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Naga Worship in the Kushana Period

By

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THE Kushāṇa period exhibited a parallel development of different religions. People had uncharacterized and unfettered freedom to develop and expound their own religious doctrines without creating antagonism. This is evident from the epigraphic records of different sects found on the Brahmanic, Buddhist and Jain statues unearthed at Mathurā. Among numerous inscriptions of the Kushāṇa period which are records of private dedications, many are those of Nāga worshippers, and they are inscribed on the Nāga Statues or slabs. Before going into a study of Nāga worship and the characteristic features of the Kushāṇa Nāga Statues, it would be better to examine these records of private dedications first.

The earliest Kushāṇa record¹ of Nāga worship is dated in the 8th year of the King Kanishka (apparently spelled in the inscription as *Kanikka*). It is found on a sculpture in the Mathurā Museum representing a Nāga canopied by a seven headed serpent-hood and attended by two Nāgas of smaller size. The inscription records the dedication of the Nāga image together with a water tank and a garden (Skt. *ārāma*). The Nāga is perhaps named Svāmi Nāga.

The next record² is on a slab now deposited in the Provincial Museum, Lucknow. It refers to a local serpent-deity named Dadhī-karṇa who possibly had his own shrine not far from the Buddhist Convent founded by King Huvishka in the year 47 of Kanishka's era. The date of the inscription is unfortunately mutilated but

1. Ep. Ind. Vol. XVII p. 10.

2. Ep. Ind. Vol. I, p. 380 No. XVIII.

Dr. Vogel³ has presumed the date of the record to be the 26th. year of King Kanishka's era. If the date of this record is really the 26th. year, then it would appear that the spot was previously associated with the worship of the Nāga Dadhikarṇa. This is testified to by another record⁴ found on a pillar base which must have belonged to this very Vihāra of Huvishka. It records that the object on which it is incised was the gift of Dēvila a servant of the shrine of Dadhikarṇa. The identity of Dadhikarṇa would be discussed a little later in this paper. Here it is sufficient to show that there was the existence of Nāga worship particularly on the spot which became latter associated with Huvishka's convent.

The best preserved inscription relating to Nāga worship is on a life-size Chhargaoon Nāga Statue⁵ (bh. 7' 8") with snakehood and tenon. The Nāga is standing in a spirited attitude with his right hand raised above the head. He is clad in a *dhōti* with a scarf tied round the loins, with a necklace which can be traced on the breast. The inscription records the erection of that Nāga Statue by two comrades Senahastin and Bhomuka in the year 40, with a prayer that the Lord Nāga be pleased. Before being removed to the local Museum it was worshipped by the villagers as an effigy of Balarāma elder brother of Lord Krishṇa.

The next record is on the statue of a Nāga⁶ (ht. 9' 4") standing with his right hand raised to the shoulder while the left hand holds a vessel. Here he is canopied by a hood of seven snake-heads, the coils of the snake bodies being shown on both sides of the figures. The attitude and dress of the Nāga is similar to the Bodhisattva of the Kushāna period. The inscription is dated in the year 52 in the 3rd. month of the rainy season on the 25th. day.

There is unfortunately no other inscribed image of the Nāgas. There is one more record⁷ which is not evidence of Nāga worship but which vindicates the destructive capacity of a black serpent. This is hardly material for our purpose here; but it may show that black serpent was a fearful reptile and his destructive powers may have been invoked for the Pōṭnāyas and Śakas by Śivamitrā of Kauśika's family. There is no record of Nāga worship in the time of Vāsudēva, the Kushana king.

3. Arch. Sur. Rep. 1908-9, p. 159 ff.

4. Indian Antiquary XXXIII, 1904, p. 102.

5. Vogel: Catalogue of Mathura, No. C. 13.

6. Vogel: Catalogue of Mathura Museum No. C 21.

7. EP. Ind. Vol. I, No. XXXIII p. 397.

Thus from these epigraphic records a few facts become absolutely clear. Firstly Nāga worship was very popular in the time of Kanishka and Huvishka, though it may not have been so popular in the time of Vāsudēva. In fact there is hardly any evidence of its popularity in the time of Vāsudēva. It may have given its place to Buddhism which may have allowed some sort of snake-worship for the rural population. This is evident from the fact that in the time of Huvishka a convent was founded on the sacred spot of Dadhikarṇa. The inscription on the base pillar⁸ records that the pillar which must have formed part of the convent of Huvishka was the gift of Dēvila a servant of the shrine of Dadhikarṇa. As regards the identification of this serpent deity Dadhikarṇa Prof. Lüders,⁹ who first interpreted the pillar base inscription, mentions that the name Dadhikarṇa is found in a list of Nāgas quoted by Hem Chandra in his own Commentary on the Abhidhārṇa-Chintāmaṇī.¹⁰ According to Dr. Vogel¹¹ the Nāga Dadhikarṇa is mentioned in the '*āhnika-mantra*' in the Harivaṁśa. How the sacred shrine of Dadhikarṇa became the foundation, on which the Huvishka's convent was built, can be accounted for if we presume that these Nāga worshippers became converts to Buddhism and as such helped in the construction of that Vihāra.

Buddhist tradition represents the dreaded serpent demons as devout worshippers of the Buddha. It is true that they have often been converted. In the tradition they start by being fierce and rebellious; but as soon as they come under the influence of the Master they abandon their savage habits and became gentle. The earliest snake stones preserved in Buddhist scriptures relate the contest of the Buddha with a savage serpent in the fire-room of the Kāśyapa brothers of Uruvilva. During the whole night the Buddha and the Nāga fight one another with the magic fire (*tējas*) which they emitted from their persons. At last the fire of Buddha proved stronger than that of the snake, and the latter is caught in the alms-bowl.¹² There are several other stories showing how the Nāgas became worshippers of Buddha.¹³

8. Indian Antiquary XXXIII No. 13, p. 102.

9. Indian Antiquary XXXIII, 1904, p. 103.

10. Verse 1311.

11. Vogel: Indian Serpent Lore, 182.

12. Vogel: Indian Serpent Lore, p. 93.

13. Mahāvastu (ed Senart) Vol. III, p. 300 f, Buddha Carita, XV, 49-33.

Now for our purpose here it would be sufficient to say, on the basis of these epigraphic records, that Nāga worship had been popular in the time of Kanishka and Huvishka, and it may have existed in the time of Vāsudēva also though there are no such epigraphic records on his time. In the time of Huvishka, a famous serpent-deity was worshipped by Nāga worshippers. The shrine of this serpent deity later on became the foundation on which was built the convent of Huvishka. It may first show that the Buddhists may have made some room for the Nāga-worshippers to worship Buddha in the same light as they had been doing their serpent-deities, with a view to claim them as their votaries. As such the Nāga worshippers did not seem to have any objection in converting the shrine of Dadhikarṇa into a Buddhist convent. From the beginning of the Buddha's career as an ascetic he had enjoyed the patronage of the Nāgas.¹⁴

Nāga worshippers were, however, also Brāhmins. Images of the Nāga deities were worshipped as those of Dādu or Balarāma elder brother of Lord Krishna. The personage Baldeo was developed when Krishnaism came into prominence. According to a tradition, as pointed out by Dr. Vogel,¹⁵ in the *Harivaṃśa*, the origin of the snake-spell is ascribed to Baldeo. Baldeo with his 'Hala' (plough) is essentially an agricultural-deity, and so were the ancient Nāgas who were closely connected with water which is absolutely essential for agricultural purposes. 'Hala' or plough and water are things of utter necessity to an agriculturist. He cannot manage without them. Naturally he would like to worship agricultural deities. "It seems," as Dr. Vogel has rightly remarked,¹⁶ that the Bhāgvas like the Buddhists before them sought to adopt the popular worship of the Nāgas to their religion. The Buddhist converted the Nāgas into devotees of Lord Buddha. The worshippers of Krishnaism followed a different course. They declared the Nāga image to represent the elder brother of their divine lord." Thus in both the cases the deity remained the same though under different names. This was an easy way of converting the rural population who were Nāga worshippers into their respective folds.

14. Sacred Book of the East, Vol. XII, p. 80.

15. Vogel: Arch. Sur. Rep., 1908-9, p. 150ff.

16. Arch. Sur. Rep. 1908-9, p. 162.

The importance of these Nāgas in Buddhist and Brahmanical lore is very well exhibited in their plastic and pictorial arts. Their iconographical conceptions have varied. Sometimes they are shown as mere animals, sometimes as human creatures, but generally the human and animal attributes are closely blended together. There are three types of Nāgas exhibited in art. Firstly, the form of the serpent with many heads; secondly the human form with a polycephalous serpent hood; and thirdly a combination of the two i.e., the upper part of a human body being combined with the lower half of a snake's coil.

In the Kushāna period, the Nāga figures are exhibited at three different centres namely Gandhāra, Mathurā and Amravatī. In the Graeco-Buddhist school of Gandhāra, there is a direct predilection of the Nāga of human form. It is only in the scene of the fire-spitting dragon of Uruvilva tamed by the Buddha that the former is shown in reptile shape. A Bas-relief in the Peshawar Museum showing King Ēlāpatra visiting the Buddha in the Deer Park, has a five-headed snake in front of the seat on which Buddha is seated in the midst of his congregation.¹⁷ In the numerous scenes relating to the conversion of Nāgas, these spirits of water are always portrayed in human forms. Usually they are shown issuing half way from a fountain enclosure.¹⁸

These Nāga images exhibit certain features at Mathurā. Firstly the hood of serpent heads usually seven in number, assumes the appearance of a circular nimbus round the head of the deity. This development is due to the introduction of the halo by the Graeco-Buddhist school of Gandhara. At Mathurā this circular nimbus forms part of a complete serpent whose coils are plainly visible both at the front and at the back of the sculpture. The artist gave expression to the dual nature of the snake demon by portraying a human being standing in front of a polycephalous serpent.

At Amravatī, another centre of Kushāna art, the snake-hood surrounds the head of the Nāga in nimbus like manner, but the treatment is more graceful than at Mathura. The snake-heads usually seven in number are shown separated from each other and slightly curved forward so as to form a most artistic headgear.

17. Foucher: Quoted by Vogel: Indian Serpent Lore, p. 40.

18. Foucher: Gandhara Figures, 194-6, 261, 270.

Evidently the artist conceived the hood as being attached to the back or the neck of the serpent demon. This is plainly visible in the Amrāvati medallion (now in the British Museum) showing a Naga king and his retinue worshipping a relic casket. The Nāga maidens grouped in varying attitudes around the throne on which precious casket is placed, are distinguished by a single snake issuing from behind their heads.¹⁹

Thus it is clear that in all the three Kushāna centres of art, the Nāga images appear in human shape. The only characteristic feature which distinguishes the Nāga statues from the Bodhisattvas is the presence of snakehood behind the statues.

The Nāgas were worshipped because they possessed both constructive and destructive capacities. This is clear from these Kushāna epigraphic records where they are invoked for conferring happiness on them and for destroying their enemies.²⁰ The most common belief was that a propitiation of the Nāgas conducted towards the birth of children.²¹ The possession of treasure, magic-gems and spells is a characteristic feature of the Nāgas which they share with other goods. In certain Jātakas it is mentioned that the Nāgas while inflicting terrible punishment upon the greedy, rewarded the virtuous by their bounty.²² They also possessed magical objects. In the Kathā-Sarit Sāgar²³, we hear of a wonderful lute which the Nāga Vasuneni, out of gratitude, bestowed on king Udayana for his protecting him from the hands of a snake charmer. They are also mentioned as beneficial givers of rain and if aroused to anger could send down destructive hailstorms.²⁴

Thus it would appear that the Nāgas possessed the power of conferring boons on those with whom they were pleased and destroying those who had incurred their displeasure. This is clear from a Kushāna Brahmi record mentioned above²⁵ where they were invoked for destroying the Potnāyas and Śakas by a woman of Kausika family. This popular worship of the Nāgas which was in

existence in the Kushāna period has continued even to this day. There are a good many Nāga sculptures to be found throughout India. The festival of Nāgapañchamī is usually celebrated by the Hindus; but on certain auspicious occasions Nāgas are worshipped for the successful termination of functions.*

19. Fergusson: Tree and serpent worship plate LXII.

20. Ep. Ind. Vol. I, p. 396, No. 33.

21. H. Krishna Sastri: South Indian Gods and Goddesses, p. 251.

22. Mahāvanija Jātaka, No. 473.

23. Tawney's Translation, Vol. I, p. 55.

24. C. F. Oldham: The Nagas J.R.A.S., 1901, p. 461 ff.

25. Ep. Ind. Vol. I, p. 396 No. 33.

*The author begs to reserve views on certain matters in the above paper for further consideration.

The English in Madras & Mir Jumla (1652-'55)

BASED ON ENGLISH FACTORY RECORDS*

By

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THE period of the administration of Aaron Baker as President of Fort St. George,¹ which had replaced Bantam as the E.I.C.'s eastern centre of government (1652), was significant and critical in several ways. Externally the Anglo-Dutch War² had broken out and the spectre of Dutch menace loomed large before Englishmen. Internally, the period witnessed the first of the 'Caste disputes,' the subsequent recurrence of which caused 'much inconvenience and loss to (Madras) Government,' and, was also 'occupied by bitter dissensions in the Council.' In South India, the "afflicted Kingdom" of the Carnatic continued to be ravaged by the armies of Bijapur and Golkonda,³ the Sultans of which had fallen out over their partition of it, and the Raja of Chandragiri, was waiting for a suitable opportunity to throw off "his present miserable yoke," in case of the "mutual destruction" of two Deccani Sultans. It was reported that the Nawab with his whole army was besieged by the Bijapuris among the hills of Golkonda, where he had retired for safety.⁴ Later on, Nawab Mir Jumla rose up in rebellion

against his nominal master, the Sultan of Golkonda⁵, and so the regions in the vicinity of Fort St. George were plunged into the calamities of a civil war.⁶

The influence of these events on the position of the English at Madras, particularly with relation to Mir Jumla, was not inconsiderable. The Fort St. George factors wrote to the Company (18th September, 1654): "..... Our Nabob (Mir Jumla) is lately up in Armes against the King of Golcondah, his Master, whose commands hee slighteth, intending, Soe farr as is conceived, to keepe what parte of the country he hath conquered to himselfe, which if hee can accomplish, he will soon bee as great a King as his Master, and his yearly Revenue little inferriour to it. What the issue of these things wilbee the Alimighty onely knoweth....., in the meane tyme wee that live here amongst them shalbee sure never to want troubles on every side."⁷

Uncertainty of the situation in South India was a source of deep anxiety for the East India Company. At home, too, the commonwealth had just been established. But a Dutch war was considered expedient by Cromwell, out of some cogent considerations and possibly also, as has been said, as a screen for failures in domestic administration.⁸ Abroad, Dutch hostility and competition formed a widespread menace to the English. These were to be reckoned with, not only in Europe, but also in Persia, Bantam and other places in the East.⁹ At Delhi and Surat, the E.I.C.'s factors had been seriously endeavouring to prevent the (internal) trade from passing entirely into the hands of the Dutch.¹⁰ On the East Coast the local wars had almost ruined the cloth business in the principal towns, and made inland trade impracticable, while the superior Dutch forces¹¹ had rendered coasting trade hazardous. The prospect of the Danes giving up their strong settlement of Tranquebar to the Dutch seemed another untoward danger for the English.¹² While on the East Coast attempts were made to re-

*Submitted to the Fourth Session of the Indian History Congress, Lahore, December 1940.

1. From September 1, 1652 to January 20, 1655.

2. See J. C. De, *The Anglo-Dutch Duel in Eastern Waters, 1652-54*. J.I.H., April 1940.

3. FEF. 1646-50. 215-16; 1651-54, xxxiii. I.H.R.C. XV, 30. Macpherson, *History and Management of the E.I.C.* I am highly indebted to Rao Sahab C. S. Srinivasachari for his supplying me with a translation of the portions of Section VIII of Narayana Kone's *Karnataka Rajakal Savistara Charitam* from the Tamil (Mackenzie Mss.) and proofs from his forthcoming book *The History of Gingee*. I propose to utilise them in a subsequent paper.

4. Letter of Greenhill and Gurney at Fort St. George to the Company, January, 14, 1652; F.E.F. 1651-54. 99. These political events made investment by the factors risky. The letter of Baker and the Fort. St. George Factors (September, 18, 1654) to the Company refers to the effects of the War on the overland transport in the Deccan, *Ibid.*

5. Love I, 112, 114-116, 154; Bruce I, 499 (1654-55).

6. Bruce I, 499.

7. Love I, 115; F.E.F. 1651-54. 290.

8. Bruce I, 457 f, 465, 477.

9. *Ibid.*, 453, 456, 462, 473-5, 482-3, 485-6, 498; F.E.F., 1615-54, pp. 204-205.

10. *Ibid.*, 451, 461, 496.

11. *Ibid.*, 484.

12. *Ibid.*, 485.

cover the local trade, an objective which was facilitated by the raising of Fort St. George to the rank of a Presidency,¹³ reconnaissance voyages had to be undertaken by the English to open up their trade with Pegu and Bengal.¹⁴

In these trying circumstances one of the most pressing problems for the English East India Company was the question of the defences of Fort St. George, which "formed the only security to the inland trade and the principal protection to the Company's shipping." Fort St. George was to the English what Pulicat was to the Dutch. As the Dutch had strengthened the fortifications and garrison of Pulicat and tried to secure better privileges from the Nawab, the Agent and Council at Fort St. George held that if the Company wished to extend their trade on the Coromandel Coast, they must strengthen the Fort and increase its garrison (of 26 English soldiers). But for reasons of economy the Company was opposed to any addition in the defensible strength of the Fort. However, on getting intelligence of the probability of a War, the Agent and Council at Fort St. George considered (Letter to Co., January 14, 1652), the dangers of the situation, arising from the 'superiority of the Dutch power in India' to be so great, and the need for acting for their own security to be so urgent, that, even in the absence of orders from the Bantam authorities, to whom they had been referred by the Company regarding the completion of Fort St. George, they were resolved to build up the Fourth Curtain of the fort and complete the other two unfinished ones. They hoped that they would not incur the Company's displeasure because the expenses for providing materials and laying the foundation would be met by raising money "from the delinquencies of this townes-people in relation to former orders and constitution of government concluded by our predecessors."¹⁵ From Dutch records¹⁶ also it appears that fears of a Dutch attack on Fort St. George led the English factors under President Baker to fortify the castle at Madraspatam. They raised a "Bastion towards the sea flanked

13. *Ibid.*, 484.

14. *Ibid.*, 454, 463, 470, 471, 480-1.

15. F.E.F. 1651-54; 96; Love I 104-105 & n; Bruce I, 462, 475, 484, 499. This shows that fines, punitive taxes, confiscations were sufficiently heavy to meet the cost of fortifications.

16. Letter from Director Laurens Pit, written from 'the Castle of Geldria' to Governor General Jan Maetsurijker at Batavia.

with a dozen canons,"¹⁷ from which the English could fire at Dutch ships and where the English ships could safely lie at anchor.¹⁸

Besides the danger of external attack by the Dutch, the need of security in cases of local wars and internal disturbances caused by the caste disputes and of the protection of Company's trade from ruin as a result of desertion of artisans, painters and workmen, also led the English factors to fortify Madras.

They observed that the greater part of one curtain of the Fort, being lined with loose bricks, might be easily pushed down, and that though unwilling to spend the Company's funds on building, they must be forced to do it, "lest to save a penny, they lost a pound." They did not consider themselves safe in the face of 'daily broils' occurring in the town, and hoped that if the Company would allow them "a sufficient garrison, they might be able to reduce these people to better government." They considered it risky to advance money to the merchants so long as the caste disputes were not amicably settled.¹⁹ Thus the English factors considered that it would be a penny-wise and pound-foolish policy not to expedite the construction of the defences of Fort St. George.

The English could count on one advantage. The attitude of Mir Jumla was more favourable to them than to the Dutch. During 1651-52 the Dutch had sent a commission to the Nawab praying that their privileges be enlarged and that they be allowed to rent some neighbouring towns, with permission to trade without payment of customs in return for a large sum of money. The Nawab had received the Dutch agent coldly and referred him to the King of Golconda, then at Gandicotta, and even "at the close of the season, the result of the negotiation was not known."²⁰ But as regards the English, the Nawab, far from placing any obstruction in the progress of the fortifications of Fort St. George, had "quietly allowed this to be done."²¹

But though the Nawab did not impede the fortifications of Fort St. George intended for internal and external purposes, he was

17. *Ibid.* Batavia to Amsterdam (Hague Records, 19th January, 1654).

18. *Ibid.*, Pulicat to Batavia (Hague Records, 3rd September 1653).

19. F.E.F. 1651-54, 156f; Bruce, *op. cit.*, 475.

20. Bruce I, 463. For the reasons of the Nawab's hostility to the Dutch see my article on "English Missions to Mir Jumla (1650-2)" and F.E.F. 1651-54, 269-70, 204-5.

21. Letter of Pulicat factors to Batavia 3rd September, 1653; Love I, 116; F.E.F., *op. cit.*, 204-205n.

careful not to allow the English to be so placed as to be able to defy his authority. This is quite clear from the details concerning the establishment of the *bankshall*. It appears from the Brahman's Declaration (April 4, 1654) that when the Nawab ordered a *bankshall* to be built of straw, Greenhill, the Agent at Fort St. George, "insisted that lime and stone should be used," when the work was begun with them, the Nawab 'still hindered it.' There ensued 'great trouble', to allay which the Agent sent Venkata to the Nawab's camp, allowing him to spend 200 pagodas to "make up the breach" and asking him to raise the money in the town.²²

The caste disputes²³ of the period show that the authority of the E.I. Company was not securely established in Madraspatam and they adversely affected their business operations.²⁴ The first outbreak of the caste disputes (disputes between the Right Hand and Left Hand castes), which a modern writer has characterised as 'a permanent feature of Hindu life in this part of the Tamil country' till the 19th century, took place during the administration

22. F.E.F. 1651-54, p. 261; Love I, 141. The word 'banksale' or 'bank-sall' is still used in the sense of a warehouse in South India. Love, *op. cit.*, see Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*, 46-47. We get here the idea of imposing a levy on the townspeople.

23. The genesis of these caste disputes has been explained by Lt. Col. H. D. Love in his *Vestiges of Old Madras*, I, 118ff and C. S. Srinivasachari, *I. H. R. C. Proceedings*, XII, 68-75 and J. Andhra H. R. S. (1930), Vol. IV, 77-85. See also his *History of Madras*, 50-51. According to Love the distinction between the castes was recognised only in Southern India, and the origin of the appellations is obscure.... The disputes were about certain conflicting claims and privileges. The Right Hand Caste (Valangai) included the Vellalars, Komatis, Accountants, Silk-weavers, Leatherworkers (Women), Pallis (men) and Pariahs (depressed classes); the Left Hand Caste (Idangai) embraced the Chettis (traders), Artisans, oilmongers, weavers, Leatherworkers (men) and Pallis (women). It is peculiar to note that men and women of the same community belonged to two different organisations.

24. This is clear from the letter of President Baker to Greenhill dated 29th March, 1654: Here Baker condemned Brahman Venkata for having concealed the existence of a previous award regarding the partition of the streets, made in Ivy's time and referred to the broil made by Seshadri (the Co's Merchant or Broker from 1640, Love I 122n), the rival and 'the great antagonist' of Venkata Brahman. "... in despite and contempt of all the English power we had here to resist them," bringing into the town the same day at least 500 armed men to maintain their riot and never ceasing their menaces and threatenings till they had even forced the Chitties and their castes to leave the town. This led Baker to resolve to suspend 'the business of the streets' till their return..... (Love I, 121).

of President Baker. A settlement was made in November, 1652.²⁵ But it was shortlived, and the "feeble crew" of 26 English soldiers (of whom about half were unable to use their arms) was powerless to quell the next disturbances in January, 1653.²⁶ A general strike took place and each of the contending castes left the town in turn.²⁷ The President and his Council at Fort St. George apprehended the complicity of the Nawab in the disorderly conduct of the castes, believing that "these rogues are abetted or at least wise suffered" by the Nawab.²⁸ For during a riot committed in the English town by them the President and Council arrested and imprisoned two principal ringleaders. The Nawab, on getting news of it from his "Braminy" (? Brahman broker), ordered the English to release them. This made the factors suspect that he had a hand in the matter, otherwise he would not allow them to commit daily riots, without being punished.²⁹

As disputes of a like nature were customarily decided³⁰ by the "Governors of Chinapatam"³¹, the leaders of the Right Hand Party lodged a complaint to the Company (*cir.* April, 1655) against the action of President Baker, who had refused to settle the differences and referred them to the Nawab, who also declined to interfere in the matter and would not decide it. Again, the town of Madraspatnam was "subject unto the Company's justice" i.e., within the

25. The award was quoted by Governor Pitt in 1707. Love I, 118-20; Srinivasachari, *History of Madras*, 51.

26. In their letter to Surat (February 5, 1653), the Fort St. George factors regretted that they had neither forestalled provisions nor possessed a 'defensible place' to withstand a sudden attack during the caste disputes. Love I, 121.

27. Love I, 120.

28. As the grant of Madraspatam, made by the Nayak and confirmed by Sri Ranga, had been further confirmed by Mir Jumla, the latter's object in abetting these disputes seemed to be to engage the Company's attention in their internal troubles.

29. Love I, 121.

30. By the Nayak's grant the Company got "full power and authority to govern and dispose of the Government of Madraspatam" for 2 years. The Raja surrendered 'the government and justice of the town' to the Company's hands "for the better managing of their business." See Nayak's grant and Sri Ranga Raya I's grant. (*Foster, Founding of Fort St. George*, pp. 7 and 33); Love I, 17 and 68; Srinivasachari, *op. cit.*, 5, 34.

