Hindu traditions. General Cunningham rightly remarks 'From the way in which Vikramāditya is spoken of as honouring the advice of Siddhasena Sūri as the words of Jina Mahāvīra, it would appear that Vikramārka was a Jaina which would account for the use of his era in the Jaina books as well as for the non-mention of it in early Brāhmanical inscriptions.' (Indian Eras. p. 49.).

Dr. Shamasastri, in the *Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department* for 1923, identified Candragupta and Bhadrabāhu of the Jaina tradition with Candragupta II Vikramāditya II and Bhadrabāhu III to suit his epoch (A.D. 200) of the Gupta era. But Bhadrabāhu III became pontiff in V. S. 104 (=A.D. 46) (I.A. Vol. XXI. pp. 59-86) which is long before Dr. Sastry's epoch (A.D. 200) of the Gupta era and 11 years after Candragupta II's last inscriptional date (Sam. 93). If Dr. Sastry had guessed that the Gupta era is no other than the (Candragupta I) Vikramāditya era he should have had no difficulty in identifying the above Candragupta with Candragupta I Vikramāditya and Bhadrabāhu with his contemporary Bhadrabāhu II (V. S. 4-27=54-31 B.C.). Dr. Fleet rightly remarks 'Bhadrabāhu Svāmin (of the inscription) came after an interval of unspecified duration but plainly a long one after the Śruta-Kevalin Bhadrabāhu. He is undoubtedly Bhadrabāhu II, the last but one of the Minor Angis (Upāngi, becoming pontiff in 53 B.C.) (I.A. Vol. XXI pp. 156-60 and E.I. Vol. iv, pp. 22-28).

As Dr. Fleet erroneously placed the Guptas in the 4th century A.D. he could not think of placing a monarch Candragupta contemporaneous with Bhadrabāhu II (54-31 B.C.) which if he did this Candragupta would then clearly have been seen to be no other than Chandragupta I Vikramāditya and the whole theory of his epoch of the Gupta era (A.D. 319) would then have vanished at once.

A few epigraphic and numismatic evidence in support of the fact that the monarch Candragupta I who retired as an ascetic to the south was the great Vikramāditya will now be put forth.

There is an undated inscription of Candragupta at Udayagiri on which Dr. Fleet remarks 'The inscription refers itself to the

time of the Early Gupta King Candragupta (II) whose name is recorded in line 1. As no date is given, there might be some doubt as to whether the king mentioned there is the first or the second of the name. But the standard of the characters, as compared with that of the Allahabad inscription, which was engraved in the time of Candragupta II and the fact that the inscription records that the Candragupta mentioned in it came in person to Udayagiri, coupled with the existence at Udayagiri of the inscription of the year 82, No. 3. p. 21 ff. above, which is proved by its date to be one of Candragupta II, show that the king mentioned here is Candragupta II, not his grand-father Candragupta I. But with all humility, it must be said, Dr. Fleet is evidently wrong here. He admits that the characters of this inscription closely resemble the Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta. But as he was under the impression that this Allahabad inscription was a posthumous one and therefore engraved during Candragupta II's reign, he considered the undated Udayagiri inscription to belong to Candragupta II. But it is well-known now that the Allahabad inscription is not a posthumous one. Hence the undated Udayagiri inscription clearly belongs on palaeographic grounds to the reign of Candragupta I. The other argument advanced by Dr. Fleet is of no value. Because there is an inscription of Candragupta II dated Sam. 82 at Udayagiri it does not follow that Candragupta I could not have gone there and put up an inscription. Moreover, the Udayagiri inscription of Sam. 82 is 'one of Mahārāja Chagalaga, a feudatory of Candragupta II.'

Now in the undated inscription of Candragupta the following words deserve careful consideration. 'Yad-antar-jyotir-arkābham urvyām Candraguptākhyam-adbhutam.' 'Vikram-āvakrayakṛtā,' 'tasya Rājādhirājarṣer-acintyaḥ' all this shows clearly that the king was a greatly religious one and presages his assuming the title 'Vikramārka' and becoming a saint in his last days. It is also stated in the inscription that his minister Virasena alias Śāba came here, accompanied by the king in person, who was seeking to conquer the whole world; 'Kṛtsana prthvi-jay-ārthena rājnaiv-eha Sahāgataḥ.' We should remember that the name of the minister of Chandragupta II was Śikharasvāmin as we know from the Karamdānda inscription dated Sam. 117 during the reign of Kumāragupta I. So that it follows clearly that it was Candra-

gupta I who started on his mission of 'digvijaya'. It is well-known from Jaina evidence that (Candragupta I) Vikramāditya introduced his era after his digvijaya on the advice of his guru Sidhasena. It was this fact that is stated in the Amrita cave inscription at the same place Udayagiri of King Kanha who repaired the dilapidated Viṣṇu temple by Candragupta in Vikrama Sam. 1093. Dr. Fleet remarks on this inscription 'There can hardly be any doubt that the Vikramāditya here spoken of is the Great Vikramāditya, after whom the era which bears his name was named. And the other inscription at Udayagiri shows that the Candragupta here spoken of is Candragupta II. We seem, therefore, to have here a record of tradition of the eleventh century A.D. to be taken for what it may be worth, to the effect that the reign of Vikramāditya, after whom the era was named was at least subsequent to the time of Chandragupta II of the Gupta family (I.A. Vol. XIII. p. 185). For reasons already stated it will be seen that it was Chandragupta I who erected these temples of Viṣṇu and Śambhu while on his mission of 'digvijaya' after which he assumed the title 'Vikramāditya' (Candraguptena Kirtanam Kīrtitam, paścād Vikramāditya-rājyam.)'.

After the 'digvijaya' with the help of the Crown Prince Samudragupta, Candragupta performed the Aśvamedha Sacrifice. A stone horse lying in a village named Nagawa near Benares and bearing an inscription containing the letters Candragu (pta) (I.H.Q. 1927, p. 725) will support this. Another memorial of the event exists in the rudely carved stone figure of a horse found in northern Oudh, and now in the Lucknow Museum with traces of a dedicatory inscription '.....ddagutta sa devadhamma' evidently 'Candraguptasya deyadharmah' and not of Samudragupta as supposed by V. Smith.

It should be remembered that there is no allusion to Samudragupta's having performed the horse sacrifice in his Allahabad inscription. In his successors' inscriptions he is stated to have been the 'Āhartā; for its performance which was long in abeyance ('cirotsann-āśvamedhāhartā'). The work of the 'Āhartā' is to overcome the foes and rescue by force (āharṇa) the horse and collect materials for the sacrifice. This will be evident from the following. 'Śakuntalā nāḍapity-apsarā Bharatam dadhe paraḥ Sapatnān Indrāya Aśvān medhyān ya āharad vijitya prthivām Sarvām iti

(Śatapathe Brāhmaṇa-canto 13, ch. 5, 4, gāthāverse 13). Śakuntalā the daughter of an apsara gave birth to Bharata who after conquering the whole earth brought back from the enemies the horse for the sacrifice. In the case of the Aśvamedha sacrifice by Yudhiṣṭhira it was Arjuna who played the part of the 'Āhartā, by bringing back the sacrificial horse safe. Vasumitra the grandson of Puṣyamitra the Sunga did play the same part in the Horse sacrifice by Puṣyamitra. In his letter to the Crown Prince Agnimitra, Puṣyamitra writes: '... Accordingly, I will now sacrifice, having had my horse brought back to me by my grandson, even as Amśumat, the grandson brought back the horse to Sagara. 'So-ham idānim Amśumat-eva Sagara-pautrena praty-āhrt-āśvoyaṣye.'

That Samudragupta did not perform the Horse sacrifice himself but helped his father in this will be evident from his Lyrical Type of Coins. At one stage of the Aśvamedha sacrifice a Kṣatriya lute-player (Rājanyo vīṇā-gāthī) has to sing three songs composed by himself to the notes of his lute descriptive of the sacrificer's valour in battle and his victories (Śatapatha III, 3, 4, 5). This shows that the sacrificer must be another person, a fact already noticed by Mr. Allan also (Gupta coins, Intro. p. xxvi): 'It is probable that this (Lyrical) type is connected with Samudragupta's Aśvamedha sacrifice..... It is, however, improbable that Samudragupta would play this part (of a Rājanya lute-player) himself. Even admitting this difficulty,—as Mr. Allan and other scholars are under the wrong impression that it was Samudragupta who performed the Horse sacrifice—Mr. Allan remarks 'and this type had best be interpreted as representing the monarch at his favourite amusement.' But that this is not true and the Lyrical Type of coins depicts a scene of the Aśvamedha sacrifice is thus admitted by Mr. Allan's doubt 'though the presence of the syllable Si (-ddham) in the field forms a close link with the Aśvamedha type.' In fact this Si (-ddham) in the Aśvamedha and the Lyrical Type shows that these coins were issued by Candragupta I on the successful completion (Siddham) of the sacrifice and that the actual sacrificer was Samudragupta's father Candragupta I Vikramāditya. It was for helping Candragupta in his digvijaya and the performance of the Horse sacrifice that Samudragupta was later selected by his father who installed him on the throne saying 'Protect thou this whole earth' (Nikhilām pāhyevam urvīm).

We learn from the Allahabad inscription that Samudragupta as a Crown Prince re-established many royal families whom he had overthrown and deprived of sovereignty. These evidently include the Daivaputra Sāhi Sāhānusāhi and the Śaka Murundas. We know that Daivaputra Sāhi Sāhānusāhi was the title of the Great Kuṣāṇa kings Kaniṣka, Huviṣka and Vāsudeva. The Śaka Murundas were the western Śaka Kṣatrapas who were evidently subordinate to the Kuṣāṇas. In the Jaina text 'Kālakācārya Kathānaka' we read the Kālakācārya (Circa 75 B.C.) got enlarged and invited the Śaka chiefs with the titles Sāhis and their overlord Sāhānusāhi to India to drive out the Gaddavila (predecessor of Gadaphara or Gondopharas, Sam. 77=A.D. 20) king for having committed rape on his sister Sarasvatī, Kālaka stayed with one of the Sāhis, and as their Chief together with ninety-five other Sāhis fell into disgrace with the king of Kings, Kālaka induced them to accompany him to Hindukadeśa..... After sometime Vikramāditya of Mālava ousted this Śaka dynasty and established his own era. Muni Sundara Śūri in his *Upadeśa Ratnākara* says that Kālakācārya committed sin in calling in the Śaka Sāhi King to drive out the Gaddavila King. It seems to me that Sarasvatī was married to Mahārāja Ghaṭotkacagupta and she gave birth to Candragupta I. This seems to explain the Hindu and Jaina tradition of the Great Vikramāditya being the son of Gardhava, Gadharāja, Gandhapāla, Gandharūpasena, Gandharva etc. i.e., of the Gaddavila king (evidently a predecessor of Gadaphara or Gondophares of Sam. 77—A.D. 20) and the non-mention of the name of the mother of Candragupta I in Gupta inscriptions. Candragupta I Vikramāditya became a Jaina evidently as the result of his mother's teaching and influence. In the *Jyotiṛvidyābharaṇa* by Kālidāsa (Ch. xxii, verse 13) it is stated that Kālidāsa's patron Vikramāditya became famous after he had extirpated in battle ninety-five Śaka chiefs and he then introduced his own era. There are several verses in this chapter which tally exactly with the statements in Samudragupta's Allahabad inscription.

After the conquest of the whole earth ('Sarva pṛthivī-vijaya-janīta-uday—') of Samudragupta, Candragupta II had no occasion to start on a mission of conquering the whole earth. All this was done by Candragupta I Vikramāditya with the help of the Crown Prince Samudragupta. Therefore the Lion Slayer type of

coins of Candragupta with the title *Simha Vikramaḥ* belongs to Candragupta I. Assuming that it was Candragupta II who performed the 'digvijaya' Mr. Allan attributed these coins to Candragupta II and remarked 'The earliest reverse of the Lion Slayer type of Candragupta II bears a goddess seated on a lion holding a cornucopiae and closely resembles the reverse of the Candragupta I coins; this suggests that the latter immediately preceded the former. This type is found on no other coins of Samudragupta, and it is unlikely that a type afterwards (i.e., during Candragupta II's reign, according to Mr. Allan) so popular should have been dropped throughout his (i.e., Samudragupta's) long reign. The survival of the cornucopiae in variety and (probably northern issues) is further evidence that they closely followed the Candragupta I type. For these reasons Mr. Allan supposed Candragupta I's coins to belong to the latter part of Samudragupta's reign and therefore the Lion slayer type of coins, in the opinion of Mr. Allan, belongs to Candragupta II. But all this will now be found to be incorrect. Candragupta I type of coins is universally admitted to belong to Candragupta I. Hence the Lion Slayer type of coins also belongs to him. It is significant that neither Samudragupta nor any other subsequent ruler of the dynasty ever continued striking this reverse on their coins. Hence follows that Candragupta I had the title 'Vikramāditya' as well as 'Simha Vikrama'. Thus Samudragupta might well be called 'Simha Sena', son of monarch Candragupta, in the Jaina tradition.

The Delhi (Meherauli) Iron Pillar inscription of King Candra has been rightly attributed by Drs. Fleet, R. G. Vasak, S. K. Aiyangar etc. to Candragupta I of the Gupta dynasty. Dr. Fleet remarks on this inscription 'The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets and allowing for the stiffness resulting from engraving in so hard a substance, as the iron of the column, they approximate in many respects very closely to those of the posthumous pillar inscription of Samudragupta'.

'Mr. Ferguson (Indian Architecture, p. 508) drawing special attention to the Persian form of the capital, expressed a conviction that the inscription is of one of the Candraguptas of the early Gupta dynasty—My (Dr. Fleet's) own impression at first sight, on independent grounds, was to allot it to Candragupta I, the first Mahārājādhirāja of the family, of whom we have not as yet any inscrip-

tions; and I should not be surprised to find at any time that it is proved to belong to him.' Again, 'In the palaeography of it, there is in fact no real obstacle to our allotting it to Candragupta I, the first paramount sovereign of the early Gupta family; and the objection that I can see is that it contains no reference to the Indo-Scythian kings, unless they are here called Vāhlikas, by overthrowing whom Candragupta I, must have established the power of his family.' These Vāhlikas are evidently the Kuṣanas whom Kālakācārya invited to India to drive out the Gardavilla king.

The inscription is engraved on a unique and remarkable wrought-iron pillar containing about 80 cubic feet of metal weighing upwards of 17 tons (about 500 maunds). This pillar is still a wonder of metallurgical skill to the biggest modern forging and rolling machines. Sir Henry Rescoe and Scharlemmer in their 'Treatise on Chemistry', Vol. II, p. 1146 remarks on this pillar 'It is not an easy operation at the present day to forge such a mass with our largest rolls and steam hammers; how this could be effected by the rude hand labour of the Hindoos we are at a loss to understand.' All this will convince one that this unique pillar could not have been erected by a king Candravarman of Pokharana or a Nāga king Candrāmśa, as suggested by some scholars but must have been erected by such mighty emperors as Candragupta I Vikramāditya or his son Samudragupta.

In this inscription it is stated that the mighty monarch Candra extirpated in battle in the Vanga countries his enemies who offered him a united resistance; he crossed the 'Indus and its tributaries' (Vogel, 'Sindhos-sapta-mukhāni 'Sapta Sindhavaḥ') and overcame the Vāhlikas; the Southern ocean was even to-day (i.e., at the time of the incision of the epigraph) being perfumed by the breeze of his prowess his majestic glory has not yet left the world though he has retired from the (material) world and has entered in bodily form another (i.e., the spiritual) world won by his own good actions; he enjoyed on earth long lord paramountcy acquired by his own arms, he was a Vaiṣṇava (Bhāgavata) and caused this flag staff of God Viṣṇu on the Viṣṇupada hill to be set up by Dhāva (as read by Prinsep and Dr. Fleet) or Bhāva (as read by General Cunningham, Bhaudaji and Allan). This is evidently the correct meaning of the verses in the inscription. It should be found on careful study that this inscription is not a posthumous one as suggested by some

scholars. "The southern ocean was even to-day being perfumed by the breeze of his prowess ('Yasy-ādy-āpy-adhivāsyata jala-nidhir-vīryānilair dakṣiṇaḥ') shows clearly that he was still (at the time of the incision of the epigraph) living in the South (Dakṣiṇā-patha) where he had gone along with Ācārya Bhadrabhāhu II. Dr. Vasak thinks that he (king Candra) probably proceeded also towards, the south for making conquests. Yes, he proceeded to the south for making conquests with the help of his Crown Prince Samudragupta. But this time it was the spiritual conquest for which he left the crown and retired to the South. Then again, it is distinctly stated that king Candra left this world and entered another (i.e., the spiritual) world in bodily form won by his own good deeds ('Mūrtyā Karma jit-āvanim gataṇaḥ'). Vikramāditya's magnanimity, benevolence etc., are too well-known to all of us. Evidently one does not enter in bodily form another world after his death. Then again, 'his majestic glory still lingers on earth ('yasya pratāpo mahān nādy-āpy-utsrjati prañāsita-ripor-yatnasya śeṣaḥ kṣitim') shows clearly that the mighty emperor Candra was still living on earth. Moreover, in the last line it is distinctly stated ('ten-āyam pra-nidhāya bhūmipatinā Bhāvena Viṣṇau matim, prāmsur Viṣṇu-padegiran bhagavato viṣṇor-dhvajas-sthāpitaḥ') 'By that king having his mind fixed on god Viṣṇu, this lofty pillar of Viṣṇu was set up through Bhāva(?) or Dhāva(?) (seems to me to be Śāva) on the Viṣṇupada hill.' This shows clearly that this pillar was set up by Candragupta then a saint through his minister who was evidently under Samudragupta at that time. It is thus clear that the inscription is not a posthumous one at all. Dr. R. G. Vasak thinks that 'the emperor Samudragupta did not perhaps command the court-poet to refer to any pedigree in the inscription—'. This is natural when we remember that Candragupta I renounced this world to lead an ascetic life. Dr. Fleet puts an alternative suggestion that the king's name is concealed in a poetical allusion in the words 'Candr-āhvena samagra candra-saḍṛśim'. We know 'Prabhā-candra' is the bright lustre of the moon, and 'Candra saḍṛśa' is 'Candraprabha' and the clerical name assumed by Candragupta was 'Prabhācandra.' Hence Dr. Fleet's suggestion seems very appropriate. The word 'Vīrya' (=Vikrama) in 'Vīry-ānilaiḥ dakṣiṇaḥ' according to Vincent Smith stands for 'Vikramāditya' and this suggestion is most significant and shows that the monarch's title is also concealed under the expression, in as much as Candragupta I had

renounced this world and it is customary not to mention the name, title or genealogy of such a person. We know that Brahmā, Viṣṇu and other Devas are worshipped by the Jainas who have not become Sannyasis as the Devas possess the power of bestowing temporal blessings. These Devas, are however, considered by the Jainas to be subordinate to their Arhats or Siddhas. The Imperial Guptas were great Vaiṣṇavas (parama Bhāgavata). It seems the pillar was erected when Candragupta had retired to lead an ascetic life and assumed the clerical name Prabhācandra.

General Cunningham remarks on the word read as 'Bhāva' thus; 'I read his name preferably as 'Bhāva' the letter "th" having got closed by the accidental slip of the punching chisel. The letter is different from any other "dh" in the inscription.' It seems to me that the word read as 'Bhāva' is really 'Śāva' and we know that the name of the minister of Candragupta I in the undated Udayagiri inscription is given as 'Śāva'. We should remember that Candragupta II's minister was Śikharasvāmī as we know from the Karam-ḍāṇḍā inscription dated sam. 117 of the time of Kumāragupta I. In several coins of Candragupta and Samudragupta the letter 'S' is found like '𑀲' (it is really '𑀳') and the letter 'bh' is written like '𑀲' So that 'it seems that the letter '𑀲' got closed by the accidental slip of the punching chisel and looks like '𑀳'. The interchange of the two b's ('b' and 'v') is common in Gupta inscriptions (e.g., 'Samvat', 'Sambat' etc.) especially when we remember that 'Śāba' was his nick name. The two words in the two inscriptions seem therefore to be identical and stand for 'Śāba' or Śāva', the minister of Candragupta I. And here I quote Dr. Fleet's remark. "The engraving of the rest of the inscription, however, is so very correct, that it is just possible that future researches may even yet show that 'Dhāva' is a proper name here, as 'it was interpreted by Prinsep'.

Now, I come to the question of Candragupta II's alleged conquest of the Western Śaka Kṣatrapas which is said to have added Surāṣṭra and Mālwa to his dominions.

The undated inscription at Udayagiri in Eastern Mālwa of Candragupta has already been shown to belong to Candragupta I who went there while on his mission of 'digvijaya' and from the Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta we know of his defeat of the Śakas which must have included the Western Śaka Kṣatrapas. In

that case Candragupta II's conquest of Surāṣṭra and Mālwa is out of the question. The latest dated coins of the Western Kṣatrapas are of the year 310 or 310+X. Assuming these to be dated in the Śaka era and therefore equivalent to A.D. 388 or 388-97=Gupta Sam 69 or 69 to 78 (according to Fleet) which falls during Candragupta II's reign, it was taken as a proof that Candragupta II defeated the last member of the Western Kṣatrapas about Sam. 76 (=A.D. 395 on Fleet's epoch). The earliest coins of Candragupta II in Surāṣṭra is dated Sam. 90 or 90+X and the dated Udayagiri inscription is of the year 82. But these are 'although no evidence' as already remarked by Mr. Allan, 'for, the conquest of Gujarāt and Kāthiāwār it is highly probable that they were conquered on the same campaign.' But this campaign has already been shown to be Candragupta I's mission of 'digvijaya'. According to several scholars 'An echo of the campaign is to be found in the *Harṣa carita* of Bāṇa—according to which Candragupta (II) slew the king of the Śakas while courting another man's wife in his enemy's town.' If this be true then Candragupta II must have finished his conquests before he killed Rāmagupta and usurped his throne before his first inscriptional date i.e., Sam. 61 = A.D. 380 on Fleet's epoch equivalent to Śaka 302, long before the last inscriptional date Sam. 310+X of the Western Kṣatrapas. This disproves Candragupta II's conquest of the Western Kṣatrapas.

Now let us enter into the echo of this campaign briefly to elucidate the truth.

In Bāṇa's *Harṣa Carita* it is stated 'Aripure ca para kalatra-kāmukam Kāminiveṣa-guptas-Candraguptaḥ Śakapatim asātayat.' Śāṃkarārya in his commentary on the above states 'Śakānām ācāryaḥ Śakādhipatiḥ Candragupta bhrātr-jāyām Dhruvadevīm prārthayamānas-Candragupta Dhruvadevi-veśadhāriṇā Strī-veṣa-jana-pari-vṛtena vyāpāditaḥ.' In the *Śṛṅgāra Prakāśa* of Bhoja who evidently derived his information from the Devī-Candragupta (from which he quotes on occasions) the name of the place of occurrence is given as Alipura. In the *Kāvya Mimāṃsā* of Rājasekhara (9th century A.D.) it is stated that the place of occurrence was Kārtikeyanagara in the Himālayas. (Dattvā ruddha-gatiḥ Khasādhipataye Devīm Dhruva svāminīm yasmāt khaṇḍita-sāhaso-nivavṛte Śrī Śarma (? Rāma) gupto-nṛpaḥ Tasminneva Himālaye guru-guhā-koṇa-kvaṇat-kinnare giyantē tava kārtikēya-

nagara-strīṇām gaṇaiḥ Kirtayaḥ. The 'beseiged king Rāmagupta was forced to retire discomfited from the Himālayas by agreeing to give his wife Dhruvasvāminī to the Khasa chief. In that very Himālayas, the caves of which are loudly resounded by the Kinnaras the women of Kārtikeyanagara sing the songs of your (Candragupta II Sāhasānka's) fame.' Mr. N. N. Das Gupta in his *Rāmagupta* (I.C. for October 1937, pp. 316-22) remarks on this word 'Khasa' as neither meaningless nor queer but a familiar expression being the old name, on the authority of Stein from *Rājataran-ginī*, of the tract including the hill states of Rājapuri and Lohāra to the south of Kashmir. Now this was the territory of the Katuria Rāj of Kumāon, Garhwāl, Rohilkhand also the Kāngra and Jullundhar districts. This Kārtikeyanagara is evidently the Kārtikeyapura from which the Pāṇḍukēśvar (in Garhwal district) plate of P. M. P. Lalita-sūradeva was issued (I. A. XXV. pp. 178 ff.) which was clearly the country of Kārṭṭpura in Samudragupta's Allahabad inscription. In the *Periplus* (A.D. 80), it is stated that there is brought down to Ozeṇe via Proklais (i.e., Pushkalāvati, or Peshawar) Kattyburine Spikenard for export. This 'Kattybourine' is evidently 'Kārṭṭpuri'. Hence the place of occurrence was Kārṭṭpura (as also accepted by Dr. Bhandarkar) which was changed through scribal error into 'Aripura' and this latter again into 'Alipura'. It has nothing to do with the enemy's town, (Aripura) and the chief killed by Candragupta II was not a Śaka but a Khasa as stated in the *Kāvya-Mimāṃsā*. That he is not a member of the Kṣatrapa family of Gujarāt will be evident from Dr. Bhandarkar's 'New Light on the Early Gupta History' (*Mālavīya Comm.* Vol. 1932 pp. 189-211) and also from R. D. Banerjee's 'The Age of the Imperial Guptas' (pp. 29-30). Hence this killing of the Khasa chief in the guise of Dhruvasvāminī by Candragupta II in the company of a few of his guards dressed also as female attendants has nothing to do with the tradition of the Great Vikramāditya defeating the Śakas. From the *Mujmalu-i-Tawārikh* (11th century A.D.) a literal rendering of an Arabic translation of a Hindu work (*Devī-Candragupta*?) we gather that Dhruvasvāminī had had chosen Candragupta in a Svayamvara ceremony, but was taken from him, when he brought her home, by his elder brother, Rāmagupta. It seems for this reason after rescuing his elder brother Rāmagupta, Varkamāris (Vikramāditya Candragupta II) killed Rāmagupta in the guise of a mendicant within the palace in the presence of

Dhruvasvāminī, succeeded to the throne and married her as stated in the *Mujmalu-i-Tawārikh*. As it was at first known that Rāmagupta was killed by a mendicant, Candragupta II marrying his elder brother's wife who originally chose him and becoming, the king was not perhaps considered objectionable. It was for this reason that Viśākhadatta, the author of the '*Devī-Candragupta*' and the '*Mudrā-Rākṣasa*' describes Candragupta as 'Bandhu-bhṛtyaḥ' which has been translated by some as 'loyal like a servant to his brother' for, he saved the honour of his brother and his wife. But the story of Candragupta II in the guise of a mendicant having killed his elder brother slowly leaked out, as we find the same distinctly stated tauntingly by Amoghavarṣa I; also by Govinda IV and others. This shows that the dramas were composed by Viśākhadatta during the early part of Candragupta II's reign. Amoghavarṣa I (A.D. 815-78) in his Sanjan plate says ('Havā bhrātaram-eva rājyam āharad Devīm ca dīnār-tathā| lakṣam koṭim alekhayat kila dātā sa guptānvayaḥ||') that Candragupta II killed his brother, took his dominions and even his poor wife, and wrote 'koṭi,' in place of 'lacs'; but all these faults were not possessed by Amoghavarṣa I who was far superior to Candragupta II Vikramāditya. Govinda IV Rāṣṭrakūṭa (A.D. 918-33) also speaks in his Cambay and Sangli plates thus: 'Sāmarthyē sati ninditā pravibhitā naivāgraje krūratā, bandhustri-gamanādibhiḥ kucaritair-āvarjitam na yaśaḥ'—i. e., Govinda did not do such heinous offences as to kill his brother or marry as was done by Candragupta II Sāhasāmka though he had the power to do so. Candragupta II received the titles Vikramāditya alias Sāhasāmka by virtue of hereditary custom. His grandfather Candragupta I was the Great Vikramāditya alias Sāhasāmka who was above these blemishes and turned a saint in his later days. Candragupta II assumed the titles of his grandfather but as he had the faults stated above, Amoghavarṣa I and Govinda IV got an opportunity of saying that they were far superior to Sāhasāmka (Candragupta II).

That the Guptas flourished long before A.D. 319 will be evident from a gāthā verse in the 'Lankā-vatāra Sūtra' which was translated into Chinese in A.D. 443 by Guṇabhadra. The gāthās occurring in the Sūtra were collected together and put at the end of the Sūtra under a separate chapter entitled 'Sagāthakam' in the translation of A.D. 513 by Bodhiruci as is evident from the statement in the beginning of the chapter 'Lankāvatāra-Sūtroktam gāthā-rtha-

mayam śṛṇu|....'. The verse no. 786 runs thus: 'Mauryā Nandāśca Guptāśca tato Mlecchā nṛpādhamāḥ, Mlecchānta Śastrasamkṣobhaḥ śastrānte ca kalir yugaḥ....'. After the Mauryas and the Nandas there came the Guptas. After the Guptas there came the Mlecchas and after these the reign of Anarchy began and at last there was the Kali Yuga. Thus it is evident that long before A.D. 443 the Gupta rule ended. We should remember that about A.D. 443 the first Later Gupta king Kṛṣṇagupta of 'good family' (Sadvamśaḥ) was ruling. These Later Guptas had no connection with the Imperial Guptas. Even if they had they were separated by such a long interval after the downfall of the Imperial Guptas that the Later Guptas did not remember all that. If Fleet's epoch of the Gupta era is correct then Kṛṣṇagupta was ruling about Gupta year 124 (=A.D. 443 according to Fleet) when we know the Imperial Gupta monarch Kumāragupta I was ruling. As such the very full genealogy of the Later Guptas in the Apsad inscription would certainly have mentioned the connection the Later Guptas had with the Imperial Guptas and not simply state the former as of 'good family' (Sadvamśaḥ). Hence those historians who take Kṛṣṇagupta to be identical with Govindagupta son of Chandragupta II Vikramāditya are hopelessly wrong. Again, the Hārāhā inscription of Mamkhari Īśānavarman is dated when (Vikrama) Samvat 600 is already superfluous by eleven (Ekā-daśātirikṣeṣu ṣaṭsu-ṣaṭesu....) i. e., in V.S. (600-11, or) 589 (vide Annual Report of the Lucknow Museum for the year ending 31st March, 1915, p. 3 fn.). This date V. S. 589=A.D. 532=Śaka 454 for Īśānavarman will be supported by the silver coins of Īśānavarman dated Sam. 54 and 55 and of his son Sarvarman dated Sam. 58 which will clearly be seen to be dated in the Śaka years (4)54 (4)55 and (4)58 with omitted hundreds. Thus it is clear from the statements in the Hārāhā inscription that Mahārādhirāja Īśānavarman was ruling from at least 20 years before A.D. 532 i. e., from A.D. 512 when his son Sūryavarman was born. On Fleet's epoch Rajādhirāja Yaśodhavarman Viṣṇuvardhana who defeated Mihirahula was ruling in A.D. 532 thus showing clearly the incorrectness of Fleet's epoch. Then again, the late N. G. Majumdar in his 'A Hārāhā stone Inscription' (I.A. 1917, p. 125 ff.) has shown very clearly that Mankhari Anantavarman's cave inscriptions found near Gayā are of 'considerable earlier date' than the Hārāhā inscription of Īśānavarman. Thus Anantavarman is evidently earlier than

Harivarman, great-grand-father of Īśānavarman. As Harivarman and Kṛṣṇagupta were contemporaneous and flourished about A.D. 440, Yagnavarman grand-father of Anantavarman might well be ruling about A.D. 430. The Chinese historians mention a Rāja Yuegnai, king of Piapili in India who sent ambassadors to China in A.D. 428. This name Yuegnai has rightly been identified by Cap. Wilford (*Asiatic Researches*. Vol. IX, pp. 42-44 and 110-11) with 'Yajna' evidently Yajnavarman grand-father of Maukhari Anantavarman who we learn was a great king. Kipili has been identified by Captain Wilford with the countries bordering on the Ganges, Kiang, but may more probably stand for 'Gayapuri'.

Again the Damodarpur plate of P. P. M. Kumāragupta is dated Sam. 224=A.D. 543 on Fleet's epoch. As this date falls about the reign of Mahārājādhirāja Īśānavarman who we know fought with the Later Gupta king Kumāragupta, the above Mahārājādhirāja Kumāragupta of Sam. 224 was supposed to be the Later Gupta king Kumāragupta on Fleet's epoch. But this is a serious blunder. Even assuming the date of the Hārāhā inscription to be V. S. 611=A.D. 553 and also knowing that Īśānavarman was a Mahārājādhirāja from at least about 20 years before this date i.e., A.D. 533 when his son Sūryavarman was born, we see that during the reign of Mahārājādhirāja Īśānavarman another Mahārājādhirāja Kumāragupta was also ruling. We have already seen that the correct date of the Hārāhā inscription is V. S. (600-11, or) 589=A.D. 532 and the coin date of Mahārājādhirāja Sarvavarman, son of Mahārājādhirāja Īśānavarman is (Śaka) (4) 58=A.D. 536. Hence in A.D. 543 Mahārājādhirāja Sarvavarman was ruling. We thus see that whichever date of the Hārāhā inscription is accepted two Mahārājādhirājas come out contemporaneous in the same locality, showing clearly the incorrectness of the equivalence of the epoch of the Gupta era on Fleet's hypothesis. In fact, the P. P. M. Kumāragupta, of Sam. 224 was the Imperial Gupta king Kumāragupta son of Narasimhagupta Bālāditya, as we learn from the Bhitari seal of the former, and was flourishing long before A.D. 543. This will be clear from the Damodarpur plate of Mahārājādhirāja Budhagupta, the dated portion of which is unfortunately damaged. In this inscription the name of the *Nagara-śreṣṭhin* is given as Ribhupāla. The Ribhupāla is again the *Nagara-śreṣṭhin* in the plate of Mahārājādhirāja Kumāragupta of Sam. 224 found in the same locality

Damodarpur. The date of Budhagupta's silver coins is Sam. 175 and it is possible that he ruled for about ten years more. Assuming that the Damodarpur plate of Budhagupta was dated Sam. 184, towards the end of his reign, we see that the interval between this date and Sam. 224 is 40 years and it is quite possible that Ribhupāla was appointed as the *Nagara-śreṣṭhin* towards the end of Budhagupta's reign and continued in this position till Budhagupta's grandson Kumāragupta's reign. Two other officers, *Prathama Kulika* Matidatta and *Prathama Kāyastha* Skandapāla of Kumāragupta seem to be the sons of *Prathama Kulika* Varadatta and *Prathama Kāyastha* Viprapāla of Budhagupta, it should be noted here that the name in the gold coin read as 'Pura' (पुर) has been shown to be really Budha (बुद्ध) (vide S. K. Saraswati, 'A gold coin of Budhagupta,' I.C. April, 1935 pp. 691-92). Evidently the name of Kumāragupta I's son in the Bhitāri seal read as 'Pura', is for the same reason 'Budha,' thus supporting Yuan Chwang's statement that Śakrāditya's (Kumāragupta I's) son was Budhagupta.

The memory of Skandagupta and his victory over the Hunas seems to be preserved in the story of king Vikramāditya in Somadeva's *Kathā-saritsāgara*, bk. xviii. Mahendrāditya is king of Ujjayini at a time when the Mlecchas were overrunning the earth, afflicting even the gods with their oppressions (The destruction of the sun temple at Mandasor during Kumāra I's reign may be remembered). Mahendrāditya (Kumāragupta I) abdicated and placed his son Vikramāditya (Skandagupta) on the throne who utterly routed the Mlecchas. From the Junagadh inscription of Skandagupta we also learn that the Goddess of fortune chose him of her free will as the lord, after having carefully seen and thoroughly considered all the causes of excellence and defect (in a king) in succession after passing over all other sons of the king. This is a metaphorical way of saying that Kumāragupta selected Skandagupta as best fitted to govern for possessing requisite qualities, and himself retired. It was in Sam. 136 that Skandagupta assumed the reigns of Government, for Kumāragupta I's coins and Skandagupta's inscription are dated in that year. But from the Sarnāth image inscription of Sam. 154 we learn that Kumāragupta (I) was still ruling. Kumāragupta I seems to have died about Sam. 155 when there was a fratricidal struggle with Budhagupta in which Skanda came out victorious as we learn from the Bhitāri and the Junagadh inscriptions. The date of the composition of the Junagadh

inscription seems to be about Sam. 155 after Kumāra's death. The first part of the Junāgaḍh inscription ending with line 23 narrates the restoration of the embankment of the Lake Sudarśana in G.E. 137. The second part beginning with line 24 unfortunately much damaged, narrates the building of a temple on the top of the hill Urjayat (Girnar) of Cakrabhṛit (Viṣṇu) in G. E. 138 (line 27) and in line 28 is narrated the construction of another temple 'Anyacca mūrdhaṇi su—'. But the portion following is unfortunately damaged beyond recognition and hence the date of its construction cannot be made out. This date seems to have been Sam. 155. But it seems about the next year the fratricidal struggle again commenced in which Budhagupta came out victorious and seized the throne as we learn from Yuan Chwang's statement 'After Sakrāditya's decease his son Budhagupta (Fo-to-kioto) rāja seized the throne.' (Rev. Beal, Life of Hiuen Tsiang, p. 110). We have the Sārnāth inscription of Budhagupta dated Sam. 157. Thus from the above we see that Kumāragupta of Sam. 224 was the Imperial Gupta monarch Kumāragupta (II), grandson of Budhagupta (coin dated Sam. 175). If Fleet's epoch be correct then we see that in Sam. 224=A.D. 543 an Imperial Gupta monarch was still ruling. Whereas from the 'Lankāvatāra Sūtra' we know that long before A.D. 443 the Gupta rule ended, showing clearly from this evidence alone that Fleet's epoch is in error by more than a hundred years at least. Again, Somadeva only abridged Guṇāḍhya's 'Brhat Kathā' and wrote his Kathā-sarit-sāgara wherein Skandagupta's victory over the Hunas is mentioned. Now Guṇāḍhya is placed by Bühler, Keith, Levi, V. Smith and others in about the 2nd century A.D. This shows that Kumāra and Skanda flourished before the 2nd century A.D. and not in the middle of the fifth century A.D. as follows from Dr. Fleet's theory.

From what has been said above it will be seen very clearly that the monarch Candragupta who accompanied Ācārya Bhadrabāhu II (V. S. 4-27=54-31 B.C.) was no other than Candragupta I Vikramāditya who founded the era of 58 B.C. and as Bhadrabāhu died in V. S. 27, Candragupta I left the crown about V. S. 26 and as according to Jaina tradition he lived for twelve years more after Ācārya Bhadrabāhu's death, Candragupta I died about V. S. 39=19 B. C., during Samudragupta's rule. The Meherauli (Delhi) Iron Pillar Inscription of Candragupta I was therefore incised sometime after V. S. 26=32 B.C.

The Dates of the Kadphises Kings and their Relations with the Saka Ksatrapas of Western India

By

BAIJ NATH PURI.

IN the last issue of the *Indian Culture*, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar has contributed an able, interesting and illuminating paper on the Indo-Parthian dynasty of Vonones. In that paper Dr. Bhandarkar has not only settled the order of succession of the Indo-Parthian Rulers, but he has fixed the initial year of the era used in the old Kharoṣṭhi records, popularly known as the old Saka era. Having had occasion to discuss that subject with him, carefully and considerably, he has expressed a desire in his paper¹ that I should go into that matter very carefully and treat it in extenso. In his paper Dr. Bhandarkar has gladly accepted my contention that out of several dates² that could serve as the old Saka era, 66 B.C. alone suits excellently. Dr. Bhandarkar has shown in his paper how this date can satisfactorily accommodate the two equations, an intercalary Āṣāḍha in the year 136 and an inter-calary Śrāvaṇa in the year 134. In this paper I shall try to show why 66 B.C. as the initial year of the old Saka era alone, can suit excellently. In this connection it would also be necessary to discuss the dates of the Kuṣāṇa Kings of the Kadphises group, as their inscriptions are dated in the old Saka Era, and their relations with the Saka Kṣatrapas of Western India. We shall first discuss these two subjects as they would throw light and confirm the initial year of the old

1. Vol. VII, No. 2, Note 19, p. 138.

2. Prof. Sten Konow had fixed upon 84 B.C. as the initial year of the old śaka era. He however gave up his views in *JRAS*, 1932, p. 949ff.

Swami Kannu Pillai's Table X shows that a closer date 74 B.C. can also satisfy the two equations. There are however reasons for fixing the initial year at 66 B.C., which shall be shown in this paper.

Saka era which we have assumed namely 66 B.C. We may therefore first examine the Kharoṣṭhī records.

Among the inscriptions, the Takht-i-Bahi inscription of the year 103³ of the time of Gondophernes mentions the name of Erjhuṇa Kapa. It is dated in the 26th year of King Gondophernes in the year 103. Now the word Kapa or Kaphasa or Kasasa is found on the coins of Kujula Kadphises⁴ while the meaning of the first word does not seem to be clear. Sten Konow presumed⁵ that it was a Saka word meaning a "Prince" and he took the entire expression to mean 'Prince or Kumar Kapa' or 'Prince Kujula Kadphises.'⁶ This meaning does not appear to be clear for the first word could equally be "Arjuna" which though an Indian name, is also mentioned in a Kharosthi record found by Sir Auriel Stein in Chinese Turkestan.⁷ Moreover how are we to account for the presence of a Kusana prince, if we accept the explanation of Prof. Konow, in the court of an Indo-Parthian king? As such we are unable to accept his suggestion that Kujulu Kadphises was a prince in the court of Gondophernes in the year 103 which according to our calculation could be 103-66=37 A.D. Therefore it is not safe to rely on this record.