31. Love I, (Ch. 6) has established that the site of Chinapatam was that of modern Fort St. George. See also Srinivasachari, Ch. IV. The word 'Governors of Chinapatam' would evidently refer to the Agents of the Company.

jurisdiction of the Company. When the Brahman brothers caused much mischief and plunder, and the Right Hand Castes appealed to the President, the latter did not punish the Brahmans "in this place where the Company's power Governeth and formerly ended all differences. But the President sent to the Nawab and desired that Bally Raw (Bala Rau), (Nawab's) servant and Governor of Mylapore, should come to decide our difference, which course must needs draw great prejudice to the Company's affaires."³² In other words, the President's action was a self-denying ordinance by which he surrendered the Company's legal authority of maintaining internal order to the Nawab.³³

The charges and countercharges³⁴ in course of the dissensions in President Baker's Council throw incidentally very interesting

32. Love I, 123.

33. Being unable to shoulder the responsibility, the English wanted to ingratiate themselves in favour of the suzerain. If they succeeded, their trade position would be eased; if not they might lay the blame on the Nawab.

34. See Love I, Chapters IX and X for the following records:—

- Ch. IX. (i) Protest of Baker against John Leigh.
 (ii) Henry Greenhill to Baker.
 (iii) John Leigh's Declaration against the Bramony Connappa concerning the choultry.
 (iv) John Leigh to the Hon'ble Company.
 (v) A Declaration exhibited by Henry Greenhill.....against James Martine.....presented to Baker.
 (vi) Baker to Greenhill.
 (vii) Greenhill to Baker.
 (viii) Concerning the imprisonment of John Leigh.
 (ix) Articles by James Martin against John Leigh.
 (x) Baker to Company.
 (xi) Leigh's Declaration regarding the choultry.
 (xii) Greenhill to Baker.
 Ch. X. (xiii) Vincaty and Connappas Declaration.
 (xiv) Greenhill's answer.
 (xv) The Painters, weavers, etc. Declaration against the Braminees.

Seshadri Nayak (leader of Right Hand Castes) was serving as Company's merchant ever since the foundation of Madras in 1639. Together with his colleague, Koneri Chetti (leader of Left Hand Castes), he gave satisfaction for years. They were the first of Company's Merchants. Ivy (1644-48) replaced Seshadri by Venkata Brahman, whose brother Kanappa was nominated Governor and Magistrate of the Town. Naturally there was enmity between Seshadri and the powerful Brahman brothers. Agent Greenhill (1648-52) left the latter undisturbed but gave some employment to Seshadri and his associates. The brothers, in resentment, preferred charges

light on the relations of Mir Jumla with the English. The Nawab appeared to be very keen on strengthening his financial resources by (i) procuring his share of customs and revenue at Madras, (ii) having commercial relations with the Company's Merchants, and (iii) endeavouring to gain control over production and consumption.

As successor to the Hindu Raja, Sri Ranga, by virtue of conquest, Mir Jumla had inherited the suzerain's claim to half the customs and revenues of the port and city of Madraspatam respectively.³⁵ For the collection of his share of customs and revenue, the Nawab had his officers stationed at Madras, San Thome, Mylapore and other places. The services of such officers were indispensable to the Nawab, for attempts at depriving him of his due share were probably not infrequent. In their letter of January 14, 1652, the Fort St. George factors admitted that they did not bring the manner³⁶ of raising funds for the construction of the fourth curtain of Fort St. George to "publick accompt" for preventing "all pretencions of the Nabobs invoisters" (i.e. ministers or clerks for collection of customs). Mallapa, the Nawab's Adigar (Adhikari) at Madras,³⁷ constantly attended the choultry to see

against Greenhill to Baker (1652-55). Greenhill, in his turn, accused the Brahmans of fomenting caste quarrels and plotting with Nawab's officers, and offered adverse criticism of President's action. Thus arose a quarrel between the President and Greenhill. Love I, 126-29 and notes; Srinivasachari, *History of Madras*, 51-52.

35. The claim to customs is an ordinary right of a Suzerain power. By the Naik's grant of Madras, (22 August, 1639), the English were to receive half the customs and revenues, of the port and perpetual exemption from customs on Company's import and export trade. It was confirmed, with some additional privileges, by the grant of Raja Sri Ranga (October-November, 1645). Records of 15th August, 1649 and 10th November, 1670, show that 'an *ad valorem* duty of 4½% was levied at Madraspatam on all imports and exports irrespective of ownership. The entire receipts were credited to Fort St. George, except only half of such amount as was received from traders, who were not inhabitants of the place. That half was payable to the native government. Love I, 68-70 and n; 17 and n; Foster, *Founding of Fort St. George*, pp. 8, 33, 34, 42; Srinivasachari, *History of Madras*, pp. 5; 33. 36. Mir Jumla confirmed these privileges in June 1647.

36. See ante.

37. Mallapa is described as the representative of Golconda (i.e. of the Nawab) at the Madras Choultry for about 7 years (1648-54). Love I, 123, 126; Foster, *Founding of Fort St. George*, App. A., p. 39. After confirming the privileges of the English, Mir Jumla sent Mallapa with Agent Ivy "to look after the government" and Mallapa remained there as the representative

that his master's share of the customs was duly credited. Besides this, he also endeavoured to increase the customs on articles of consumption, and in the words of President Baker, he had striven tooth and nail to impose customs on "petty things" sold in the market, e.g. betel, herbs etc. Such impositions of 'new customs' on provisions were considered (March 1, 1654) by Greenhill to be an invasion of, and contrary to, the privileges³⁸ of the English at Madras, and he complained that the President had not made any protest. Greenhill also complained that the two Brahman brothers had assisted the Nawab's officers, both at Madras and San Thome, in thus invading the privileges of Madras, so much so that the free movements of Englishmen were stopped and they could scarcely "peep out of town either to carry out or bring in anything (though necessities only) for they were sure to be invaded by the Junkaneers³⁹ (customs officers), who would demand according to their sweet-will sometimes 3, 4, 5 or more *fanams* upon a pagoda."⁴⁰ Greenhill therefore felt that some remedy was overdue.

In reply, the President (29th March, 1654) denied that he knew (as was alleged by Greenhill) that the Company's privileges in Madras had been invaded by the Brahman Kanappa in matters regarding customs. He knew of the impositions of the Nawab's *Adigar* but was confident that the *Adigar* had been "withstood in this attempt" so far as was possible for the President and Kanappa. To Greenhill's charge that he had made no opposition against these petty customs and rather allowed their continuance, he replied that he had often complained in his letters to the Nawab, a fact to which many persons might testify. The Nawab, however, had given his final answer that (i) the President must look after the Company's merchandise and (ii) he should be left free to deal with the customs alone; (iii) such customs as were usually paid in the time of 'Ayapa Naigue (Ayyappa Nayak, who held the govern-

of the Nawab for 7 years "governing after the manner of the former governors." (Chamber's Narrative in Love I, 189).

38. The Nayak's grant of Madras (22nd Aug. 1639) exempted the Company from paying customs or duties for any provisions (either for their fort or ships) the English might buy in "my country." By the grant of Sri Ranga (October-November, 1645) the English would be exempted from paying 'Junkan' (customs duty) on any provisions brought "out of that country" (Pundamolee). Love I, 18, 68; Foster, *Founding of Fort St. George*, 8, 33; Srinivasachari, *History of Madras*, 5, 34, 35.

39. From *Chungam*, a toll.

40. F.E.F. 1651-54, pp. 235-6; Love I, 123, 130.

ment of Poonamalle) and the Hindu King 'must and should be paid still.' Moreover, the President did not consider that any harm was done to the Company's interests if these customs were paid on such petty things as herbs and betel; for the amount, if paid by the townsmen, was very insignificant, being only 6d. a day, and of it, the Company would get one-half and the Nawab the other half;⁴¹ and so the Company would be "rather gainers than losers by it."⁴²

It is evident from the Brahmans' Declaration (1654) that as Raga Pattan, the Town *Conicoply* (Kanakkupillai) or Accountant, informed Mallapa, the Nawab's *Adigar* at the Madras choultry, that during the rule of three successive native rulers over the territory round Madras, the Brahman brothers "cut off some petty customs"⁴³ which had been formerly levied, Agent Ivy turned the conicoply out of the town. Agent Greenhill was however induced by Seshadri and the servants, Timmanna and Rudriga, to invite him back. So the Nawab became aware of the particulars, and "for that trouble the townespeople paid 100 pagodas for a glass to give the Nabob," and for making up the breach between the Nawab and the English, Mallapa and Seshadri induced Annam Rago to underrate the cloth, which the English sent to the Nawab from 400 to 282 pagodas.⁴⁴

41. This is a sure proof that no composition in the shape of a fixed payment had yet been effected. Love I, 134n.

42. F.E.F. 1651-54, 254. Foster's reading is more intelligible than that of Love (op. cit.); "the Company are neither gainers nor losers by it." Probably this would mean that the amount would be small as to be wholly immaterial.

43. From the charges against the Brahmans it appears that the Brahman Venkata at first informed the Nawab that "all English inhabitants were custom-free of landing etc., and such cloth as was made into paintings in the towne were custome-free." But it is to be noted that he took money from several persons on the latter account, and as for the former, when he and his brother were 'thrust out of the choultry,' they gave the Nawab's servant 'Mallapa', an account of '30,000 pagodas to be customed.' F.E.F. 1651-54, p. 241.

44. F.E.F. 1651-54, 259-60. The three rulers were (i) Damara Iwarr or Aiyappa Naik (Dagh Register 1642).

(ii) Molloy, appointed Naik by the Raja of Vijayanagar after Damara Venkatappa's disgrace.

(iii) Ballabala Cowne, probably Molloy's successor. Though a Moslem, he ruled under the Raja. Love I, 141 & n.

During 1651-52 the Nawab had granted an additional *farman* to the Company, authorising them to make purchases of coast cloths and other goods, without restriction, in all the towns of the district. But this grant could not yield the best results owing to the wars between the Kings of Golconda and Bijapur and the Hindus.⁵² However, we know from the charges of the painters, weavers and other inhabitants of Chinapatam (Madras) against the Brahmans that the latter induced Ivy to declare, by beat of drum, that sale of cloths would be a monopoly of the Company. It meant that none should sell a single piece of cloth manufactured there to any Englishman (privately) or transport any to San Thome or Pulicat and that the Company should have the exclusive right to secure all cloth manufactures, and the power of controlling everything in the town. But the Brahmans took bribes to allow cloth to be transported to San Thome and Pulicat and intrigued against the Company's control.

They even tried to win over Mallapa, the Nawab's *Adigar* at the choultry, "to crowne him with that power, if he would have acted with them." But as he was very well disposed towards the townespeople and the Company, and his dealings with them were fair and considerate, he refused to allow himself to be thus embroiled with the English. As he did not comply with the request of the Brahmans, they, in order "to breed troubles and for their own ends," planned to displace him in the hope of getting a more pliable successor. They falsely accused him before the Nawab of having cheated him of about 700 pagodas⁵³. They complained against him to Sayyid Ibrahim, the Nawab's governor of Poona-mallee, who summoned both Mallapa and Venkata to settle the dispute. Further, the testimony of the town accountant, being desired, President Baker sent Ragabatanda (Raga Pattan) the Town *Kannakkupillai* (Town Conicoply or accountant at the choultry) to give evidence in the matter. But as Venkata feared Raga Pattan, he induced the President "to send William Dawes (Secretary of the Council) with them to keepe him in awe."⁵⁴ Mallapa was dismissed and so his successor was afraid to favour the Company,⁵⁵ and he caused "much disgust and trouble in the town."⁵⁶

52. Bruce I, 463. Letter of Greenhill and Gurney at Fort. St. George to the Company, January 14, 1652; F.E.F. 1651-54, 99.

53. F.E.F., 1651-54, p. 239.

54. Love I, 123.

55. F.E.F. 1651-54, 239.

56. Love I, 123.

The Brahmans' Declaration (1654) and the English factory correspondence in general throw some light on the commercial activities of Mir Jumla during this period.⁵⁷ It shows that his goods were carried to Pegu⁵⁸ and Persia customs-free, as if these were Company's goods.⁵⁹ It was, indeed, impossible for the English to deny such remission of customs to the Nawab, if they were "to continue in this country."⁶⁰ If they had pointed out the amount of customs payable in Persia by the Nawab, the latter would have referred to the English gains at Masulipatam, where they had not to pay the customs like the Dutch,⁶¹ i.e. the Nawab could point out that such remissions would be neutralised on the ground of reciprocity. The disposal of his goods to the English was also a source of much profit. Rustom Beg, an officer of his, having met Agent Greenhill "on an appointed day" near St. Thomas's Mount, was invited to come to the Fort. There Greenhill brought goods of him on such terms that Rustom Beg requested the Nawab to employ him in future bargains on his behalf. The Nawab disliked all English endeavours to interfere in the commercial operations within his jurisdiction. Moreover, as in a dispute between Seshadri and Virappa, the Nawab's agent, Greenhill interfered on behalf of the former, the latter broke his promise to supply goods to the English from Alamparai,⁶² and had recourse to Dutch instead. The Nawab came to know of it and began to trade there. After his quarrel with the Dutch,⁶³ Greenhill got his permission for the trade of the English merchants. However, as some of them supplied goods to the Dutch,⁶⁴ the Nawab again stopped the English from trading. Customs having been exacted at Carrer⁶⁵ on rice sold in private trade, Greenhill on his way from Masulipatam stopped there, and on being visited by 'the Brahminee

57. They seem to form part of his scheme of establishing his own monopoly in trade.

58. F.E.F. 1651-54, 206-207. For trade with Macassar, *ibid*, 290-91, 269-70.

59. *Ibid*, 262-63. See also pp. 67, 117-18, 125-26, 157, 206, 228, 256-57; 282. See my article on Early Relations of Mir Jumla with the English (upto 1650). Proceedings, Third Indian History Congress, 1939.

60. Letter of Madras to Surat (October 19, 1653), *ibid*, 206.

61. *Ibid*, 154.

62. A fishing village on the East coast. Love I 33 & n; II 310 n.

63. See my article on English missions to Mir Jumla 1650-2.

64. Private trade.

65. Karedu in Nellore District.

Governor,' beat him. This led the Nawab to prohibit the English from selling rice at Masulipatam.⁶⁶

The above mentioned details plainly show the pre-occupations of both the E.I.C. and Mir Jumla with their respective interests and troubles during the period under review. The former endeavoured to maintain outwardly friendly relations with the Nawab, as in the past, and to secure the defences of Madras against all possible emergencies, both internal and external. The Nawab, in his turn, did not want to be embroiled with the English, at a critical juncture, when his attention was taken up with the task of consolidation of his position in the Carnatic and with his efforts to be independent of the Sultan of Golkonda. However, he had necessarily to endeavour to strengthen his financial resources and secure commercial and economic advantages in relation to the E.I.C. Moreover, he was anxious to engage the activities of the Company in their internal preoccupations, by abetting the caste disputes, refusing to decide them, even when they were referred to him, and utilising the dissensions in the Madras Council for his own advantage, and thus prevent them from sending any possible help to the Raja of Chandragiri, whose dominions he was now consolidating as his own. Thus, already during the period under review, we notice the faint beginnings of a rupture between the the English and the Nawab, which widened⁶⁷ in the following period.

66. F.E.F. 1651-54, p. 265.

67. My article on 'Mir Jumla and the English' (1653-'58) in J.B.O.R.S., December, 1940, and March, 1941.

The Transfer of Capital from Delhi to Daulatabad

A NEW STUDY

By

N. B. Roy

THE transfer of the capital from Delhi to Daulatabad was one of the strange experiments made by Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq. Endowed with many accomplishments, a sweet and an eloquent speaker, an excellent calligraphist, a keen student of Persian poetry, his knowledge ranged from metaphysics and philosophy to astronomy and medicine,¹ but he was essentially a pedant and had a pedant's conceit and temper.

His vanity was olympian, for he considered himself to be a man without a peer². And it was the pedant's love of doctrines, of his inability to square theories with actual facts that led him to indulge in quixotic schemes of conquest and plans of administrative organisation.

One of these schemes which amazed his contemporaries and makes posterity gape with wonder was the transfer of the capital from Delhi to Devagiri. This visionary project has generally been condemned by all historians but of late apologists of the Sultan have appeared who in their eagerness to vindicate his career and conduct have gone to the length of regarding it as a "a sound measure carried out in a most egregious manner." As it was a most singular episode in medieval history and as the fortunes of the flower of Indian Muslim manhood were bound up with it, a brief critical study of the causes of this wild experiment, of the nature of the depopulation caused in Delhi, and the magnitude of the sufferings of the people may not be regarded as entirely out of place.

1. Diyā Barnī, *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, *Bibliotheca Indica* edition by Sayyid Ahmad Khan. Pp. 463-465, *Tārīkh-i-Firīshah*, Bombay, Lith. edn., p. 133.

2. *Op. cit.*, Barnī's text, p. 459.

The three chief contemporary authorities of the reign, Ibn Baṭūṭah 'Iṣāmī and Ḍiyā Barnī have estimated variously the causes of the transfer of the capital of the Indian empire from the bank of Jumna to an obscure country town south of the Vindhya. According to the African traveller who visited Delhi in 1333 A.D. six years after this event, this measure was decreed to punish the citizens of Delhi who had offended the Sultan by throwing insulting missives into the audience-hall.³

The Sultan was, no doubt, a cruel and vindictive person yet it is difficult to believe that he would sentence his own dear relations, a host of favourites and boon companions, army officers and doctors of law to permanent exile in a strange land, for the sake of a few strips of parchment that were scattered about in the royal palace by a few mischievous persons. 'Iṣāmī, who completed in the country of his adoption Deccan, a versified history of the Sultans of India in A.D. 1350 was himself a victim of this catastrophe. At the tender age of sixteen he trudged along the long weary way to Daulatabad (the Mansion of Prosperity), his old grey-haired grandfather A'azzuddīn 'Iṣāmī failed to survive the strain and fatigue of the trek⁴; these painful incidents remained graven on his memory and when in the maturity of years he grew sick of the world⁵, its empty shows and frail vanities, blandishments and sly intrigue, he would feel his heart grow sad within him as he conjured up many a vivid pitiful scene of this stark human tragedy in the wastes. In the calm and detached spirit of philosophic speculation, he tried to fathom the causes of the strange event and from his mystic and medieval point of view, he traced the cause of this tragedy to the passing of an old order yielding place to new at the end of every century, to the demise of the spiritual luminary, Sultan-al-mashaikh Shāikh Nizamuddīn Awliya of Delhi, above all, to the divine wrath against the schism-mongers and heretics who were rife in Delhi.⁶ These causes, however, are very superficial and may be set aside as representing the obsession of a scholastic mind. The third important source for the reign of Sultan Muḥammad is Ḍiyā Barnī who was a trusted favourite and counsellor of the Sultan⁷. According to him, Devagiri

3. Ibn Baṭūṭah translated by H. A. R. Gibb, London, 1928, p. 204.

4. *Futūḥ-us-alāfin*, edited by Dr. M. Hussain, Agra, pp. 431-432.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 12-14, 17-19.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 436-439.

7. *Op. cit.*, Barnī's text, pp. 467.

was a more central place than Delhi⁸ for the governance of his empire which had now expanded from the Himalayas to the Dwarsamudra and Mābār in the south. This idea of a central capital came to have a strong hold on his pedantic mind, and as the imperial authority was already very effective in the north, the removal of the court to the south offered the additional prospect of consolidating his rule in the south by making a clean sweep of the many Hindu princes. It was an attractive idea yet it offers hardly any explanation for the wholesale removal of the divines and doctors, the saints and recluses who had made Delhi a place of pilgrimage. The transfer of the court and the military aristocracy would, no doubt, have powerfully aided and promoted the Sultan's objective of strict administrative control over the south but it is difficult to understand how the transfer of Muslim priesthood, could help this design. It may be argued that the Sultan had hobnobbed in his youth with sceptics and rationalists like the poet 'Ubaid, the metaphysician S'aduddīn and the philosopher 'Ilmuddīn,⁹ and that his association with these men had undermined his reverence for the faith and its exponents—the divines and theologians; such arguments are, however, countered by Sultan's own confessions made in his memoirs and by the unassailable evidence of Ibn Baṭūṭah. In the mutilated fragment of the Sultan's memoirs appended to the British Museum copy of the Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri, the Sultan acknowledges his faith in the existence of God, in the Prophet and his Vice-regent, the rightful Imam. This admission of the Sultan's devotion to his own faith is seconded by the account of the penetrating African traveller who cited many instances of the Sultan's boundless regard for the Jurists and doctors. Even if the Sultan's disregard for the saints is taken for granted, it seems inexplicable why the holy men who made light of the worldly vanities and spent their time in chanting God's praises and discoursing to their disciples should be dragged away from their peaceful cloisters to a foreign country. One is, therefore, tempted to look for some other reason than the mere centrality of Daulatabad for the transfer of the host of priests, scholars and saints whose presence had made Delhi a sanctuary of Islam (Darul Islam). Certain facts, however, are found scattered in the contemporary authorities which, when pieced together yield the irresistible conclusion that not mere

8. *Ibid.*, p. 474.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 467.

political but also religious considerations weighed with the Sultan when he launched on this gigantic experiment involving in a common ruin the population of "the largest city in the entire Muslim orient."¹⁰

Indeed it would be clear from a recital of a few relevant facts from Ibn Baṭūṭah and Siyār-ul-awliyā that the Sultan was inspired by a strong missionary zeal for making the cause of Islam triumphant in the south.

Ibn Baṭūṭah was the Chief Qaḍi of Delhi for nearly eight years and occupied an honoured position in the court. And he says "The ceremonies of religion are strictly complied with at his court and he is severe in the matter of attendance at prayer and in punishing those who neglect it."¹¹ Superintendents were appointed, says Ibn Baṭūṭah who went on their rounds at the market places and compelled the people to attend the congregational prayer. Nobody was exempted from the observance of the fundamental duty of a Muslim. Grooms and valets of Sergeants-at-arms on duty at the royal palace had to perform ablutions and the *namaj* (prayer) at the appointed hour.¹² Arrangements were made for imparting the people instruction in the rites of ablution and of *namaj*. On the occasion of the holy *Id*s, the king marched in a stately procession to the Idgāh and at the time of the *Baqrid* the Sultan personally performed the ceremony of slaughtering a camel with his hand.¹³ He observed meticulously the details of religious functions. Once a deer was slaughtered by Ibrahim Kharītādar and when it was brought before the sultan he vented his sense of outrage and scandal at the impiety that the animal was not sacrificed according to the prescribed forms and ruled that its meat could not, therefore, be eaten by the faithful.¹⁴ This observance and encouragement of the practices of his religion were accompanied by an abject veneration for the custodians of the Islamic faith. When the phantom Caliph's mandate was brought to Delhi, he placed it on his head and then kissed it as a token of reverence.¹⁵

10. Gibb's Eng. trans. of Ibn Baṭūṭah, p. 194.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 197.

12. Defremie and Sanguinetti's Ibn Baṭūṭah, Tome III, pp. 286-287.

13. *Ibid.*, pp. 228-232.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 339.

15. *Op. cit.*, Barni's text, pp. 495.

The messengers Ḥajī Sa'id Ṣarṣare, Ḥajī Rajab, Shaikhul Shaiukh of Egypt who brought the royal mandate from Egypt were accorded signal and extravagant homage, to the general scandal of his courtiers. Once Makhdūmzadah, of Baghdad visited Delhi and the Sultan seated him on the royal throne by his side in public durbars and whenever he came to the court, the Sultan alighted from his throne, advanced a few steps and bowed down on the ground before him as a token of honour.¹⁶ Such honours were not only reserved for those who claimed descent from the Prophet of Arabia, but they were showered upon many a saint and scholar who had won fame in India and abroad.

The Sultan was the disciple of Shaikh 'Alauddīn, grandson of Shaikh Fariduddīn Ganjshakkar, and he entertained the highest regard for him and his sons, Mu'izzuddīn and 'Ilmuddīn. He raised a lofty dome over the tomb of his preceptor and he invited Mu'izzuddīn to Delhi and maintained him there with great honour. The sultan ordered all administrative work to be performed in the auspicious presence of the Shaikh, as, in the opinion of the Sultan religion and kingdom were indissolubly linked with each other. (Addin-wal-mulku-tawamani. Religion and Kingdom are twins). He raised Shaikh 'Ilmuddīn to the status of Shaikhul Islam of Hindustan.¹⁷

Abdul 'Aziz Arduwili, was a famous jurist and well versed in Muhammadan tradition; he had studied law and *hadith* under the famous teachers, Taqiuddīn, Burhānuddīn, Jamāluddīn and Shamsuddīn of Damascus. On his visit to Delhi, riches and valuables were lavished on him, of which the most conspicuous was a gold tray containing one thousand *dināras*. Once he was describing the Tradition relating to Abbas and his son Abdullah and the deeds of their descendants. On account of the love and regard which the Sultan bore towards the descendants of Abbas, this narration so thrilled and moved him that he kissed the feet of the narrator.¹⁸ He sent ten thousand silver *dinars* to Qaḍi Majduddīn of Shirāz, on hearing the fame of his learning.¹⁹ Burhānuddīn of Ṣaghara near Samarqand was a renowned preacher; the Sultan sought to induce him to visit Delhi by sending him a sum of forty

16. *Op. cit.*, Barni's text, p. 496.