The next record, namely the Panjtar Inscription of the year 122⁸ mentions the name of Kuṣāṇa Mahārājā (Mahajasa Guṣanasa). There is not even an iota of suspicion that this Gusana must be identified with Kuṣāṇa. The Maṇikiala Inscription⁹ uses the epithet Guṣanavasa Samvardhak' i.e., the increaser of the Guṣana or Kuṣāṇa family'. Therefore this Mahārājā was a Kuṣāṇa king. Here in this connection we may consider the Taxila Silver Scroll Inscription¹⁰ which also mentions the name of a Mahārājā Rājāti-rājā Devaputra Kuṣāṇasa, evidently a Kuṣāṇa King. The record is

3. Sten Konow; *Corpus Inscript. Ind.* Vol. II, pt. I, p. 57.

4. Whitehead: *Catalogue of coins in the Punjab Museum*, Vol. I, p. 178, 181.

5. *Corpus*, Vol. II, pt. I, p. 61.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 62.

7. *Kharosthi Inscription*, Part I, Ed. by Boyer and other, No. 66, p. 6.

8. Sten Konow, *Corpus Inscript. Ind.* Vol. II, pt. I, p. 67.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 145.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 70.

dated in the year 136. It therefore goes without saying that the Kuṣāṇa king or kings of the Panjtar record and the Taxila record must be either of Kadphises' group or of Kaniska' group. The answer to this query is quite clear. The dates in the inscriptions of the Kusana kings of the Kaniska group have not been found in three figures. The last date is 98 of the era which was started by Kaniska.¹¹ Therefore the Kusana kings mentioned in the above two records which are evidently dated in the old era, must belong to the Kadphises group. Who could be this king or kings of the Kadphises group?

So far we know of only two kings of the Kadphises group namely Kunjula Kadphises or Kujula Kara Kadphises and Wima Kadphises. There does not appear to be any reason for distinguishing Kujula Kadphises with Kujula Kara Kadphises. The Chinese annals mention only two Kuṣāṇa kings of the Kadphises group.¹² The additional Kara does not seem to specify any name for an additional figure in the realm of the earlier Kusana monarch. Therefore out of these two kings, should these two records be assigned to one of them, or one to each? The latter possibility however, seems to be rebutted by the fact that there is fortunately another record of the year 187 of Wima Kavathisa (Wima Kadphises)¹³ which precludes his claim to power at such an early period. He could not have ruled for a period of 51 years (187-136) when he succeeded an Octogenerarian father. Naturally the Kuṣāṇa king mentioned in these two records must be Kujula Kadphises. Prof. Thomas however assumed¹⁴ that the Kuṣāṇa king of the Taxila Silver Scroll Inscription must be Wima Kadphises because the big titles mentioned there only befit him, but it appears that his suggestion is untenable. We have already shown that Wima Kadphises could not have ruled for such a long time. Moreover there are coins mentioning Kujula Kara Kadphises or Kujula Kadphises as Mahārājā Rājātirā.¹⁵ It is just possible that

11. *Indian Antiquary*, 1903, p. 108.

12. *J.R.A.S.*, 1898, p. 285ff.

13. Sten Konow: *Corpus Inscr. Ind.* Vol. II, pt. I, 79ff.

14. *J.R.A.S.*, 1914, p. 990.

15. Whitehead: *Catalogue of coins in the Punjab Museum*, Vol. I, Kuṣāṇa Coins, No. 20.

during the course of 14 years he may have considerably increased his power which could entitle him to use these higher titles. Thus we have been able to assign these two dates to Kujula Kadphises, the first king of the Kadphises group of Kuṣāṇas. Accordingly he was a king in the years 122 and 136 which according to our calculations would correspond to 122, $136-66=56$ and 70 A.D. Here it cannot be said as to when Kujula Kadphises ascended the throne.

The successor of Kujula Kadphises was Wima Kadphises. His date is recorded in a private solitary Kharoṣṭhi record namely, the Khalatse Inscription of the year 187. The date of this record can only be referred to the old era in which the other Pre-Kaniṣka records are dated. According to our calculations this date would correspond to the year $187-66=121$ A.D. Therefore the death of Kujula Kadphises and the accession of Wima Kadphises to the throne must be placed between the years 70 and 121 A.D. The most plausible date of Wima Kadphises' accession seems to be the year 78 A.D. and as such he is to be credited as the founder of the Śaka era. The epigraphic evidence thus exclusively bars Kaniṣkas claim as the founder of the Śaka era. Fortunately Prof. Sten Konow had also come to this conclusion in the year 1929 when he published his views in the *Corpus Inscriptum Indicarum*.¹⁶ He had then supposed, the old Śaka era to have begun from the year 84 B.C. While editing the Kalwan Copper Plate Inscription, he gave up his old view and supported Sir John Marshall's contention that the old era started from the year 58 B.C. Even if it be accepted for the time being, the date of Wima Kadphises would extend up to the year $187-58=129$ A.D. As such in that case also, *Kaniska's claim as the founder of the Śaka era would be barred.*

At the very outset it must be said that the term Śaka era does not indicate that this era was founded by some Śaka ruler. It may have been founded, as is probable, by some one else though it was continued by the Śaka Kṣatrapas and hence it was named as the Śaka era. The earliest record from the South¹⁷ in which the name Śaka era occurs is dated in the year 169 while in the North the earliest record¹⁸ in this era is dated in the year 400. It appears

16. Vol. II, pt. I, pp. lxvii.

17. Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, Appendix, p. 20, No. 169.

18. Ep. Ind. Vol. V, Appendix, p. 49, No. 346.

from these two records that the era was called Śaka Kāla and it was carried on by the Śaka 'nripas.' That it was first used in the South about three centuries earlier than its use in the North clearly shows that the era was first introduced and carried into vogue in the South from where it possibly migrated towards the North. The question now arises, who were these Śaka 'nripas' or kings? The answer to this question appears to be easy and clear. We know that Chandragupta II the Vikramaditya, had conquered the Śakas of Western India.¹⁹ The date of Chandragupta II may be placed roughly about 380 A.D. Now the last Śaka Kṣatrapa of Rudradāman's family was Rudrasimha III whose coins are dated in the year 310²⁰ which would correspond to 388 A.D. if the dates of these Kṣatrapas are reckoned in the Śaka era. This suits excellently and Rudrasimha III becomes a contemporary of Chandragupta II who conquered his territory and extinguished his dynasty. Therefore the Śaka era was carried on by this Śaka dynasty founded by Caṣṭana, which also included Rudradāman.²¹ There is not the least doubt in asserting that it was a Śaka dynasty because the members of this dynasty styled themselves as Śakas and they used the Śaka era.²² In this connection it may be mentioned that there was another dynasty of the western Kṣatrapas which included Nahapāna and his son-in-law Usavadāta who styled himself as a Śaka²³ and used the Śaka years in his inscriptions and coins. Here it cannot be said if Nahapāna was also a Śaka, but it is certain that the Śaka era was used in his time as is evident from the records of Uṣavadāta. Therefore it is clear that both the dynasties had used the Śaka era, and though one of them founded by Caṣṭana was Śaka by extraction it is not certain if the other too was of a Śaka dynasty. This is of course evident that Usavadāta the son-in-law of Nahapāna was a Śaka and had used the Śaka era. The next question that automatically arises is: were they acting as the feudatories of some one who had introduced this era? The second possibility seems to be

19. Rapson: Catalogue of the Coins of Andhras and W. Kṣatrapas, p. 194. Please see also Harsacarita (Cowell & Thomas, Translation).

20. Rapson: *Ibid.*, p. 192.

21. Cf. Andhau Inscription of the year 52, Ep. Ind. Vol. XVI, No. 5, p. 190.

22. Rapson: Catalogue, p. cv and *ibid.*

23. Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, p. 86.

improbable though not impossible for how could both use the same era unless both owed their allegiance to some common Suzerain who introduced the era or one was the subordinate of the other. In order to examine these possibilities we have to look to the inscriptions and coins of the members of these two families mentioned above.

The Śaka Kṣatrapa Dynasties and their relations with Wima Kadphises may now be reviewed. The founder of the first dynasty was Caṣṭana. He has unfortunately left no dated coin or inscription. His coins show that at first he was Rājño Kṣatrapa and later on became a Rājño Mahākṣatrapa. His son was Jayadāman who was only a Kṣatrapa. Caṣṭana was also associated with his grandson Rudradāman whose several dated records are available. A set of four records recovered from Andhau²⁴ in Cutch record of the reign of Rājño Rudradaman in conjunction with Rājño Caṣṭana who evidently was his grandfather.²⁵ Rudradāman was also a Kṣatrapa first and Mahākṣatrapa afterwards.²⁶ This is also evident in the case of Nahapāna too who was at first a Kṣatrapa and later on became a Mahākṣatrapa.²⁷ The assumption of the higher title of Mahākṣatrapa is not without any significance. This promotion could be the outcome of either the declaration of independence or the conferment of the higher title by the overlord in token of some prominent service or devotedness. This problem therefore requires examination in a lucid and clear manner. In this case it would be better to examine the claims of both the dynasties separately.

Examining the case of Nahapāna, on the basis of the inscriptions and coins relating to him, we find in an inscription of Uṣavadāta²⁸ two words, *Kuṣāṇa mūla* and *Suvarṇa*. This inscription of Uṣavadāta was first edited by M. Senart²⁹ who interpreted the word *Kuṣāṇa-mūla* as corresponding to the word *Paḍiko*, occurring in the

Kanheri Inscription.³⁰ The entire expression occurring in that inscription is "Chivarika Solasaka (sometimes *Vārasaka Paḍiko cha Māse utkāle*). As the words *Chivarika Vārasaka* of this expression are found in the Nāsik record of Uṣavadāta, M. Senart took *Kuṣāṇa mūla*, which immediately follows the common expression in the Nasik record, to correspond to "*paḍiko cha māse utukāle*" of the Kanheri inscription. He therefore vaguely took the word *Kuṣāṇa mūla* to mean a monthly stipend, assigned to every monk during a certain period of the year and probably to be applied to his food. This explanation of Prof. Kielhorn was easily controverted by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar³¹ who went a step further and pointed out that this explanation does not seem to be in order because the last post script of the Nāsik Inscription clearly shows that Uṣavadāta had already provided for the boarding of the monks by assigning them a field. He therefore considered *Kuṣāṇa* like *Paḍiko* as denoting a specific coin. Accordingly he thought it to be the name of the silver coinage of Nahapāna specially issued possibly under the instructions of some one who could be identified with the name *Kuṣāṇa*. The name *Kuṣāṇa* naturally indicates that he must have some connection with the *Kuṣāṇa* family otherwise there was no necessity of his naming this type of coinage as *Kuṣāṇa* evidently equivalent to *Kuṣāṇa*. This explanation however finds another support through the words *Suvarṇa* which also occurs in that very inscription. It is mentioned in that record that 35 *Kārshāpāṇas* or Silver Coins were equivalent to a *Suvarṇa*. *Suvarṇa* or a gold coin was not actually introduced systematically in India proper prior to the time of Wima Kadphises. It was introduced³² by him. It therefore naturally follows that the gold coins of Wima Kadphises, namely *Suvarṇa* were in circulation in North India at least and how could the specification of the rate of exchange and circulation of these coins in Nahapāna's territory be possible unless he owed allegiance to Wima Kadphises. This could have been possible if he was acting as a feudatory or Viceroy of Wima Kadphises. The title Kṣatrapa indicates that Nahapāna was the Viceroy of Kuṣāṇa ruler possibly Wima

24. Ref. 21 Ep. Ind., Vol. XVI, No. 5, p. 19ff.

25. Cf. Junagadh Inscription of Rudradaman, Ep. Ind. Vol. VIII, p. 68.

26. Rapson: Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhras and Kṣatrapas, pp. 96-97.

27. *Ibid.*, p. xix; E. I. Vol. VIII, p. 82 and A.S.W.I., IV, p. 103.

28. Ep. Ind. Vol. VIII, p. 82.

29. Ep. Ind., Vol. *ibid.*, p. 83.

30. Arch. Sur. Wes. Ind., Vol IV, p. 79.

31. *Indian Antiquary*, 1918, p. 69 ff.

32. Whitehead: Catalogue of coins in the Punjab Museum, p. 183.

Kadphises. His Silver coins were named *Kuṣāṇa* after the name of the family to which he owed allegiance.

In this connection it may be mentioned that there is still another point in another Nāstik cave inscription which has however escaped the notice of the eminent scholars and epigraphists who have edited that record. That throws additional light on this point. In that inscription occurs the word *Bhaṭṭāraka*³³ which according to the Sanskrit Lexicon means³⁴ 'an overlord or supreme lord'. *Uṣavadāta* had gone to conquer the Mālavas at the command of the overlord (*Bhaṭṭāraka*). This word could not have been used as an epithet for Nahapāna because he is already mentioned in the beginning of the record as *Rājño Kṣatrapa*.³⁵ Therefore the epithet *Bhaṭṭāraka* was used for some one who was the lord of Nahapāna. This lord as we have shown before was some *Kuṣāṇa* king. These evidences are enough to show that Nahapāna was only a feudatory of some *Kuṣāṇa* prince and not an independent ruler. The question naturally arises who could be this *Kuṣāṇa* king?

Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar had come to the conclusion more than twenty years ago that the word *Kuṣāṇa* may be taken as identical with the word *Kusanasa* of the Taxila Silver Scroll Inscription. *Kusanasa* has been identified with Kujula Kadphises and therefore Nahapāna was at first the Viceroy of Kujula Kadphises and later on of Wima Kadphises whose gold coins were in circulation in Northern India at that time. This conclusion of Prof. Bhandarkar which he enunciated more than twenty years ago is, with due respect to him, open to correction on various grounds. Firstly the dominions of Kujula Kadphises never extended to India proper. It was Wima Kadphises, who, according to the Chinese annals³⁶ had conquered India and appointed Viceroys for governing it. His coins found at Ghazipur, Muttrā, Butesar, Sankisa, Benares and according to Cunningham³⁷ in every Bazaar in Northern India, are sufficient proof

33. Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, p. 76, line 3.

34. Monier Williams: Sanskrit Dictionary, p. 745.

35. Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, p. 79, C.I.

36. J.A., 1883, p. 324; *Indian Antiquary*, 1903.

37. Archaeological Survey of India Reports, Vol. III, p. 45.

of his holding Indian dominions. The coins of Kujula Kadphises were found in Taxila and Mānikiala in the Rawalpindi district.³⁸ Secondly, *Kuṣāṇa* was a family name and not the name of any particular king. The phrase "*Gusana (Kuṣāṇa) Vasa Samvardhaka*" in the Mānikiala inscription is clear on this point. Thirdly, if we assume that Nahapāna was at first the Viceroy of Kujula Kadphises and later on of Wima Kadphises, then in that case his reign would be considerably extended for it has been shown before that Wima Kadphises had founded the Śaka era and Nahapāna's last date from the record of his minister Ayama is the year 46³⁹ which evidently is in the Śaka era. Therefore it is not possible to assume that Nahapāna was a Viceroy of both Kujula Kadphises and Wima Kadphises. It is safer to assume that he was the Viceroy of only the latter king. The era which he was using was actually the era of his overlord namely of Wima Kadphises which had begun in the year 78 A.D. It was later on called the Śaka era because the Śaka Kṣatrapas had first introduced and carried it into use before it was finally adopted and mentioned in the records of the later period. The Śaka 'nripas' who were credited in the records as the founder of the Śaka era were none else than the western Kṣatrapas.⁴⁰ In the case of one dynasty, namely that of Nahapāna, it is shown that he was ruling as the feudatory or Viceroy of Wima Kadphises. Now, before passing on to the other dynasty of Caṣṭana, we shall try to find out any other source from which light is available on this newly established theory of the relationship between the *Kuṣāṇa* kings and the Śaka Kṣatrapas.

It has been shown before that Wima Kadphises was the founder of the Śaka era and he was living in the year 187⁴¹ of the old era equivalent to 187-66=121 A.D. It has also been shown that though this record is dated in the old era nevertheless it does not preclude us from assuming that he was the founder of the Śaka era. The example of the Mandasor inscription⁴² of the time of Kumāragupta which is dated in the Vikrama Samvat and not in the Gupta era

38. *Ibid.*, p. II, p. 186.

39. Arch. Sur. Wes. Ind., Vol. IV, p. 103.

40. Rapson: Catalogue of Indian Coins, Andhras and Kṣatrapas, p. cv.

41. Sten Konow: Corpus Insc. Ind., Vol. II, pt. I.

42. Fleet: Corpus Inscr. Ind., Vol. III.

clearly shows that though a king may be the founder of an era, nevertheless a private record from a far off region may be dated in the old era which was current for a long time. It is therefore certain that Wima Kadphises was living in the year 121 A.D. The dates of Nahapāna are mentioned in the inscriptions of his son-in-law Uṣavadāta⁴³ and his minister Ayama. His dates are 41, 41, 45, and 46. Uṣavadāta was a Śaka, naturally his dates are in the Śaka era. The inscription of Ayama is also dated in the Śaka era. This is now agreed to by practically all the scholars. Therefore the corresponding English dates for Nahapāna would be 119 A.D. 123 A.D. and 124 A.D. Nahapāna was a Kṣatrapa till the year 45, as is clear from all the inscriptions of Uṣavadāta and he became a Mahākṣatrapa in the year 46=124 A.D. which is evident from the inscription of Ayama. We have shown that as Kṣatrapa he was owing allegiance to his overlord Wima Kadphises. The question naturally arises as to why he assumed the title Mahākṣatrapa and what was its significance? In this connection we shall have to refer again to the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions. From the Taxila inscription of the year 191,⁴⁴ we learn that a certain person Jihonika was in possession of Taxila. This record is dated in the old era of 191 which according to our calculations would come to 191-66=125 A.D. So Wima Kadphises must have died a natural death or was dethroned somewhere between 121-125 A.D. His death was a signal for the Kṣatrapas to declare their independence. If we take 124 A.D. as the date of the death or dethronement, most possible for the death of Wima Kadphises, then it would suit most excellently. Nahapāna learning about the death of his overlord without leaving any successor, declared his independence in the Śaka era 46=124 A.D. Therefore it is thus all but certain that Nahapāna was a Viceroy of Wima Kadphises and after the latter's death he declared his independence. Now what was the position of Caṣṭana? His relations with Nahapāna *vis-a-vis* Wima Kadphises may now be examined.

According to Pandit Bhagwan Lal Indraji⁴⁵ Caṣṭana was a contemporary though not a subordinate of Nahapāna. Dr. Fleet,⁴⁶

43. Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, p. 73ff., and Arch. Sur. India, IV, 103.

44. Sten Konow: Corpus Inscr. Ind., Vol. II, Pt. I, p. 81ff.

45. Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I, i. 32.

46. J.R.A.S., 1913, p. 993 and Note 1.

however assumed that Caṣṭana was Nahapāna's co-regent or Viceroy at Ujjain just as Bhumaka was in Kathiawar. Profs. Oldenburgh⁴⁷ and Burgess⁴⁸ regarded Caṣṭana as the Kṣatrapa of Gautama-Putra Śātakarṇi. As regards Pandit Bhagwan Lal Indraji's theory there need not be any explanation as he has said nothing about the relation between the two. The theory of Dr. Fleet is however far from being satisfactory. It is highly improbable to assume that the co-regent or the Viceroy of a certain person would assume the same titles which his overlord used. Both Nahapāna and Caṣṭana have used the title Rājño Kṣatrapa first and Rājño Mahākṣatrapa afterwards. This is testified to through the evidence of coins as well as inscriptions. These sources have already been pointed out in the case of Nahapāna while in the case of Caṣṭana his coins and the inscriptions of his grandson Rudradaman are clear on this point.⁴⁹ Therefore when both Nahapāna and Caṣṭana had used the same titles it cannot be said who was the Viceroy of the other and it is unsafe to assume that Caṣṭana was the Viceroy of Nahapāna. As regards the third theory of Profs. Oldenburg and Dr. Burgess that he was a Kṣatrapa of Gautamiputra Śātkarṇi of the Āndhra dynasty, the legends on Caṣṭana's coins clearly indicate that he owed allegiance as a Kṣatrapa to some king of the North. The use of Greek and Kharoṣṭhī legends on his coins is sufficient to show that he must have hailed from the region where those scripts were used. Prof. Rapson⁵⁰ and Smith⁵¹ have, however, hinted that he was a Kṣatrapa of some Kuṣāna king. But they have not identified that Kuṣāna king to whom he was owing allegiance. This may be suggested and examined with fresh evidence that Caṣṭana like Nahapāna was owing allegiance to the Kuṣāna king Wima Kadphises.