17. Siyārul-awliya by Muḥammad bin Muḥarak Kirmani lith., edn., pp. 195-196.

18. Defremie and Sanguinetti's Ibn Baṭūṭah, Tome III, pp. 252-253.

19. *Ibid.*, pp. 254-255; *op. cit.*, Gibb's English translation, p. 202.

thousand dinars.²⁰ Shaikh Nāṣiruddīn Tirmidhī was a renowned scholar and preacher of the time. He came to India and enjoyed the royal hospitality for one year. His religious discourses were a source of joy and inspiration. On the eve of the Ma'bar expedition Shaikh Nāṣiruddīn delivered an address at the royal request to a learned gathering. The discourse moved the Sultan to such depths that, as soon as the preacher alighted from the platform he held him in a warm embrace, mounted him on an elephant and ordered the audience to approach him on their feet.²¹

This enthusiasm for his faith kindled in him an ardent desire for its propagation. In 727 A.H. 1327 A.D. on the eve of the exodus to Devagiri, he summoned the clergy and the nobility of the capital to a solemn gathering and mounting the rostrum, he waxed eloquent on the necessity of *Jihād* (holy war against the heathens). He charged the saints of Delhi with the solemn duty of labouring for the cause of Islam and the diffusion of its teachings far and wide.²² During the many years of His Holiness Shaikh Nizāmuddīn Awliya's ministry at Ghiyathpur in Delhi, the capital was turned into a resort of the devotees of the faith; the elect of his followers were held together by a loving bond and lived in Delhi sanctified by the memory of their Master. These saints were called upon to leave Delhi and carry on a propaganda of the faith in distant parts. Maulana Shamsuddin Yahyā was a famous saint and scholar of Delhi. He was deeply versed in the Law and its principles, in prosody and rhetoric; he had made a name by writing books on theology. He commanded the respect of all the scholars of Delhi, owing to his love of learning and sincere piety. He was a confirmed celibate of singular purity, completely withdrawn from all worldly interests. The Sultan wanted to press the learning and piety of the Maulana into his service. He, therefore summoned him to the royal palace and after keeping him in solitary confinement for a few days said to him "What are scholars like you doing here? Go to Kashmir. Take up your abode in that heathen country and preach the message of Islam." He was then set at liberty, with an express order to quit Delhi for Kashmir; but what the Sultan proposed, God disposed. The Maulana fell ill and died soon afterwards.²³

20. *Ibid.*, Gibb's trans., p. 202.

21. Defremie and Sanguinetti's *Ibn Baṭūṭah*. Tome III, pp. 250-252.

22. *Op. cit.*, *Siyarul-awliya*, p. 271.

23. *Ibid.*, pp. 225-228.

About the time of the exodus to Deogir, other notable saints e.g. Maulana Hussāmuddīn Multāni and Sirājuddīn Uthmām *alias* Akhi Sirāj quitted Delhi; Hussāmuddīn was a prodigy of learning; he held in his memory the entire *Hidāyah*, the *Qutul Qulub*, *Ihya ul-ulum* and was incomparable in simplicity and piety for which the Holy Shaikh Nizāmuddīn used to say that the city of Delhi was under the protection of Hussāmuddīn.²⁴ Sirājuddīn Uthman had proceeded from Lakhnauti to Delhi in his teens, attracted by the fame of Shaikh Nizāmuddīn. He became a disciple of the holy Shaikh and made up for his neglect of studies in early years by addressing himself with tireless zeal to various branches of learning in his middle age, under famous teachers like Shaikh Fakhruddīn Zarrādī, and Maulana Ruknuddīn. He was held in high esteem by his Master Shaikh Nizāmuddīn who called him "the mirror of Hindustan." When the city of Delhi was smitten by the royal wrath, Maulana Hussāmuddīn repaired to Gujrat, while Sirājuddīn went back to Lakhnauti where he carried on his ministry for many a year.²⁵

Other eminent saints who were famed for learning and piety were dragged away to Deogir. The foremost of them was Shaikh Fakhruddīn Zarrādī.

Originally a pupil of Fakhruddīn of Hānsi, he was initiated by the chief pontiff of the Chishtiyāh order, Shaikh Nizāmuddīn.

He surpassed all his contemporaries in learning in *Hidāyah* and *Hadith*. When a Baghdadi scholar came to India for the first time with a copy of *Majma'ul Baharāin* which was the shortest compendium on Maliki sect, Fakhruddīn amazed him by the lucid exposition of the texts. He observed fast and practised rigid austerities in his endless striving in the path of righteousness. He travelled widely, making pilgrimages to Khwājah Mu'inuddīn's tomb at Ajmir, to Shaikh Fariduddīn to Ajudhan (Pakpattan). He often tramped into lonely wilds and sat there lost in prayer. This holy man was dragged to the new capital where he took up his abode on the bank of the Hauz-i-Sultan.²⁶ His house was often visited by Ṣadr-i-Jahān, Qaḍi Kamāluddīn, the highest ecclesiastical dignitary of the kingdom; once he

24. *Ibid.*, pp. 251-263.

25. *Ibid.*, pp. 288-289.

26. *Ibid.*, pp. 266-274.

expressed to the Khwāja his desire for a pilgrimage to the ka'bah, but the latter advised him to give up this idea. "The Sultan said Šadr-i-Jahān" wanted to turn Deogir into a flourishing city and to make it renowned in the world by gathering within its confines a glorious host of doctors and divines, scholars and saints.²⁷

Thus the chief ecclesiastical authority of the empire unfolded before the Shaikh the grand royal intention of making Devagiri a centre of Islamic learning and propaganda. Burhānuddin Gharib was one of the most eminent of the disciples of Shaikh Nizāmuddīn Awliya. He delighted in devotional songs and stirred to his depth by sheer ecstasy would often give way to sobs and tears. He passed his days in his monastery, admitting and initiating disciples. Being the oldest of Shaikh Nizām-uddīn's disciples, he had attained to a ripe old age but even this venerable old man was not allowed to spend his last few days in Delhi but was carried away to Daulatabad where shortly after he died. His mortal remains were buried in Burhānpur, a place named after him.²⁸

Qaḍi Sharfuddīn Firūz, an associate of Maulana Hussāmuddīn, was a recluse, famed for his piety and learning. He knew the whole Quran by heart and he was the preceptor of a long line of disciples. He carried his scanty fare and bundle of firewood with his own hand into his gloomy hovel and had no concern with the world. His attire consisted of a single piece of cloth with which he wrapped his loins and chest, yet this man who "was content with the kingdom of humility and seclusion and was indifferent to the world" had to leave his retreat for Deogir.²⁹ Shaikhzādah 'Azizuddīn, son of Khwājah Yakūb, a descendant of Shaikh Farīduddīn Ganjshakkar left the ancestral abode and carried on his ministry in Deogir and Telingana where he made a large number of disciples.³⁰

Maulana Shihābuddīn, the famous Imām of Shaikh Nizāmuddīn Awliya was a gifted preacher with a marvellous command of the resources of the language and a mellifluous voice; it was said that his resounding calls to prayer had such com-

27. *Ibid.*, p. 274.

28. *Ibid.*, pp. 278-281, Akhbārul Akhīyar, litho. edn., p. 94.

29. *Ibid.*, pp. 308-309.

30. *Ibid.*, p. 197.

elling power in them "that even the birds ceased to flap their wings in course of flight and remained still in the air." This sweet-tongued preacher was also carried to Devagiri. He gathered to himself a large following there and lived long enough to return Delhi.³¹

The Sultan's role as the champion of the faith is indicated by the inscription and legends on coins. They bore no longer the royal titles and names, but were engraved with the cardinal tenets of Islam. The obverse of the coin issued in 725 A.H., (1325 A.D.), the very year of his accession, is stamped with the fundamental dogmas of Islam, "God is Great and Muḥammad is his Apostle," and the reverse bears the names of the first four Caliphs and mentions the Sultan to be a "Warrior in the path of God".³² The coin issued in 726 A.H. from Delhi is engraved with the hallowed words of the *Adhān* (Muslim call to prayer). "I testify that there is no God but God and I testify that Muḥammad is his servant and Apostle".³³ The coin issued from Daulatabad in 730 A.H. bears the formula "obey God, obey the Prophet and those in authority among you."³⁴ There are coins which bear the significant inscriptions, "revivifier of the laws of the last of the Prophets."³⁵ Equally noteworthy are the inscriptions engraved on the coins of Daulatabad. It was named the Lakhtagah (capital), and declared to be the Qubbat-ul-Islam (cupola of Islam).³⁶ Daulatabad was thus raised to the status of the metropolitan city and turned into a stronghold of the faithful in the south. Like the mountain fastness standing foursquare to the lowly houses and cluster of trees, and the winds of heaven howling round it, this new capital standing in the midst of a hostile heathen country was to uphold the cause of Islam. Amid the all-pervading gloom of infidelity, it was to be the pin-point of the light of True faith. None of his predecessors on the throne of Delhi with the exception of Sultan Altamish had struck coins with similar inscriptions and legends. And the Hindu name of Sargdwari where the royal court

31. *Ibid.*, pp. 290-292.

32. Catalogue of coins in the Indian Museum by Nelson Wright, 1907, p. 50.

33. *Ibid.*, p. 51.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 60.

35. J.R.A.S.B. 1921, Numismatic Supplement, XXXV by H. M. Whittel, p. 153.

36. *Op. cit.*, Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, p. 51, 60.

was removed to escape from famine, the Sultan's intelligent curiosity in the miracles of the *jugis*, his kind treatment of Jina-prabhasuri,³⁷ should not blind any one to the fact that Sultan Muḥammad bin Tughluq was strongly wedded to the medieval notion that his religion was the only means of securing the everlasting happiness of man; when a Hindu was ushered into the royal court, the chamberlains shouted out "God guide thee" (Hadakallahu).³⁸ The Sultan rejected the request of the Chinese King for rebuilding the temple of Qarāchal; "If thou wilt pay *jizya*" replied the Sultan "We shall empower thee to build it and peace be on those who follow the true guidance".³⁹ After the conquest of the kingdom of Kampila, the sons of the brave Raja who were taken captive were converted to Islam. They were raised to high position and three of them were named Naṣr, Bakhtyār and Muhrdār respectively.⁴⁰ The leaders of the Bhattis, Bhīrās, Jats and other Hindu tribes who rebelled against the Sultan were transplanted from their home to Delhi and converted into Islam.⁴¹ The Hindu names of places like Devagiri and Tirhut were changed into the Muslim appellations of Daulatabad (mansion of prosperity)⁴² and Tughluqpur.⁴³

All the efforts of the Sultan, however, to render Daulatabad a sanctuary of Islam, however, miscarried. The shifting of the centre of political gravity to the south produced rebellion in the north. Bahram Aiba Kishlū Khan raised the standard of insurrection; the suppression of this rebellion and the rising of the peasantry in the Doab were followed by the invasion of Tarmashirīn. Consequently the Sultan had to hasten by forced marches from south to north, which threw the administrative machine out of gear.

Regarding the nature of depopulation caused in Delhi, modern writers have held widely divergent views. According to one, the city including its suburbs was completely deserted,⁴⁴

37. *Rangaswami Aiyangar Commemoration Volume*, 1940, Gode's paper—pp. 345-350.

38. *Op. cit.*, Gibb's Eng. trans., p. 199.

39. *Ibid.*, p. 214.

Ibn Baṭūṭah, Tome III, p. 320.

40. Defremie and Sanguinetti's Ibn Baṭūṭah, Tome, III, p. 320.

41. *Op. cit.*, Diya Barni's text, p. 484.

42. Sir Wolsely Haig renders Daulatabad into "abode of wealth," *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 144.

43. *Op. cit.*, Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, p. 60.

44. *Cambridge History of India*, Sir W. Haig, 1928, p. 144.

Medieval India by Lanepoole, 1917, p. 131.

while another states with the same degree of finality that a handful of population was merely shifted to Daulatabad," so as to raise it into a new or second capital".⁴⁵ Contemporary authorities, Barnī and 'Iṣāmī who were eyewitnesses of the event were, so appalled by this violent measure that they made very sweeping statements. "Delhi, the capital of the empire," says Barnī, "had become so populated during the one hundred and sixty years or so that it had expanded into a vast city equalling Baghdād and Egypt and with all the houses and the suburban areas extended over an area of fourteen to fifteen miles: it was so depopulated that not even a dog or a cat was to be seen either in the city or in the palaces or in the outlying parts of the town."⁴⁶

'Iṣāmī also speaks of the utter depopulation caused by the Sultan's fiat, "the houses and the mansions lay empty and the blasts of wind whistled against windows and walls".⁴⁶

Ibn Baṭūṭah who visited Delhi several years after this event has not only recorded the well-known gossip about the cripple and the blind man, but also stated that the Sultan was very glad when on mounting the roof, he found "the city without smoke, fire and lamp".⁴⁷ This is undoubtedly an exaggerated account, but "the most incredible stories" says Gibbon "are the best adapted to the genius of an enraged people." The people gravely reported to Ibn Baṭūṭah and sincerely believed that the Sultan was very much comforted at the sight of desolation and he was credited with the words "Now my mind is tranquil and my wrath appeased" which forcibly suggest a comparison with Nero fiddling over a blazing Rome. These statements, exaggerated though they are, leave hardly any room for doubt that the city was evacuated by a considerable body of population. The Sultan's mother Makhdūma-i-Jahān, the chief lady in the empire, the royal court, the nobility and the clergy migrated to Daulatābād, and naturally various professional men, shopkeepers and traders, singers and musicians, the regiments of retainers, valets and buffoons and the motley crowd who catered for the luxuries of the aristocracy wended their weary way to the obscure town of the Deccan. It was not certainly a mere exodus of the administrative heads of the government; a distance of not less than seven

45. *Rise and fall of Muḥammad bin Tughluq* by Dr. M. Hussain, p. 123.

46. *Futūḥ-us-Salātīn*, p. 435.

47. *Op. cit.*, Gibb's Eng. trans. pp. 204-205.

hundred miles as the crow flies separated Delhi from the new capital and the people who had been living in this city from generation to generation and were bound to it by every tie of love were torn away from their beloved homes without any consideration to their feelings. Delhi definitely lost its splendour as the chief city of the empire and was eclipsed by the new capital. The old capital was not, however, reduced to utter desolation; it continued to remain a seat of administration and a mint town, coins being issued from Delhi in 728, 729 and 730 A.H.⁴⁸ And during these years the royal palace too often buzzed with noise at the occasional visits of the Sultan required by the outbreak of rebellions. The city, however, wore a deserted appearance; and in spite of the Sultan's efforts to repopulate it by bringing in men from other places, Ibn Baṭūṭah, "found it empty and depopulated" save for a few inhabitants, when he visited Delhi six years after this event.

It has, however, been seriously contended that the prosperity of Delhi remained unabated "during the very years which are said to have witnessed its destruction".⁴⁹ Two arguments have been adduced to support this contention (i) "the fortress of Tughluqābād was completed in 727 A.H. and (ii) two wells were dug by two Hindu families living outside Delhi, one at the village of Naraina, in 1327 A.D. and the other in the hamlet of Sarban, five miles south of Delhi in 1328 A.D."⁵⁰ These arguments are however very weary, the fortress of Tughluqabad was commenced during the reign of Ghiyathuddīn Tughluq Shāh and the poet Badr chach's chronogram (bād khaluhā) quoted by Badaunī records the completion of the fortress in 727 A.H., the year of the transfer of the capital.⁵¹ It could therefore have been completed before the evacuation; and after it as well,

48. (1) Catalogue of coins in the Delhi Museum coin No. 220, dated 728 A.H.

(2) Catalogue of coins in the Lucknow Museum describes coins of the year 740 A.H., p. 67.

(3) Catalogue of coins in the British Museum describes coins of the year 730 A.H. p. 47.

(4) Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi by Thomas describes a coin of 729 A.H. p. 209.

49. Op. cit., Rise and Fall of Muḥammad bin Tughluq, p. 123.

50. Ibid, pp. 110-111, pp. 244-247.

51. Muntakhab ut Tawārikh, Bibliotheca Indica Series, pp. 222.

because as already stated, Delhi, though shorn of its splendour continued to function as a mint town and a seat of administration and the fortress begun during the previous reign could easily have been given the finishing touches, even after the shifting of the royal court. Similarly, the sinking of two wells by two Hindu families is not in any way incompatible with the fact of the transfer of the capital, for Delhi was not completely deserted, secondly, the Sultan's object was to people Deogir by Muslim colonists. Brahmins and Hindu traders could naturally carry on their peaceful avocations outside the capital. It is really curious to find these arguments urged as unassailable testimony to invalidate the unanimous statement of contemporary and later Muslim Chroniclers.

The magnitude of suffering caused by this transfer was incalculable. True it is that the Sultan tried to alleviate the sufferings by making various arrangements. The two distant cities were connected by a good road bordered with rows of trees to give shade to travelling men and beasts. Couriers who maintained an efficient service of carrying despatches by relays were set up at every coss, rest-houses and hospices were built at successive stages. Each was placed in charge of a Shaikh and provision was made for supplying food, cold drink and betels to the travelling multitude at these stations.⁵² These measures undoubtedly offered partial relief from the pangs of thirst and hunger but they could not protect the men from the scorching blaze of the tropical sun, nor could they assuage the home-sickness which "kills an Indian in exile." Diyā Barnī, a friend and adviser of the Sultan therefore grieved over the loss of the Muslim lives and said in bitterness of spirit. "The country of the unbelievers has become the graveyard of the Muslims." Deogir keh kufistan-i-Qadīm budah ast gurstanhayi musalmānān payda and the sufferings of the journey had to be experienced to be believed and 'Iṣāmī, himself a victim of this tragedy unfolds a pathetic and heart-rending picture⁵³ which, though exaggerated, contains a substratum of truth and is reproduced in English in the following pages.

52. Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhi, Bibliotheca Indica Series, pp. 98-99.

53. Fuṭūḥ us salāṭīn, pp. 431-441, pp. 443-444.

DESPATCH OF THE PEOPLE OF DELHI TO DEOGIR

[P. 430].

As the king was suspicious of the people of the city, he concealed poison in the drink. When at length he sloughed off the skin, he began to rule like Dahāk.* If he saw few killed in the city, he added to their number by killing more of them violently. Somebody counselled him privately that the city should be laid in ruin in a month; that it be proclaimed in every quarter that whoever was a loyal citizen should break up his camp in this city and retire to the country of Maharastra and whoever would obey the official fiat, the king of the age would lavish riches on him. If anybody defies the fiat of the king, his head would be rolling in dust before the royal palace. His head would be ripe for the sword, be pulverized and his property would be destroyed. He issued orders for setting the city on fire and driving the people out of it. The whole population abandoned their homesteads with wailing and lamentation for its sake. Damsels who remained in the purdah, who had never glimpsed the face of the sun, who had never beheld the gateway of the house and did not know the way from the portico to the gateway and many God-fearing recluses, who were indifferent to the police were dragged with cruelties and tortures out of their houses by the hair. The body of men who lived in dark hovels, who lived in seclusion away from the din of the world, who made no difference between kid and camel and to whom house and gallows was equal, came out, impelled by the dread of the soldiers and pitched their tents outside the city. The people tramped along with moaning so loud, that it seemed as if some living person was being borne alive to his burial. Every stage of the journey resembled a graveyard and there was no station without the dead. Every one—man and woman—who had left his home, became stricken with nostalgia. (love of home).

(Description of the death of Sipāhsālār A'azzuddīn 'Isāmī at Tilpat)

One of my ancestors who was an old man had his dwelling in the city. [p. 431]. He was a man of illuminated mind, ninety years of age and lived in peace at his house. He distributed the villages bequeathed by his ancestors among his sons; he never went beyond the precincts of his house and delighted in the seclusion of his cloister; He had not visited any place beyond his house except on Fridays and on days of *Id*. In this house there was a balcony which served this wise old man as a retreat. He remained always engaged in prayer in this house, absorbed in muttering the divine name during day and in the performance of *namāz* at night. This good man was named A'zzuddīn; nobody brought any complaint against him all his life. His father was (Šadrul-Kirām), chief among the nobles by whom the garden of 'Isām family was made fresh. (He was) supporter of the kingdom, a famous warrior, *vakil* of the king and when this old happy member of the 'Isām family rested on his 90th year, the king then turned him out of Delhi, with all its people. When his retainers expelled him out of Delhi, he reached Tilpat couched in a palanquin; the people who passed by him lifted the screen from the palanquin. When this venerable noble man opened his eyes, he saw cluster of trees in every direc-

*Dahāk was a king of Peshādian dynasty, proverbial for his cruelty. (Steingass, p. 800).

tion. Thereupon he said to the attendants who were standing in front of him "Where is my old sacred balcony which was the balm of this miserable wretch. Beside the wastes and haziness of the horizon, I do not see that delightful resting-place."

When the attendants heard these words, a wail burst forth from every heart overwhelmed with grief and they exclaimed "Oh thou the last of the 'Isāmī family, do not call back your delightful house to memory. You were asleep when the soldiers of the king came with gyves and gibbets. They dragged you out of your home by force and violence like drunken men just as they would an untamed colt. Now the house and the balcony have disappeared; you will not possess such a courtyard and portico". [p. 432]. There is no other course but to migrate to Deogir with all the people of this city. When this wise old man heard it from the talk of the servants, smitten by pain and woe he fetched up a sigh from the depths of his wind-pipe. He breathed out a cold breath and consigned his soul to God. He passed away peacefully with this faith from this rendezvous of the Devils. Yells broke out in every quarter; everyman and woman fell to beating of face and tearing of hair. At length, they lowered him into the grave. The glove of faith which the old man held in his grasp while going his way, remained with him. I observed that for three days and nights people remained amazed at this occurrence. On the third day the people of this caravan set out in parties.

DESCRIPTION OF THE SUFFERINGS OF JOURNEY

The people trudged on, enduring hardship, the earth was like iron and the dust (particles) like (sparks) of fire. The body of men who had never sauntered except in gardens moved into the wilderness and the plain, driven by violence. Irrespective of persons, old and young, man and woman quitted his country and home; many tender feminine beauties gave up their ghosts owing to the sufferings like pilgrims perishing on the road to Hijāz; many children died for want of milk; many heads dropped to the ground for want of water. I found that every lovely woman bowed down her head on the way at every devil's haunt. Coquettes who had not conceived even in dream the affliction of the solar blaze bandaged their feet by rags and fell down at the second step; some of them moved barefoot along the path and the whole solitary wild was strewn with beautiful corpses. Faces which were dotted over with points of sandal paste, turned yellow and blue against the blasts of dust; eyes which had never gazed on anything besides gardens, beheld wilderness and waste lands. Many blisters scarred the feet and in this revolution of Time's wheel many a thorn tore the feet. After many severe trials, only a tenth part of this caravan reached Daulatabad.

DESCRIPTION OF THE DEPOPULATION OF DELHI

By a violent measure the king split up the whole population destitute of provisions and conveyance into parties. He sent them in groups of six out of the city, not prompted by a sense of justice and fair-dealing but by bitterness and wrath. Such a prosperous city was ruined, what defence would be put before God on the day of reckoning? [p. 433] When none of the gentry remained in the city all the doors were closed; the

paradise was emptied of its houries. The gates of all the palaces were barred. All the houses became haunted by ghosts, Time set fire to the city. A shrill sound whistled in the walls and doors, such a city was completely evacuated. Some time after this period I heard that the mean tyrant repaired the caprices of his brain by bringing many rustics which were like brambles in rose-beds. He turned the parrots and nightingales out of the gardens, and brought over the crows and ravens in their places. I do not know how all on a sudden the king became embittered towards these innocent people.

DESCRIPTION OF THE SULTAN'S CRUELTY AND HIS COMPARISON WITH DAHĀK

He dug up the foundations laid by their ancestors and extirpated their sons, his mind did not relent towards the young and the old; neither the rich nor the poor were safe nor the poor; verily the king had no son and he wished that the world should be rendered (childless) like him.* If Dahāk committed many barbarities, no body recalled his name except by the epithet of tyrant. If that wretch had been alive in this age, town and country would have blest him. I have heard that in order to appease the snakes he used to shed the blood of two men every day from among the townsmen and soldiers and stirred up commotion in Babal (Babylon). He extracted the brain from the head and threw it down before the snakes by way of magic rite so that the two serpents might torment him less on their appeasement and fall asleep on gorging themselves to their content.

Secondly, Dahāk had no faith; he had nothing else in his mind except wrath and malice; he was a follower of the devil and adopted all the ways and practices of Satan.

But it is strange that our Sultan should be given to these strange ways in this age. Muḥammad has not bowed to him (Satan) nor did the snakes bite his shoulder; none in this world had advised him to work cures with the brain of the people. (p. 434) His religion was not the same as that of Dahāk; why then did his vengeance exceed that of Dahāk. Every kind of oppression that he had committed in a thousand and odd years, was manifested in a moment from him. If that rascal under the counsel of Satan killed two men in a day, behold our Shāh tortures thousands to death at every moment without any rhyme or reason. If that (Dahāk) spilled the blood of the wicked men of Babal, all the pillars of the world had fled away from him (Muḥammad). If the people of Delhi did not obey his commands and execute his order faithfully, they would not have been trapped into this snare of misfortune and would not have been caught in this snare of oppression.

This is the retribution of such people who throw such a kingdom into confusion. That very tyrant flings the head of that man who befriends him on to the dust. If the king indulged in a vagary and the people did not co-operate with one another (in its execution) and besides, if they turned their head against his high-handed proceedings and raised the standard of (insurrection) in the kingdom and if all men—untrained levies and soldiers

* This shows that Sultan Muḥammad bin Tughluq had no son.

had become playfully engaged in rebellion and formed themselves into an organisation by assembling from every quarter, they could have uprooted him from his foundations.* If the people of the kingdom assembled at one place and all united with one accord for the sake of disturbance and struck suddenly against this impiety, it is not strange that they might have rolled off his head on the earth.

'IṢAMĪ'S EULOGY OF DELHI AND HIS GRIEF ON ACCOUNT OF ITS DEPOPULATION

Such a capital would remain a monument in this world of the kings of the earth; at every morning and dusk, the angels were hovering on their wings in its lane. There were jasmine gardens in its suburbs, like the hedges of brier fencing the garden. Every morning, a gentle breeze blew in this garden which wafted the deliciousness of the morning breeze of the garden of Iram. Houries and angels supplanted the men and women and took up one after another abode in this city. Their name had gone all over the world which had attained stability on account of their advent.

FAME OF THE SCHOLARS OF DELHI

Many scholars flourished in this city, all of them were versed in every branch of learning. If any controversy arose in Bukhārā, any polemic in Samarqand, the body of muftis who lived in those countries obtained fatwas (dictums) from the doctors of this city. There was every kind of craftsmen in this city who were skilled in varied crafts.

Every Sultan had made renovations to it and prided on it on account of its elegance. There was a mosque in it like the House of Ka'ba which was erected by the kings of 'Ajam. There was a beautiful minaret in this holy mosque which was as lofty as Sidratul-muntahā (the highest reach of Gabriel's flight). The Haud-i-Shamsī by the transparence of its water threw into the shade the torrent of the sun. (p. 435). Whoever dwelt in this city, lost all charm for the celestial garden. When you would observe you would find that these edifices, one hundred and sixty years old, looked as fresh as if they were built to-day. There were many delightful rooms and many a moon in luxurious chambers. There were many north-facing buildings in this city which were built by every one during his age. The climate was temperate throughout all the four seasons. The celestial garden was eclipsed by its splendour. The autumnal wind blew over this garden and tore up the clump of sugarcane† of life by the roots from every side. All at once the king emptied such a city of the high and low. The celestial garden was emptied of houries. The places became completely the haunts of the ghosts. Unclean ghosts spread over every quarter of the city which was the delight of the man. As this city became entirely the haunt of ghosts, why should the people repair to Deogir? For one month the doors remained closed, the laughter and play in the city were sus-

* VS. No. 8299, and 8300, p. 434 hardly yield any sense and have been dropped off.

† The word is probably nishkar.

pendent.* Then the king ordered that they should summon people from the villages and that they should provide them with lodgings in that lovely city and should replace the houries with the devils. When autumn visited the garden, the owl usurped the nest of the nightingales.

FIRST CAUSE OF THE DEPOPULATION OF DELHI

P. 436. I have heard from the narration of wisemen that when the world completes a century, its laws are changed and all things move away from their orbit; confusion and disorder prevail and the world undergoes a transformation; it lowers the lofty edifice, destroys the old structures; it breaks up the settlements of men, turn all places beautified with garden into a ghostly haunt. It removes the pillars from their posts and substitutes the sons in the position of the father. It uproots the old trees from their foundations, and sets the old gardens ablaze. The moon and the sun make a new constellation and the world is faced with destruction on the next day. The high is changed to low, a flourishing place is transformed into a deserted one, the temper of man assumes a different tone, neither does sea nor land remain in their proper places.

In short, the city of Delhi which was an attractive seat of royalty in the kingdom of Hind and its environs which lent grace to the face of the earth were founded by Shamsuddin. It was an object of sight-seeing to all visitors, and its adjacent territories were a ring of orchards round still other orchards. By the strength of faith, it was the asylum of the faithful, though it has now been turned into a bad haunt of the Satan. Its environs vied with those of Iram and its outlying parts equalled Egypt and Baghdad. When its edifice had become complete a hundred and a few odd years had elapsed from its foundation; Firstly, the cause of its depopulation lay in the fact that the city had completed more than a century after its foundation; the second cause was that on account of the revolution of Time, many evils sprang up in this city.

SECOND CAUSE CONSISTING IN THE TRIUMPH OF HERESY IN DELHI

In every lane heretics arose and on account of their wickedness good fortune went on diminishing. The people of the city gave up the old system; heresy was established everywhere. The people took to a new kind of wear; from the turban down to the shoes they fashioned every thing anew, p. 437. A class of people wearing fine silk cloth sold barley by showing wheat (i.e., practised deceit); they were outwardly meek but you would find them inwardly quarrelsome. Every one was a past-master in wickedness; apparently strong but in reality they were weak in faith; many hearts were wounded by their sarcasm; every one gave utterance to two hundred blasphemous words in jest; they set their minds to tormenting other's hearts, day and night they were given to useless expenditure; each of them was the son of Zal (i.e., Rustom) in killing the feeble and highhanded with the weak. Sometimes they were blustering like Isfandiyar in words but were (helpless) like widows in action.

*The literal translation does not yield any meaning.

All were oppressors of men and flatterers of Satan; all were tormentor of friends and cherisher of the stranger; they had discarded prayer carpets and rosary and exchanged them for jugs and cups. They had done many acts in privacy which the wise could not utter with their tongue. When at length this class of men multiplied, and their sinfulness exceeded all bounds, the vile acts of these wicked people undermined the foundation of Delhi. God set a tyrant over them who spared none of their seed. He drove them out of their beloved country just as dogs would be expelled from the palaces. He deprived them of joy by his cruelties and then he himself became deserving of hell fire. Owing to the sin of these wicked people many who deserved a place in paradise were persecuted. Verily, evil company exercises a baneful influence; a beautiful damsel beguiled an angel into the well. Oh God! do not give the spiritually-advanced habitation in any place except in the lanes of the good men. Protect the faithful of this caravan from the association of the wicked.

THIRD CAUSE COMPRISING THE GRACEFUL NARRATION OF SHAIKHUL-ISLAM NIZAMUDDIN

It is known every where that the world attains stability by the advent of wise men. (P. 438). The world whose foundation is firmly laid is tied to the feet of the holy men. In every country there is a mystic and in every age, there is a person who has attained divine bliss. Though there is a ruler in every country, still he lives under the asylum of the faqir. Although the amirs are the chiefs of the country and the kingdom, the faqirs sip (ward) of the misfortune of the kingdom. If the pillars (saints) do not exist on the face of the earth, the seven-storied sky cannot remain stable. The good honest men know that the world exists on account of the presence of saints. When the Creator of day and night wishes to ruin a country, by Divine command, the pious men are first withdrawn from that land. Then God sets a tyrant to rule over that territory.

PRAISE OF SHAIKH NIZAMUDDIN

I have heard from a fortunate old man that when the time came for the ruination of Delhi, Nizamuddin Muhammad, the serene spiritual guide, the asylum of the kings and the refuge of the people became the last of the saints as Mustafa (Muhammad) was the seal of Prophets. One who did not bow down his head devotedly before his throne tasted the blows of Time in a hundred ways. The Sultans appeared for interview at his villa, the chiefs rubbed their forehead in front of his threshold.* At the court

*Even Sultan 'Alauddin Khalji who did not entertain a high regard for the saints sought his grace. In 710 A.H. (1310 A.D. when Malik Naib was engaged in the siege of Warangal and the courier system for the transmission of news broke down, 'Alauddin sent Malik Qarabeg Mughithuddin to Shaikh Nizamuddin who by his miraculous powers, announced the victory won by the Delhi army, (Diya Barni, text, p. 330).

VS. No. 8384 hardly yields any sense.

of this king of holiness, the kings were pleased to hold the mace. Who could sing the praises of this monastery? What does the earth know about the position of the heaven? No body can realise his greatness except God. The guide alone knows the pilgrim; he was one of the beloved of God; by him the kingdom of Hindustan acquired stability. At first this sage travelled from Delhi to the other world. Thereupon this city and country became depopulated and disorder was triumphant in this kingdom. All on a sudden the traveller in the path of righteousness withdrew his feet from this capital by divine commandment. Thereupon nobody drank sweet water in this capital nor tasted anything except the drink of the cup of wrath.

Page 439. Peace and security departed from this kingdom; Discord and perfidy usurped their places. The whole city was thrown into utter confusion and its suburbs too became deserted. All peace loving people became confused. What shall I say? What has happened there cannot be described.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PROSPERITY OF DEOGIR WITH HAPPY NARRATION OF SHAIKH BURHANUDDIN

Time has a good law by which day and night do not wear the same colour. It cherishes strange gardens of day and night; sometimes it yields thorn, sometimes fruit; it holds fire in one hand and water in the other, sometimes it populates, sometimes it destroys. Sometimes it sets the tulip garden ablaze by the autumnal wind, sometimes it imparts freshness by the vernal breeze. If it brings desolation to a verdant plain, it plants sapling anew in another garden. If it sets fire to an old town, it builds anew with another hand. If it becomes a mortal enemy to one person, it becomes a devoted servant to another; sometimes it maintains friendliness but does not keep up friendship to the end with anybody. Sometimes it obeys the commands of the enemy, sometimes it surrenders the friends into the hands of the enemy. What a world is this? There are only his decrees. Friend or foe is tested by it (time). How excellently spoke Dara, the king of words, when he found the garden always fresh. God knows how to sustain this world; to generate one life out of another. In short, when the city of Delhi was depopulated, the highest heaven was turned into a torture chamber. Good fortune turned its face towards Deogir and misfortune withdrew to a nook of this kingdom (Deogir). In the wake of the one-tenth of people of Delhi who reached (Deogir), prosperity appeared in the country. (P. 440) People who were ruined in Delhi, gathered together over the whole stretch of this country. From the capital away to the hills and wilds, there sprang up a ring of gardens round still other gardens, (a ring of) palaces round still other palaces. Many jewels were brought out of the hills which obtained in gladness a place in the crowns of the kings. Over its untilled wastes, green grass sprouted easily and people wondered at this spectacle. Its environs became like the garden of Shaddad* It was styled

* Shaddad, son of Ad is said to have subdued the kings of the world and had a town built on the steppes of Aden which was to be an imitation of Paradise.... When Shaddad wished to see the town he was destroyed by the tornado with his whole retinue, a day's journey from Iram and the whole town was buried in sand (*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. II, pp. 519-20).

anew Daulatabad (mansion of prosperity). Many wealthy men lived in this town, consequently the world called it Daulatabad. All its soil was fragrant like ambergris, its breeze was like that of Paradise. People of every sort from the adjoining countries of Hind liked to dwell in this city. People flocked to it from every quarter and the entire city including its lanes was crowded with people.

SHAIKH BURHANUDDIN GHARIB

A mystic lived in this city; his disciples were hailed everywhere. He had obtained a full share of the mysteries, had become a unique figure in this terrestrial kingdom. The sky hailed him by the title of Burhanuddin; the angels hovered over his threshold day and night. His name was an authority to religious men, his life an example to the believers. The saints and hermits were the associates of this holyman. The puffs of his lips were like those of Jesus (in the miraculous virtue of healing). The dregs of his cups came to be widely prized. The light of his purity irradiated his face, his heart had burnt the caravan of show. Like persons who obtained access to God, he kept his external eyes closed and found his way along dark paths by another eye. Owing to gardens and meadows the whole of this city became the abode of prosperity, and owing to its beauty it became a mansion of comfort. The whole of Deogir became the abode of angels by the advent of this man of radiant soul. If anybody committed wickedness and villainy which brought about the ruin of the country, this country and this city as well were excupated by the intervention of this man, unswerving in the path of righteousness. Sin and misfortune did not affect this country owing to the grace of his purity. Calamity did not befall this country and disturbance was absent from this kingdom on account of the light of his continence (P. 441). At length when fortune deserted this country the sky folded the carpet of enjoyment. Injustice unsheathed the sword of cruelty and bound the people with the chains of oppression. That personage (Burhanuddin) departed from this world and the sky renewed the oppressive ways. Tumult broke out on every side on account of injustice. The whole of Daulatabad was turned into the haunt of demons. The closed door was broken open by his violence but his name was kept 'the ornament of justice.' He squeezed out money by force from everybody; the entire country was thrown into tumult and disorder. He killed the rebels out of caprice, punished the captives with the rack. The myrmidons of law rushed in every direction and overthrew many families from their foundations. The entire city was turned upside down by this disturbance. All the people were driven to exhaustion by this violence. One after another the rich were imprisoned; the noblemen went abegging from door to door. Many heads dropped down in this incident, many bodies gave up their ghosts in this occurrence.

[P. 443.]

The kingdom of Hindustan became void of splendour, on account of his violence just as the garden withers away under autumnal winds; on account of the misfortune of the people of the country, a terrible famine broke out in every quarter. The sons of Adam (men) diminished in number, human beings began to live on the flesh of (their fellow beings).

Wherever there was gold, it changed into stone; where there was corn it turned into husk. Nobody had dirhams or affluence; all were crushed down by indigence, whoever escaped the violence of the Sultan was laid low by famine and poverty.

There did not exist a single man of illuminated mind in the country of Deogir, with whom the weak might take refuge particularly and become safe from the havoc of time. Good fortune disappeared from the kingdom, brambles sprang forth in the place of flowers.

The world was plunged in the whirlpool of disorder and the population was falling off day by day. When at length the wheel (revolution) of calamity had come full circle, a spiritual luminary made his appearance. He released the age from the hand of oppression, made the solid ground emerge from the vortex of calamity. This man was styled Zainuddin (ornament of religion). May God render him acceptable to both the worlds. His soul was embellished with knowledge and spiritual wisdom. His mind was withdrawn from the world and hereafter he attained divine bliss. He practised such austerities morning and evening that the passions came to be completely subservient to him. The world was turned into a celestial garden by his grace. The morning garden gathered freshness from his fragrance. He was a compeer of Abū Azid in point of devotion and an equal of Abū S'aid in the purity of his heart. By the grace of this man of illuminated soul the whole of Deogir gained deliverance.

RETURN OF PROSPERITY TO DEOGIR

Qutlugh Khan betook himself to him for shelter. By his grace his star rose to the planet Saturn (zenith). Verily the world seeks refuge with the faqir even where there is a fortunate Amir.

The garden became fresh once again, the country of Hindustan was raised to honour through him; oppressive and wicked rulers could not gain their ends in this country. During the age of this tyrannical king, this country escaped from his violence. At the command of the Sultan, an oppressive governor came to this country from the capital, he did not obtain supreme sway over this kingdom and being perplexed, he hastened to the Sultan.

People quitted houses and villas of Delhi and became inhabitants of this country; nothing remained in Delhi except its name, good fortune invited the elite to this region. In this way for fourteen years fortune did not diminish by a jot. At length the people departed from this country, like people passing away from this world.

Peshwa Madhav Rao I and the Nizam (1761-1763)

By

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Of all the enemies of the Marathas, the first to take advantage of their weakness after Panipat was the ruler of Haidarabad. The terms imposed by the Marathas on the Nizam after the battle of Udgir¹ were so severe that it was not unnatural for him to try to reverse them. In January, 1761, he refused to join the Peshwa in his expedition to the North.² The disaster of Panipat, followed by the Peshwa's death, provided for him an unexpected opportunity.

Even before Balaji's death the Nizam had begun to negotiate with his neighbours—the English,³ Murar Rao Ghorpade,⁴ Hanmant Rao Nimbalkar, the rulers of Karnul, Kadpe and Savanur,⁵ and Ram Chandra Jadav.⁶ After the Peshwa's death Salabat Jang and Nizam Ali⁷ became bolder. In June they came to Bidar with about 15,000 troops.⁸ In July they established a postal system between Bidar and Karmelia, with the intention of extending it up to Poona,⁹ and moved their camp to Sardeki on the Bhima.¹⁰ In August orders were issued from Poona, asking Maratha chiefs of different districts to hurry up with their contingents to the

1. S.P.D., Vol. XXXX, Letter No. 128.

2. Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. II, p. 359.

3. To the English was granted a *sanad* for an estate worth 52,000 huns, in return for which they were expected to send 2,000 *gardis*.

4. A *jāgīr* was promised to Murar Rao if he agreed to oppose the Peshwa.

5. S.P.D., XXXVIII, 9, 10, 27.

6. Khare, Vol. I, Letters Nos. 36, 38. Ram Chandra demanded 19 districts as the price of his assistance.

7. Nizam Ali was Salabat Jang's brother and *Dewan*. He "had already usurped the entire power of the government." (Grant Duff, Vol. II, Chap. VI). Compare S.P.D., XXXVIII, 64, 73.

8. Khare, I, 36.

9. S.P.D., XXXVIII, 14.

10. S.P.D., XXXVIII, 15.

capital.¹¹ Gopal Rao Patwardhan was asked by Raghunath to engage 8,000 troops.¹² About 70,000 troops were expected to be available, besides those supplied by Malhar Rao Holkar and Janoji Bhonsle.¹³ Instructions were issued to different forts to be prepared for the advancing army of the Nizam.¹⁴ Raghunath personally proceeded towards the Godavari and the young Peshwa started on the *Dasaharā* day.¹⁵

In October Nizam Ali marched towards Poona with about 60,000 troops. The Marathas tried to prevent his advance, and skirmishes followed.¹⁶ In November about 125,000 Maratha troops¹⁷ were collected. Nizam Ali destroyed the Hindu temples at Toka, a village upon the Godavari, and plundered Pravara Sangam.¹⁸ But the skirmishes forced on him by the Marathas destroyed the morale of his troops.¹⁹ Though his Muslim soldiers celebrated the destruction of the Hindu temples at Toka as a triumph²⁰ yet it deprived him of the services of Maratha chiefs like Ram Chandra Jadav, who refused to tolerate this insult on their religion and joined the Peshwa.²¹ Corn was very dear in his camp.²² Circumstances became so unfavourable to Nizam Ali that heated discussions were held in his camp about the course to be pursued. Some of his officers favoured peace, but others insisted on war and recommended that Haidar Ali should be asked for help.²³

11. S.P.D., XXXVIII, 18, 19, 21, 25, 26.

12. Khare, I, pp. 58-59, Foot-note.

13. Khare, I, 43.

14. S.P.D., XXXVIII, 23.

15. Khare, I, 42.

16. Khare, I, 45, 46, 49. S.P.D., XXXVIII, 35. Raghunath wrote to Gopika Bai, the Peshwa's mother, on October 26, "We shall follow guerrilla tactics for two months. Then our troops will come and we shall give open fight." Sardesai, *Marathi Riyasat*, Madhya Vibhag, Part IV, pp. 7-8.

17. Khare, I, 52. The number seems to be exaggerated. Khare (I, p. 62) gives 70,000 to 80,000.

18. S.P.D., XXXVIII, 30, 47. Grant Duff, Vol. II, Chap. VI.

19. Khare, I, 50, 52.

20. Grant Duff, Vol. II, Chap. VI.

21. Khare, I, 52, 53. An envoy of the Peshwa approached Nizam Ali through Ram Chandra Jadav. Nizam Ali insulted the envoy. Ram Chandra felt this as a personal insult inflicted on him. The Peshwa offered to him the high post of *Senapati*. So he deserted his Muslim ally. Compare S.P.D., XXXVIII, 52, 55, 57.

22. S.P.D., XXXVIII, 50, 54.

23. S.P.D., XXXVIII, 31.

Early in December Nizam Ali came near Poona. People fled from the capital to hill forts for protection. Treasure was despatched to Purandhar where it was expected to remain safe from the Muslim plunderers. Good care was taken to keep the king well-guarded in the fort of Satara.²⁴ In the meanwhile engagements were going on and the artillery of the Marathas made havoc in the ranks of the Muslims.²⁵ Suspecting the existence of hidden treasure at Sindhia's residence in Srigonda (Nagar district), Nizam Ali moved his camp there and ordered his men to search carefully.²⁶ Here a great battle was fought. Nizam Ali was defeated. He lost about 800 men, and more than 1,000 were wounded.²⁷ Then he came to Urli and renewed overtures for peace. Although Babuji Naik, Gopal Rao Patwardhan, Ram Chandra Jadav and Janoji Bhonsle²⁸ asked Raghunath to take this opportunity of crushing the power of the Nizam,²⁹ he was not willing to do so, for he was already contemplating the possibility of a struggle for power with his young nephew. Sakharām Bapu advised him not to strengthen the young Peshwa by destroying the rivalry of Haidarabad.³⁰ Raghunath also knew that he could utilise Nizam Ali's assistance in overcoming the opposition of *sardars* like Babuji Naik and Gopal Rao Patwardhan who were favourably disposed towards him.³¹ So he decided to sacrifice the interest of the Maratha Empire to safeguard his position.³² An accommodation took place between the parties in January, 1762.

The terms cannot be definitely ascertained. Contemporary Marathi letters³³ show that Nizam Ali agreed to make over to the

24. S.P.D., XXXVIII, 37, 39, 42.

25. S.P.D., XXXVIII, 40, 41.

26. S.P.D., XXXVIII, 43, 44.

27. Sardesai, *Marathi Riyasat*, Madhya Vibhag, Part IV, p. 7.

28. S.P.D., XXXVIII, 29, 32. It seems that before this the Bhonsle was inclined to join the Nizam. (S.P.D., XX, 122).

29. Compare S.P.D., XXXVIII, 28, where the writer importunes the Peshwa to adopt stern measures against Nizam Ali and says, "If you conclude peace all *sardars* will rise against you, and you will lose your reputation."

30. Sardesai, p. 11.

31. Khare, I, pp. 73-74.

32. Khare, I, 48, says, "Raghunath says one thing in the morning and one thing in the evening. Sakharām Bapu wants that the Maratha State should be ruined."

33. S.P.D., XXXVIII, 59.

Peshwa territory worth Rs. 124,000. Grant Duff³⁴ says that "cessions to the amount of 27 lacks of rupees of annual revenue from Aurangabad and Bedar, were relinquished by Ragonath Rao as the price of peace." Sardesai³⁵ says that the parties did not cede any territory to each other, although the Marathas agreed to give *Jāgīrs* to Ram Chandra Jadav and Nazir Jang. In any case, the terms were so favourable to Nizam Ali that Babuji Naik and Gopal Rao became extremely displeased.³⁶ Probably Raghunath wanted to secure a potential ally in his struggle for power at Poona and tried to seduce Nizam Ali by undeserved leniency.

In August, 1762, Raghunath Rao prepared to take up arms against the Peshwa. His chief adviser was the astute Sakharam Bapu, who, finding that it was not possible for him to collect an army large enough to face the Peshwa's supporters, tried to secure the assistance of Nizam Ali. Raghunath thereupon went to Aurangabad³⁷ and met Murad Khan, the governor of that city, in September. Nizam Ali sent troops and agreed to advance personally later on.³⁸ As the price of his assistance Raghunath promised to cede to him territories yielding an annual revenue of 51 lakhs, including the forts of Daulatabad, Shivneri, Asirgarh and Ahmed-nagar. The position of the young Peshwa became so critical that he submitted to his uncle, who thereupon became the supreme authority in the Maratha Empire.³⁹ Nizam Ali was conciliated by the surrender of the fort of Daulatabad.⁴⁰

After his triumph Raghunath took his revenge upon those officers and *sardars* who had incurred his displeasure by supporting the Peshwa. The principal sufferers were Gopal Rao Patwardhan, Bhawan Rao Pratinidhi, Piraji Naik Nimbalkar, Ram Chandra Jadav and Gamaji Yamaji. They formed an alliance with Nizam Ali, and it was soon joined by Janoji Bhonsle.⁴¹ In

34. Vol. II, Chap. VI.

35. p. 9.

36. Khare, I, 55.

37. S.P.D., XIX, 7, 11.

38. Khare, I, p. 93.

39. Khare, I, 94. For a different version, see S.P.D., XIX, 14.

40. Khare, I, 104. Grant Duff, II, Chap. VI.

41. Khare, I, p. 279. S.P.D., XXXVIII, 79, 83. Janoji's explanation was as follows: "This year I had no money, but still I employed troops for the Peshwa's service. Then came the treaty with the Nizam, and I was disregarded. Now I have to pay the troops. So I have joined the Nizam."—S.P.D., XX, 136. See also S.P.D., XX, 137.

February, 1763, an agreement⁴² was concluded. Janoji was to be made Regent for the King of Satara;⁴³ all estates taken from the allied *sardars* by Raghunath were to be restored. In return Nizam Ali was to get back all territories on his side of the river Bhima and to receive 60 per cent. of the tribute realised in the campaign (the remaining 40 per cent. being given to the Bhonsle). Nizam Ali, "whose duplicity rendered him true to no plan," desired to have "an eventual competitor" to the Bhonsle "in reserve," and carried on secret negotiations with Kolhapur.⁴⁴

When all arrangements were complete, Nizam Ali proceeded⁴⁵ along the banks of the Bhima towards the Sholapur district. He sent to the Peshwa a list of his demands: (1) restoration of all territories on the other side of the Bhima; (2) restoration of *jāgīrs* to *sardars* who were his allies; and (3) acceptance by the Peshwa of ministers nominated by him. The Peshwa had already marched towards the Carnatic⁴⁶ from Miraj. His intention was to suppress Haidar Ali, but Nizam Ali's impertinent message compelled him to retrace his steps. There was a sincere reconciliation between the uncle and the nephew when they were confronted by so serious a crisis. Those *sardars* who had so long opposed the Peshwa and supported Raghunath now suspended their hostility to the former.⁴⁷

The crisis was serious indeed. Nizam Ali was supported by Janoji Bhonsle and many powerful Maratha *sardars*, but the Peshwa and his uncle were quite unprepared, and about 25,000 Maratha troops had deserted to the other side. Malhar Rao Holkar⁴⁸ and Damaji Gaekwad were present in the Peshwa's camp. As the Peshwa's army was not strong enough to give battle to Nizam Ali's undivided force, it was decided to avoid an open engagement, to plunder the territories of the Nizam and the Bhonsle, and thus to compel them to turn back.

42. Khare, I, 185. S.P.D., XX, 136.

43. Grant Duff, Vol. II, Chap. VI. See S.P.D., XXXVIII, 80.

44. Grant Duff, Vol. II, Chap. VI.

45. S.P.D., XXXVIII, 77.

46. S.P.D., XXXVIII, 83.

47. Khare, I, pp. 280-281. Grant Duff, Vol. II, Chap. VI. He says that Raghunath "derived the greatest assistance from his nephew."