The coins of both Nahapāna and Caṣṭana have the King's bust right on the obverse with the inscription in Greek characters.⁵²

47. Indian Antiquary, Vol. X, p. 226.

48. Arch. Sur. W. India, Vol. IV, p. 37 Note 4.

49. Catalogue of Indian Coins (Andhras and Kṣatrapas), Ep. Ind. Vol. VIII, p. 36ff., p. 72ff., Vol. XVI, p. 19ff.

50. Catalogue of Coins of Andhras and Kṣatrapas, f c VI.

51. Early History of India, p. 222.

52. Ref. 47, p. 65 and 72.

This shows that either one had copied this type from the other or both had copied from somebody who was their overlord. It is not possible to assert that Caṣṭana came after Nahapāna and therefore he copied Nahapāna's coinage. It however seems clear that both Nahapāna and Caṣṭana were contemporaries and though Nahapāna's family was rooted out by Gautamiputra Satkarni,⁵³ Caṣṭana continued to rule as is evident from the Andhau inscriptions of Rudradāman.⁵⁴ If he was ruling conjointly with his grandson Rudradaman in 52 and before that possibly with his son Jayadāman⁵⁵ who predeceased him, then naturally he was a contemporary of Nahapāna who was ruling from the year 42-46 at least, if not more. Therefore, both Nahapāna and Caṣṭana were ruling as the Kṣatrapas and Mahakṣatrapas of some overlord. In the case of Nahapāna we have seen that it was Wima Kadphises who was his overlord. The identity of coinage, script and title makes it certain that he was holding the same position as Nahapāna in relation to Wima Kadphises, that is to say, both of them were acting as the viceroy of Wima Kadphises. In this connection it may here be pointed out that the arrow and thunderbolt or the reverse of their coins⁵⁶ suggest their Parthian origin. In certain copper coins struck by spalirises and Azes,⁵⁷ as pointed out by Rapson we find Bow, Arrow and Discus. The Kṣatrapas retained Arrow and Thunderbolt which may have been an indication of their Parthian origin. They seem to have been sent out by their overlord Wima Kadphises to carve out kingdoms for themselves and there seems to be no doubt that identical coinage, the assumption of the same titles coupled with the retention of their ancestral symbolical marks, and the use of the North-Western dialect makes one feel certain that Caṣṭana was also the viceroy of Wima Kadphises and both of them were contemporaries.

Thus we have been able to show the relationship between Wima and the Śaka Kṣatrapas of Western India. We have shown

why 66 B.C. should be taken as the initial year of the old Śaka era. By accepting this initial year we come to the conclusion that *Wima Kadphises died in 124 A.D.* This suited excellently for Nahapāna declared his independence in the year 45-46 of the Śaka Era equivalent to $46 + 78 = 124$ A.D. Nahapāna was acting as a Kṣatrapa of Wima Kadphises and his declaration of independence was subsequent to the death of his overlord resulting in the usurpation of power in the North by Jihonika of the Taxila Silver Vase Inscription. We have been able to settle up the chronological difficulties that were facing us. It may thus be assumed without a shadow of doubt that the old theory of Kanishka as the founder of the Śaka Era has to be given up.

53. Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, No. 2., p. 60 line 6.

54. Ep. Ind., Vol. XVI, No. 5, p. 19 ff.

55. Catalogue of Coins of Andhras and Ksatrapas, p. 76 and Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, p. 79.

56. Ref. 50.

57. Whitehead: Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum, Vol. I.

Establishment of the Bahmani Kingdom

(THE REIGN OF 'ALĀU'D-DĪN ḤASAN BAHMAN SHAH)

24-4-748/12-8-1347—1-3-759/10-2-1358

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The New King's Family Connections

WHETHER Nāṣiru'd-dīn Ismā'il's assertion that he had been holding the crown in trust for 'Alāu'd-dīn all along¹ was correct or not, the fact remains that Nāṣiru'd-dīn's old age and ineptitude had made his position most difficult in the face of the continuous success which had been the main feature of 'Alāu'd-dīn's career during the few months before his accession, and the so-called "election" must have been more or less a farce. Nor could the connection which the royal genealogists made between the new Bahman and the Bahman and Isfandār of old have made much difference to the claim which 'Alāu'd-dīn had built on the force of arms and of circumstances. This leads us to the question of the new King's family and antecedents. Till quite recently Ferishtā's story that Ḥasan entered the service of a certain Brahman named Gangū at Delhi, that he found a pot full of gold coins which he carried to his master, and the master was so pleased that he took him to the royal court where the Crown Prince was struck by his sense of integrity and honesty, all this was accepted without any demur as perfectly true. Ferishtā goes on to say that the sobriquet "Gangū Bahmanī" was adopted by Ḥasan in order to fulfil

1. 'Iṣāmī, *Futūḥu's-Salātīn*, Agra, 1938. This work is the only contemporary history of the first Bahmani written in the Deccan itself. I do not think that there was an election of the so-called democratic type at all. For a different opinion see Siddiqī, *Organisation of the Bahmani Government*, Mysore Or. Conf. Proc., 1935, p. 476.

a previous promise he had made with Gangū the Brahman.² It was Major King who first cast a doubt on the veracity of the whole episode when he published an epitomized translation of the *Burhān-i-Maāthir* in the *Indian Antiquary*.³ *Burhān*, which was compiled a few years before Ferishtā's work⁴ contains no reference to the Gangū episode whatever, and in fact does not mention the nick names "Gangū Bahmanī" at all.⁵ And as a matter of fact, while Ferishtā in one place relates the whole tale with a certain amount of gusto, in another place he seems to be bewildered by the number of stories about Ḥasan's family and antecedents and gives a preference to the Gangū story according to his "most humble opinion".⁶

We have already noticed that Ḥasan was a nephew of Malic Hizhbaru'd-dīn entitled *Ẓafar Khān 'Alāi*, who had been killed in action in 697/-1298 against the Trans-oxanian Turkī hordes when Ḥasan was only 6 years old.⁷ One of our authorities calls him a "Kakūya" which has given rise to a number of conjectures by certain modern historians, some saying that it is a corruption of *Kaikāūs* supposed to be the name of Ḥasan's father,⁸ while others conjecture that it is the same as Gangū or

2. Ferishtā's story, *Fer.*, Lucknow edition, I, 273, 274.

3. King, *History of the Bahmani Dynasty*.

4. The part of Ferishtā's history where the Bahmanis are described was compiled in 1016/-1608 (*Fer.*, I, 278), while the *Burhān* was completed in 1000/-1592.

5. *Fer.*, I, 278, says that the nick-name, 'Gangu Bahmani' appeared on the King's signet ring, but this is not corroborated by any other evidence.

6. Among such stories is the one mentioned in the *Burhān*, Hyderabad, 1936, in which *Hadrat Nizāmu'd-dīn Auliya* is said to have prophesied Kingship for the young Ḥasan, while *Maulānā Rafī'u-dīn Shīrāzī*, in his *Tuḥfatu'l-Mulūk* (*Asafi'ah Library*, Tarikh, 1081, fol., 6 a), a work compiled at Bījāpūr in 1081/-1671, recounts a number of episodes connected with Ḥasan's service with Shaikh Sirāj Junaidī at Miraj, who prophesied that he would ascend the throne some day or other.

7. Ḥasan was born in 691/-1292. *Fer.*, I, 281, says that he died on 1.3.759 at the age of 67. 'Abdu'l-Jabbār in his *Maḥbūbu'l-Waṭan*, Hyderabad, 1328 F., p. 202, quotes 'Ainu'd-dīn Bījāpurī's *Mulḥiqāt-i Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣiri* (a work which I have not been able to find) that Ḥasan was born in 691.

8. *Kakōyā*, in Amin Aḥmad Rāzī's *Haft Iqlīm*, Mss., *Asafi'ah*, *tārīkh*,

Kankū the second letter of which was left undotted by a careless scribe and which was read later as Kaikū with 'ya' added on.⁹ As a matter of fact there is no mystery attached to the word 'Kakūya' as this word only connects Hasan with the royal family of the Kākōyids which ruled Isfahān and Hamadān for a number of years and the scions of which fled to the environs of Ghaznī and Ghōr for one reason, because their principality had been placed under the protection of Sultān Maḥmūd the Great of Ghaznī.¹⁰ With this data before them, therefore it was quite permissible for the court genealogists to connect Ḥasan with the Persian and thence with one of the greatest Persian dynasties, that of Bahman and Isfandār, leading right up to Bahrām Gūr.¹¹ As a matter of fact it was not "Bahmanī" but "Bahman" which was adopted by the new King as his title¹² while "Alāu'd-dīn" was but a repetition of 'Alī Shah's title and a revival of the title of 'Alāu'd-dīn Khiljī, the patron of the family, while the title Ṣafar Khān adopted by Ḥasan and handed over to his son and heir was a revival of Hizhbaru'd-dīn's title.

Factions opposed to the New Administration

As is the case with all revolutions, the kingdom which 'Alāu'd-dīn had won was by no means a bed of roses.¹³ What the new

465; also see Rieu, *Cat. of Pers. Mss. in the Brit. Mus.*, I, 335 b. Ḥājī Khalfā, *Kashfu'z-zunūn*, VI, 501, gives the date of the completion of the work as 1010/-1602. For this interpretation of the word Kākōyā see J. R.A.S.B., 1909, p. 463.

9. This is Messrs. Khare and Oturkar's interpretation; see *Proc. Ind. Hist. Congress*, Calcutta, 1939, p. 304.

10. See *Encycl. of Islam*, II, 667.

11. *Bur.*, 11; *Fer.*, I, 281.

12. 'Iṣāmī, 525. The coin in the Hyderabad Museum reads: *Obv.*, As-Sultānu'l-A'zam 'Alāu'd-dunyā wa'd-dīn Abu'l-Muẓaffar Bahman Shah a's-Sultān.

Rev., Sikandar-i ṭhānī Yamīnu' l-Khilārah Nāgīr-i Amīru'l-mu' minīn. *Durībā bi Ḥaḍrat-i Aḥsanāmād*, 757.

See also *Isl. Cul.*, Hyderabad, Deccan, 1935, p. 288.

For a detailed discussion of *Fer.*'s story see Sherwani, 'Gangū Bahmani *Journal of Indian History*, April 1941, p. 95.

13. For similar piecemeal conquests after decisive battles, cp. William the Conqueror's conquest of England after the battle of Hastings, Babar's

King really possessed was little more than his jagir centered round Mubarakābād Miraj, Hakēri and Belgām along with certain other towns,¹⁴ while most of the Deccan was full of paid and unpaid sympathisers of the Tughluq party who now saw the chance of their life-time for carving small states for themselves. There were also local Hindu chiefs both in Eastern and Western Deccan who thought that the best policy for them would be to ally themselves with these malcontents, and after the downfall of the Bahmanis to make themselves independent. Then there was the thorn of Shamsu'd-dīn *alias* Mukh in 'Alau'd-dīn's side, for Isma'il had tasted the honours of kingship but had to vacate the throne for one who was much junior to him, and it was inevitable that a faction should be formed sometime or other which should attempt at putting Isma'il on the throne. It is creditable on the part of 'Alau'd-dīn to have fought all these factions, sometimes by force of arms, at other times by persuasion and diplomacy, and to have consolidated his kingdom, leaving behind him a contented, centralized state.¹⁵

The New Ministers and Officials

The first act of the new King was to create his son Prince Muḥammad Ṣafar Khān a name which revived the memories of his benevolent and gallant uncle Ṣafar Khān 'Alāi, and which had proved of such a good omen to him as well. The Prince was betrothed to the daughter of a senior Amīr, Malik Saif'd-dīn Ghōrī, who now became wakīl- Muṭlaq or Prime Minister.¹⁶ The ex-king, Shamsu'd-dīn Isma'il Mukh was made Amīru'l-Umarā, Bahāu'd-dīn, now created Sikandar Khān was made Bārbak or the King's Private Secretary. Ḥisām-i Dawal Deputy Minister, Rāzu'd-dīn was created Faṭhu'l- Mulk and became Ḥājī-i Khās or Lord Chamberlain, 'Alī Shāh, probably the King's brother; made

campaigns after the Battle of Panipat and the campaigns of the British in India after the Battle of Baxār in 1764, which went on for nearly a hundred years.

14. Miraj, now capital of a State of that name; 16° 49' N., 74° 41' E.

Belgam, Headquarters of a district of that name; 15° 51' N., 74° 31' E.

15. 'Iṣāmī, 526.

16. *Fer.*, 277.

Sar-pardādār or Master of the ceremonies, while Gangū the Brahman was appointed Accountant General.¹⁷

The King's ambitions

It is interesting to note that 'Alāu'd-din was not satisfied with being King of a part of India only but wished to sit in the seat of the Tughluqs and unite the whole of the Indian continent under his sway. He wanted firstly to cross the Tungabhadra and conquer the land as far as Ramēshwaram and Ma'bar or the Coromondal coast and then to cross the Godāveri and subdue Gujarat, Malwa and Gwalior, finally capturing Delhi itself. But the wise and loyal minister Malik Saifu'd-din Ghōrī opposed this ambitious project saying that the south was absolutely full of jungles and unfit for a successful expedition. He reminded the King that 'Alāu'd-din Khiljī and Muḥammad-i Tughluq had both been unsuccessful in the long run to subdue the south¹⁸ and it was with difficulty that they had been able to bring back even one-tenth of the personnel of their armies back from these arduous campaigns. The Malik therefore advised the King to pacify the Deccan tableland first and then to proceed to Malwa and Gujrat. The King now ordered his military Commanders to proceed to different parts of the Deccan which were still held by those who were opposing his hegemony. He sent Husain Gurshāsp to Kōtgīr and Qandhār, Raḡīu'd-din Qutubu'l-Mulk to the south west, Malik Maqbūl, entitled Qīr Khān to Kalyānī; and Sikandar Khān towards Tilangānā and ordered the army of Miraj to proceed to Gulbarga under 'Ainu'd-din Khwāji Jahān.¹⁹

17. All these officers, except the mysterious Gangū the Brahman, figure in 'Iḡāmī, 525-527; also see Bur., 16. Gangū is mentioned only by Fer., 278. It should be noted that the administration of the Kingdom was not perfected till the next reign.

18. Fer., 279. 'Abdu'l-Jabbār (188, 193) quotes Tuḥfatu's-Salāṭīn of Mullā Dāwūd Bidrī, which was freely used by Fer., but which I have not been able to discover anywhere.

19. Iḡāmī, 528 ff.; Bur., 16. Note the title 'Gurshāsp' given to Husain, perhaps to remind the people of the rebellion of Bahāu'd-din Gurshāsp against Muḥammad Tughluq in 327/-1327.

Kalyānī, formerly capital of the Chalukiyas, now the chief town of a jagir in Bidar district 17° 53' N., 76° 57' E.

The Campaigns

The first campaign was undertaken by Gurshāsp who, while on his way to Kōtgīr heard that the Tughluq garrison at Qandhār had changed their loyalties and taken possession of the Fort in the new King's name while the Tughluq representative, Akrāj, had fled to Bōdhan. Gurshāsp thereupon proceeded to Qandhār and personally received homage of the garrison on behalf of his master. He then went to Kōtgīr and forced the garrison to lay down its arms but instead of allowing his army to plunder the City he gave all security to the inhabitants in their possessions. When news was brought to the King of the successful conclusion of the campaign he was overjoyed and had kettledrums beaten at the capital Daulatābād.²⁰

Qutubu'l-Mulk was sent to the south-west and subdued Maram and Akalkōt which he renamed Sayedābād, and Mahendri, and after he had brought the land under his control, ordered that every man who came to pay homage would be pardoned.²¹ He returned everything that he had captured during the campaign to the rightful owners and guaranteed perfect security to the local Hindu Zaminders, giving strict orders to the army not to commit any excesses. As our chief authority says "some were subdued by iron while others were brought over by force of gold," with the result that although the army at Qutubu'l-Mulk's disposal was not large

Kōhīr, wrongly printed Kōtīr in Bur., in the Bidar district; 17° 36' N, 76° 58' E.

Kotgor, in the Nizamābād District, about four miles east of Mānjirā; 18° 35' N., 77° 35' E.

Qandhar, in the Nanded District; 18° 56' N., 77° 14' E.

20. 'Iḡāmī, 531; Bur., 16. Bōdhan, seat of a taluqa in the Nizāmābād district, 18° 40' N., 77° N., 77° 53' E.

Maram, in the Osmanabad District, on the river Benīthōra; 17° 47' N., 76° 29' E.

21. 'Iḡāmī, 532; Bur., 17. Maram, in the Osmanabad District, on the river Benīthōra; 17° 47' N., 76° 29' E.

Akalkot, capital of the State of that name, bordering on H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions; 17° 31' N., 76° 15' E.

Mahendri, perhaps modern Maindargī, in the Kurandwād State; 17° 27' N., 76° 17' E.

still the whole tract against which he had been sent was brought within the aegis of Daulatābād.²²

Qir Khān was sent to subjugate the strong fort of Kalyānī which would not submit without a seige. The seige lasted for 5 months²³ at the end of which the Tughluq garrison begged for peace and safety and laid down their arms. They were fully pardoned by Bahmani commander who ordered that Kalyānī should be turned into a Daru'l-amān or City of Refuge and guaranteed everyone's life and property. When the King heard of this great victory he ordered rejoicings in the capital for a whole week and renamed it Fathābād.²⁴

Sikandar Khān was sent to Bīdar where he divided the land among his retainers. At Bīdar he put his forces on a war footing and proceeded to Malkher which was held by the Hindu Zamindars who opposed the royal forces, and were not subdued till Sikandar had ordered his troops to fight hand to hand inch by inch. At last the opposers laid down their arms and paid homage, and were thereupon promised full security in their homes.²⁵ From Malkher Sikandar sent a message to Kapaya Nayaka of Tilangānā²⁶ informing him of the accession of 'Alāu'd-dīn and asking him to enter into a treaty alliance with him. This treaty was to take the peculiar form of an invitation to Sikandar to visit Tilangānā and the present of some elephants to the King. The Rāya immediately sent a formal invita-

22. 'Iṣāmī, 532.

23. 'Iṣāmī, 533; *Bur.*, 17 has 50 days.

24. 'Iṣāmī, 533, *Cp. Rep. of the Hyder. Arch. Dept.*, 1339 F., p. 52-53 which says that 'Fathābād' probably is a honorific name of Dharūr (p. 53), although as a matter of fact Dharūr did not acquire this name till Shahjahan's reign. This Fathābād has till now remained a mystery. Recently my attention was drawn to the decisive statement in *Bur.*, 17, that it was the subjugation of the stronghold of Kalyānī which was responsible for the change of name to Fathābād. This fully explains why Muhammad Shāh Bahmani's coins have the Fathābād inscriptions on them.

25. 'Iṣāmī, 534.

26. "Kaba of Tilangana," 'Iṣāmī, 535; *Bur.*, 18; *Fer.*, I, 278, calls him 'Raja of Warangal.' He was really Kapaya Nāyaka, the independent ruler of Warangal. See *Hyd. Arch. Dept. Report.*, 1344 F., where reference has been made to his copper plate grant referred to in the *Jour. of Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Vol. XX, pp. 939-948.

tion to Sikandar to visit his state and advanced a few miles to meet the royal commander, leaving his army behind. The Hindu Rāya and the Muslim General became great friends and Sikandar stayed at the Rāya's capital for a number of days. When Sikandar took the Rāya's leave the latter sent his humble compliment to the King and also forwarded rich presents as well as a couple of elephants to the new master of the Deccan.²⁷

Gulbargā which had been taken and lost so many times again mutinied under Pochā Reddī who professed loyalty to the Tughluq cause. The king ordered no less a person than A'zam-i Humāyūn Khwāja-i Jahān to proceed from Mubarakābād Miraj to Gulbarga forthwith, and he was joined by Quṭubu'l Mulk who had so successfully brought Akalkōt and Mahendrī under his submission. The Royal army had to lay seige to Gulbargā once again and the town was reduced with difficulty by means of catapults under Quṭubu'l-Mulk's command and only when its water supply had been entirely cut off. The Wazir now installed himself in the Courthouse and distributed justice to all and sundry laying harsh hands on those who had taken part in the insurrection and distributing awards to those who had been amenable to reason and conciliatory and in this course of a short time every one in the Gulbargā sector was reduced to submission.²⁸

It was sometime in 752-1351 that news arrived at Gulbargā that an insurrection had broken out at Sāgar where Muḥammad bin 'Ālam and 'Alī Bēg Nathū had killed the royal commander Ṣafdar Khān whose companion 'Alī Lāchīn and Fakhrū'd-dīn Muhurdār had taken to flight. Khwāja-i Jahān now sent word to Muḥammad bin 'Ālam demanding the keys of Sāgar otherwise he was warned that he would be able "to keep neither jewels nor stones." In reply to this Muḥammad sent 'Alī Bēg Natthū with a message that they had been forced to take this line of action as they had undergone great hardships at the hands of the agents of the government, and that he would submit only if he were allowed to keep Sāgar. The wazir forthwith arrested Natthū and forwarded a petition to the King at Daulatābād requesting his permission to proceed against

27. 'Iṣāmī, 535-537, *Bur.*, 18; *Fer.*, I, 278.