48. Holkar did not take any active part in the campaign before the Peshwa promised to give him a *jāgīr* worth 10 lakhs. Khare, I, 184, 193, 205, 212, 213.

Accordingly the Peshwa entered Berar towards the close of February, 1763. Nizam Ali had encamped at Aurangabad. Janoji Bhonsle requested him to prevent the Peshwa from plundering his dominions. Nizam Ali agreed and accompanied the Bhonsle to Berar. But they could do nothing, for the swift army of the Peshwa deliberately avoided open engagements. Nizam Ali then returned to Aurangabad; he found to his cost that it was impossible to pursue running Marathas. Advised by Janoji Bhonsle to ravage the Peshwa's territories, he now decided to march towards Poona.⁴⁹

Nizam Ali's army was now divided into three parties. One of them was taken by Nizam Ali himself towards Poona. Another, under the leadership of Gamaji Yamaji, proceeded towards Satara to take possession of the fort and the King.⁵⁰ Another remained behind.

Nizam Ali's approach naturally created a panic in Poona. People fled in all directions, some going as far as Bombay.⁵¹ The Peshwa's family and the State papers were sent to the fort of Simhagarh.⁵² One of the Bhonsle's officers "advanced so rapidly, that some of the property belonging to the fugitives was taken, the village below Singurh was set on fire by his troops and many manuscripts and State papers, illustrative of Maharatha history, were totally destroyed."⁵³ Vinayak Das, one of Nizam Ali's commanders, plundered Nasik.⁵⁴

Early in May, 1763, Nizam Ali encamped near Poona. Naro Appaji, one of the Peshwa's officers, agreed to pay him one lakh of rupees if he spared the city. News arrived in the meanwhile that the Peshwa had plundered Haidarabad and burnt Bidar. Nizam Ali became angry and decided to retaliate on Poona.⁵⁵ The city was plundered, many buildings, including temples, were

49. Khare, I, 184, 193, pp. 281-285. Grant Duff, Vol. II, Chap. VI.

50. Khare, I, 229, 262, 263, 264, 268.

51. Khare, I, p. 287. S.P.D., XXXVIII, 87, 94, 114.

52. S.P.D. XXXVIII, 85, 86, 96, 97. S.P.D., XXXVIII, III, says that Simhagarh saved itself by paying one lakh and thirty-five thousand rupees to Vinayak Das.

53. Grant Duff, Vol. II, Chap. VI.

54. Khare, I, 240, 249.

55. He demanded money before burning Poona, but Gopika Bai refused to pay. Khare, I, 251.

broken.⁵⁶ Nizam Ali then proceeded towards Purandar and ravaged the country as far as the Bhima.⁵⁷ He was joined by Gamaji Yamaji, who had come from Satara,⁵⁸ and marched towards Aurangabad.⁵⁹

In the meanwhile the Peshwa and Raghunath had been ravaging the Nizam's territories.⁶⁰ They were unable to plunder the city of Haidarabad which was protected by a strong wall, but a contribution of one lakh and eighty thousand rupees was exacted from the Suburbs.⁶¹ The city of Bidar was burnt.⁶² Raghunath was extremely angry when he heard of the destruction of Poona and wanted to give battle openly. All the *sardars*, including Sakharama Bapu, protested against so risky a venture.⁶³ They argued that the Nizam's success was due in a very large measure to the support of the Maratha *sardars*; it was therefore, considered necessary to take measures for winning them back.⁶⁴ Janoji Bhonsle was the first Maratha chief to listen to these proposals. He found that he had gained nothing from his alliance with the Nizam. His territories had been plundered. Mahadji Sindhia came from Rajputana to revenge them again. The Peshwa offered the Bhonsle's *gadī* to Mudhoji Bhonsle. The Nizam no longer listened to Janoji's proposals. Confronted by dangers on all sides, he informed Malhar Rao Holkar that he was prepared to desert the Nizam if a *jāgīr* worth 32 lakhs was given to him. This offer was accepted.⁶⁵ The result of the negotiations with the other

56. Khare, I, 245, 259, 260, 261, 262, 266, 306. S.P.D., XXXVIII, 95. Gopal Rao Patwardhan entreated the Nizam not to burn Poona, but in vain. He sent a warning to Gopika Bai. Khare, I, 249, 263, 282.

57. Grant Duff, Vol. II, Chap. VI.

58. Gamaji besieged the fort of Satara but could not take it. He merely seized some rich men and took money from them. The Peshwa had taken measures for the defence of Satara and the King. S.P.D., XXXVIII, 102, 104. See Sardesai, pp. 128-129.

59. Khare, I, p. 289.

60. S.P.D., XXXVIII, 98, 103.

61. Grant Duff, Vol. II, Chap. VI. S.P.D., XXXVIII, 93. Compare Khare, I, 269.

62. Khare, I, 266.

63. Khare, I, 284, 297. Raghunath angrily accused his advisers of cowardice. He finally changed his mind at the request of his private valet, who acted under instructions from Sakharam.

64. Khare, I, p. 290.

65. Khare, I, 236, 247, 269, 318, pp. 291, 549-551. Divaker Pant, Janoji's minister, still supported the pro-Nizam policy.

- *sardārs* was equally satisfactory. Bhawan Rao Pratinidhi was assured that his *jāgir* would be restored. Gamaji Yamaji was offered concessions. Babu Rao Fadnis, who had deserted the Peshwa's cause, was offered re-appointment by Raghu Nath.⁶⁶ Gopal Rao was promised the restoration of Miraj.⁶⁷ An agreement was also concluded with Basalat Jang,⁶⁸ Nizam Ali's dissatisfied brother.⁶⁹

During all these transactions Malhar Rao Holkar and Sakharām Bapu had with great difficulty restrained Raghunath from engaging in an open battle.⁷⁰ The rainy season had already begun, and it was difficult for both the parties to move their troops. Nizam Ali pursued his route towards Aurangabad, and the Peshwa's army followed him some marches in the rear. On arriving at the bank of the Godavari Nizam Ali crossed over with a part of the force; Vithal Sundhar was left with the remainder at Rakshasbhuvan on the south bank of the river, the whole of the stores and baggage being in his custody.⁷¹ Raghunath Rao decided to prevent him from crossing. At this juncture Janoji Bhonsle left Vithal Sundhar on the pretence of not receiving money to pay his troops. Raghunath made a rapid march and attacked Vithal Sundhar. This was the famous battle of Rakshasbhuvan⁷² (August 10, 1763). Vithal Sundhar was severely defeated and killed. Another prominent commander on the Nizam's side killed in the battle was Vinayak Das.⁷³ The young Peshwa took a very prominent part in the engagement. He constantly moved through the ranks and encouraged the troops.⁷⁴ Grant Duff rightly says⁷⁵ that he "particularly

66. Khare, I, 308, 313, pp. 284, 292.

67. Khare, I, 300, 303, 306, 308, 322, 332.

68. Khare, I, 247, 286. Basalat Jang joined the Peshwa with 12,000 troops.—S.P.D., XXXVIII, 93.

69. Nizam Ali deprived him of his estate. S.P.D., XXXVIII, 117.

70. Khare, I, 297, 321. Nizam Ali seems to have been too confident of his strength. He said, "Only Bhau knew how to fight. If a lakh of troops came new, I will easily kill them."—S.P.D., XXXVIII, 100.

71. Khare, I, 333, 339.

72. Grant Duff, (Vol. II, Chap. VI) calls it the battle of Taindulza.

73. Khare, 334. Grant Duff (Vol. II, Chap. VI) says that Vithal Sundhar was accidentally hit by one of his own men before he received his fatal wound by a party of Marathas under Damaji Gaekwad. A party of Afghans, in Holkar's service, then cut off his head and carried it in triumph on the point of a spear. In S.P.D., XXXVIII, 105, we find that the heads of Vithal Sundhar and Vinayak Das were sent to Nizam Ali.

74. Khare, I, p. 295.

75. Vol. II, Chap. VI.

distinguished himself, both by personal energy and the judicious support which he sent.....to different points of the attack." Raghunath wrote to Gopika Bai, "He surprised me. He had never before seen a fight. I have confidence in his future management of responsibility."⁷⁶ Both sides lost heavily; on the Nizam's side about ten thousand troops are said to have fallen in the field.⁷⁷ The Nizam's guns, horses, camels and elephants fell to the Victor.⁷⁸

Nizam Ali was a helpless "spectator of the destruction of his troops, without the possibility of succouring them."⁷⁹ Apprehending that the victorious Marathas would pursue him, he marched towards Aurangabad at midnight after the battle.⁸⁰ He destroyed all boats and the Godavari was in full flood; so no pursuit was possible.⁸¹ Janoji Bhonsle came to see the Peshwa, who reconciled himself with all the *sardārs* who had joined the Nizam.⁸² Murad Khan, governor of Aurangabad, who had been captured in the battle, was then sent to Nizam Ali (who had reached Aurangabad) with a demand for territory worth one crore and ten lakhs of rupees and three forts.⁸³ On Nizam Ali's refusal to accept these terms⁸⁴ the Maratha army advanced and besieged Aurangabad. For various reasons it became impossible for the Marathas to undertake a protracted siege. The troops were very anxious to go home during the rainy season. In the Carnatic Haidar had become very aggressive⁸⁵ but no expedition could be sent against him without conciliating the Nizam.⁸⁶ Negotiations were, therefore, carried on

76. Khare, I, 347.

77. Grant Duff, Vol. II, Chap. VI.

78. Khare, I, 339. Grant Duff's description of the battle is wrong on two principal points. He says that it "continued for nearly two days," but the Peshwa's letter to his mother shows that it continued for not more than 3 or 4 hours. Secondly, Grant Duff says that Raghunath "was completely surrounded and cut off from his troops," and was rescued from this perilous position by the assistance of Sakharām and Madhav Rao. No printed newsletter gives this information. See Khare, I, pp. 576-577, and Sardesai, p. 59.

79. Grant Duff, Vol. II, Chap. VI.

80. Khare, I, 342.

81. Khare, I, 331, 344.

82. Khare, I, p. 296.

83. Khare, I, 334, 353, 354.

84. S.P.D., XXXVIII, 107.

85. S.P.D., XXXVIII, 107.

86. Khare, I, 344, 363, 365.

during the month of September.⁸⁷ Nizam Ali "laid all his errors to the fault" of Vithal Sundhar,⁸⁸ and "so worked on the weakness and good nature" of Raghunath that he was prepared to cede territories to his vanquished foe.⁸⁹ Some of the *sardārs*, though ostensibly loyal to the Peshwa, did not want to weaken the Nizam.⁹⁰ But Madhav Rao was not ready to show so much leniency to his determined enemy. At last it was decided that the Nizam should restore those territories (worth 60 lakhs), which his predecessor had surrendered after the battle of Udgir, and which he had re-occupied after the death of Balaji Baji Rao, and that he should cede new territories worth 22 lakhs.⁹¹ A treaty to this effect was signed on September 25, 1763.⁹²

Of the territories secured from the Nizam, districts worth 22 lakhs were retained by the Peshwa, districts worth 32 lakhs were given to Janoji Bhonsle, and the remaining portion was divided among different *sardārs*.⁹³ Miraj was restored to Gopal Rao. Bhawan Rao was restored to the office of 'Pratinidhi'. Gamaji Yamaji was not satisfied. He continued to create disturbances till his death in 1764.⁹⁴ Balaji Janardan was appointed to the office of 'Fadnis' and came to be known henceforward as Nana Fadnis.

This treaty deserves to be regarded as a landmark in the history of the Marathas. So far as the relations between Poona and Haidarabad are concerned, the state of things inaugurated by it lasted up to the battle of Kharda (1795). Never again did the Nizam venture to invade the Peshwa's dominions, and in the contest which came 32 years later, victory lay with Madhav Rao's successor. Secondly, as a contemporary writer observed, this brilliant

87. Khare, I, 358, 360, 361, 362, 364, 365, 366.

88. S.P.D., XXXVIII, 105. Nizam wrote, "I never wanted to quarrel with you. Vithal Sundhar brought about the war. You have got your revenge" See also Khare, I, 355.

89. Khare, I, 379.

90. Khare, I, 364, 379, p. 604.

91. Khare I, p. 298, Sardesai, p. 60. Grant Duff (Vol. II, Chap. VI) says that Raghunath ceded to the Nizam territory worth ten lakhs. He says that this account is based on a comparison of Maratha evidence with Muslim accounts.

92. Sardesai, p. 60. Grant Duff (Vol. II, Chap. VI), says that the treaty was concluded in October.

93. Sardesai, p. 61. Khare, (I, p. 300) says that the *sardārs* took *jāgirs* worth one crore from the Peshwa's personal estate and thus weakened him.

94. Sardesai, p. 123.

success of the Marathas impressed the Deccan as well as Hindusthan.⁹⁵ This was, indeed, the first proclamation of Maratha revival after the disaster of Panipat. Finally, this victory brought about a very significant change in the domestic affairs of the Maratha Empire. It closed the period of Raghunath Rao's Regency and marked the beginning of Madhav Rao's independent career. Every body came to recognise that this young ruler was great alike in war and in diplomacy and possessed to the fullest degree those qualities of leadership which his uncle totally lacked.⁹⁶

95. S.P.D., XXXVIII, 106.

96. Sardesai, p. 62. Raghunath proposed to take a *jāgir* worth 9 lakhs and five forts and to retire to Trimbakeswar (near Nasik) for the performance of religious ceremonies. Khare, I, 366. We find him at Trimbakeswar in July, 1764. S.P.D., XIX, 18.

Editorial

OURSELVES

Congratulating ourselves upon having reached the twenty-first volume of the journal and going as we do into the second number for the volume, we should bespeak the attention of our readers that, owing to the scarcity of paper and the very great increase in the cost of production of the journal, we are driven to the necessity of reducing the size of the journal to some extent. We request the favour of our readers accepting this in consideration of the stress of circumstances necessitating it. We shall resume the normal size as soon as ever it should become possible. We take this occasion to bespeak the good offices of the readers of the journal to exert themselves a little to make the journal better known and increase the number of subscribers, so that the permanent financial strain may be somewhat relaxed. Having regard to the useful service that the journal has been rendering these twenty years and the general reputation to which it has attained during the time, it would not be too much to ask for public support to put it beyond anxiety for the management to carry on the good work further.

Editors.

THE JUBILEE NUMBER

The Journal of Indian History, having reached the 21st year of its existence, a special jubilee number of the journal was issued, constituting the first number of volume XX of the journal. The occasion was taken advantage of to present the collected works of Dewan Bahadur Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, as the date happened to coincide with his 71st birthday. Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar, K.C.S.I., presided over the meeting, and the function took place in the University Departmental Buildings, Chepauk. The proceedings began with Dr. P. S. Lokanathan, the Head of the Economics Department, reading messages from a number of friends and admirers, among whom were Sir Mirza Muhammad Ismail, Dewan of Mysore, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Dewan of Travancore, Sir R. K. Shanmukam Chetty, Dewan of Cochin, Dewan Bahadur C. V. Visvanatha Sastriar, retired Judge and Mr. P. V. Kane

of Bombay, and others. Rao Sahab Professor C. S. Srinivasachariar, on behalf of the Jubilee Committee of the Journal of Indian History, gave a history of the growth of the Journal since it was started in 1921 by Sir Shafat Ahmed Khan, and dwelt on the difficulties felt in its publication. After a struggle each time, he said Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar continued the good work, not withstanding the great pecuniary sacrifices which it involved. The Journal had struggled on valiantly through 20 years of existence, and had reached the 20th volume with the number for April, the month in which its Editor (Dr. Aiyangar) completed his 70th year. During the long period, Dr. Aiyangar had been the recipient of recognition all over the country for his work for the journal in addition to his work at the Madras University which was of a varied kind and eminently successful. His work was appreciated not only by those who heard him at his lectures, but by a much wider public when those got to be actually published. Several of his works had received high appreciation. His work on *Manimē-khalai* was awarded the Great Silver medal by the Societe de Historic Et de Heraldic of France, the highest award in their gift appointing him a corresponding member of that society. Those who were in any way associated with the journal, Mr. Srinivasachariar said, were indeed very proud of Dr. Aiyangar's achievements and counted it as their good fortune to have the expert guidance of one who, through 45 years of life, had devoted himself to the pursuit of a study of Indian culture and expounding it effectively.

Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar in the course of long review of Dr. Aiyangar's work, said that the Journal of Indian History had completed 20 years of its existence and it had been carried on for the past many years by Dr. Aiyangar as Editor-in-Chief. It was a happy coincidence that Dr. Aiyangar had completed 70 years on that occasion. The Chairman hoped that Dr. Aiyangar would continue to do the good work for many years more. He had been fortunate in having been able to devote himself to congenial intellectual work and literary labours of a varied character. He had performed his task in a manner worthy of his gifts and powers. That was not the first occasion, Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar added, that Dr. Aiyangar was the recipient of tributes to his scholarship and learning. Five years ago a commemoration volume was presented to him as an affectionate tribute by his fellow workers. Those who had anything to do with the conduct of the Journal could realise the responsibilities of its Editor. In this country

where contributions were seldom paid for, they could understand the worries of an Editor who had not received the contributions in time and who was not able to bring out the journal at the appointed time.

After referring briefly to the early life of Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar and to his own (the Chairman's) acquaintance with him, Sir Sivaswami Aiyar added that Dr. Aiyangar had worked mostly in the field of South Indian History. His latest book on the capital of the Chera Kingdom, showed that even at that age Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar possessed an alertness of mind and vigour which many people might envy. In the University he guided the research scholars and stimulated historical research.

Sir Sivaswami Aiyar added that the Committee had done well in having published the more important of Dr. Aiyangar's papers and presenting them to him. It was in 1914 Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar was appointed Professor of Indian History in the Madras University and how well he had justified his appointment had been testified to by many people. Sir Sivaswami Aiyar hoped that Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar would be spared for many years more and that he would continue his research work in those departments of knowledge with which his name had been identified.

Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar's Reply.

Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, replying, said that he took it upon himself to continue the journal in the face of well meant advice to the contrary by friends in Madras and elsewhere. He had struggled on for 18 years facing all the sacrifices that the work involved, cheered in the course of the struggle by the glimmering rays of distant appreciation of the work that was being done. Many serious students of Indian history, young and old, assisted him in that hard work by their studies, contributions and assistance. The financial stress continued nevertheless, till some of the Universities came to his assistance, and even so, it never reached the position of a paying business. The work was, however, too good to be stopped and he went on doing the work, as appreciation was becoming more and more audible. The Journal had now come to occupy, even among the journals of learned societies, a recognised position. All the persistent effort and pecuniary struggle and sacrifices had now earned for him a recognition predicted by those of his friends who would not have him give up the work. He might feel, perhaps, a pardonable satisfaction that he

had not laboured in vain all these long years and invoke the blessings of Sri Venkatesa on this consummation, and on all of them in the assembly for their sympathy and co-operation.

Dr. S. M. Hussain Nainar, Lecturer in the Arabic Department, proposed a vote of thanks, and the meeting came to a close.

OBITUARY

Sir George Grierson, whose long and useful career both in the Indian Civil Service and in the field of Indian studies came to an end recently, was long known familiarly as the Behar civilian, whose early work, "Peasant Life in Behar", is a classic in that kind of literature. Apart from being a popular and sympathetic officer, whose work brought him into close contact with the people, which gave him the best qualifications for writing about peasant life, he developed a taste very early in his career for the study of a vast number of Indian languages systematically, and this hobby of his resulted in the Linguistic Survey of India, with which his name is now particularly associated. The Linguistic Survey of India is a monumental publication, which is due entirely to his own exertions, and those of a few friends of his, who collaborated with him in the great and monumental work. It is published in a pretty large number of volumes by the Government of India some of which have already gone out of print, and not available to the public. It is this publication that gave a stimulus to the study of Indian languages, and he started systematic study on this. It is not this alone that occupied his attention, specialised study though it was of his earlier years. He had other interests besides this, and we came into contact with him directly as a result of his presenting a paper to the International Congress of Orientalists in London in 1904 on Ramanuja and Vaishnavism, in which he attempted to trace, on the basis of the geographical fact that Sriperumbadur, the birthplace of Ramanuja was only 24 miles from Madras, that the ritual of Vaishnava worship was borrowed bodily from the Roman Catholic ritual as practised in the great cathedral at San Thome, Mylapore. This statement naturally implied that the ritual of Vaishnava worship was invented by Ramanuja in the eleventh or the twelfth century, and was not known before that time among Hindu worshippers, Vaishnava or any other. This naturally drew a protest from us, and brought us into communication with each other since then. In course of this correspondence Grierson complained that Indian scholars have done no work to educate the

European public on the history of Vaishnavism, and they knew simply nothing on the subject. He stated in the course of this that I might translate *Yatindra Mata-Dipika*, a manual of the religion taught by Ramanuja, and another work of Vaishnava history of the 16th century Sanskrit work by name *Prapanāmr̥tam*. For lack of leisure we had to ask the late Mr. A. Govindacharya Sva-min, who was writing already on the Vaishnava hagiology to do the work for us. He made a translation of the *Yatindra Mata-Dipika*, which he published as a little book and agreed to do the work in that line, which gave the late lamented scholar much satisfaction in a field in which he was deeply interested, but which did not provide the necessary facilities for those that wished to know about it. Thus begun, the work continued, and is now a considerable amount of literature upon the subject for those who wish to know about it, including some few papers by ourselves. We may perhaps say that it was this stimulus, given by the late lamented scholar, that was partly responsible for our interest in the *Agamaic* work of the Vaishnavas culminating in the publication last year of the *Parama Samhita* of the *Pāncharātra* in the Gaekwad's Sanskrit Series. He was a respected member of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland and occupied official positions of importance in the Society, besides being a member for over half a century. He is one among a dozen eminent Oriental scholars who have been awarded the Campbell Gold Medal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bombay, besides being the recipient of many other signal honours both in England and on the continent.

THE FIFTH INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS,
HYDERABAD SESSION, 1941

Message

"His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad and Berar has graciously been pleased to accord his patronage to the Fifth Session of the Indian History Congress to be held in Hyderabad on December 21-23, 1941".

The fifth annual session of the Indian History Congress will be held in the city of Hyderabad, at the invitation of the Osmania University, on December 21-23 next, under the presidentship of Rao Saheb C. S. Srinivasachari, the distinguished historian of South India. The session is to be divided into six sections with Dr. Raychaudhuri (Calcutta), Dr. Krishna (Mysore), Dr. Trapathi (Allahabad), Khan Bahadur Dr. Commissariat (Bombay), Prof. J. F. Bruce (Punjab) and Nawab Ali Yawar Jung Bahadur (Hyderabad) as sectional Presidents. Invitations have already been issued to prominent historians to contribute papers and to learned institutions all over India to send delegates. A strong Reception Committee has been formed with the Vice-Chancellor, Hon'ble Nawab Mehdi Yar Jung Bahadur as the chairman and Prof. H. K. Sherwani as secretary. Excursion parties will be conducted to Warangal, Bidar, Gulbarga, Aurangabad and the world-famed caves at Ellora and Ajanta. Considering the important position which H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions occupy in the field of historical research, as well as in the India of the present day, it is expected that the session will prove a unique success.

Reviews

THE HISTORY OF INDIAN PHILOSOPHY.

We welcome with great pleasure the appearance of the third volume of the monumental work, the History of Indian Philosophy, by Professor S. N. Das Gupta published by the Cambridge University Press. The work is a comprehensive effort which attempts to present the whole course of the development of Indian philosophy from its very beginnings coming down to quite recent times, and it is fortunate that such a vast and valuable work should be undertaken by a scholar of such eminence as the Principal of the Sanskrit College, Calcutta, now King George V Professor of Philosophy at the Calcutta University. The first volume of the work dealt with the subject from its beginnings in the Vedas and carrying through its development in various branches to come down to the Vedānta of Sankara. The second volume begins with the Sankara school of Vedānta and takes us through other systems of philosophical speculation down to the philosophy of the Bhagavad Gita. The third volume therefore deals with the philosophical systems following that of Sankara. The work begins with the treatment of the school of Bhaskara followed by a comprehensive attempt at expounding the Pāṇcharātra proceeding on to the school of Ramanuja and schools that sprang therefrom. We may perhaps describe the contents of this volume comprehensively as more or less devoted to a treatment of the Vaishnava system of philosophy completely. The treatment follows the same plan as in the previous volumes, and describes the various philosophical schools in the terms of Indian philosophy, thus making it the treatment of the subject from within rather than by an external system in terms of European philosophy. Bhāskara is regarded as coming after Sankara and is located chronologically between the eighth and the tenth centuries, without attempting to fix a more precise dating. Bhāskara criticises in places the teachings of Sankara and his school. He is described as a *Tridandī Sanyāsin*, that is a *Sanyāsin* who carries as a symbol of his position a rod made up of three sticks tied together to distinguish him from a *Sanyāsin* of the *Ēkadandīn* school, where this symbol of office is composed of a single stick. This symbol later on became a matter of distinction between the Vaishnava ascetics of the school of Ramanuja and the

Advaitin ascetics of the school of Sankara. Other similarities of the system to the later Ramanuja school of Vaishnavism are pointed out in the course of the chapter, as also its peculiarities which go to make it a separate school of teaching. The work next deals with the position of the Pāṇcharātra. The chapter expounds, on the basis of well known Pāṇcharātra texts, particularly Jayākhya and Ahirbudnia Samhita, the system known as the Pāṇcharātra more or less, while the learned author does refer to other Pāṇcharātra texts, several of them as yet unpublished. But in regard to the history of the system, the learned author leaves it more or less vague. One would have expected a discussion of the Bhāgavatas, their origin and antiquity, and their actual relation with the development of *Vaidika* systems of Hinduism, particularly with a view to the *Vaidika* or *un-Vaidika* character of the system. The author does certainly refer to this and is content altogether to leave it by a mere reference to the assertion of its Vaidic character by some and of its un-Vaidic character by others. While recognising therefore that the general character of the system is more or less clearly expounded on the basis of the two texts referred to, the history and character of the system have not received anything like adequate treatment.