28. 'Iṣāmī, 542; *Bur.*, 18.

the rebels. The King replied that he would like to march to Sāgar himself and ordered Khwāja-i Jahān to cross the Chintūr and wait there for him. In the meantime he sent his forces which continued to harass the whole country round Sāgar.²⁹

The King was loath to leave his capital. He went in fact overawed by unceasing campaigning all round the country and was afraid lest a rebellion might break out in the capital itself if he turned his back. He therefore tarried for fully two months and did not start till he was told by the saint Uwai Qaranī in a dream that he would succeed if he took up arms against the parties of Muḥammad Tughluq. Heartened by the supernatural tiding he started from the capital, and it was when he arrived at Gulbargā, that he heard of the death of Muḥammad Tughluq on the banks of the river Indus. At Gulbargā the King was met by Khwāja-Jahān who recounted to him all the campaigns which had to be undertaken during the seven months that he had been in the vicinity. He stopped at Gulbargā for two or three days and there left for Sagar arriving there by forced marches in another three days' time.³⁰ When Muḥammad bin 'Alam heard of the approach of the King he immediately laid down his arms begging the King's pardon, and in spite of his continuously recalcitrant conduct, when the rebel fell on his knees, the King pardoned him his life.

At Sāgar the royal camp was pitched at the large tank called Hauz-i Shāh or King's Tank which had been neglected and which was now repaired. The king called holy men and divines like Shaikh 'Ainu'd-din Bijapuri³¹ to him and loaded them with presents. He also stayed there long enough to eradicate turmoil and unrest

29. We can fix this event for 752—1351 as it was when the King arrived at Gulbarga on the way to Sāgar that he received the news of Muhammad Tughluq's death, which occurred on the banks of the Indus in that year. This event must have broken the back of those who still opposed Bahmani hegemony.

30. Sāgar, about 70 miles from Gulbarga in the Shāhpūr taluqa of the district of that name, 16° 37' N., 76° 48' E.

31. Shaikh 'Ainu'd-din Bijapuri, one of the great Divines of the Deccan and a prolific writer. Author of *Mukhiqāt-i Nāsiri*. Born near Delhi in 706/-1307; died at Bijapūr, 795/1393. His tomb was built by Muḥmūd Gāwān Abdu'l-Jabbar Malkapuri; *Tazkira-i Auliya-i Dakan*, 1, 530.

from the land "so that even the most lowly became secure."³² From Sāgar he moved to Kembhāvi where a Hindu of the name of Khēras³³ was muqaddam. On the King's approach the chief sent his envoys to meet him with an offer of homage and a tribute of two years. The chief himself came to pay his respects to the royal person and was received well at the court. From Khembhāvi 'Alāu'd-din marched the Mudhōl which was the capital of a chief named Narāyan, one of this principal local potentates, who were then opposing the Bahmani hegemony. He arrived at Mēlkōt the next day where he received a messenger sent by the maqta'dār or fiefholder of Arkā Qādī Saif who hitherto belonged to the Tuḡhluq faction, with the message that he had fully realized the tyranny of the King of Delhi and it was to 'Alāu'd-din that he would now turn. He therefore begged leave to pay personal homage to His Majesty and kiss His Majesty's feet. When he himself arrived at the royal camp the King presented him with a rich robe of honour and told him that it was the essence of loyalty to change over from a tyrannical to a just overlord as he had done.

The road was now clear for Mudhōl. The Krishna was crossed and the recalcitrant Narāyan's country was devastated. The chief was highly upset at the King's approach and sent an envoy to the royal camp begging that the royal sword might be sheathed and a representative sent before whom he might protest his fealty to His Majesty's person. At this the King sent Qādī Bahāu'd-din³⁴ to the Hindu chief with the message that there was still a chance for him to lay down his arms otherwise he would be simply swept away. But it seems that Narāyan's friends advised him to go on resisting, as they were afraid that the King might not pardon an old sinner like Narāyan in spite of his universally humanitarian conduct. Narayan now shut himself up in the fort of Jāmkhāndī ordering his commander, Gōpāl to take charge of Mudhōl, and others to

32. 'Iṣāmī, 551. The whole campaign has been described on pp. 543-550, as well as in *Bur.*, 19-21.

33. Thus in 'Iṣāmī, 552

Kembhāvi, in the Gulbarga District; 16°37' N., 76°32' E.

Mudhol, capital of the State of that name; 16°20' N., 75°19' E.

34. Thus in 'Iṣāmī, 554, *Bur.*, 22 has Mu'īnu'd-din,

guard Tirdil and Bāgalkōt.³⁵ The royal army now laid seige to Jāmkhandī. On nightfall the garrison tried to make a sortie resulting in a terrible hand to hand fight in which the King along with Mubārak Khān, Saif Khān, Malik Aḥmad and other generals took part, with the result that the enemy was finally forced back into the fortress. The royal army now battered the walls with a thousand catapults, and before three quarters of the night was out, entered the fort through a breach in the wall with the King himself in front.

In the Meanwhile the Crown Prince Zafar Khān³⁶ arrived from Mubārakābād Miraj and was received right royally by the King. The army now crossed the Khatar, arrived at Mudhōl to which Narāyan had evidently fled, and laid seige to the citadel. The seige was an arduous one and lasted fully four months. At last Narāyan was reduced to such straits that he had to send an envoy to the King seeking to lay down his arms and pay homage, and sending two years' tribute at the same time. 'Alāu'd-dīn's character can be seen in the fullest light now, for in spite of the great efforts he had to make against the tricky Narāyan before he could be subdued, he pardoned him as completely and as fully as if nothing whatever had happened, giving the territory back to his erstwhile enemy as a royal jagir.³⁷

The last few months' continuous campaigning must have told on the King's health who already 60 at the time of the Sagar campaign, wanted a well-earned rest. He proceeded from Mudhōl to Miraj where he stayed for a couple of months, thence to Paiṭhan where he was for another two months and then to Sāgar where he received homage from the jagirdars and the people of the neighbourhood. After reorganising the army he recrossed the Chinār, passing Mahlkheṛ and Seram where he collected tribute from the

35. Jamkhandi, capital of the State of that name about 60 miles from Kolhapūr; 16°30' N., 75°22' E.

Bagalkot, in the Bijapūr District, on the Ghātprabha river; 16°11' N., 75°42' E.

36. Not Qadr Khān, as in *Bur.*, 24.

37. The whole campaign is described in *Iṣāmī*, 550-561; and in *Bur.*, 21-24.

local lords, went on hunting expeditions, arriving at Gulbargā after a whole year's absence from the capital.³⁸

But the King was not to have any rest even in the evening of his life. As has been noticed, the campaigns he had to lead till then were mainly against those who had allied themselves to the Tughluq cause and who wished to profit by what they thought would be the end of all government. The King had proved his great worth by his continued successes on the battlefield coupled with his humane treatment of the rebels after their submission. But now a far more serious rising faced him, and that was the revolt of his confident general and adviser, Qir Khān; the conqueror of Kalyānī.

Qir Khān was persuaded by a man named Kālē Muḥammad to resist the King's authority, no doubt as he thought he was too much preoccupied to carry on a successful campaign. On hearing the King moved to Kalyānī himself, and called to him Sikandar Khān, who was now greatly in the King's favour and who had been granted the title of *Farzand* or the Royal Son after his peaceful subjugation of Tilangānā. On Sikandar's arrival the King granted him a red Umbrella of State, an honour to which not one of the nobles had risen so far, and commissioned him to subdue Qir Khān and bring him to the royal person. Sikandar swore on the Holy Book that he would not show his face to his Majesty till he had brought the faithless rebel to his knees. He marched from Kalyānī to Bīdar and thence went to Kōhīr where Qir happened to be. Qir was so very confident of victory that when he heard that Sikandar was marching against him he left Kōhīr for Bīdar himself and met Sikandar of the field of battle. His army was, however, routed and he was arrested by Fakhr-i Sha'bān and brought to Sikandar hand and feet bound. When the news was brought to the King he was highly pleased and ordered kettledrums to be beaten, while he himself proceeded to Kōhīr to congratulate Sikandar personally. Sikandar brought his erstwhile companion in arms before the King, but at the same time interceded for him and said that he should

38. *Iṣāmī*, 561-563; *Bur.*, 25. The year has been computed by adding on the time his stoppage at various places. Malkheṛ, in the Gulbarga District; 17°12' N., 77°09' E.

Seram in the Gulbarga District; 17° 11' N., 77° 18' E.

be punished only if he would not submit immediately. But, as against his former conduct, the king was adamant. He had pardoned all the previous partisans of the Tughluq cause, whether Hindu or Muslim and had gone out of his way to conciliate them by the regrant of jagirs and other means, but now it was the case of one of his own generals rising against him, and he no doubt thought that he must take a stern measure in order that discipline might be maintained. It was for this reason that in spite of Sikandar's persuasion he had Qir Khān beheaded in his own presence. Kālē Muḥammad had, in the meantime, shut himself up at Kōhīr; so the King proceeded to that citadel and captured it as well.³⁹

The King now returned to Gulbarga, and it was now that he renamed it Aḥsanābād and made it the capital of the Deccan Kingdom.⁴⁰ The city had already been embellished by the erection of the Fort as well as some other mundane and religious buildings of note.⁴¹

The last years of the King's life were taken up by an expedition to Goa which had to be besieged for five or six months before it could be captured. On his way back he subdued Dābul, Kalhar and Kōlhāpūr. It is said that, true to his ambitious projects, he went as far north as Māndū which was soon to become the cultural centre of India under the Sultans of Malwa, and made the people of the vicinity pay tribute. In the east he brought Tilangana as far as Bhōngīr under his direct sway.⁴²

39. Qir Khān's rebellion; 'Iṣāmī, 563-567; *Bur.*, 25-27. Kohir in the Bidar District; 17°36' N., 77°43' E.

40. Thus in *Bur.*, 27. This must have been after 6-3-751/-14-5-1350, as it was on this date that 'Iṣāmī finished his work. See Mahdī Ḥusain's Introduction. 'Iṣāmī does not mention the change of the capital from Daulatābād to Gulbarga at all.

41. *Fer.*, I, 78 says that the Great Mosque of Gulbarga was built in 'Alāu'd-dīn's reign, but this is not true of the Great Mosque, the glory of the sacred architecture of the Deccan, was built in Muḥammad Shāh's reign as the inscriptions amply prove. See Yazdānī's article on the subject in *Islamic Culture*, January 1928.

42. *Bur.*, 27:

Goa, Now capital of Portuguese India; 15°30' N., 73°57' E.

Dābul, port in the Ratnāgiri District; 17°35' N., 73°10' E.

Extent of the Bahmani Dominions

At the time of his death, which occurred on 13-759/10-2-1358, the extent of the territory under his immediate rule extended from Māndū in the North to Rāichūr in the South and from Bhōngīr in the East to Dābul and Goa in the West, while the Rāyas on the banks of the Krishna as well as the Rāya of Warangal paid him tribute. This huge State he divided into four large divisions, namely (1) Aḥsanābād-Gulbargā, along with Rāichūr and Mudgal was given to the minister, Malik Saifu'd-dīd Ghōrī; (2) Daulatābād, with Bīr, Junair and Chaul, was put in the charge of the King's nephew, Muḥammad b. 'Alī Shāh; (3) Berar and Mahūr were placed under Sardar Khān Sistānī, while (4) Indūr, Kaulas and the part of Tilangānā which was not included in the dominion of the Rāyas, was made a separate province under 'Azam-i Humāyūn, son of Malik Saifu'd-dīn Ghōrī.⁴³

Kolhapur, capital of the State of that name; 18°42' N., 74°16' E. Māndū, or Māndōgarh, now in the Dhar State, once capital of Malwa, 22° 21' N., 75° 28' E.

Bhōngīr, headquarter of the taluqa of that name in the Nalgunda District, 17° 31' 78° 53' E.

43. *Fer.*, I, 280. Bhōngīr was the farthest point included in the Bahmani kingdom as beyond that citadel were the Dominions of Kapaya Nāyaka who was on friendly terms with 'Alāu'd-dīn. Bīr, headquarters of a district, 18°59' N., 75°46' E. Junair for some time capital of the Ahmadnagar Kingdom, now in the Poona District; 19° 12' N., 73° 35' E.

Chaul, in the Kolabah District 18° 33' N., 73° E.

Mahūr, in the 'Adilābād District, on the Berar border; 19°50' N., 78° E.

Indūr, now in Nizāmābād, headquarters of a district; 18°40' N., 78°6' E.

Kaulas, in the Bidar District, 18°20' N., 77°42' E.

'Alāud-dīn's tomb has been described in *Hyd. Arch. Rep.* 1335 F., p. 1. See the excellent Mahratti work *History of the State of Mudhol* by D. V. Apte, Poona, 1934, where the exceedingly friendly relations of the first Bahmani with the rulers of Mudhol are treated at length. There is a farman dated 25-9-753/4-11-1352 appended to the book which purports to grant ten villages to Dilipsingh in the District of Daulatabad. This must have been the type of relationship of the Bahmani with the local Hindu chiefs.

'Alāu'd-dīn's Character

This description of 'Alau'd-dīn's reign would show the character of the new King of the Deccan. There is not a single campaign either against the partisans of the Tughluq faction or against the Hindu Rāyas and Muqaddams in which he showed the slightest tinge of cruelty, and it invariably happened that after the campaign was over the King or his representative made a gift of the territory back to the erst-while enemy to be held as a jagir. This was the reason why such powerful rulers as the Rāya of Warangal accepted the Kings' hegemony without any blood being shed, and began to be regarded as honoured friends and allies of the new State. As 'Iṣāmī says, 'Alāu'd-dīn had all the three qualities of a good sovereign: he always gave relief to the oppressed, he was always kind to the poor and took pains to obey the Divine commandments.⁴⁴

His treatment of his own subordinates who chose to be rebellious or conspired against him, is a different story. To them he was stern to a fault, and it was this which kept his former equals and comrades under his strict discipline. Thus in spite of Sikan-dar's recommendation that the life of the rebel Qīr Khān might be spared, he made Qīr Khān an example for all others, and had him beheaded. The same fate awaited his predecessor in title Shamsu'd-dīn, formerly Sultān Nāṣiru'd-dīn Isma'īl, who was accused of complaisance in a conspiracy against the King. On the renunciation of his kingship, Isma'īl had been created an amīru'l-umarā and the chief noble of the Kingdom, and at the royal darbars was given a place on the left of the King's person, while it was a rule that when he entered the Hall the King paced a few steps forward to receive him. When, however, Malik Safu'd-dīn Ghōrī was appointed Prime Minister he was given precedence over Isma'īl, for, as the King explained, it had been the custom among the rulers of old that the chief minister took precedence over the amīru'l-umarā. This, of course, silenced Isma'īl, but it seems that he was instigated by others to plot in secret against the King. The King got an intimation of what was going on, and asked Isma'īl in open Court to which he had invited some of the most eminent men of the

44. 'Iṣāmī, 546.

City, whether he had been plotting against his person, to which he swore that it was a lie and that he was innocent of the charge. The King now addressed the audience and promised full pardon for all those who would tell the truth, at which a number of the courtiers asserted that the charge of the conspiracy was absolutely correct to their personal knowledge. The King thereupon struck Isma'īl with his own sword and killed him immediately.⁴⁵ This was the first execution of its kind in open court in the Deccan, and however just it might have been, there is no doubt that it set a precedent for other kings of a more unscrupulous nature to do away with some of the best of their ministers and subjects.

The heir-apparent's marriage

The magnificence and human feelings of the King became doubly manifest when he decided to marry his son and heir Zafar Khān, who later ascended the throne as Muḥammad Shah, to Malik Saifu'd-dīn Ghōrī's daughter, Shāh Bēgam. This marriage is interesting as it throws a certain amount of light on the social conditions which prevailed then in the country. It was on 24-4-752/21-6-1351 that the heir to the throne was actually married, but the rejoicings connected with this auspicious occasion lasted for a whole year right up to 23-4-753/10-6-1352, when the King distributed ten thousand pieces of the cloth of gold, velvet and silk, a thousand Arab and 'Irāqī horses and twelve bejewelled swords to the nobles of his *entourage*, while grain was distributed to all and sundry and cooked food to the poor and the needy of the capital. It is remarkable that already the Hindus and Mussulmans of the Deccan were close friends, and we find the Rāyas of Kaulās, Shakarkhēra and Mudgal invited to the royal party. It has already been related that it was at Multān that 'Alāu'dīn had spent his early youth, and it was probably there that he had got married. When the functions connected with the heir apparent's marriage started, then Queen, who was called Malika-i Jahān, expressed the longing that her sister who was still at Multān, might have been invited to attend the function. The King immediately made arrangements that she should be brought to Gulbargā, and it is said that it was seven months be-

45. *Fer.*, I, 279. Even now the King's native nature made him take pity over Isma'īl's progeny, and his son was made Amīru'l-Umarā in his place.

fore the old lady arrived to the great surprise and delight of the Queen of the Deccan, from whom the whole affair seems to have been kept a secret.⁴⁶

General Conditions

It might be of interest to know what kind of fare must have been provided for the royal guests who dined at the Palace during the celebrations. Fortunately we possess the menu of the dishes served at the royal table on another occasion. When 'Alau'd-din arrived at Gulbarga on his way to Sāgar to quell the rebellion of 'Alī Beg Natthū and Muḥammad b. 'Alam, he was received right royally by the wazīr Khwāja-i Jahān who had prepared a grand banquet in honour of his royal master. It was exactly an eighth part of the day before the trumpeters announced that the banquet was ready. Silk tapestries were spread for table cloths and bread was distributed on them evenly. Then came roasts of various kinds, curry-puffs, cooked vegetables; raw celery and salad along with big and small game, as well as gravied meat curries, while 'wet and dry sweets' and *halwās* were provided to finish with. This banquet was not meant only for the royal gentry and nobility, but to it were invited all and sundry, the citizens of Gulbarga without exception. The meal ended with the distribution of betel leaves and the presentation of the nobles and the leaders of the army to the royal guest.⁴⁷

The King's Death

As has been mentioned above, the King died on 1-7-759 10-2-1358, aged 67. He was an entirely self-made man and had consolidated his new dominions within a few years from a condition of interregnum with small potentates and adventurers plaguing the country all round to a strong State extending to thousands of square miles, by his industry, tact and sense of discipline. When someone asked him what the secret of his great success was, he replied that it was due to his kindness to all, whether friend or foe and benevolence to the poor and the needy.⁴⁸

46. *Fer.*, I, 278. 'Hbdu'l-Jabbār, 146, quoting Mulhiqāt.

47. 'Iṣāmī, 549.

48. *Fer.*, I, 281, quoting Mulhiqāt-i-Tabaqāt-i Nāgiri.

and if one views his reign with a critical eye one would discover a number of instances of such a conduct. As 'Iṣāmī says,⁴⁹ the two traits of his character were justice and benevolence. He was very fond of hunting, and even when engaged in this pastime he would pay full attention to all those who approached him with a petition. He wished to inculcate the same habit of leading a hard life as was native with him, and used to say that he sometimes went out hunting so that the nobles might also get used to hardships.⁵⁰ He was one of the first Muslim Kings who ordered that no *jizīa* should be levied from non-Muslims, and he also allowed agricultural produce of all kinds and domestic animals to enter the Kingdom free of tax.⁵¹ Evidently he took an interest in the archaeological remains found in the Deccan, and it is related how that he visited the Ellora Caves on 25-10 753/4-11-1352 taking with him those who could read the inscriptions and understand the significances of the frescoes and statuary on the walls.⁵² He was not only benevolent towards the people of the country, both Hindus and Muslims, but even had a *rubāṭ* or rest-house built at Mecca in 755/1354.⁵³

Thus his fame spread far and wide and it seems that 'Iṣāmī's prayer was accepted by the Almighty that⁵⁴

"I pray the Almighty, who is the Creator of everything and to whom the very existence of earth and time are due,

"That thy name should be known far and wide to all and sundry in time to come."

On his death-bed he called his three sons, Muḥammad, Maḥmūd and Dāwūd and admonished them that if they wanted the kingdom he had created to last they should all stand united as one man and

49. 'Iṣāmī, 575.

50. 'Abdul-Jabbār, 121, quoting Mulhiqāt.

51. *Ibid.*, 130.

52. *Ibid.*, 147.

53. *Ibid.*, 214.

54. Ba haqq-e khudāwand-e kawn-o makān
Ke mawjūd azū shud zamīn-o zamān,
Chu nām-e tu aqsā-e 'ālam tamām
Begīrad, shawad mūnis-e khāṣ-o 'ām.

should obey Muhammad the heir to the throne. He then gave them money and articles of use and ordered them to go to the Great Mosque at Gulbarga to distribute these things among the needy. When the three sons came back and reported to him that they had done as commanded, he uttered the formula, *al-hamdu l'illāh*, Praise be to God, and breathed his last.⁵⁵

The Capture of Gingi by Bijapur

By

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GINGI, the famous rock-fortress in the Tindivanam Taluka, South Arcot District, Madras, was once the stronghold of the Vijayanagara Empire. It was the seat of one of their provincial Viceroys along with Madura and Tanjore.