We come next to the subject which takes up the bulk of the work, the Vaishnava system and its exposition. This system is perhaps essentially South Indian in its later developments, and has to be traced back from its beginnings in South India where it could be carried down to the early centuries of the Christian era. The learned author cuts the Gordian knot by dismissing with slight mention the earlier stages of this history on the ground that there is no available work dealing with the matter before Yāmunachārya. He has however, certainly something to say about the earlier Vaishnava saints whose works do make very important and substantial contributions towards this system. In his treatment of this earlier part of South Indian Vaishnavism, he has let himself go by an arbitrary choice of his guide. There are besides a number of errors which could have been avoided with a little more care. These very unfortunately detract very substantially from the value of the work. At the very outset there are small errors, but very serious ones which should have been avoided. At the opening of the chapter among the names of the Ālvār's, Periya Ālvār's name is mentioned twice, and at the second mention it is combined with Kulaśēkhara and both are ascribed to the "Maha-Nada countries." This is all right so far as Kulaśēkhara is concerned, and the name

Maha-Nada would be correct for him, taking it as a synonym for the Tamil name *Periyār* of the West Coast, but there is no warrant for a *Periya Ālvār* in that region. A similar error is found on the next page, which makes the whole sentence unintelligible. Speaking of the first three Ālvārs he says "They were incarnation of Vishnu's Gada, Sanka and Nandaka and so also *Kadan Mallai* and *Mayilai*." It is impossible that any meaning could be made out of the latter part of the statement. *Kadan Mallai* and *Mayilai* are place names standing respectively for Mallai or Mahabalipuram and Mylapore, places in which Bhūtattu Ālvār and Pēy Ālvār are said to have been born. Lower down he seems to draw a distinction apparently between the *Divya Prabandham* and the *Tiruvōymoḷi* of Nammālvār. The latter of these two works is certainly included in the former, which is a general designation for what is otherwise known and referred to by him as the *Nālāyira Prabandham* or *Prabandham Four Thousand*. Such errors are found in numbers in the two chapters dealing with the Ālvārs, a number of them perhaps due to his own chosen guide for this. We may just mention only one as of great importance vitiating the whole of his conclusions in respect of the position of the Ālvārs. He has fallen too readily into the error of the late Mr. Gopinatha Rao that Nammālvār was the last of the Ālvārs on the assumption that Nādamuni was his direct disciple, finding authority for it in an identification of his own of Nammālvār with a Māraṇ Kāri, whose name occurs in an inscription of A.D. 770. There simply is no ground for the identification of Māraṇ Kāri, the *Uttaramantrin* of Parāṅkuśa Pāṇḍya, and making him father of Nammālvār, because he calls himself Kāri Māraṇ in Tamil style, Māraṇ, the son of Kāri. Kāri and Māraṇ are very common names, and Nammālvār, the Māraṇ, might well have been the son of a Kāri. There is nothing at all to support this identification in all that is known of Nammālvār, what is more, in his works which constitute a good part of the whole Prabandha literature where his work counts the next largest only to that of Tirumangai Ālvār. The latter's work, tradition regards as a religious exposition of the *Tiruvōymoḷi* of Nammālvār. In all this vast work there is no indication whatever for Nammālvār being regarded as the son of the chief minister of the Pandyan king for the time being, and how can the commonness of name by itself justify this identification? But this identification sets the whole position topsy-turvy, and there is no reason why Professor Das Gupta should have fallen such an easy victim to this cardinal error. Besides neglecting the Vaishnava tradition altogether, it sets the works of these Ālvārs

in a false position, altogether unjustifiable under any canon of criticism. The whole position therefore gets set in a wrong perspective. The only ground of association of Nādamuni with Nammālvār is the traditional association of the two in connection with the recovery of the *Tiruvōymoḷi* of Nammālvār. As the story has it, Nādamuni heard, in the temple at Kumbhakonam, a ten of the Nammālvār's *Tiruvōymoḷi* recited by some devotees assembled for worship. Struck by their beauty he enquired of those and wanted to know who the author of the work was. He was informed that that formed part of the work called *Tiruvōymoḷi* of Nammālvār by the Vaishnavas, and these good men answered his further query that they knew no more of the Ālvār's work except the ten, suggesting the possibility that they may possibly be available in Ālvār Tirunagari, the birthplace of the Ālvār. Nādamuni travelled along to the south-east corner of the Tinnevely District, and went into the temple and worshipped God. His enquiry there, among those in the temple and outside, proved futile for the purpose of his recovery of the *Tiruvōymoḷi*, but they pointed out to him piously to a tamarind tree under which Nammālvār is believed to have sat in *Yoga* trance and delivered himself of the *Tiruvōymoḷi* which Madura Kavi another Ālvār took down and passed on to posterity. There Nādamuni is said to have sat in *Yoga* trance for a period of 350 or 360 years when Madura Kavi appeared in a dream and recited to him the whole of the thousand of the *Tiruvōymoḷi*. It is this story that is taken hold of to make Nādamuni and Nammālvār literally contemporaries of each other. The only rational way of interpreting this tradition is not to bring Nammālvār to Nādamuni's time and make contemporaries of them, in the face of equally valid traditions that Nammālvār's *Tiruvōymoḷi* was known and that it was being annually chanted in the temple at Śrīrangam from year to year at a festival inaugurated by Tirumangai Ālvār himself, apart from the fact that the *Tiruvōymoḷi* was known and was being recited by people, only a small part of it was known to the particular people who recited it at Kumbhakonam. It passes one's understanding how this could be accepted as being in accordance with the accounts found in the *Guruparampara*. These chapters unfortunately happen to be full of errors like this and we need hardly go on correcting them. He then discusses the philosophy of the Ālvārs naturally of course from previous writers who dealt with the subject and acknowledges occasionally Ramanuja's indebtedness to these. He mentions *inter alia* the reference in these to the Puranic legends of Krishna, but he is hardly aware of the indebtedness of these Ālvārs to the Pāncharātra system and the

Bhagavad Gita itself, which latter he has described in another part of the work as a Pāncharātra manual.

This want of proper perspective in respect of the position of the Ālvārs towards the succeeding philosophers of the Vāsishtādvaita school has given a twist in the wrong direction altogether to the latter part of his work dealing with the Vāsishtādvaita philosophy as such. That has resulted indirectly from his beginning with Yāmunaçhārya as the first writer in Vāsishtādvaita philosophy. That the Vāsishtādvaita system, which goes by the name of Ramanuja, is deeply indebted to the Ālvārs or the Dravida saints, to the Pāncharātra, to the Bhagavad Gita, in addition to the prevailing Vaidika system has been recognised by a comparatively young writer like Mr. Bharatan Kumarappa years ago. It is therefore historically impossible to understand Vāsishtādvaita philosophy in all its bearings without an adequate previous knowledge of these. He groups the earlier teachers of Vāsishtādvaita philosophy into the well recognised two groups, the Ālvārs, the earlier ones, as is generally recognised, and the Āchāryas, the later ones. It is however strange that Professor Das Gupta should have called these later *Ālagiyārs*, a designation which by itself is hardly intelligible, and seems to rest on no authority whatever. We do not remember having heard of it, and all our enquiry has not led us to trace the term in use either at present or in authoritative earlier literature. The Ālvārs preceded the Āchāryas, and it is the Āchāryas that have systematised the philosophy of Vāsishtādvaita, which goes by the name of the most famous expositor, Ramanuja. All this perversion of view has resulted from the learned professor having chosen for his guide Mr. Gopinatha Rao's work, which is evident in his own references, where amidst authorities quoted, he omits mention of the *Vaḍagalai* Guruparampara of Brahmatantra Jeer III. There was no reason for Mr. Gopinatha Rao to have shared the ordinary Tengalai prejudice against this work. Much less is the reason therefore for a later writer following him. Much of the grave defects in this work follow directly from this narrowness of view, which is visible in the subsequent chapters. We regret very much indeed that this work of the monumental importance as that of Professor Das Gupta should have developed this defect and carried it through in the chapters on the philosophy of the Śrī Vaishnavas including Ramanuja and which is again carried through in the subsequent chapters as well. It would be difficult to understand the post-Ramunajaic development of Vaishnavism, particularly the latter

developments of Ramananda, Kabir, Nanak, and Nimbarka; and these could hardly be understood without a full appreciation of the influence of the Ālvārs on Ramanuja. We appreciate to the fullest extent the scholarly labour involved in the work where much of the information has had actually to be collected from as yet unpublished manuscript works, and the great acumen with which the subject is dealt with on the philosophical side. Perhaps it would have added to the value and interest of the work if the learned author had given the number of writers and their main works in one chapter, and dealt with the important contributions of each writer towards the progress of Vāsishtādvaita philosophy, taking only the authors, and their works, who made any real contribution in a subsequent chapter. While being grateful to the author for this valuable contribution to the study of Indian Philosophy, we must conclude with regret that a very important work of this character by a scholar of the eminence of the learned author should have been allowed to exhibit such a vital defect.

THE ANTIQUITY OF THE BUDDHA-IMAGE: THE CULT OF THE BUDDHA. By O. C. Gangoly.

This is a pamphlet from the German Journal *Sonderabzug aus Ostasiatische Zeitschrift, Neue Folge XIV, Heft. 2/3*. In this pamphlet Mr. Gangoly makes an attempt to investigate the problem of the cult of Buddha worship, and when actually the image of Buddha came to be set up for worship. These are very important questions from several points of view of Indian culture generally. The question has also suffered by wrong orientation of view, and consequent wrong conclusions that there was an incapacity among Indian artists to make an image. Consequently the ascription to the Gandharan school the origination of the image of Buddha. Mr. Gangoly takes it upon himself to examine the question both from the point of view of literature, and that of art. He points out passages of the early texts of the Buddhist canon, particularly a passage from the *Brahmajala-Sutta*, conveying a sort of prohibition imposed by the Buddha himself on worshipping his body or any representation of the Buddha in his bodily form, and would naturally account for the absence of Buddhist images in those early sculptures and paintings, where Buddha scenes are represented omitting any representation of the Buddha, notwithstanding the fact that the scenes are on subjects where the presence, or the representations of the Buddha, would be considered

essential; such as, for instance, processions in which the horse on which the Buddha is taken to be the rider is shown without a rider, although the umbrella and other signs of distinction are shown, and in other representations of scenes where the principal figure concerned is Buddha in one aspect or another, as an object of worship, where the footprints are shown or the symbol of bo-tree, or his preaching where the mere seat is shown, and even scenes of nativity of the Buddha where merely the footprints are indicated. That is, in these early examples of Buddhist sculpture, the Buddha figure is absent, and this absence has been ascribed to the ignorance of the sculptor or the artist, an assumption which seems rather preposterous on the face of it. Mr. Gangoly has however to quote passages in which the Buddha has actually laid the injunction that worship offered to his body, much more therefore his corporeal relics, and that what was really of the essence of Buddha worship was the teaching of the Buddha and its being practised in life. But images do begin to appear not only in the region of Gandhara, but else at a great distance in the interior of India, as also the adoption of the theme, Buddha and his life, for literary compositions, such as for representations even in drama. He examines passages which clearly imply worship of the images of the Buddha and even of the actual method of worship. He found a passage in the Mahavastu supporting him in this position. On a careful examination of the texts he concludes that the passages sanctioning worship of Buddha images are referable to the first pre-Christian century.

On the artistic side of it, he comes to the conclusion that a comparative study of the Buddha images would similarly take him back to about the same time, it may be a little earlier, for the actual images of the Buddha, some of these images elsewhere in India being older than the first Gandharan image of the Buddha, on the basis of a passage in the Milinda Panha, where the Buddhist divine Nagasena comments on the absurdity of the worship of Buddha symbols and his image. He would therefore come to the conclusion that the making of Buddha images for worship must have come into fashion after B.C. 150, the time of Milinda and Nagasena, and before B.C. 50, to which, according to him, the first image would be referable. Notwithstanding the fact, which he regrets, that he could not come to much more positive conclusions, the conclusions derivable from this examination are quite valuable and raise a number of questions of great importance in Indian culture. Image and image-worship seem to have been

known in India earlier than the period to which this discussion of Mr. Gangoly refers. If the Sātvatas could be condemned as makers of images for sale as early as Pāṇini, image-making must have been known among these people, and the Buddhists their contemporaries could not have found it difficult to make their images. The question therefore of the Bhāgavatas and Bhāgavata worship have to be considered along with Buddhist literature with a view to a proper understanding of this question. In respect of the led-horse in processions being represented with the umbrella and other insignia of respect, we are not sure if other explanations may not be available, as even in these days, in secular processions such as that of the royal processions of the Maharaja of Mysore, the state horse, even when he does not ride upon it, happens to be given these insignia of respect, the presumption perhaps being that the royal mount is perhaps imagined to be always carrying royalty in form, if not in substance; but that requires further examination. The worship of Vishnu images and even of temple-worship for Vishnu however, were known at the period to which Mr. Gangoly would ascribe the origins of Buddha worship. These will require to be investigated in their interconnection and mutual influence for any final conclusions.

QAZI NUR MUHAMMAD'S JANG NAMAH. Giving an account of the seventh invasion of Ahmad Shah Durrani (1764-1765).—Edited and summarised by Ganda Singh Research Scholar and Lecturer in Sikh History, Khalsa College, Amritsar. With a Foreword by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Kt., C.I.E., M.A., D.Litt., Hon. M.R.A.S. (London.), Corr. Mem. R. Hist. Soc. Published by the Sikh History Research Department, Khalsa College, Amritsar. 1939.

Qazi Nur Muhammad's 'Jang Namah' is the work of a contemporary eye-witness of Ahmad Shah Durrani's invasion of India of 1764, of which we have very little information. The learned Sir Jadunath Sarkar says that "when we take it (*Jang Namah*) along with Nuruddin Husain's *Life of Najib-ud-Daulah* and the autobiography of Tahmas Khan, as well as the full and correct text of Kashiraj Pandit's account of the Panipat Campaign of 1760-61, the whole history of the Punjab, Delhi and the Upper Doab in that supremely eventful decade is illuminated with a fulness, accuracy and detail not possible before. For the history of the Sikhs in particular, and a knowledge of the country and people in 1764, the

Jang Namah is invaluable; and Professor Ganda Singh has laid us under deep debt of gratitude by editing it."

The author does not give us much information about his own life. But he seems to have been noted for his knowledge of letters and completed his work within a few months after the close of the expedition which he describes and in which he was present. Mr. Ganda Singh feels that the historical value of the work outweighs the objectionable character of its language towards the Sikhs against whom the expedition was directed. He further adds that the work extends our knowledge of the history of Ahmad Shah Durrani and of the Punjab in the sixties of the eighteenth century. It tells us of very valuable achievements on the part of the Sikhs in their struggle against the Afghan invaders and adorns them with details of happenings and descriptive account of the persons concerned in the expedition. The style is not very high-flown and lacks the picturesque and literary qualities of the Persian historian. We are not in a position to judge of the literary merits of the Persian text, but we find a very useful summary of the matter contained in the work, equipped with notes on Nazir Khan and on other points. Every section of the work is noticed in a brief manner and some sections are more elaborately summarised. There are authentic illustrations of Ahmad Shah and of the great Sikh Sirdars, Maharajah Ala Singh, Sirdar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia and of Sirdar Jassa Singh Ramgharia. The book has been got up most carefully.

C.S.S.

THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC IDEAS OF BENOY SARKAR.—

Edited by Banervar Dass, B.S.CH.E. (Illinois, U.S.A.). Professor of Applied Chemistry, College of Engineering and Technology, Iadabpur, Calcutta. With a Foreword by Dr. Narendra Nath Law. Managing Director, Bangeswari Cotton Mills Ltd., Director, Reserve Bank of India, Eastern Circle, and President, Bengal National Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta. Chuckervetty Chatterjee & Co., Ltd., 15, College Square, Calcutta, 1939. Price Rs. 8. Pages xvi and 470.

This book is an objective summary of the sociological and other ideas of Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar and a descriptive statement about his literary output and the institutions founded by him. Dr. N. N. Law who contributes the foreword to the publication says that the book ought to contain a note on Professor Sarkar's writings

in Bengali and also another on his contribution to the cultural History of India. Professor Banervar Dass, the editor of the volume, has been careful to indicate that his part has been only largely bibliographical and he has allowed the contributors perfect freedom of expression of views.

In the first essay we are told that there is a continuity of thought among the diverse contributions of Professor Sarkar and the growth and development of that unity may well be called the evolution of Sarkarism; it traces in chronological order the more important themes of Sarkar's thought in the different phases of his active life and indicates the publications of an important kind bearing on each theme. Next we are treated to the Professor's ideas as a student of capitalism and of comparative landlordism; and the zamindar has been sketched in his contributions to the industrialisation of the Province of Bengal and to the cultural and social developments of the people. In the following chapter we read that the price-curves in India are according to Sarkar, indifferent to the course of the currency; and that his heresies protesting against the classical tradition in the development of Indian economic thought have served to create a new atmosphere. In the notice of some of the economic teachings of Sarkar we find a welter of ideas of which the most important is that of Bengali autarchy of a mercantilist, protectionist and *swadeshi* character. The population studies of our professor are marked by an approach that is at once statistical, objective and inductive and also economical and sociological in their trend of conclusion. His demographic studies constitute good specimens of the comparative methodology as aimed by him; and the demographic factor should always be correlated to the economic in the study of population question.

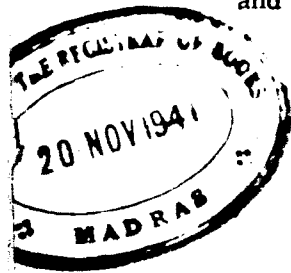
The ideas adumbrated by Sarkar on the status of inferior races and classes of people stress the fact, among others, that the birth of young Bengal and the emergence of militaristic and politically dominant Japan at the same time should point to the operation of the same sociological agencies for both. The emancipation of the illiterate from the tyranny of the literate classes is pointed out as being the most essential need for advancement.

His "Futurism of Young Asia" is a notable book and a plea for energism and progress of the East. Following Sarkar we are to understand that "Indian politicians, howsoever sincerely patriotic, idealistic and self-sacrificing at the start, come consciously or unconsciously within a short time to be exploited by the wealthier

Classes and *nouveaux riches* of all denominations and end by being second fiddles to these latter."

An analysis of Sarkar's sociological ideas takes in an indication of the refusal of the Americans to Americanise the Asian labourers, in spite of the fact that Asian immigration did not become formidable; and "the crime of colour" has led to the West losing the moral hold of the East in an increasing measure as a consequence. Most interesting is the analysis and assessment of the disruption of the comprehensive family or the synthetic femina in India and we read with advantage that the modernization of Indian culture has been going alongside of the masculinisation of the woman and the socialization of the family, community and marriage. Sarkarism, as it has spread into Japan and Eastern Asia and as it is reflected by European and American writers, is outlined towards the end of the book; these latter pages show that Sarkar, while practising the methods of occidental Science has known how to enrich and not to deny the moral patrimony of his own country; and he has shown "how the spirit of Modern India is the spirit of constructive protest and assimilative challenge." The book is an instructive symposium of what a virile Bengali mind has been thinking in the last four decades about India and the various problems confronting her and awaiting solution.

C. S. S.



WOOLNER COMMEMORATION VOLUME—(In Memory of the Late Dr. A. C. Woolner)—Edited by Mohammed Shafi, M.A., Principal, Oriental College, Lahore. Published by Mehar Chand Lachhman Das, Oriental and Foreign Book-sellers and Publishers, Prop: The Sanskrit Book Depot, Jain Street, Saidmitha Bazar, Lahore. 1940. Price Rs. 30. Pp. xxiii and 328.

Dr. A. C. Woolner was actively associated with the Punjab University for a period of over thirty years in the last seven years of which he was its Vice-Chancellor. As Dean of University Instructions for a number of years he organized and co-ordinated the Honours and Post-graduate teaching in the University and steadily expanded its academic activities. From his Oxford days he had been attracted by linguistics and seemed to have been "for contemplation formed." He won the Boden Scholarship towards the end of his under-graduate career and distinguished himself in the then newly established School of Oriental Languages.

The different traits of Woolner's magnificent personality have been pictured in six brief sketches contributed by his friends, college-mates and pupils that constitute the first part of this volume. He was regarded by Dr. Oliver Elton as a true educational statesman; and his conception of the scope and aims of a University were also correspondingly liberal and cordinal, being based upon the value of giving full opportunities to the literate and the educated. His 'Asoka Text and Glossary,' 'Introduction to Prakrit,' 'Jasmine Garland' and 'Languages in History and Politics' (fragmentary, but deemed to be his *magnum opus*) all of them are indications of the gigantic sweep of his intellect and interests.

Naturally enough, a large number of representative scholars, both of the West and of the East, have given their tributes in the shape of learned articles, to the memory of this great scholar. It would be impossible for us to go at length through the merits of all these contributions; but we are bound to mention a few as being samples of the wisdom and learning embodied in most of these. Dr. S. K. Aiyangar bases his learned paper on the Unity of the Mimamsa Sastra on an inscriptional datum of the year A.D. 999, which tells us that the Mimamsa was a science of 20 chapters, and informs us of a school which still regarded the Mimamsa as one Sastra and continued to teach it as such; and he holds that this was probably the Vaishnava tradition which regarded the Mimamsa as one whole and treated the *Sankarṣaṇa Kānda* as no less authoritative than the others. The learned doctor makes a much-needed plea that the history of Mimamsa requires to be studied much more nationally and completely, particularly in its division into two, obviously made as a matter of educational convenience and as a result of other influences.

Dr. Vidhusēkhara Bhattacharya maintains the thesis that the word *Asparśayoga* means a *samādhi* taught by the Buddha and explained by Buddhist writers like Buddhaghosha; and this Yoga was not originally taught in the Brahmanic system, having been neither disputed nor opposed; also, the real instructor of this is probably no other than the Buddha himself. 'Saiva miniature paintings in the Western Indian style' is the title of a paper contributed by W. Norman Brown, which is equipped with a great deal of discussion as to the age of these paintings. Another paper on 'Itihasa, Purana and Jataka' by Dr. S. K. Chatterji stresses on the value of the *Jātaka* as a repository of Purana references and on the equally urgent value of its being taken seriously along with Brahmanical Puranas and Epics as a complementary source of information.

Fragments of the *Itihasas* and *Purana* can be discovered in the *Gāthās*, which can be compared in their narratives and in their allusive explanations with the Brahmanical sources; and even contradictions to accepted versions of Puranic and Epic stories are not absent in Brahmanical literature also.

A theory is put forward in another paper that the word *Kikaṭa* occurring in the *Rikṣamhitā* means Kurukshetra, and probably the ancient *Kikaṭas*, with whom the old Bharatas came into contact in this region, might well have been the first Non-Aryans. The first *Anārya* land was therefore the land of the *Kikaṭas*,—Kurukshetra; and as the Aryans penetrated farther and farther east, the land of the *Anāryas* receded farther and farther.

In another paper by Mr. S. P. Chaturvedi, the date of Panini, a number of whose conjugational forms had become non-current in the time of *Kātyāyana* and *Patanjali* is discussed and shifted further back to the pre-Mahabharata period, since he is presumed to have handled a spoken and current language which was the language of the pre-Mahabharata period and that of the *Brahmanas* of the Vedic literature.

Dr. B. C. H. Chhabra examines the possibility of an allusion to the war between Seleucus Nicator and Chandragupta Maurya in the *Ramayana*, and opines that Seleucus is referred to therein as under his Sanskritised name, *Sailusa*. Mrs. Rhys Davids draws pointed attention to a unique Sutta in the *Fives and Sixes Section* in the *Anguttara Nikaya*. The Thirteenth Rock Edict of Asoka is interpreted by Mr. V. R. R. Dikshitar to mean that, textually examined, it is found to have no indication about Buddhist Dharma or Asoka's relation to that particular Dharma, where there is a hint that his Dharma was the *Sanātanadharmā* of orthodox Brahmanism. *Dharma Vijaya* mentioned therein, is an important and well recognised political concept and distinguished from *Asura* or *Lobha Vijaya* to which type the conquest of Kalinga approximated. All that Asoka wanted to imply was that rulers should not resort to indiscriminate slaughter; but they might wage war according to the *Dharma Vijaya* concept; and "It is a myth to believe that Asoka substituted the conquest of aims by conquest of morality."

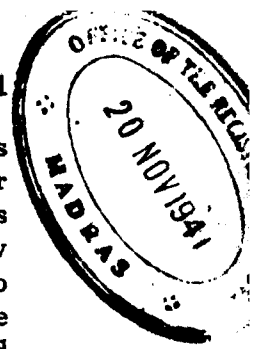
Dr. N. K. Dutt of Calcutta discusses the status of the widow in Ancient India and of the rights that she had of remarriage and holds that the hard ascetic life prescribed for widows had not come into prevalence before the time of Manu. Prof. A. Foucher describes, in a very instructive article, the history of the Ancient Multan and identifies it as the *Kaspapyros* (or *Kaspatyros*) of Sky-

lax mentioned in Herodotus. He would outline this the fortunes of Ancient Multan:—"It existed before the 6th century B.C., under the old Indian name of *Kāśyapapura*, a name known to the Persians in its prakrit form of *Kass(a)papura*, passed down to us by Hekataeus under its Greek garb of *Kaspapyros*, corrupted into *Kaspatyros* on the manuscripts of Herodotus, periphrased as 'the capital of the Malloi' by Alexander's historians, and finally picked up again by Ptolemy under its *apabhramśa* form of *Kaspura*. Five hundred years later, in A.D. 641 it was on the contrary the Sanskrit original of the modern name, *Mulasthana*, which was noted down by the pilgrim Hiuan-tsang, one of the last visitors to see both the city and the Temple of the Sun still in all their splendour. From the 8th century on, Multan's history is well known."

"Charles Wilkins," the Pioneer of British Sanskritists, is the subject of a paper by Dr. E. M. Johnston. Wilkins who had early acquired a knowledge of Bengali and Persian, was inspired into a study of Sanskrit by the enthusiasm of Halhed; and his remarkable literary achievements in the years 1778-1785 are shown as defining the main lines of work followed by many of his successors. We learn that Wilkins handed over his translation of the first four books on Manu to Sir William Jones who, however, never made public acknowledgement of the help he had received. Wilkin's services to the development of oriental typography are also stressed by Johnston.

Dr. A. B. Keith writes a learned disquisition on the age of the *Rig Veda*; he is not for putting its age very high up and finds it hard to obtain any aid in the matter of dating the age by linguistic comparison of Sanskrit with Hittite. He also feels that it is misleading to postulate a series of distinct period for the *Mantras*, the *Brahmanas*, the *Upanishads* and the *Sutras*, and that claims of high antiquity for the *Veda* are discountenanced by the comparatively late age (8th century B.C.) assigned to the *Avesta*.

Dr. B. C. Law describes the various kinds of drugs and diseases known to the Buddhists in the sixth century B.C. and the surgeons and physicians of the time. Prof. V. V. Mirashi discusses some *Kalachuri* dates; and Dr. M. W. Mirza brings out the praiseworthy freedom from racial and religious prejudice displayed by the Muhammadan poets of India, particularly by Amir Khusrau who held Sanskrit literature and Indian scholarship in the highest esteem. An article by J. Przyluski on the name, *Kharavela*, recommends the search for an explanation of its meaning either through the Indo-Aryan or through the Munda, and not through the Dravi-



dian as has been attempted. Prof. Rapson's article on the royal title *asvapati-gajapati-narapati-raja-trayādhipati* tells us that the title is first found in a grant of the Kalachuri king, Karna, of A.D. 1047, wherein he was styled "the overlord of Trikalanga, who by his own arm, won the title of overlord of the three rajas, the lord of horses, the lord of elephants and the lord of men." This title had passed on to Karna by Gangeya who had defeated the lord of Utkala, one of the three Kalingas. This title was also used by some of the Sena kings and by one Chandella. It was frequently used in the two centuries from 1040-1240 by successive monarchs who were overlords of the Kausambi region and perhaps the title might have already become traditional by the time that it came into use. One fact that may be noted here is that the Bahmani Sultans, the Lords of Kalinga (the Gajapatis of Orissa) and the rulers of Vijayanagar were respectively known in tradition as *Asvapatis*, *Gajapatis* and *Narapatis*.

Prof. B. K. Sarkar examines the political ideas of Chandesvara a writer of the fourteenth century, who was once a student of law and politics, and wrote the *Rājanīti Ratnākara* in the form of a *Nibandha* or digest, with original texts given in full and a few explanatory words or sentences showing their sequence. It can claim to present the history of Hindu political philosophy from the age of Manu to his own days and is strong in its analysis of ideas and examination of social processes. A brief note is given by the writer on the 16 Tarangas of the book with the authorities cited in each. Prof. Sarkar also points out the difference between *Bahiranga Rājadharmā* and *Antaranga Rājadharmā* made by another writer, Madhava, whose work is however marked by the absence of system and of coherent thinking. The *Nītiprakāśika* of Vaisampayana also noticed in the paper is held to be but a military manual with just enough attention paid to the ordinary topics of *Nītiśāstras* to enable the treatise to come within the category of political science.

Dr. Lakshman Sarup discusses, in a brief paper the *Nirukta* of Yaska with reference to his value as a guide in the interpretation of the Rig Veda and urges that he should be critically studied and not blindly followed in understanding Vedic exegesis. Principal Mohammad Shafi of Lahore, the learned editor of this volume, has a paper on the letters relating to India of Rashid Al-din of Baghdad (1247-1318) who was minister to the Mongol rulers of Baghdad and was a good historian and administrator. The letters were edited by his secretary and throw much light on contemporary Islamic history and on the Mongol system of administration. In two of them a reference is made to a projected invasion of India by

his master. A letter written to Rashid by Malik Ala-Al-Din, a courtier of Alauddin Kilji is also given; this personage was very probably the Kotwal of Delhi and the uncle of the historian Ziya Barani, who acknowledges the receipt of a letter from Rashid in which the latter is praised for helping to maintain friendly relations between his Sovereign and the Delhi Sultan.

A poet, Rudrakavi, who lived in Baglana about 1600 and wrote works in honour of Prince Danyal (a son of Akbar), the Emperor Jehangir and Prince Khurram (later Emperor as Shah Jahan) is described in another paper. Mullah Abdul Qadir Badauni is shown by Mr. C. A. Storey of Cambridge, to have been the translator into Persian of the *Kathā-Saritsāgara* of Somadeva, under the title of *Bahar al-asmar*, of his manuscript of which there is a copy in the India Office Library and which was hitherto regarded as having been done by the poet Faizi. Prof. M. Winternitz of Prague writes in his learned contribution on *Bhasa* that what we really do know of Bhasa and his works amounts only to this: "I do not think we can say anything more than that Bhasa lived some time before Kalidasa, wrote a number of dramas, of which the *Svapna-vaśavadatta* and probably also the *Pratījnayaugandharayana* have come down to us in Malabar recensions which seem to be adapted and somewhat abbreviated for the Kerala stage, but can still be regarded as fair copies of the original texts."

Two articles are given at the end of the volumes as an appendix, of which one contains an interesting suggestion that the five Pandavas represent the twin Asvins together with Indra, Vayu and Dharma as the rising faces of one and the same sun in his various stages of journey in the morning sky and Draupati is held to be Ushas; it further suggests that enough material exists to indicate that the wedding of Draupati with her five husbands is only the epic version, in all its ramifications, of the Vedic Solar myth of Ushas being married to the sun in heaven and therefore cautions that history should not be attempted to be read into what is pure myth.

There are other articles of great worth pertaining to literary and linguistic subjects which cannot be examined or indicated here. The contributors are competent and well-known representatives of all branches of oriental learning and research, and well illustrate, in the variety and weight of their papers, the depth and versatility of him whom they honour; The getup of the volume is superb, marked by excellent typography as well as the most careful editing.

C. S. S.

THE ORIGINS OF PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY.—Being a history of the relations between the Central Government and the Provincial Governments in British India from 1860 to 1919—By Bisheshwar Prasad, D. Litt., Allahabad University—(Kitabistan, Allahabad). Pages 428.

The treatment of this thesis which was approved for the degree of Doctor of Letters in the University of Allahabad a few years ago, is based on Government records both in India and in England and on non-official literature both of individual authors and of political and other bodies. The narrative begins with a survey of the process of centralization from 1833, when the legislative supremacy of the Indian Government was introduced, but no idea was then entertained of executive and financial administration being concentrated in its own hands. A natural consequence of the greater dependence of Bengal and Agra on the Central Government was an increase in the financial control exercised over them by the latter; the constant wars that marked the last two decades of the Company's existence made it imperative for the Government of India to compel the co-operation of the Governments of the two Presidencies of Madras and Bombay in their financial as well as political and administrative spheres. Of course there was a certain amount of unwillingness to submit to Calcutta marking the attitude of the Local Governments. Their truculence came to a head with the dispute of Sir Charles Trevelyan with the Government of India on the question of income tax in 1860. Dr. Prasad discusses in this connection, very clearly the position taken by the Governor of Madras and by the Government of India respectively on the relation of the Legislative Council of India to the Supreme Government, which, according to the latter, was to concentrate all powers of legislation in its own hands and would not accept the delegacy character of the legislators from the Presidencies. One result of this difference of views was a proposal to abolish the full Governments of Madras and Bombay and to substitute Lieutenant-Governorships instead, as against the swing of the pendulum in the other direction, viz., that they should be allowed full liberty of action, only subject to control of British authorities except in foreign and political affairs. Financial concentration frequently led to vexatious interference with administrative details. The legislative competence of the Central Government was not in any way diminished by the creation of Legislative Councils for the Presidencies in 1861. In the decade after the Act of 1861, when a third category of Local Administrations came to be prominent, besides

Presidencies and Lieutenant Governorships, in the shape of Chief Commissionerships, the relations became even more complex. The tendency of the Government of India was, as pointed out by the author on page 75, not merely to prescribe general rules and issue broad principles, but also to watch over their applications by the Local Governments so as to assimilate to a uniform type the different administrations. Dr. Prasad takes a general survey of the situation on page 91, and concludes that central control became more systematic, though marked by a tendency to leave greater liberty in details. His examination of the circumstances which brought about this centralisation is analytical, and shows that it was both inevitable and indispensable.

At the same time, the factors leading to decentralisation are described, with an account of projects for carrying it into effect, especially in the field of financial relations. The consequent adoption of definite measures towards provincial responsibility in taxation and expenditure, leading to the great reform of Lord Mayo, was the basis for further developments in decentralisation, which, however, could not mean the establishment of autonomous Provincial Governments, as is shown by a survey of decentralisation in operation from the time of Mayo to that of Lord Dufferin, described in Chapter IV. The quinquennial contracts between the Central and Local Governments were accompanied by rules for securing proper supervision and control over the Provinces in all financial matters. If Mayo, Strachey and Evelyn Baring could be called the "fathers of provincial finance," it has been made clear in the book that the neither the Central Government would give up, nor the Secretary of State would allow them to do so, their duty of general financial control, which, in other words, meant that only in details would provincial discretion be allowed. This discretion though quantitatively large, was qualitatively limited; and in all administrative matters, the control of the centre was based more on general principles and less on minute details. The natural truculence of the Governments of Bombay and Madras, chafing at the suggestion for the abolition of their right of direct correspondence with the Secretary of State and for their reduction to the status of Lieutenant-Governorships, forms an interesting phase of the treatment, particularly their impatience to retain the symbols and trappings of their quasi-independent status.

Discussing the extent of decentralisation introduced after 1870 Dr. Prasad rightly concludes with an illustration from comparative politics and says that "the problem before the Government of India

heretofore had been, like that of Austria, how to enlarge the 'provincial powers for provincial purposes without weakening Imperial interests.' And this was, to some extent, secured by the system introduced before 1887. Decentralisation received a setback and continued to be discouraged till the retirement of Lord Curzon, and this setback has received effective treatment in the book, as viewed in respect of education, general administration, Local Self-government, police, and law and order, as well as famine relief administration. The Government of India urged that the Local Governments should not, even in matters of natural calamities and sudden happenings, enjoy a discretionary power; but should report action taken by them for administrative review. Only in one respect, viz., in finance, was there any sympathy shown for further decentralisation; and here, non-official opinion was entirely in favour of greater freedom for the provinces; and the result was Curzon's resolution to make the financial settlement with the provinces quasi-permanent, though he tightened, in other respects, the central control.

The Decentralisation Commission that was the consequence of this reaction, has been analysed in its terms of reference, evidence secured, and proposals brought forward; and stress is laid by our author on the natural identification in non-official opinion of decentralisation with increasing popular control. Gokhale and others rightly held that mere decentralisation would lead but to an increasing stiffening of the provincial bureaucracy. The new financial system adopted in 1912 for the provinces is held to have introduced no change in principle, but only effected a step forward in the process of decentralisation and did not increase the responsibility of the Provincial Governments in any real sense; and the position on the eve of the Reforms of 1919 was not radically different from that before 1912. This is perhaps too severe an interpretation of the effect of the change. In illustration of this view, Dr. Prasad has brought forward some evidence, and has fortified himself with a survey of the administrative control exercised by the India Government which was extended to very wide limits. He has also taken care to bring out the dissatisfaction of the Local Governments at the system and the aims of the Indian publicists, who had grown to be much disillusioned with the fruits of the Reforms of 1909, which, they had imagined, contained the beginnings of provincial autonomy.

The last chapters of the work survey the position under the Government of India Act of 1919 as one that has set the Local Governments on the path of financial autonomy, though

their liberty was still very much curtailed by the general administrative superintendence of Delhi and by its right of previous sanction of provincial legislation. All that the Act of 1919 has done was to bring provincial autonomy nearer realisation. Whether this step would greatly help a really effective federation of provincial units or would sustain British Indian Provinces as effective units in any likely scheme of federation of India, remains to be seen. The author deserves praise for the clarity with which he has described the different stages in the process of decentralisation and for the fairness of his conclusions, as well as for the documentary and other support with which he has illustrated the viewpoints of the different parties. We need hardly add that the author presents his conclusions with praiseworthy impartiality. The book is essential for every student of British Indian Administration and for Indian publicists of all parties. We welcome its advent.

C. S. S.

THE PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT OF THE MUGHALS (1526-1658). By Dr. P. Saran, M.A., Ph.D., (London), Department of History, Benares Hindu University (Kitabistan, Allahabad). Pp. xiv and 483.

Mughal polity has as yet been but imperfectly explored and described only in patches. The present book is therefore a welcome accession to the literature on the subject, as it presents the subject on a correct and well-supported examination of data concerning the administration of the provinces. In his introduction, our author would find some points of criticism in the mode of treatment on various aspects of the Mughal administrative system followed by Professor Sir J. N. Sarkar, Dr. Vincent Smith, Prof. K. R. Qanungo (in his work on Sher Shah) and Dr. Pant. He lays stress on the value of the comparative method in an assessment of the worth of administrative institutions, and on the necessity of fully understanding the spirit of the people and the nature of the environment in which these institutions had had to be worked. He does not adopt an entirely defensive attitude, aiming at a mere justification of everyone of the features and institutions of Mughal polity.

The period which is covered in the present book embraces the reigns of Akbar and his two great successors; and the book has carefully avoided digressions into the treatment of controversial

questions that have been usually associated with the military and revenue systems of the empire. Dr. Saran would enter a *Caveat* on the assumption that geographical features govern almost entirely political and social institutions, and would find their reactions more in the details and methods of administration than in the outward forms of the institutions themselves. Indicating the political significance of the natural and protecting limits of the Indo-Gangetic Plain, he describes the strategic value of the base of the triangle formed by the plain in the south and of the funnel between the Rajmahal Hills and the Tarai blocked by traversing rivers and commanded by the fortress of Chunar and Sakrigali in its only available open passage. The consequence is that geography has contributed a sort of political and social compactness to the great plain and that whoever held the core of this plain, commanded efficiently all the outlying parts of it; not so efficiently however, the regions lying definitely outside this area, like Bengal, Central India, Khandesh and Kashmir. One interesting question that may be raised as a corollary and as related to this idea, is how far empires like that of the Mauryas which had their centre in Bihar did exercise an intensive sway over the heart of the Indo-Gangetic plain and outside regions; and what factors really helped them in this task.

After a brief review of the administration of the early Sultans of Delhi whose rule was a peculiar and anomalous mixture of Muslim and Indian elements, Dr. Saran goes to treat the difficulties attendant upon a co-ordination of this polity with Mughal political ideas. He refutes the glib assumption that Sher Shah made an entirely new redistribution of local administrative divisions and affirms that he retained more or less the existing limits of provinces, *sarkars* and *parganahs*, and, even in the case of Bengal, continued to maintain the essential unity of the province, empowering the Amin to check the fissiparous tendencies of other local officials. After demonstrating the continuance of regular subahs under Sher Shah, our author admits that it was that monarch who first seriously and successfully defined the territorial limits of the provinces and established a uniform system of administration therein.

His work was utilized by Akbar who, by the middle of his long reign, had divided his empire into subahs after his own plan, soon after the ten-year revenue-settlement had been ordered. The division between the Mughal imperial territory and the dominions of the subordinate States which enjoyed varying degrees of inde-

pendence, was naturally not so elaborate as a similar division is at the present day between British India and Indian India. There was also maintained a distinction between major and minor provinces, though, perhaps, there was no uniform rule governing this classification. The *sarkar* and the *parganah* did not undergo any material structural alterations under Akbar; but on account of the assignment system there was now introduced an elaborate machinery for the control of the *khalsa* and *jaghir* lands respectively. The points on which further information would be useful for throwing light on the administrative system in general, centre round the rights of the assignees of *jaghirs*, etc. Dr. Saran is very particular to point out that these *jaghirs* in no way resembled the fiefs of mediaeval Europe which carried with them almost all rights of full dominion and they could not and did not represent any political charge. In the *parganah* which may be regarded as the unit of general administration, the chief official the *Shiqdar*, enjoyed all administrative functions as in the case of the District Magistrate of the present day. Reliance is placed on a passage in Qazvini's *Pādshānāmā* for proving that there was no separate *faujdari* territorial jurisdiction running across the division into *sarkars*. Consequently, there was no administrative dyarchy at the centre; but in the *sarkar* and in the province there was an effective one in the persons of the *faujdar* and the *amalguzar*, and the *subadar* and the *diwan*.

A description of the subordinate states and dependencies follows. They were divided on the basis of different degrees of honour and rank to which their chiefs were entitled and also on the character of the obligations imposed upon them which naturally varied among them, irrespective of their size and importance—even petty States in distant regions enjoying a great amount of independence, as in the slopes of the Himalayas. An interesting account is given of the Rajput States and their political status as revealed by a study of Abul Fazl's *Ain-i-Akbari*. The histories of the several states beginning from Mewar, which had an exceptional position both as regards its relations with the court and its political status are next described.

Discussing the nature of local government, Dr. Saran argues that the rural population was not left to sink or to swim by their own resources; this was the impression conveyed by the conclusions of writers like Sir J. N. Sarkar, who opined that the Mughals, particularly their courtiers and officials, were essentially an urban people and neglected and despised the villages. On the

other hand, it is maintained here that the village administration was left undisturbed and also positively protected both from official rapacity, and from the ravages of brigands and other enemies of society.

The *ataliqs* and informal councils that assisted the governors had their own part to play in guiding the administration. An elaborate account is given of the chief officials of the province and of their departments as well as of the records that were kept in the provincial *diwan*. The significance of the *diwan's* office is held to indicate an administrative dyarchy, which was however quite unlike in substance the Montford System of Dyarchy in the British Indian provinces. The checks on the provincial governors' autocracy were not only varied, but also effective and produced, on the whole, a healthy tone. The officials of the *sarkar* and the *pargana* and of other political units, like sea-ports, forts and frontier posts, the *faujdars* of the borders, the *kotwals* of towns—all these had their duties defined, though perhaps in some cases with an emphasis on perfection that was not ordinarily attainable, and that has been held to be too ideal for realisation and fit only for embodiment in a manual of precepts like the *Ain*. The vital working of the village *panchayats* and the continuity of the village government are postulated by Dr. Saran fairly clearly. Administrative terms used for village institutions have been held by certain writers on account of their vernacular origin and of their total difference from those used in connection with the *zillah* and the *subah* which were exotic and Persian, to imply a certain aloofness of the district and provincial officials from the village. Dr. Saran in a valuable note, protests against such an assumption and postulates the existence of bonds of connection between the government and the village community and says "The separation in terms was only in the higher stages, and arose from the fact that the higher governmental organisation was entirely built up by the Muslim rulers after a foreign model, while the local institutions continued as before, and consequently here there was a mixture of terms, such as *chaudhry* and *muqaddam*, *parganah* and *qanoongo*, *patwari*, *harkarah*, and *mirdah*."

It is perhaps superfluous to bring into the chapter on local administration the working of the village *sabha* in the Tamil country in the tenth and following centuries for illustrating rural life under the Mughals. An analogy between the zamindars who had some duties of watch and ward, and the *poligars* of the south who took over for themselves similar duties, may be suggested in

this connection. Military administration and the *mansabdari* system with its feature of *zate* and *sawar* are next treated. The purely provincial forces are analysed and illustrated with indicative tables of figures of troops supplied by dependent states to the province; the whole account of military organization could have been more elaborate and clearer. The land revenue system is well detailed in all its important aspects, viz., the methods of assessment, the incidence of the revenue, the mode of payment and the various grades of revenue officials and collectors. Dr. Saran discusses the questions raised by Moreland and Yusuf Ali as regards the revenue arrangements that were in force at the end of Akbar's reign, in respect of the individual methods of assessment in vogue in the *subahs* and other kindred topics. The work of collection of revenues in the *jaghirs* was probably done by the agents of the *jaghirdars* themselves. The question of ownership of land in that age is discussed with the conclusion that the king could not, and did not, claim a joint proprietorship, and the community had the right of property over the land, held either severally or individually. Police, jails, law and justice, are next treated. The causes of corruption and demoralisation that led to the deterioration of judicial administration under Shah Jehan are examined; judicial procedure and punishments, police officials and their doings and lastly the educational activity of the State and its public works are described along with the measures for famine insurance and poor relief that were adopted. The value of the whole administrative system of the Mughals is held to have been fairly high, and to have illustrated the advantages and drawbacks of a benevolent central despotism. A carefully drawn map of the Empire shows us the boundaries of provinces and *sarkars*, the *parganahs* and the principal towns, ports, etc., and another illustrates the different revenue assessments which were in force in the different *subahs*. A note on the sources brings into prominence the statistical and institutional accounts contained in the *Ain*, in the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* and in the *Daulat-i-Sher Shahi*, as well as the value of some details concerning the police and the judiciary contained in the accounts of European travellers. The explanations of various points of detail and of the terms used are learned and satisfactory; and the discussion of points of dispute is fair, sober and clear.

C. S. S.

IMPERIAL RECORD DEPARTMENT. Calendar of Persian Correspondence—Being letters which passed between some of the Company's servants and Indian rulers and Notables, Vol. VII, 1785-7. Published by Manager of Publications, Delhi. Printed by Manager, Government of India Press, Calcutta. 1940. Price Rs. 20 or 31sh. Pp. 468 plus xxxviii.

This volume presents the crowded canvas of Indian historical personages and doings in the years 1785-7, and forms the seventh of the series. In these three fateful years there happened much for the deepening tragedy of the reign of Emperor Shah Alam who was forced into the humiliation of submitting to unscrupulous adventurers and of requesting an English captain to restore peace in his very capital and palace. The Nawab Vazir of Oudh had also been reduced in status by the grim reality of British protection which he so needed and for which he had to submit to additional and exacting financial burdens. The Nawab of Bengal was equally a puppet and left miserably poor. The Nawab of Arcot was allowed to gamble with the revenue of Tanjore by an unscrupulous Madras Council. It was only Tippoo Sultan and the Marathas who had some reality of power; and it is well that Mahadaji Scindhia was firmly rooted in his alliance with the English. All these made obvious the predominant political position acquired by the Company. Most princes were reconciled to their lot and the only one who did not accept the inevitable was soon to be humbled.

The learned editor has clearly pointed out the effect of these years of change on social order. He describes how while the poor suffered, the rich and the mighty were also injured by the disturbances. Thus he would conclude: "The last years of the eighteenth century found India on the threshold of a new age, and the correspondence, calendered in the following pages, illustrate to a certain extent the political problems, the economic changes, the social disorder and the spiritual revolution that characterised the period of transition. If in these letters we read of palace intrigues and ruthless aggression, we also find the hopeful augury of coming humanitarianism when two wealthy Brahman citizens of Calcutta placed before the Governor-General an elaborate scheme for alleviating human misery and improving the unhappy lot of the poor and destitute."

The foot-notes and other explanatory passages given as supplementary to the text of the summaries of letters are most use-

ful. For the greater part, they are biographical details which are based upon wide and intensive study. From these details one is enabled to construct very much more than is contained in the summaries. In several places the mistakes clinging on to the Persian text have been corrected, as in the case of Shivabhat Sathe, a Maratha General who made many raids into Bengal. For the South Indian reader the letters concerning Nawab Wallajah, Tippoo Sultan and the Raja of Tanjore are of great value; and in particular, Letter No. 457, embodying the Nawab's opinion that the English should form an alliance with the Marathas and the Nizam through his mediation at a most favourable opportunity (1786) and the Governor-General's assurance to him that he would be consulted on all important matters on this subject, would be interesting. Beni Ram Pandit and his brother, Bishambar Pandit, are among the interesting Indian diplomats of the time as also the bankers, like Gopal Das Sahu and Lala Kashmiri Mal, the latter of whom had frequently occasion to complain of the treatment given to him. Letter No. 1408 details a petition to the Governor-General to provide protection to the wandering beggars of Calcutta on a very systematic plan, which would put to shame any contemporary scheme for poor relief in England. Ghulam Qadir's cruelties are detailed in some of the letters from the court of the Emperor. A list of vakils of different chiefs and notables of India at the time deputed to the Governor-General and an index of names of persons, etc., on an exhaustive basis with reference to the letters in which they occur, make the value of this volume all the greater for the research student. All these commendable features, along with the brilliant introduction, should enhance the solid reputation for a scholarship enjoyed by the Editor, Dr. S. N. Sen, who has completed the preparation and the bringing out of this volume in the short period of two years, whereas the previous volumes of this series had required each five to eight years. We have an abundance of informing foot-notes on almost every page adding greatly to the help that the student may require.

C. S. S.

EARLY CAREER OF KANHOJI ANGRIA AND OTHER PAPERS. By Dr. Surendra Nath Sen, Keeper of the Records of the Government of India. (Published by the University of Calcutta, 1941). Pp. xi and 225.