After the famous battle of Raksas-Tagdi when the mighty Vijayanagara Empire was defeated by the combined forces of the Musalman kings of the Deccan, the feudatory States of the Empire began manoeuvring to gain independence. During the reign of Venkata III, Krishnappa Nayaka of Gingi refused to pay the annual tribute, and the nobles and courtiers of Venkata II urged their king to capture Gingi.¹ Towards the end of 1607 Venkata II 'despatched his captains to conquer the lands of the Naique of Ginga' (Gingi).² Gingi fell into the hands of its enemies, and Krishnappa Nayaka was taken prisoner, but was subsequently released and returned to his State.

Very probably it was only after the death of Venkata II, when civil war broke out, that the Nayaka of Gingi was able to attain to some independence. But Gingi was not destined to enjoy for long its independence.

Tirumala Nayaka of Madura practically enjoyed independence and non-payment of annual tributes during the reign of Venkata III; but Sriranga III, who succeeded Venkata III, demanded his annual tributes; and when Tirumala refused to comply with his demands, he forced a war on him. Thereupon Tirumala tried to negotiate an alliance with the Nayakas of Tanjore and Gingi to oppose Sriranga. But the Tanjore

55. *Fer.*, I, 281.

1. Heras, *The Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, I, p. 408.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 409.

Nayaka revealed the plot to Sriranga, and the latter marched upon Gingi. Meanwhile Tirumala Nayaka continued to look for allies. He now approached the Sultan of Golkonda and asked him to attack Vellore. This diplomacy proved successful; for Sriranga had to march back to defend his own territory. Sriranga was at first victorious, but soon he had to give in. He then tried to effect an alliance with the Nayaks of Gingi, Tanjore and Madura and offer an united opposition to stem the onward march of the Golkonda forces but his attempt at rapprochement did not materialise. He fled and found shelter in Mysore. The Golkonda forces after taking Vellore, aimed at subduing the territory further south and attacked Gingi. The Nayaka of Tanjore immediately surrendered and made peace. But Tirumala invoked the assistance of Bijapur and a large force was sent to his aid; with these and his own troops he marched to the relief of Gingi.

The Jesuit Fr. Proenza gives us the following account of the fall of Gingi: "But the Muhammadan fighting men of the two armies easily came to an understanding among themselves. The subah of Golkonda concluded a treaty with the general of Idal Khan, and retired to the kingdom of Bisnagar to consolidate its conquest; while the seventeen thousand cavalry of Idal Khan, along with some regiments of infantry, continued the siege of Gingi, which they had been called for to defend. The thirty thousand Madura infantry entered into the place and joined the troops of the king of Gingi. The fortress, protected by its advantageous position, was, besides, defended by good fortifications, furnished with a strong artillery and by a numerous army, provisioned for a considerable time.

"It could accordingly defy all attempts of the besiegers. But soon disagreements and divisions sprang up among these men (the besieged) so diversified in nationality and manners. A revolt broke out; in the midst of the general confusion, the gates of the citadel were thrown open to the enemy, who rushed into it, and delivered the town, the richest in all these parts to pillage".³

3. Bertrand, *La Mission du Madure*, III, p. 46.

The Basatin-i-Salatin gives a slightly different version of the event: 'The Raja of Gingi, Rup Nayaka, being proud and wealthy led a licentious and luxurious life and neglected the affairs of his kingdom. Since the neighbouring chiefs did not come to his aid and as he ran short of provisions and fodder, he was ultimately forced to surrender the fort to the Bijapur forces'.⁴

Various dates have been assigned for the capture of Gingi by Bijapur, ranging from 1638 to 1659.

The Imperial Gazetteer of India fixes it at 1638.⁵ The South Arcot District Gazetteer, 1644,⁶ the Manual of the South Arcot District puts it at 1646.⁷ Robert Orme says that in 1652 "the Carnatic was invaded by the armies of Viziapore and Golcondah, acting separately; but agreed it is supposed, in the objects and division of their conquest, which were accomplished in 1656".⁸ Rao Sahib C. S. Srinivasachari says: "The date 1658 A.D. is to be acknowledged because we have corroborating evidence of Jesuit Proenza, dated 1659 and relating to the capture of Gingi by the troops of Bijapur".⁹ But in a recent article,¹⁰ however, Rao Sahib Srinivasachari has rightly changed his opinion when he incidentally gives the year 1649 for the capture of Gingi by Bijapur.¹¹

The letter of the Jesuit Father Proenza, dated Trichinopoly 1659, records all the events narrated above, which led to the ultimate fall of Gingi, but to none of the events chronicled by him does the Father assign a date. The only date mentioned in his letter is that of the attack on Tanjore by the Bijapur forces on March 19, 1659.

4. *Basatin-i-Salatin*, p. 328. Lithographed edition. Hyderabad.

5. *Imperial Gazetteer*, XII, p. 244. (Oxford, 1908).

6. Francis, *South Arcot District Gazetteer*, I, p. 350.

7. Garstin, *Manual of the South Arcot District*, p. 6.

8. Orme, *Historical Fragments of the Moghul Empire*, p. 62.

9. *Histoire de Gingi* (Traduit de l'anglais et annoté par Edmond Gaudart), p. 74.

10. *The Hindu*, Weekly Magazine Section, July 6, 1941.

11. The learned author abstains from giving any reason that led him to change his opinion, very probably because the article was not meant so much for the researcher as for the general reader.

By a study of the English Factory Records we are able to trace chronologically the events narrated above which led to the capture of Gingi by Bijapur.

From a letter dated January 21, 1646, we learn of the advance of the Golkonda forces upon Vijayanagara: "And now the King of Gulcondah hath sent his generall, Meir Gumlack (Mir Jumla), with a great armie to oppose (the king of Vijayanagara); who is advance(d) to the Jentues' cuntry, where the king hath sent Mallay who hath together 50,000 souldiers (as reports saith), whereof 3,000 he sent from Pullacatt, to keepe the Mores from intrenching upon this Kings cuntry".¹²

Another letter mentions the revolt of the three Nayakas: "This cuntry is at present full of warrs and troubles, for the king and three of his Nagues are at variance, and the King of Vizapoore's armie is come into this cuntry on the one side and the King of Gulcondah uppon the other, both against the King. The Meir Jumlah is Generall for the King of Gulcondah, who hath already taken three of the Kings castles, whereof one of them is reported to bee the strongest hould in this Kingdome".¹³

Mir Jumla continued his march southwards and by January 4, 1647, he "hath taken the Government of Pullicatte and St. Thome, settinge the cuntry all in order as he goeth along, and is now within two dayes march of the Kings court and noe body cometh to oppose him, the famine havinge almost destroyed all the Kingdome".¹⁴

Before the end of the year 1647, Mir Jumla's forces had already taken Vellore and Sriranga had to flee from his capital.¹⁵

Intoxicated by his success Mir Jumla then marched upon Gingi, but, as narrated above, withdrew to consolidate his power in the newly conquered countries.

12. Foster, *The English Factories in India, 1646-50*, p. 25.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 26.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 70.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 166.

In January 1652 war broke out between Golkonda and Bijapur over the spoils of their recent conquests but a truce was effected within a month.¹⁶

From the above records it is evident that the fall of Gingi took place somewhere between the years 1648-1651.

At the siege of Gingi the Bijapur forces were commanded by Mustafa Khan. For various reasons the siege was prolonged, and Mustafa Khan, who was an old man, died on the 9th of November 1648,¹⁷ and the command of the Bijapur army fell on the shoulders of Muzaffar-ud-din Khan-i-Khanan. The English Factory Records in a letter dated January 31, 1649, makes mention of the death of Mustafa Khan¹⁸ but no mention is made of the capture of Gingi. Evidently the capture did not take place in the year 1648 for such an event would surely have been mentioned when mention is made of the death of the commander-in-chief besieging the fort.

Moreover we learn from two copper plate inscriptions¹⁹ that Tirumala Nayaka was sometime during 1650-51 at Paḷḷimaḍam, a dēvadana village in Paruttikkudīnādu taluke in Rāmnad District, about 200 miles south of Gingi. His visit to this place could only have taken place after the fall of Gingi when he returned to his capital.

The probable year of the capture of Gingi by the Bijapur forces seem to be the year 1649.

Nor is this conclusion impaired by the fact that in the lithographed edition of the *Basatin-i-Salatin*, the 22nd Zilhijja 1058, or 28th of December 1648 is given both in figures and in words as the date of Gingi's capture.²⁰ For besides the lithographed *Basatin-i-Salatin*, there are two other manuscripts which also give the date in figures and in words, and in these two manuscripts the

16. *Ibid.*, 1651-54, p. 111.

17. Bal Krishna, *Shivaji, the Great*, I, p. 125; Sarkar, Shaji Bhonsle in Mysore, *Modern Review*, XLVI, p. 11.

18. Foster, *op. cit.*, 1646-1650, p. 251.

19. *Annual Report of South Indian Epigraphy*, 1910-11, Nos. 5 and 6, p. 15.

20. *Basatin-i-Salatin*, p. 328. (Hyderabad Lithographed edition).

year is given as 1649.²¹ Besides whatever lingering doubt there may remain in the mind is dispelled by the following Dutch account, which proves the matter to the hilt.

"During the winter months of 1647-48, Mir Jumla advanced towards the frontier of Gingi; but in March (1648) about the time of the rainy season he returned to Kandsjiwaram (Conjeevaram). (The Nayaka of) Karnataka and Madura now joined their forces, but [the Nayaka of] Tanjore did not venture to turn against the conqueror, and [the Nayaka of] Gingi was too weak. The allies asked help from Bijapur, and in fact some troops came thence [to their assistance]. The combined forces now marched towards Wandewash, [situated] in the plain north east of Gingi, in order to face the Golkonda army. On the part of Golkonda efforts were made to effect a treaty in order to prevent that the battle should be fought. But no agreement could be arrived at, and the allies advanced till they came in sight of the Golkonda fighting forces. After some days of skirmishing, the latter, who were supported with artillery, began an irresistible attack; which resulted in the Hindus, who were lacking in leadership, being put to flight as far as the fortress of Gingi. The Muhammadans occupied Wandewash and other fortresses, and pursued the Hindus to the walls of the fortress of Gingi. It would seem that the latter, by securing the help of Bijapur, had succeeded in bringing the Trojan Horse into Gingi; for Mustafa Khan now laid siege to Gingi, whilst Mir Jumla returned in October [1648] with his army to Wandewash. Mustafa Khan died not long afterwards, and the command passed into the hands of Khan Khan [i.e. a general] who captured Gingi in February 1649, both sides suffering heavy losses. The Nayaka [of Gingi] just managed to save his life by retreating towards the highest redoubt of the mountain fortress, (where he was accompanied by Konere-tsjitti);²² but the following day he entirely surrendered. On condition that he would remain a vassal of Bijapur, he was granted for his subsistence the villages of Parawira and Sanomaja, which brought in a yearly revenue of 16,000 pardaos (reals). So Konere-tsjitti remained a prisoner, because the Khan Khan thought of

21. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 11 *fn.*

22. Pace Dr. Bal Krishna, *Shivaji, the Great*, I, p. 142.

squeezing some money out of him."²³ [which goes to indicate that he was not a general but a broker].

Moreover we know that the Dutch took advantage of the conquest of Gingi and of the seaboard round Tegnapatam to obtain (in August 1651) a grant of trade at that and the neighbouring ports (Hague Transcripts).²⁴

Hence we may conclude from reliable historical sources that the capture of Gingi took place in February 1649.

"In 1648 was waged the great campaign against Gingi as a result of which it surrendered to the Bijapur army. The particular date is given by Sir J. N. Sirkar in 1859. In 1659 was the final fall of Tupaki Krishnappa Naik before the Bijapur forces. This Naik had become the ruler of Gingi and had joined Mir Jumla."—C. S. S.

23. Konere-Chetti was the nephew of a famous broker, called Malaya, (Mac Leod, *De Oost—Indische Compagnie*, II, p. 170).

Mac Leod, *De Oost—Indische Compagnie Als Zeemogenheid in Azie*, II, p. 405.

(My thanks are due to Rev. Fr. J. H. Gense, S.J., St. Xavier's College, Bombay, for the translation of the above Dutch document).

24. Foster, *op. cit.*, 1651-54, p. XXV.

Extract from the "Letter Book of Thomas Pitt"

(OCT. 1699—OCT. 1709)

By

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BR. MU. Add. 22,842 to 22,850 are the nine volumes of the "Letter Book of Thos. Pitt Esq., Governour of Fort St. George." Pitt was a strong man and he distinguished himself very much by pursuing a policy of firmness particularly towards the "Natives" of the country. The nine volumes are neatly bound copies of letters written by the Governor in his personal capacity. They extend over the period of ten years, Oct. 1699 to Oct. 1709.¹ Although much of the writing contained in the Letter Book is of a personal nature still, as these letters were written by an important head of an important presidency settlement, they contain an amount of historical material. It is not, however, easy to distinguish such material from the rest and there cannot be any hard and fast rule about it. Ultimately it will depend to some extent upon the personal view of the worker who is handling the material. I have made a selection from the Letter Book which I give here in the hope that it will be of use in the study of our

1. The Volumes are as follows:—

- Vol. I, 22,842, Oct., 1699—June 1700.
- Vol. II, 22,843, March 1701—Sept. 1701.
- Vol. III, 22,844, Sept. 1701—Nov. 1701.
- Vol. IV, 22,845, Jan. 1702—Oct. 1702.
- Vol. V, 22,846, July, 1702—Feb. 1703.
- Vol. VI, 22,847, Jan. 1703—Jan. 1704.
- Vol. VII, 22,848, Jan. 1704—Feb. 1705.
- Vol. VIII, 22,849, Mar. 1705—Jan. 1707.
- Vol. IX, 22,850, Jan. 1707—Oct. 1709.

history. Wherever possible full extracts are given; but in cases where the extracts are rather long, only summaries are substituted. The volume, the number and the date of the letter together with the name of the addressee are mentioned at the beginning of the extract. All letters being written by Pitt, that fact is not mentioned in each case.

EXTRACTS

Vol. I, Letter No. 8 Oct. 1699. To Wm. Fraser.²

P. S.³ "The men of warr⁴ went away extremely well satisfied and I am sure are more in our masters interest than the New Company, and had it not been for the Monsoon would have stayed longer with us. It cost me upwards of pags 100 out of my own pockett besides the old draft of wine."

1.9 Nov. 28, 1699. To Wm. Fraser.

"Zulphaker Cawne is att last gone to the King, so you may expect a new Suba."

1.11. Dec. 9, 1699. To Wm. Fraser.

"The Duan here is not to be approached without a considerable present. Its uncertain whether the Nabob Zulphakeer Cawne be gone to the king. If he has and a new one should come I am afraid Ameerjohn's 15,000 Pags Perwanna will be worth little. I think it not amiss you oblige the French when its not prejudiciall to our masters. God grant wee have not a speedy Warr with 'em, for in May last the King of Spain was fallen ill again."

2. He was the Deputy Governor of Fort St. David.

3. The earlier part of this letter is not entered in the volume which begins with this portion of Letter No. 8.

4. The men-o'-war referred to here were the four war-ships, (the Anglesey, Harwich, Hastings and the Lizzard) sent by His Majesty's Council

in the Governours house you will see there has been brisk doings among 'em. For that Sir Wm. Norris seized two of the coun-cill and the Secretary, tyed them Neck and heels and delivered 'em up in Irons to the Governour which I hope our masters will revenge to the last degree in England for our laws will not allow of it, besides those gentlemen if they have any courage will write in red Letters upon his Person.

In little time now we shall here (hear) what success he (i.e., W. Norris) is like to have for that he went the 27th of Janry from Surat and must now be at Court unless the Morattas have mett with him, who its said were looking out for him and have taken some few waggons. I was long since advised that Assid Cawne was issuing out an order to send Sr. Wm. off shore but by the interest, and intercession of Eman Cooley who they employ'd at Metchlepatam 'twas recalled.

Sr. Nicholas I am told endeavoured to procure a Phirmound before the arrival of the Ambassador but all proved ineffectuall and their minister sent up with part of the presents, to have mett the ambassador. There expended all the wine which was a very great quantity and was about selling the Guns. Soe I hope the matter will conclude as I always wished."

2.52. June 4, 1701. To Wm. Fraser.

"Notwithstanding the oaths and Tasherifs and Wt. other demonstrations of friendship you receive from Dowd Cawne, you must never trust him, for I am confident the ill designs, which he himself acknowledges in his Letter, are to be sure still carrying on against you and noe doubt but that he is informed hence that wee lye ready in a minutes warning to assist you with men and shipping."

2.58. June 20, 1701. To Capt. Harrison.

"The feuds between the two Companys run very high in England in soe much that the King told them they disturbed the Publik Peace, and that he is resolved they should unite which may be expected to be finished at the setting (sitting) of the

Parilament which was dissolved and the new one to meet the 6th of February.

The Death of the King of Spain and the Duke of Anjou succeeding has brought management of all these Kingdoms under the King of France's Directions who wee all know wants not Polli-ticks to make good use of this occassion for his advantage. Many of my friends wrote me that they are jealous of a Warr and in my single opinion I think it cant be avoided, for I take England to be at Stake. I hear the French King is already about paying off the Dutch forces lent the Spaniards in Flanders and putting some of his own in their roome."

2.66. July 2, 1701. To Robert Pitt, Merchant att Canton.

"Matters here are as you left them except our being at present in trouble with Dowd Cawne the Nabob who makes unreasonable demands but wee shall not agree to any of them being in a good condition to bang him."

2.68. July 15, 1701. To Simon Holcombe Chief at Vizagapatam.

Dowd Khan was at St. Thoma for about a month. A customary present was sent to him but he refused to accept it and asked for no less than 10,000 pagodas. "On which great preparations was made on both sides to attack and defend." At last the Khan not only accepted the present but visited Madras in a friendly manner.

"I hope this has put a stop for the future to the unreasonable demands of Nabobs, etc., and that it will convince them Madras is not afraid of their threats..... For these two months since this Nabob came upon the coast here has been noe trade."

2.117. Sept. 29, 1701. To Capt. Lambert.

"Last night I had letters from the Kings Camp where Sr. Wm. still remains without having effected anything. Our friend Dowd

Cawne has been so very civill since you left us that wee hardly know there is such a man in the country."

3.18. Oct. 17, 1701. To Thomas Wooley,
London.

"To yours of the 4th of July concerning Senr. Manuches⁹ history, 'tis true he lived many years with Shallum the Mugulls eldest son in which time without Doubt was capable of making many observations, but I believe 'tis so ordinarily connected that 'tis hardly worth reading. When I came here first he was in disgrace with our Government and withdrawn himself from it. His Book he had some-time agoe dedicated it to the French King, the Copy of it in Portuguese. I will endeavour to get and send you, but when all is Done I believe 'tis noe better than Tom Thumb".¹⁰

4.6. Jan. 26, 1702. To

"By our last news the New Companys Ambassador lyes on demoreage at Brampore and Sr. Nicholas with his dear nice at Surat, where there are great troubles, for the Mocho and China ships that have been lately robbed by pyrates which I fear will occassion great troubles throughout India."

4.12. Feb. 24, 1702. To

"The affairs of India were never in such confusion as they are now."

9. Manucci's *Storia do Mogor*.

10. Pitt's opinion of Manucci's work is worth noting, but Pitt does not mention whether he had read it.

4.47. Sept. 25, 1702. To Hon. Sir Thomas
Cook, London.

"I am advised by such as I keep at the Camp to give intelligence that ther are fresh orders from the King for interdicting all trade."

Madras town wall is not as yet completed. "In 6 or 8 months time I doubt not butt to complete itt when you may say you have the best garrison town in the Mogulls Dominion and if you will butt send us men wee may bid defiance to all the forces of this empire."

4.93. Oct. 3, 1702. To Elihu Yale, London.

"Our troubles with the Nabob have been of long continuance, being close besieged from the latter end of January to the beginning of May, and now too but upon indifferent terms with them, they still retaining what they seized at St. Thoma, tho our goods come tolerably well in and out of the country, where there are prodigious numbers of Junkaneers erected which makes it very chargeable and troublesome to our merchants. Its worse with the Dutch and French who cringed to 'em when we stood it out. The same troubles are at Surat and Bengall. The foregoing as you say may be well imputed to the ill precedent made in my Predecessors time who was for present quiet without regard to the future ill consequences thereof."

5.54. Aug. 24, 1702. To Mr. John Haynes.¹¹

"I know not what to say of the Settlement att Trichenopoly till we see out Europe Letters. Its being out of the Mogulls Dominions is a considerable encouragement and I fear new troubles from Dowd Cawn who is coming again to St. Thoma.

6.5. Jan. 13, 1703 To

"This country throughout is in great confusion."

11. A merchant at Fort St. David.

6.15. Jan. 29, 1703. To Sir Wm. Langhorne,
London.

"Just at this juncture wee have a tollerable good understanding with the Government but the dayly expectation of the Death of the King makes all his officers very insolent in the Country who rack and strip the people which gives great obstruction to all manner of Commerce which makes all goods imported very cheap and exported very dear notwithstanding rice is cheaper now than has been this sixteen or eighteen years."

6.17. Jan. 26, 1703. To James Cragg, London.

"In the country all is in confusion by reason of the King's being superannuated, soe that his officers doe what they please."

I notice what Sir Norris is making out of his embassy. I hear that the letter said to be written by King William to the Mughal Emperor was really written at Surat, "penned by him (i.e. Norris) and Sr. Nicholas, men of honour and conscience."

6.42. Feb. 9, 1703. To the Governor of the
Co. London.

"The Moors will never let your trade runn on quietly as formerly till they are well beaten..... The ignominious manner (in which we have been treated) at Surat for many year has encouraged them.....I hear in Bengall that they Chaubuck Englishmen in their Publick Durbars which formerly they never presumed to doe and the Junkaneers all over the Country are very insolent."

6.103. Jan. 11, 1704. To

"I believe there will be but little to be gott by any that reside in these parts till wee have brought these natives to reason who grow more and more insolent every day."

6.91. Jan. 4, 1704. To the most honourable
the Lord Cunings,
Westminster.

"Wee are dayly in expectation of the Mogulls death when tis thought there will be a great many of the Princes scramble for his Crown and Riches."

6.98. Jan. 6, 1704. To Samuel Ougley, London.

In Oct. 1703, two French men-o'-war came with 120 soldiers.

"Our masters sent out sixteen men for their two garrisons, half dyd in the way and three or four since; and they sent some few stores.

"We are dayly expecting new troubles from the Pyracies committed in August last (1703) on two of the Mocho Fleet, one taken off Surat and the other off Bombay, for which ours and the Dutch Factory are in troubles at Surat, they have forced from each factories Broken three Lack of rupees."

6.101. Jan. 7, 1704. To Sir Ste. Evance
(Evans) Knt.

"No necessities goe into the Factories¹² for their subsistence. The Dutch wee hear have there six men of warr, two Gallivats and a Bomb-vessel who have made the following demands.

1st. To deliver up their bonds.

2nd. To pay them 140,000 rupees for convoying their Mocho ships.

3rd. That if they would not comply with the offers to permit their people to come off shore."

To these demands the Dutch received the reply that if they would pay one half of the eighty lakhs of rupees taken by the pirates,

12. That is at Surat.

they were free to depart from the place. It means the English would be asked to pay the other half.

6.104. Jan. 13, 1704. To

"The troubles of Dowd Cawne lasted from the 30th of Janry. to the 3rd of May."

7.62. Dec. 5, 1704. To Geo. White,
Merchant in
London.

"Our two men of warr lye at Surat rivers mouth, whose men are most dead who have neither force nor power to act anything towards relieving the Queens subject confined to the Citty, as also the French and Dutch, the latter have sufficient shipping there, who seem resolved to bring 'em to reason or come to a breach with them."¹³

7.118. Jan. 29, 1705. To a Capt., London.

"Its true the hands of our Company are weakened by the frequent hardships put upon 'em by the Parliament which has already lost our Credit in these parts and made us the most despicable of all Europe nations."

13. The men-o'-war referred to here were those which were sent in 1703 under Capt. Richards. How much the Court of Directors expected from the visit of the squadron to the Indian seas, particularly in rendering relief to their belaboured servants at Surat is made plain in their letter to Bombay with reference to this subject. "(the Captain) comes by the Queen's Authority," they wrote, "and we persuade ourselves by a prudent conduct may be able to appear in the Eyes of the Natives as a Gentleman Deputed by the Majesty to come to Suratt to see Justice done her subjects who have been vilely used by the Barbarous Moors." Letter Book, Vol. 10, pp. 638-9.

What the men-o'-war could do at Surat is mentioned in Pitt's letter.

8.92. Jan. 11, 1706. To Charles Du Bois, London.

"The King of this Country dyes.¹⁴ (This) I fear will occasion unspeakable confusion in these parts, for they all seem rife for it already.

"You will doubtless hear of the sad mortality¹⁵ there has been this year in Bengall and none that comes thence but looks as if they had been dead."

8.155. Sept. 11, 1706. To the Hon. Sir Tho.,
Cooke, London.

"Noe longer agoe then last night I had people with me that had then received letters from Court, which says (sic.) that the King was in a miserable weak condition in soe much that wee might every day expect his death, when doubtless there will be unspeakable trouble throughout the whole country, and night and day Murders and rapines for severall years which will be a totall distraction of trade those who lay up East India goods hearing they are now cheap will get a considerable advantage by it. This I hint to you only."

8.239. Dec. 28, 1708. To the Hon. Wm. Longhorn.
London.

"Few days past wee hearde that the Dutch ships were now up the Mallabar coast to Suratt where I believe they will gaine their point and bring them to their own....¹⁶ whilst wee remaine the despicable of all nations in all parts of India, unless itt be upon this coast where as yett wee preserve a tollerable Reputation. And just as I am now closing this Letter wee have received the ill news of a Pyrate taking a ship belonging to us here as she was coming in August last out of the red sea from Mocho who had

14. This was obviously just a rumour of Aurangzib's death. He died one year later.

15. Mortality among Europeans; see Idem No. 96.

16. One word is illegible.

aboard her in ready money about 60,000 dollars. (They) took another vessell belonging to Bombay and two more to the Mallabar coast."¹⁷

9.11. Feb. 2, 1707. To

"At the East India house you will hear the particulars of Capt. Penruddock, being taken by the Pyrates coming out of the red sea and of the two vessells belonging to Bengall bound to Junkeelone and Acheen taken off Nigrais by another pyrate and there is a third aboard, which wee dont yet hear of. The latter wee are informed was gone to the Streights of Mallacca and at the Niccobars to lye in waite for our China ships.

Trading is very dead in generall and soe precarious that the Proffit will not answer the risque."

9.12. Feb. 4, 1707. To Sir Edmund Harrison, London.

"I am against making warr upon these people (i.e., natives of India) but whenever they do any injustice immediately make one-selves satisfaction which would defer them from doing it soe often as they do in most parts; but this you and I shall discourse more at large when wee meet for at present I resolve home by the next ship from this port.

9.57. Aug. 30, 1707. To Thos. Wright, London.

"Last year on the Mallabar coast the country pyrate tooke about ten saile of ships and vessells belonging to all nations amongst

17. In the English ship taken Pitt personally lost 1,000 pagodas (8,240), and the Malabar ship had on board "about a hundred thousand more" dollars (?) (8,242). The name of the English ship was Dorothy. Its Captain was Penruddock. (9.19).

which was poor Whitler in the Diamond in sight of Bombay, who lost his leg and dyd in the Enemies hand. The Monsoon was also taken on which was poor Willcox, the ship afterwards retaken by the Portuguese which in hopes to recover he went to Goa and there dyd, where some say he was Poysond."

9.62. Aug. 31, 1707. To

"Wee are halfe undone by Europe and Country pyrates and all trade in a manner ruined."¹⁸

9.70. Sept. 1, 1707. To John Windham, London.

"We have noe news that is good in this country. You will hear of another Settlement of the New Company called Banjar Cutt off, and we are halfe undone by Europe and country Pyrates, soe that trade is at a very low ebb in these parts.

The Great Mogull dyd in Febry. last when his 2nd sone was with him or near him, who presently took upon him the title of King and marched towards the metropolis, City of Delly to ascend the Throne; but before he could get thither he was met near Agra by the sone of his Eldest Brother who gave him battle and in one day him and his two sons were slain, with an innumerable number of men on both sides some say 200,000; but wee all believe there might be half as many.

I have a draught of the battle which I intend to have drawn soe as to be understood by our people and a concise account of all remarkable passages since the Kings death against the January shipping if I have time for it, and shall send you one of 'em.

18. In a later letter (No. 71, dated Sept. 1, 1707) the Governor writes that in one year Madras alone lost 100,000 pagodas "taken by Europe and Country Pyrates."

9.75.

Sept. 11, 1707.

To John Dolben,
London.

"Ever since the King dyd which was in Febry last, few Diamonds have been brought out of the Country, the roads being infested by all manner of rogues."

[Then follows a detailed account of the losses suffered at the hands of the Country pirates and the "Europe pirates." The latter lately took part of the Mocha fleet consisting of five ships.]

"Soe that with the loss of the last year and this, this place is the worse (by) 200,000 pags. I believe here is not a man worth a thousand pagodas of the Europeans but were concerned therein."

In the battle between Azam Shah and Shah Allum "about 80 Omrahs and at least 100,000 men" fell on both sides.

"The King (i.e., Aurangzib) before his death gave the Kingdom of Vizapore Golconda and the Carnata Country to his youngest sone Cawne Bux of which he is possest. I mean Vizapore. But Shaalem who is now upon the Throne is marching an army against him soe that tis to be feared that Seat of the warr will be in the Cornatta Country, for that there is joynd Cawn Bux one of the powerfulllest Omrahs in the Empire and 40,000 Moratta horse. Soe God knows what we shall have in these parts."

9.88.

Oct. 3, 1707. To Elihu Yale, London.

"In Febry. last dyd the Great Aurangzeeb in the 91st year of his Age and 51st of his Reigne who had Cantoned out his Kingdoms amongst his three sons Shallum, Assum Tara and Cawne Bux. To the latter he gave the Kingdom of Vizapore, Golconda, part of Deccan (which takes in the Cornatta Country) and made his sones and great Omrahs swear in the most solemn manner not to disturb him in the Quiett possession thereof. Thus in all humane probability a warr was laid out for ten years, for before the Great man was cold in the Grave his second son Assum Tara (by the Advice and assistance of the favourite sister Begum, Assid Cawne, Zulpheker Cawn, and the great Omrahs about his father when he dyd) took possession of his fathers camp and caused himself

to be proclaimed King throughout the Army. Shaallum being advised thereof hastened with what forces he could gather towards Agra and Dilly the Emporium of this Empire and the only places where his Ancestors were crowned, where Assum Tarra allsoe hastened to meet him, and the 6th of June their armies were in sight of each other on the plains of Agra. On the 7th they joined Battle. Shaallums army was commanded by two of his sons and Assum Tarras by himself in person and his two sons. The battle lasted three days successively. In the 2d Assum Tarre's two sons were slain and towards the close of the 3d Day after having received many wounds, and the enemy pressing hard upon him to take him alive Assum Tarra ended himself with his own hands. Thus was decided that great controversy with the loss of about 100,000 men.¹⁹

You will readily believe the Mogulls Death putt a stop to all Inland trade throughout his Dominions and wee are not yett assured what Effect this great Battle has had as to that particulars, but have hopes from Suratt and the Bay of seeing it once again revived, tho are in some apprehension that the Seat of the warr will be in these parts, Shaallum's forces being on their march towards Vizapore, where Cawne Bux was joined with him Gozdee Cawne a very great Gencrall of his Father's and about 40,000 Moratha horse, soe that 'tis thought Shaallum will find itt difficult to gain the sole empire which he aimes att."

9.97.

Dec. 15, 1707. To a merchant in London.

"Its believed there are very great troubles at Court from whence noe orders are issued out to the remote Governments since the Death of the King."

9.100.

Dec. 15, 1707. To Sir Thos. Cooke, London.

"You have a full account of the State of the Government. As far as it has come to our knowledge and by what I can hear there

19. The account is not quite correct. See Irvine, *Later Mughals*, Vol. I, pp. 22-34.

are great troubles at the Court of Delly for that there are noe orders issued out to any remote parts of the Government, since the King's death, and if the young Princes should cutt off the father, which is much to be feared; God knows when there will be quiet again in these parts. Therefore pray contribute whatever you can to the sailing out Souldiers, and let there be as few Scotts amongst 'em as possible, for they are naturally rebellious and Saucy."

9.123. Jan. 16, 1708. To John Dolben, London.

"Wee hear there is great troubles at Dilly between the Moors and Gentues and that Cawne Bux is drawing down from Vizapore into these parts, so that believe that 'twill be some time before wee shall have any store of Diamonds."

9.144. Jan. 22, 1708. To.....

"Its to be feared there will greater troubles arise from the sons of the present Emperor who refuse to depart from Court to the province designed them, in expectation of the father's death."

9.148. Jan. 19, 1708. To.....

"The Emperor draws down into these parts against his youngest brother whom his father had given the Kingdom of Vizapore and Cornata which the sons of the elder brother would not agree to, and hearken to nothing else than the driving of him out or cutting him off, and last night we heard that the eldest brother had gained an entire victory and taken the other and his sons prisoners."

9.218. Feb. 4, 1709. To.....

"Dowed Cawne gott well to the Emperor and was very instrumentall in obtaining the victory over Cawne Bux, who dyed of his wounds the night he was taken, his princes and a younger son 'tis said killed in the battle."

Editorial

OURSELVES

The inordinate delay in the publication of this issue of the Journal is much regretted. Various causes brought this about some of them beyond control. The difficulty in regard to paper still continues. It is to be sincerely hoped that the new arrangement may prove successful and will not fail, making the publication impossible. We tender our apologies to our readers and subscribers.

EDITORS.

INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS, FIFTH SESSION, HYDERABAD, 1941.

At the invitation of the Osmania University, the authorities of the Indian History Congress decided to accept the offer that their Fifth Session be held at Hyderabad, in December 1941; and the Osmania University constituted duly a Reception Committee and a small Working Committee which should act as the executive body. These committees began to function early in the year 1941. The Working Committee submitted successfully an *arzdasht* to His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad and Berar, that He be pleased to become the Patron of this Session of the Congress. His Excellency the Right Honourable Nawab Sir Akbar Hydari, President of H.E.H. the Nizam's Executive Council, accepted the office of Vice-Patron, and the Honourable Dr. Nawab Mehdi Yar Jung Bahadur, Education Member of the Executive Council and Vice-Chancellor of the Osmania University, became the Chairman of the Reception Committee. His Excellency Colonel Nawab Dr. Sir Hafiz Ahmad Said Khan Bahadur, the Nawab of Chattari, who succeeded the Right Honourable Sir Akbar Hydari as President of the Executive Council, became the Vice-Patron in succession to him. The Local Secretary, Prof. H. K. Sherwani, was able to get a good response to his appeal for co-operation from scholars all over India and to enroll as many as 275 members, and secured more

than 150 papers. Along with his very able colleagues and volunteers and with the standing committees for different purposes, the Secretary and the Reception Committee carried through an elaborate programme of academic and other functions in connection with the Conference Session which met in the Osmania University buildings for three days in succession from the 21st December 1941. All the members from outside the Nizam's Dominions were the guests of the University.

A sixth section of the Conference dealing with Local Deccan History was constituted with Nawab Ali Yawar Jung Bahadur, Secretary, Constitutional affairs, H.E.H. the Nizam's Government, as President, and with Mr. Mir Mahmud Ali as Secretary. The General President was Rao Saheb C. S. Srinivasacharyar of the Annamalai University and the following were the Sectional Presidents and Secretaries :—

Section 1, (To A.D. 711)	<i>President :</i>	Dr. H. C. Raychaudhri, Calcutta University.
	<i>Secretary :</i>	Prof. Hanumantha Rao, Nizam College, Hyderabad.
Section 2, (711-1206).	<i>President :</i>	Dr. M. H. Krishna, Professor of History and Director of Archaeology, Mysore.
	<i>Secretary :</i>	Dr. I. N. Topa, Osmania University.
Section 3, (1206-1526).	<i>President :</i>	Dr. R. P. Tripathi, Allahabad University.
	<i>Secretary :</i>	Professor Agha Muhammad Husain, Nizam College, Hyderabad.
Section 4, (1526-1764).	<i>President :</i>	Khan Bahadur Professor M. S. Commissariat, Bombay.
	<i>Secretary :</i>	Mr. A. M. Siddiqi, Osmania University.
Section 5, (1764 onwards).	<i>President :</i>	Professor J. F. Bruce, University of the Punjab, Lahore.
	<i>Secretary :</i>	Dr. Yusuf Husain Khan, Osmania University.

Section 6, (Local Deccan History).	<i>President :</i>	Nawab Ali Yawar Jung Bahadur, H.E.H. The Nizam's Government, Hyderabad.
	<i>Secretary :</i>	Mr. Mir Mahmud Ali, City College, Hyderabad.

The inauguration ceremony was conducted on the 20th December 1941 under the Chairmanship of His Excellency the Nawab of Chattari, Chancellor of the University and Vice-Patron of the Session. The proceedings opened with the reading of a gracious message from H.E.H. the Nizam, from which we extract the following heartening words: "I am pleased to learn that during the comparatively short period of its existence the History Congress has played a very important part in the development of Historical Research and is taking practical steps for bringing out a comprehensive History of India sponsored by some of the most eminent of our historians. A similar scheme for the compilation of an authoritative History of the Deccan is being considered by my Government, and I am confident that it will receive the co-operation of those of you interested in the history of Southern India."

His Excellency the Chancellor, in welcoming the Conference Session, stressed the services of the Nizam's dominions and the synthesis that can be seen in the growth of the Hyderabad city, which is the "heir to the traditions of the Mughals in the hey-day of their glory, it is undergoing a process of healthy modernisation, and presents a picture of the glorious old marching side by side with the progressive new."

The Honourable Nawab Mehdi Yar Jung Bahadur, in welcoming the members of the Session, pointed out the national importance of historical research and the richness and variety of the History of the Deccan. He urged that the Statesmanship of the Asaf Jahi dynasty has retained and fostered the best that was found in the traditions and cultures that have met in the Deccan and pleaded for the widest possible co-operation of all scholars in historical research.

Dr. Tara Chand, the General Secretary of the Congress, in succession to Dr. Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan, submitted the Annual Report for 1940-41 which was adopted; and Prof. Sherwani

thanked all those who had in any way helped to make the Conference Session a success.

In the course of his Presidential Address, Mr. Srinivasachari stressed the indispensability of unbiassed judgement for the correct weighing of historical evidence and the need for an open mind without which there was the danger of being fastened to stereotyped conclusions, based upon insufficient data; there was the real danger arising from such mental texture that new theories based on additional data not getting the hearing and examination that they deserved. He said: "The ideal historian should not also display any tendency to weave destiny round his heroes; instead of allowing the story of their destiny to unfold itself in a natural manner. Every piece of his work should be primarily based on an impartial interpretation of data, which should be subjected to strictly scientific tests in their qualitative selection, as these alone would ensure their indicative value. Every epoch has got to be studied not only in its physical and material aspect, but also in its cultural and moral life; and the main task of the historian is to make history as much of a reality as possible, concrete and alive."

Attention was also drawn by him to the urgent necessity for the implementing of the scheme of a Comprehensive History of India on which the Congress has already embarked.

The Congress adopted two resolutions as recommended by the Executive Committee in connection with this object:—

(1) that the following Committees consisting of the following members, with powers to co-opt, be appointed to plan out chapters, to select writers, and to do all other work necessary for the writing and editing of the History of India.

- (a) Committee for the Ancient Period (Upto A.D. 1200).
- (b) Committee for the Medieval Period (1200 to 1712).
- (c) Committee for the Modern Period (1712 to 1905).
- (d) Co-ordinating Committee.

Members.

(a) Ancient Period:

Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar
Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar

Dr. V. S. Sukhtankar
Dr. H. C. Raychaudhari
Dr. M. H. Krishna
Dr. R. K. Mukerji
Dr. A. S. Altekar
Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri
Mr. K. N. Dikshit
Dr. R. C. Majumdar (*Convener*).

(b) Medieval Period:

Prof. M. Habib
Prof. H. K. Sherwani
Dr. Ishwari Prasad
Mr. G. Yazdani
Dr. Tara Chand
Dr. K. R. Qanungo
Dr. B. P. Saksena
Dr. H. P. Tripathi (*Convener*).

(c) Modern Period:

Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai
Prof. D. V. Potdar
Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari
Principal Sita Ram Kohli
Dr. Kalikinkar Datta
Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad
Dr. S. N. Sen (*Convener*).

(d) Co-ordinating Committee:

Dr. R. C. Majumdar
Dr. R. P. Tripathi
Dr. S. N. Sen
Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari
Prof. H. K. Sherwani
Dr. Tara Chand
Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar
(*Chairman*).

Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad is to act as the Secretary of the Committee.

(2) Resolved that an Executive Board with the Rt. Hon'ble Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru as Chairman and the members of the Co-

ordinating Committee as its members with power to add names in consultation with Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru be constituted for the purpose of collecting funds, sanctioning expenditure and arranging for the publication, sale and disposal of the volumes of History of India.

This attempt to implement the scheme of the compilation of the Comprehensive History and the selection of organising and Working Committees with a Co-ordinating Committee under the Chairmanship of Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar and an Executive Board associated with the name of Rt. Hon'ble Dr. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru was, as pointed out by Dr. Aiyangar, of very good augury for its success.

Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, Director General of Archaeology in India, was chosen President for the 1942 Session and the following Sectional Presidents were chosen for the Session :

Section I	(upto 711 A.D.)	Dr. V. S. Sukhtankar
Section II	(711 to 1206)	Prof. V. V. Mirashi
Section III	(1206 to 1526)	Prof. H. K. Sherwani
Section IV	(1526 to 1765)	Dr. K. R. Qanungo
Section V	(1765 upto-date)	Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai.

The genial Local Secretary was mainly responsible for the success that attended the Hyderabad Session of the Congress, both on its material and on its academic side. The social attractions of the Congress Session included a visit to the collection of rare historical works, manuscripts and curios preserved by the family of Nawab Salar Jung Bahadur, a dinner given by the Nawab at his palace and another given by Amir-i-Paigah, Nawab Zahir Uddin Khan Bahadur and At Homes given by His Excellency the Chancellor, the Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor and by the Hon'ble Rajah Daram Karan Bahadur Asaf Jahi, on behalf of the Municipal Corporation of the city of Hyderabad. The Rajah addressed words of warm welcome to the Delegates and a suitable reply was given by the President of the Congress.

Two lectures were delivered in connection with the Session, (1) by Mr. G. Yazdani, Director of Archaeology in the State on 'The Excavations going on at Kondapur' and (2) by Khan Baha-

dur Professor Commissariat on 'The Glories of Ancient and Medieval Gujarat.' The management of the Nishat Cinema invited the members and delegates to view the Minerva picture 'Sikandar'.

OBITUARY

We are very sorry indeed that Mahamahopadyaya Dr. Sir Ganganatha Jha should have passed away just as he completed his seventieth-year. A Maithilēya Brahman born of a Śrotiṛya Brahman family of Pahitol in the Dharbanga raj, he entered service as librarian in the raj library. He made his way up from the small position to become Professor, Principal and then Vice-Chancellor of the Allahabad University for three terms in succession.

An unassuming quiet man of immense learning, he was the type of the old scholar and rendered invaluable service to promote Sanskrit learning, as translator of standard works of Sanskrit Science ending in an English translation of the Śābara Bhashya published recently in the Gaikwad Oriental Series. He started and edited the Journal *Pandit* of Allahabad. He was during the course of service a much valued colleague of Indian Orientalists of eminence. He presided over the Indian Oriental Conference at Madras and has been exhibiting quiet but active interest in efforts to promote Oriental learning—the latest instance being his interest in the new scheme of Indian History projected by the Indian Historical Congress. Quiet and unassuming as a scholar and worker honour came to him late in life. He was made an Honorary M. R. A. S., knighted and elected Corresponding member of the British Academy quite recently. Seventy is too early an age for a ripe scholar's death.

Another recent death is that of Joseph Henry Stone of the Indian Education Service. Starting as professor in the Teacher's College, he was successively Professor of History, Principal and Director of Public Instruction in Madras. He took active interest in the working of the Madras University and was one of those who promoted the new teaching side of the University which we regret to say has not had the support that was wished for it by him and his colleagues. Broad-minded and actively interested in the welfare of those working, he was widely popular and left many friends among the Indians of Madras.

Reviews

THE RELIGIOUS POLICY OF THE MUGHAL EMPERORS. By Sri Ram Sharma; published by Oxford University Press, 1940. Rs. 5.

Sri Ram Sharma has been well-known for his special studies in Mughal India, and in this book he presents the rather difficult aspect of the Mughal history, namely the religious policy of the Mughal emperors. Recent researches are throwing new light on this aspect of the Mughal policy and it is increasingly believed that the Mughals were not so intolerant as they have been depicted in books written in the first decades of this century. To understand their policy, religious or political, one should commence with the nature of the State in Mughal India, though this forms the last chapter of the book under review. Examining this, the author remarks, it was a despotism of a limited nature where the rulers generally claimed to act as the agents of Islam. It is further said that there was nothing in the political institutions of the state to serve as an effective check on the Emperors.

With this background, if we turn to the earlier pages of the book we find that Babur and Humayun followed the policy of the Lodis with regard to religion. It is wrong to say that Sher Shah did not destroy a temple or break an image. He was only a product of his age. A new era dawned in the religious outlook sometime after Akbar became emperor. The non-Muslims were subject to jizya and pilgrim tax in the previous reigns. Akbar abolished them and removed all restrictions from the public religious worship. His important measure was what has been called or mis-called Infallibility Decree. Did Akbar cease to be a Muslim? Vincent Smith answered 'yes'. The documentary evidence says 'no.' Professor Sharma says he was tolerant but his toleration was not absolute. Still his was the first endeavour to create an Indian India. Jahangir ordinarily followed his father and encouraged the cultural contacts between the several communities.

With Shah Jahan's accession, there was a change in the outlook of the emperor. Shah Jahan was an orthodox Muslim. He re-

vived the pilgrimage tax and decided to recruit only Muslims to the public services. It was however Aurangzeb who imposed a Muslim way of life on his people. Sri Ram Sharma gives a list of restrictions which he calls Puritanic on the part of Aurangzeb. One is forbidding singing and musical parties. Professor Sharma has examined elaborately the policy pursued by this emperor. Though he takes care to cite the documents for every statement made, still a few scholars may beg to differ from him in some of the statements made here and there in the course of his able and shall we say, masterly survey.

V. R. R. Dikshitar

THE MINISTER AS A KING-MAKER. By Ishwara Topa, published by Kitabistan, Allahabad, price Rs. 4-8 (1941).

Studies on the Kauṭaliya Arthaśāstra are by no means exhausted. Since that rare treatise on politics was published for the first time, scholars have been publishing critiques and we have had a number of authoritative treatises on aspects of the ancient Indian polity. The Arthaśāstra is an inexhaustible mine of information, and even students of modern politics are bound to derive stimulus and inspiration by a critical study of it. It is therefore encouraging that Dr. Ishwara Topa has addressed himself to his subject in the monograph under review. One is glad that Dr. Topa takes it for granted that the author of the Arthaśāstra was no other than the Chancellor of Chandragupta Maurya. This book contains three chapters. The first is on Fundamentals. It is well said that Kauṭilya philosophy of activism is nothing but a forceful attempt at the culturisation of man and society in all its manifold activities. The objective of dāṇḍanīti or science of government is said to be lokayātra or the progress and welfare of the world. The second chapter is a study on Kingship. In the Kauṭaliyan politics there is no nominal king. His is a dynamic personality shaped by laws of discipline. He should feel that in the happiness of his subjects his happiness is truly laid. The Vijigīṣu occupies the central place in the Kauṭaliyan scheme of kings. Conquest of the earth is his main motive. Once the conquest is over, he should identify himself with the conquered to better his welfare and their welfare as well. The last chapter is on State. It is said at the outset that

without a state, there would be no ordered course of life. In times of calamities the state should protect the kingdom and safeguard its interests. It is for the state to see that the material resources of the country do not get exhausted. For an impoverished people might throw their weight with the enemy. The responsibility that a minister should shoulder in guiding the affairs of statecraft finds emphasis in the Kauṭaliyan concept of the state.

The book is well written and adds to the existing literature on the subject. One cannot agree with statements such as the Arthashastraic stand point is different from the Dharmaśāstraic. The whole philosophy of Kauṭalya is certainly political but based entirely on dharma. It is here that Kauṭalya differs from Machiavelli. One other point about this study is that it is entirely based on two translations, the one in English and the other in German. Translations have their own value but still the value of research is enhanced by a critical study of the original texts. It is also surprising that there is no reference whatsoever to the previous studies on the subject.

V. R. R. Dikshitar

CLASH OF THREE EMPIRES. By V. V. Joshi, M.A., (Oxon.), with a foreword by Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan; published by Kitabistan, Allahabad, 1941. Price Rs. 4-8-0.

This is an able study of the British conquest of India with special reference to the Maratha people. In this book Mr. V. V. Joshi examines the general events of the eighteenth century India, and shows clearly the causes that led to the decline of the Moghul empire, and the rise of the shortlived Maratha empire. The study takes us again to the fall of the Maratha empire and the final establishment of the British power in India. The title of the book is thus happily worded—clash of the three empires. Among other factors that contributed to the rise of the Marathas, Joshi contends, was the decay of the kingdom of Bijapur due to the continued pressure of the Moghuls. One should say that the dynamic personality of Shivaji and the self reliant spirit of the Maratha people were primarily responsible not only for the rise of the Maratha state but also for its expansion into an Empire. Few will agree with Mr. Joshi's statement that the transformation of

the nation-state into an empire was the misfortune of Maharashtra. The rise and fall of empires are due to circumstances beyond a nation's control. There was nothing wrong in the expansion; but there was something wrong in its organisation. There is not much force in the contention, as Sir S. A. Khan puts it in his foreword, that the neglect of cavalry and the system of warfare adopted by Mahadji Scindia to a large extent hastened the fall of the empire. Lack of proper direction and internal dissensions were more responsible for it. Add to this, the military advantages of the British with their better resources, diplomacy, equipment and discipline. These, the Marathas lacked and hence the British success.

Mr. Joshi has produced an excellent book and the method of his approach to the study of different aspects of Indian History will be widely appreciated by students of the history of India.

V. R. R. Dikshitar

Select Contents from Periodicals

Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. 61, No. 3, Sep. 1941.

W. Rubeu: The Kṛṣṇacarita in the Harivaṃśa and certain Purāṇas (an attempt to reconstruct arche-type of the original supplement to the Mahabharatam which was certainly much shorter than the present *Harivamsa*).

E. Erkes: The use of writing in ancient China (with reference to the Shang and Chou dynasties).

H. M. Johnson: Grains of Mediæval India (based on lists given by Nemicaandra and Hemacandra).

Obituary notice of Charles Rockwell Lanman (1850-1941)—by W. E. Clerk.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (2nd and 3rd quarters, June 1940).

Catalogue of the Tod Collection of Indian Mss. in the possession of the Royal Asiatic Society—by L. D. Barnett (including some lithographs and Mss. from many other sources) with index.

Demetrias in Sind—by W. W. Tarn (examining the statement of Prof. E. H. Johnston that there never was a Demetrias in Sind and deeming it probable that Patala of the Sauviras was very likely renamed Demetrias)—with Dr. Johnston's note.

Obituary notices of C. Mabel Rickmers George Eumorphopoulos (Creator of the Oriental Ceramic Society and art critic) and G. Baddeley.

Printing and Translations under Muhammad Ali of Egypt (the Foundation of Modern Arabic)—by J. Heyworth-Dunne.

Obituary notice of D. S. Margoliouth (1858-1940).

The Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XIX—Part I. (1941).

An Introduction to the Study of Ancient Times in the Malay Peninsula and the Straits of Malacca—by R. Braddell.

(cont. Funan: and toponyms of the 5th and 6th centuries A. D. e.g., Yava-dvipa, Ye-tido, Iabadiou, Tehou-po, Tou-po; Cho-po; Po-hoang; these toponyms indicate in all probability Borneo and not Sumatra nor Java nor the Malay Peninsula.)

Kulanggi or Gulanggi—by R. Braddell.

The journey of Fa-Hsien from Ceylon to Canton—by A. Grimes—suggesting alterations to the map at the end of Gile's "Travells of Fa-Hsien."

Slab-graves and Iron-implements by R. O. Winstedt. (Were they built by Indians or under Indian influence?)

More on Bencoolen—by R. R. Wilkinson.

Durate Barbosa's references to trade at Malacca in *cutch*, *costus* and *Aleppo galls* (which were drugs shipped from Cambaya).

Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d' Extrême-Orient—Tome XL-1940. Fasc. 2, (1941).

Sri Vijaya—by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri (Introductory; Beginnings of Sri Vijaya: The earliest inscriptions; Sri Vijaya in the 8th century; The Sailendras, Zābag, Sri Burza and Sanfotsi; Sri Vijaya in the 10th century; Sri Vijaya and the Cholas; Sri Vijaya in the 13th century; Last days of Sri Vijaya; Notes on Sri Vijaya Art).

Etudes cambodgiennes—par G. Coedes, XXXIII; la destination funéraire des grands monuments khmers; XXXIV Les hopitause de Jayavarman VII; XXXV Les gites d' etape a la fin du XII e siecle.

Essai sur la connaissance de Nāk Pān Apres Anastylose—par M. Glaize.

Le Gopura de Prāṇ Pāililai—par M. Glaize.

Le Degagement du Phnom Krôm—par M. Glaize.

Les Ruines Romaines de Pondicherry by G. Jouveau Dubreuil (excavations at Arikemedu).

Les Traces de l' Introduction du Bouddhisme A Luang Prabang—par Paul Levy.

Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, (New Series, Vol. 17-1941).

W. Ivanow—Early Shi'ite movements.

W. Ivanow—Some Recent Russian publications on Archaeological Research in Central Asia.

P. K. Gode—Visvanath Mahadeo Ranade, a Chittapevan court-poet of Raja Ram Singh I of Jaipur, and his works.

The Journal of the Bombay Historical Society, (Vol. VI, Nos. 1 & 2—1941).

The Age of Guru Akalanka—by B. A. Saletore (ascribed to the 7th century A.D.).

Some unpublished Paintings from Bijapur in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay—by M. Chandra.

Two Minor Kadamba Dynasties—by G. N. Saletore (held to be of Kogali 500 and Kadambalige 1000).

Indian books taken to France mostly by the Jesuits for the Library of Louis XV (1729-35)—Tr. by the Rev. H. Hosten, S.J. (including several Tamil and Telugu works).

Kapilesvara Deb's Copper Plate Grant—by Sri L. H. Jagadeb Rajabahadur.

Man in India, (Vol. XXI, No. 4, 1941).

The meaning of the Cowrie in Bastar—by Verrier Elwin.

The pre-historic culture of Bengal—by H. C. Chakladar.

The Poona Orientalist—Vol. VI, Nos. 3 and 4, (Oct. 41—Jan. 42).

Hindu Pluralism—by V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar.

The Carwar Factor and Shivaji—by B. G. Tamaskar.

The Historical Background of the Cimani-carita—by P. K. Gode.

The Journal of Oriental Research Madras, (Vol. XIV—pt. iv).

Tirukkalukkunram—by S. R. Balasubrahmanyam.

The Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. XVII, No. 4—Dec. 1941.

The Dramas ascribed to Bhasa—by S. K. De.

Origins of the Rajput War of 1679-1681—by Yashpal.

The Position of Wives other than the first in the Vedic Ritual (contd.)—by J. B. Chaudhuri.

Bṛhaspati Rayamukuta and his patron (Jalaluddin)—by R. C. Hazra.

Date and Works of Rayumukuta—by D. C. Bhattacharya.

Indian Art and Letters (New Series—Vol. XV, No. 1, 1941).

The Sanskrit Drama—by Stanley Rice.

Osmania University and the Growth of Urdu Literature—by R. G. Shahani.

An Exhibition of Hindu-Japanese Art at Batavia.

Antiquity, A Quarterly Review of Archæology. (Dec. 1941).

The Boat of the Dead in the Bronze Age—by L. V. Grinsell (found in Egypt from VI Dynasty onwards)—The idea of the boat reached Scandinavia from the Aëgean and ultimately from Egypt.

Connections between Egypt and Russia—by M. A. Murray.

The Nagpur University Journal (December 1940).—No. 6.

Kalidasa, his date and birth-place II—by T. J. Kedar—(Kalidasa was born and brought up in Malwa and nowhere else. His description of the conquests of Raghu fits in with the state of things obtaining in the 1st century B.C.).

Cyrus the Great and the Battle of the Mahabharatha—by N. C. Seth. (The nucleus of the Bharatha battle is the battle between the Indians and Cyrus at Cyropolis in Uttarakuru).

The Vatsagulma Branch of the Vākātaka Dynasty—by Mm. Prof. V. V. Mirashi.

Date of Mahavira's Nirvāṇa by Jain. (There elapsed 155 years from Mahasira's Nirvāṇa to Chandragupta's coronation and 410 years to Vikrama's coronation).

The Contemporary Englishmen's estimate of Shivaji—by B. G. Tamaskar (contains a good many references to Shivaji's literacy).

Khulāsatul Akhbār or "The Quintessence of Histories"—by Ghulam Mustafa Khan—by Khwandamir, author of *Humayun Namō*.

The Journal of the Aligarh Historical Research Institute. Vol. I. Nos. 1-3. (1941).

Antecedents of the Bahmani Kingdom—by H. K. Sherwani.
Court-Diaries during the Mughal Period—by M. B. Ahmad.
Anglo-French Conflict in the Near East, 1839-42—by Bool Chand.

The System of Assignments under the Sultans of Delhi—by I. H. Quraishi.

Relation of the Delhi Sultanate with the Kingdom of Multan—by S. A. Halim.

Agrarian System of the Tughluqs—by Sh. Abdur Rashid.

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Indian Culture and Social Life at the time of the Turkish invasion—by Muhammad Habib.

A contemporary account of Sultan Mahmud's Indian expeditions—by Shri Ram Sharma.

The development of tomb architecture under the Mughals—by I. H. Quraishi.

A Fairman of Farrukhsiyar—by M. Zafar Hasan.

The Journal of the Sind Historical Society. Vol. V. No. 4, (Feb. 1942).

Prof. Hodivala's comments on the Tarikh-i-Tahiri.

Nicholas Withington's route between Nagar Parkar and Tatta in 1613-14—by B. D. Mirchandani.

Some references to Sind in a Chinese work of the 13th century—by B. D. Mirchandani.

Was Akbar literate?—by N. M. Billimoria. (Akbar was not only well versed in Persian, but could also follow Arabic, Sanskrit and Hindi).

The Post Office in Sind: its early History—by "Zarrin Qulam."

Journal of the Benares Hindu University (Silver Jubilee Number, —1942).

Social, Economic and Cultural life in the Republics of Ancient India—by R. D. Singh.

Provinces of the Delhi Sultanate—by U. N. Day.

Conception and Ideals of Education in Ancient India—by A. S. Altekar.

On the river 'Sindhu' in the Malavikagnimitra—by B. S. Upadhyaya.

Atharva Veda conception of the Motherland—by R. B. Pandey.
Plant and the Early History of Man—by A. C. Joshi.

Journal of the University of Bombay, Vol. X (New Series) Part 2 (Arts etc.)—*Journal of the University of Bombay*, Vol. X (New Series) Part 4, (History etc.)

Raghunatha, a Protège of Queen Dipabai of Tanjore—and his works—between A.D. 1675-1712—by P. K. Gode.

Mudrarākṣasa and *Kamudi Mahōtsava*. The former is held to have been composed on Chandragupta I's reaccession, and the latter on the occasion of Kalyanavarman's accession; and *Dēvicandraguptam* on the occasion of the accession of Chandragupta II—by D. R. Mankad.

Iconography of the Jain goddess, Sarasvati—by U. P. Shah.

Rare Sculptures from Kotyarka—by H. D. Velankar.

An Illuminated Ms. of Gita Govinda—by H. D. Velankar.

Nadir Shah, from some original English records—by A. G. Pawar.

Introduction to the Comparative Study of Ancient Greek and Hindu Culture—by F. Vreede.

Journal of Sri Venkatesvara Oriental Institute. Vol. II, Part II, (July-Dec. 1941).

On Dharmapala—by N. Aiyaswami Sastri.

Nanjīyar and Narayanamuni—by V. Varadachari.

Tirumalaraya's grant of Orampadu—by M. Ramakrishna Kavi.

Ājīvikas (from Tamil sources)—by N. Aiyaswami Sastri.

The date of the *Tiruppāvai*—by K. C. Varadachari.

The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Vol XXXII, No. 1, (July 1941).

Mathura, an Ancient Indian City—by Dr. B. C. Law.

Proto-Indian Religion—by S. Srikantha Sastri.

The Sarvāstivādins and the Mahāsāṅghikas in the Kuṣāṇa period—by B. N. Puri.

The Legend of Prahlada III—by Dr. Mohan Singh (explaining its esoteric and phenomenal meaning).

Kumara Rama—by H. S. Jois.

Studies in Plant Myths (New Series No. IV—The metamorphosis of Daphne into the laurel tree)—by Sarat Chandra Mitra.

Journal of the Annamalai University Vol. XI. No. 1 (Sep. 1941).

Omens and Divination in Early Tamil Religion—by S. K. Govindaswamy.

Studies in Sanskrit Texts on Temple Architecture with special reference to the Tantrasamuccaya—by N. V. Mallaya (Stanzas 61-84).

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The Annals of the Bhandarkar Research Institute, Deccan Gymkhana P.O., Poona.

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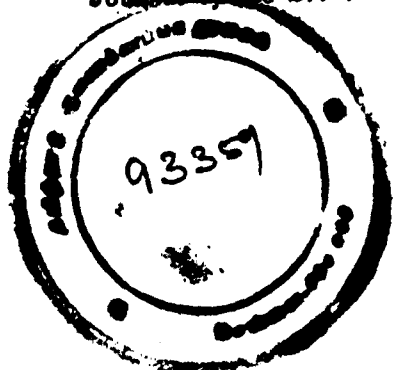
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Indian Culture, The Indian Research Institute, 170, Manicktola
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