The papers embodied in this book are the contributions of the author written at different times during the last decade and

easily fall under two heads: (1) those relating to the maritime activities of the people of Maharashtra, and (2) those concerning Bengal, besides some miscellaneous accounts like a Portuguese description of Haidar Ali and Some Problems of Indian History. These are all brought together in a handy form and are clearly justified in their present shape, not only because it is difficult to pick them out individually as they were first published, but also on account of the feature common to all these papers that all of them bring into view either some new points and ideas or re-interpret the old matter in a new way. Thus Dr. Sen would urge a better utilisation of European records for constructing a clear and accurate history of the Maratha navy and of the part played in it by Kanhoji Angria and other members of his family. We learn that the official history of that family is by no means infallible and that Kanhoji should not be equated with a corsair like Kidd, as is usual. Gheria plays a prominent part in the papers in this book, as it should in any account of the vicissitudes of the Maratha navy. Dr. Sen maintains that there is no reason to reject any part of Krishnaji Sabhasad's story with regard to the conquest of Jawli by Shivaji. From Jawli we are taken on to Elphinstone's settlement of the territories of the Peshwa and the jaghirdars of the Deccan.

Next, in the chapter on a Portuguese account of Haidar Ali, which was compiled before the beginning of 1764 and was probably the earliest account of the career of that ruler, we read that Nanja Raja's fall was precipitated by the treachery of the white troops, and Haidar's triumph over Khande Rao was partly due to the desertion of the Muslim officers from the royal forces. This is an unpublished work and gives some information about Bishop Noronha who played not a very creditable part in Madras and Pondicherry in the decade between the French occupation of Madras and the final capture of Pondicherry in 1761. His name occurs frequently in Ananda Ranga Pillai's Dairy. The earliest Portuguese account of Bengal written in 1518 is interesting. A plea for the recognition of the importance of the District Record rooms in Bengal and for the concentration of their manuscripts at one convenient centre has borne fruit, as pointed out in the preface. The postal reforms of Warren Hastings, the first attempt at the popularisation of steam navigation in India, Lord Auckland's suggestions regarding the strengthening of the Delhi fortifications—these are vigorous lines of light thrown on obscure corners. A

discussion of some of the problems of mediaeval Indian History is the topic of one paper; and a plea for competitive co-operation for scientific historical work is the theme of the next, both these papers being the text of addresses to the Indian History Congress. We should remark here that the collection of papers here presented is lined throughout by the impress of a scholar, at once accurate and sober in his conclusions and most methodical in presentation.

C. S. S.

1. HISTORY OF THE SIKHS 1739-1768 (EVOLUTION OF THE SIKH CONFEDERACIES). pp. xx and 348. (Calcutta, 1939), and 2. ADINA BEG KHAN—THE LAST MUGHAL VICEROY OF THE PUNJAB, pp. 1-55. (The Author, 1940). —By Hari Ram Gupta, M.A., Ph.D., Forman Christian College, Lahore.

Dr. Gupta has wisely chosen for the subject of his study the period marking the rise of the Sikh *mists* and their occupation of the Punjab, first, because it marks the formative stage of the Sikhs as a political power and, secondly because it has not yet been studied on the intensive scale that has marked the inquiry into the period of the Gurus before it and the rise and expansion of the state of the Punjab under Maharaja Ranjit Singh after it. It was during this formative period that the Sikhs developed into a fine military people, taking advantage of the incursions of foreign invaders and of the political confusion caused by them.

Dr. Gupta has left out of his view the period, 1716-1738, starting from the death of Banda and ending with Nadir Shah's invasion, because there was very scanty material available for it and dependence upon Sikh tradition alone without supporting contemporary evidence was deemed insufficient to serve as a basis for accurate and reliable conclusions. 1768 is made the lower limit for his survey because by that time the Sikhs had successfully repelled the last invasion of Ahmad Shah Abdali and become undisputed masters of Lahore and of a great portion of the Punjab, thereby starving the Indian Muslim powers of their military strength by stopping the importation of fresh blood from the North-west to recruit their armies. Considering the difficulty of sifting and collating and utilising the diverse sources embedded in records written in different languages, Persian, Marathi, Gurumukhi, Urdu, Hindi, English and French, Sir Jadunath Sarkar's

analogy expressed in the following words may be held to apply in a large measure to the work of Dr. Gupta:—"To expect perfection in such a branch of study is hardly more reasonable than to ask a goldsmith to give a proof of his professional skill by prospecting for gold, digging the mine, extracting and refining the ore, and then making the ornament." The work bears ample testimony to the care with which the chequered history of the Sikhs is traced step by step with accuracy and support.

Zakariya Khan, the Governor of the Punjab at the time of Nadir Shah's invasion, was convinced that the Sikhs were the principal source of danger to the Punjab and took vigorous measures to root them out from the plains. But soon he saw that it was impossible to hold them down; and so the decision was taken to resort to the expedient of seeing whether they would settle down as peaceful peasants. It was after the death of Zakariya Khan when the confusion in the Punjab increased, that the Sikhs organised themselves under chiefs into regular military bands and the rudiments were laid through this means for the national army of the community, the *Dal Khalsa*, which was established in March 1748 under Jassa Singh Ahluwalia in 11 main divisions known as *Jathas*. The constitution of the *Dal* is explained by our author as a kind of federal union, based on a system of voluntary service and an equal share in the booty. It served to give the Sikhs an ideal of unity and power and imparted to them a compactness after more than three decades of confusion. Their strength was now to be tested by a resistance to a strong Mughal Governor, Muin-ul-Mulk, for a period of five years. They had to put up with the use of effective artillery against them, but contrived to plunder Lahore, on the occasion of the Durrani invasion of 1749-50. Muin-ul-Mulk, however, vigorously strove to drive the Sikhs to take refuge in the lower Himalayan spurs, in the forests of the Central and Eastern Punjab and in the deserts of Malwa and Bikanir. The new Durrani invasion of 1751-52 was favourable to the further rise of the Sikhs, but was followed by a further period of repression. These repeated risings and repressions were symbolised in a popular song which meant "Mir Mannu is our sickle and we are his grass blades; the more he cuts us, the more do we grow in every house and hamlet." The very peasantry of the Province were induced to embrace the Sikh creed on account of the oppressions of the revenue officers and the troops of the Mughal government, which fell into inextricable confusion after the death of Mir Mannu. It

was now that the several units of the *Dal Khalsa* took charge of separate slices of territory in four out of the five doabs of the Punjab. They were the only organised elements of strength at the time and demanded in return for protection one-fifth of the produce of the villagers at the end of each harvest. Thus was created the *Rakhi* or *Jamadari* system, similar to the *Poligar* organisation of the Tamil country that was formed in the 16th and 17th centuries.

The Sikhs now however encountered a new and formidable enemy, namely, the Durrani rule established over the Punjab by Ahmad Shah who left strict injunctions for their suppression. But this time the Sikhs contrived to help and be helped in turn by the Maratha invasion of the Punjab and to secure the support of Adina Beg Khan. Dr. Gupta would place the Sikh capture of Lahore in 1761 and not in 1758 as has been usually accepted. Owing to the successive extinction of Mughal, Afghan and Maratha dominion, the Sikhs remained the only organised power in the Province and contrived to develop their feudal organisation still further, based, in the first instance, upon the *misl* groups and going down till the common soldiers were reached. In Malwa the Sikhs under the great Alha Singh pursued a different line of policy. After the decisive battle of Panipat, the Sikhs renewed their opportunities of injuring the now depleted Afghan authorities, seized the town of Lahore under the lead of Jassa Singh and struck rupees in their own name, November 1761.

Ahmad Shah destroyed the sacred buildings at Amritsar and strengthened his hold over Lahore. But the Sikhs, though beaten, emerged purified from alloy by this tragedy. They succeeded in baffling the Abdali schemes by their operations throughout 1762, at the end of which year the Afghan ruler returned to his home, leaving the Sikhs free to take possession of the Sirhind Province and to settle the various *misls*. In the course of 1764 the Sikh political settlement was finally effected and became confirmed in the system of the powers of North-Western India. They became powerful enough to molest Ahmad Shah in his Indian campaign of 1764-65 and boldly assumed political sovereignty by taking Lahore, "the Guru's cradle," issuing coins in their own name. The subsequent consolidation and extension of their power in spite of Ahmad Shah's invasion which had for its sequel only their re-occupation of Lahore and their beating his great Lieutenant Naji-bud-Daula. These had become complete by 1768 largely owing to

the tenacity of purpose exhibited by the Sikh chiefs. The conversion of their fighting qualities into a scientific art that was worked out by Ranjit Singh, belongs to a later phase of their history.

Dr. Gupta has given us an instructive picture of the Sikh community and of their social life and character in which he vigorously portrays the effect of long years of anarchy on the people. His bibliography is extensive, but at the same time well ordered and carefully annotated.

His monograph on Adina Beg Khan is modelled on the same lines as those of his work on Sikh History. Step by step the Khan's activities are traced down to his expulsion of the Afghans and submission to Maratha suzerainty in 1758. He died fortunately before the final crash of the Maratha power at Panipet. His administrative ability, his capacity for dealing out summary justice and his diplomacy in statesmanship ranked higher, in those days of anarchy, than they would otherwise have done; and altogether Dr. Gupta gives us a picture of that rare specimen among Mughal Governors of the 18th century a vigorous enterprising and just-minded ruler, which the Khan was. During his short life he witnessed four stages of struggle for power in the Punjab made respectively by Nadir Shah, Ahmad Shah, the Marathas and the Sikhs. The bibliography for this monograph on Adina Beg is equally sumptuous and efficiently annotated. The work is an authoritative chapter in the tangled web of mid-eighteenth century Punjab History.

C. S. S.

A HISTORICAL REVIEW OF HINDU INDIA (300 B.C. to 1200 A.D.). By Panchanana Raya, B.A., Deputy Accountant General, Jaipur State, Rajputana. (Retired Account Officer, Indian Audit and Accounts Department). Printed at I.M.H. Press, Delhi, 1939. Pages xvii and 230.

The author attempts to link some of the existing gaps and clear some of the obscurities in the ancient history of our land. He first holds that the civilisation of the Vaidik Brahmans in the Indus Valley is generally known as the Saindhava or Indus civilisation; this civilisation spread from the Kabul valley along the valleys of the five rivers of the Punjab to the valley of the Saraswati; the country was divided into numerous small states whose

administration was republican in character like that of the Ambasthas of Alexander's time; and upto the time of the Greek invasion the Vaidik Brahmans pursued their cultural avocations in the country in peace. The next thesis of our author is that it is these Vaidik Brahmans who were imported in large numbers by King Bimbisara of Magadha. These grew powerful and spread their influence over the whole country with the expansion of the Magadhan Empire. More interesting than this is the thesis that the orthodox Brahmans began a second migration from the Punjab in the second century B.C. and settled in Malwa and in Vidisa to the east and they came to be called Satvahanas because they used seven modes of transport, namely, the elephant, horse, camel, oxen, wheeled car, boat and palanquin. Simukha was one of the early kings of the Kots who came originally from the Kot country on the invasion of the Sakas. His successors tried to resist the aggressions of the Sakas and extended their dominion from Malwa to Canara. They imported many Brahmans from the north from among whom one was sent to Champa in Indo-China, where he founded the Kaundinya Rajya.

The Navanagas are next noticed and their government is held to have been based on democratic lines and the Vakatakas are ascribed to a Brahman origin, and a genealogical table very descriptive in its contents is given of the family, which takes us on to the times of Harisena. The Pallavas are held to be descended from Vindyasakti and the Kadambas and the Gangas to be two feudatory states created under the Vakatakas in South India. The district of Purnea is held to have meant settlement of Nayyars or Newars, who also gave the name of Dwar Banga meaning door to Bengal. The accumulated Sadhana and culture of Bengal are said to lie buried in the ruins of Banbhum and Singhbhum. The expression Karaskar applied to Chandra Gupta I by the poetess is not understood in its exact import; but he is held to have been a Brahman. Samudra Gupta's expansion of the Empire is analysed and then a genealogical table of the Gupta family with details is furnished, followed by a note of the form of their government and of their Imperial relations to the feudatory States under them. A curious feature noted by Mr. Raya is that Rajendra Chola invaded Bengal by land about 1021-1025 A.D. while Anantavarman Chola Ganga invaded it with a fleet of fighting boats in the time of Kumarapala. The social and religious condition of Hindustan under the Guptas and their successors is treated in an enthusiastic vein and the Karnatasenas of Bengal have a large space devoted to them, their origin and social status.

These theories put forward by Mr. Raya, give us a great deal of matter for speculation. Many of these are bold projections from the accepted conclusions. Some have been put forward by scholars like Dr. Jayaswal. The Sal era is most curiously treated. It is however to be observed that the arguments are very clearly put forth on a basis of elaborate analysis of data. The cultural aspects of the treatment are a most creditable feature.

C. S. S.

THE SANTAL INSURRECTION OF 1855-57. By Kalikinkar Datta, M.A., Ph.D. (Cal.). Published by the University of Calcutta, 1940.

The Santal Insurrection of 1855-57 in Bhagalpur has not been studied in any fulness till now. It was to all appearance an unconnected disturbance in a remote area in the present province of Bihar. But viewed in connection with similar disturbances that arose about this time elsewhere, it acquires some significance as a manifestation of the strain to which the people, particularly the less advanced tribes, were put in their attempt at adjustment to the British administrative system and it might be even held to possess a remote connection with larger movements of discontent. Dr. K. K. Datta who has utilised in the monograph the available contemporary documents and other material, finds its main cause in the economic grievances of the Santals which were worsened by the actions of Bengali and up-country merchants and money-lenders. The movement was not anti-British in the beginning, but was chiefly directed against the oppressive mahajans and traders. Nor was it due to an ex-Amir of Sind, who had then come to Hazari Bagh on a hunting expedition and was accused as having planned it. The first signs of it were perceptible even in 1854 in the dacoities perpetrated by injured Santals on the mahajans who were bitterly hated for their exactions and deceptions. In June 1855, the Santals gathered together in large numbers and announced their determination to rise against the officials to set up their own government. They committed some acts of depredation; the panic increased from day to day, and the movement assumed a formidable aspect by the middle of July. There were disturbances even in places which were comparatively remote from the centre of activity like Birbhum and Murshidabad and fears were entertained even for the safety of the head-quarters towns of Bhagalpur.

Dr. Datta's narrative takes on through the measures undertaken by the Government for the suppression of the insurrection and tells us how the Bengal Government had strained relations with the Commissioner of Bhagalpur. The Government were apprehensive of a likely recrudescence of the outbreak even after the first submission of the leaders was secured by the local authorities. Their apprehensions proved true and martial law had to be proclaimed for a time in the district to curb this renewed rising.

The Calcutta papers advocated stern measures of punishment to be meted out to the rebels; but the Bengal Government proceeded with due caution and moderation and inflicted punishment on the guilty only after regular and orderly trials. Dr. Datta says that this episode opened a new chapter in the history of Bihar and led to the creation of a non-regulation district, the Santal Parganas, as well as to the starting of European missionary activity for the education and uplift of the aboriginal tribes. These European missions have since been supplemented by Indian reforming sects, both Hindu and Muslim; and the result has been a continuous process of the absorption of the aborigines into the higher ranks of the Indians. As usual this monograph of Dr. Datta is well-documented and provided with necessary apparatus of an illustrative map, extracts from the original sources and a good index.

C. S. S.

A QUINQUENNIAL OF LITERARY ACTIVITY OF THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORICAL AND ANTIQUARIAN STUDIES, ASSAM, 1936-1941.

There have been in this period two Bulletins issued, No. 3 in July 1936 and the next in February 1941. The former explains, like its predecessors of 1932 and 1934, the aims and objects of the Department and takes stock of its activities and achievements; it also celebrates the opening ceremony of the Narayani Handiqui Historical Institute as the permanent home of the Department, which is a gift of Rai Bahadur Radhakanta Handiqui of Jorhat, who has made several precious literary gifts to Assam like the Assamese Lexicon, 'Chandrakanta Abidhana.' Our *Journal* published in 1934 a review of the activities of this institute down to that date, mentioning therein that one of its main functions has been to collect fresh manuscripts from different centres and to prepare a really good historical map of the Province. Subsequently, we re-

viewed the 'Assam Buranji 1648-81 A.D.', edited by Principal Dutta and published by the Department, which contained a clear history of a period of intrigue and revolutions. The 'Tungkhungia Buranji' compiled by Srinath Barbaru and dealing with the last dynasty of the Ahom sovereigns of Assam was the first large publication of the Department (1933). Its narrative has been expanded by Rai Bahadur Dr. S. K. Bhuyan who prefixed an account of the earlier kings of the dynasty down to 1751 when the *Buranji* proper begins. The 'Deodhai Assam Buranji' (1932), the 'Asamar Padya Buranji' (1932), both edited by Dr. Bhuyan, have also been noticed by us in our columns. The 'Kachari Buranji,' also edited by Dr. Bhuyan and dealing with the relations of the Ahom government and the Rajas of Kachar, was the next important publication of the Department and it has likewise been reviewed in Vol. XV, Part II of the *Journal of Indian History*. All these works have been published in the Assamese text and supplemented with either entire English translations or clear synopsis for the sake of readers outside the Province. The *Tungkhungia Buranji* has been thus fully rendered into English (1933) by Dr. Bhuyan.

In 1936 a very important work was published by name 'Baharistan-i-Ghaybi,' translated into English from the original Persian by Dr. M. I. Borah, in two volumes. It is a history of the Mughal wars in the North-eastern Frontier and the provinces adjoining, in the 17th century during the reigns of Jahangir and Shah Jahan and was discovered about 20 years back by Sir J. N. Sarkar. Its author was Mirza Nathan (or Nathula in Assamese), who occupied a position next in importance only to Mir Jumla, the famous general of Aurangzib and the Mughal conqueror of Assam. The discovery of this manuscript has been an epoch-making achievement for the reconstruction of the history of North-eastern India, the only extant copy being in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* in Paris. In his learned introduction, the translator says that the manuscript is in complete form and the marginal notes appended to it are mostly criticisms of Mirza Nathan's view of the Mughal offices, whose actions were defective or liable to error. The work is more of the nature of personal memoirs and was probably composed in its last portion during the fifth year of Shah Jahan's reign (1631). Its four *daftar*s deal, respectively, with the governorships of Islam Khan, Quasim Khan, and Ibrahim Khan over the eastern provinces and with the usurpation of the viceroyalty of Bengal by Prince Shah Jahan. Each *daftar* is divided into chapters, entitled *dastans*

or stories. Portions of this work have been utilised by Sir Edward Gait and others; and the mistakes occurring from an imperfect utilisation by Dr. S. N. Bhattacharyya, in the composition of his book—'History of Mughal North-East Frontier Policy,' (1929)—have been fully pointed by Dr. Borah in his notes at the end of the book in the II Volume.

Mirza Nathan was first recommended by Islam Khan to the Emperor Jahangir and became noted for his services in the maintenance of the fleet and canals in Bengal. He became reconciled to his chief after a bitter quarrel, and by dint of various achievements, got promotion and the title of Shitab Khan, from the Emperor and Nurjahan Begam. His career under Shah Jahan was full of small incidents narrated with great relish and forms interesting reading. Apart from the biographical and other varied matters of interest presented in the narrative, one may note the details of some of the important wars that took place in the period in Orissa, Bengal, Sylhet and Kamrup, conveyed in the text and repeated in the *masnavi* poems interspersed in the text, but not reproduced in the translation. Islam Khan's advance to Dacca is illustrated by a map; and Major Rennell's *Bengal Atlas*, Sheet No. 6, illustrating the territory from Pabna to Ghoraghat and from Natore to Atiya has also been reproduced. The last events narrated in the book are Shah Jahan's march to Dacca and his struggle with his father and failure, whereupon Mirza Nathan deserted him, wishing him, however, long life and sovereignty. The wars and relations on the Kuch Frontier with the Ahoms, the expedition to Tippera—all these and others are given in full and fresh detail. The notes at the end are arranged according to chapters and give exhaustive biographical details and topographical and other accounts of localities. Points of doubt and confused interpretation have been attempted to be cleared in several places; e.g. the date of the transfer of the provincial capital to Dacca or Jahangirnagar. On the whole, the claim made for the book in the Introduction has been fully vindicated in the treatment and in the fresh information given about the Ahom and Kuch kingdoms supplementing the existing sources; also new interesting details of contemporary affairs in Bihar and Orissa are furnished, as if from a great quarry of facts. We are glad that the Persian text has been promised a publication by the Editor.

The 'Jayanti Buranji' or 'A Chronicle of Jayantia, with chapters on the political relations of Assam with Cachar, Khyrim

and Bhutan' (1937) is collated from old Assamese chronicles and edited, on the lines of similar previous publications, by the indefatigable Director. In an informative introduction, the value of this *Buranji* is noted as containing new matter about the history of the ancient kingdoms of Jayantia, famous for the shrine of Jayanti Devi. The chronicle ends with the reign of Sivasingha and a brief account of the reception of the Bhutanese and Jayantia envoys by King Kamaleswara Sinha and a relation of the Ahom-Khyram connections. The Jayantia kings were Hindus and did much to transfuse the animism of the hill-folk with Hindu ideas and customs. The introduction by the Assistant Director, Mr. S. K. Dutta, the synopsis of the 13 chapters and of the history of Khyrim, and the appendix are good.

The '*Assam Buranji*' (1938) which is the next publication has been already noticed in our Journal. The '*Tripura Buranji*' (1938), edited by Dr. S. K. Bhuyan, from an old manuscript in the British Museum, with the usual equipment of a learned introduction in English, is a chronicle of Tipperah, written in 1724 A.D. by Ratna Kandali Sarma and Arjun Das Bairagi, Swargadeo Rudra Singha's envoys to Raja Ratna Manikya of Tipperah. It is claimed to be important from the circumstances under which it was compiled, and from the revelations which it contains of the 'international' or pan-Indian interests of the Assamese monarch, Swargadeo Rudra Singha (1696-1714 A.D.), and the mass of information which it presents about the history, topography, resources and customs of Tripura, and about the revolution at the Tripura capital enacted before the eyes of the envoys is instructive. The narrative is held to be well-arranged and contain an account of the products and social customs of the countries beyond the borders of Assam.

The '*Ankia Nat*' or 'A collection of fifteen Assamese dramas written by Sankaradeva, Mathabdeva and Gopaldeva, compiled from old Assamese Manuscripts,' was edited by Mr. B. K. Barua, M.A., B.L., in 1940. The Assamese drama was largely patronised in its early days by monasteries, as monks used to compose a drama first before they were formally ordained as priests. The late Pandit Hemchandra Goswamy collected some of the important dramatic works of the early Vaishnava poets; and the present Editor, Mr. B. K. Barua, Assistant Director of the Department, gives, in his English introduction, an account of the origin, the language, the features of technique, music and

dancing of the drama in Assam, which had, in its origin and early days of development, a purely religious purpose. The plays written by Sankaradeva and other poets of the 16th century were generally known as *Ankia Nat*, being one-act plays. Though termed *Ankia*, these plays have no relation with the *Anka* type of *Rupaka* of the Sanskrit literature. The prose is an artificial diction, mixed with Eastern Hindi, i.e., Maithili, and interspersed with beautiful Sanskrit verses. The *Sūtradhāra* is present on the stage all the time and fills the unrepresented or missing links in the narration; and the *Dūta* and the *Bahua* (or the clown) afford welcome relief. The most striking feature is held to be a co-ordination and harmony of the four elements, song, rhythmic dance, melody from instruments and dialogue. The secularisation of the Assamese drama has been a gradual process, having been greatly encouraged by the Ahom rulers. Mr. Barua gives, in another English essay, an account of the dramatists noticed in the book and their themes, including the six dramas of Sankaradeva, the eight works of Mathabdeva and the *Janma-yatra* of Gopaladeva. Dr. Bhuyan's account of the *Ankia Nat* is appended to the introduction as explaining the part filled by the old dramas in Assamese literature.

'*Nītilatankur*' was edited by Mr. Sarat Chandra Goswami, I.S.O., Inspector of Schools, Assam Valley Circle, Jorhat, in 1941 being a treatise on politics and warfare compiled more than a century ago. It was published only in March last. The editor was assisted by Mr. Pandit Joy Krishna Misra, Lecturer in Sanskrit, Cotton College, Gauhati in bringing out this book. This handbook of *Nītisāstra* was compiled under the patronage of an Ahom official, probably in the time of king Kamaleswara Sinha (1795-1810 A.A.) by one Parasuram Vidya Bagis; and it claims the special merit of being an indigenous exposition of a number of difficult texts of Kamandaka's *Nītisāra*. Kamandaka's work was current in Kamrup, even in the 16th century; and a large number of quotations from him are found in the manuscript. The eight sections of the book are detailed in their contents and among these may be mentioned, diplomatic politics, military operations and battle-arrays and the different *mandalas* or modes of arrangement of the *Prakritis*. The writer evidently possessed wide learning in various branches of Sanskrit literature and one of the special features of his work is the illustration of his concepts by means of clear diagrams.

The next publication that we note is earlier in point of time than the preceding one. It is Buchanan-Hamilton's '*Account of Assam*,' first compiled in the early years of the 19th century as part of the author's survey of the districts of Eastern-India. Buchanan-Hamilton who had conducted a similar survey, in Mysore, Canara and Malabar had to conduct his survey of Assam from outside the kingdom which was then independent of the English. This *Account* forms part of the fourth volume of the Buchanan-Hamilton Manuscripts in the India Office Library which is more accurate than an earlier version found in the third volume. It has been carefully examined by the Editor, Rai Bahadur Dr. Bhuyan, who, in his introduction, says that it represents the result of the third attempt made by the East India Company to collect information about Assam, the first having been projected as early as 1787. Two of the earlier descriptions of Assam are *An Account of Assam* and *A Geographical Sketch of Assam*, both by Dr. J. P. Wade (died 1802) and both of which have been recently edited, the latter by Dr. Bhuyan himself. Hamilton's *Account* is considered to be an important contribution to our knowledge of the political and economic condition of Assam, shortly before its invasion by the Burmese. It is supplemented with an account of the Garos on the south side of the Brahmaputra. In the words of the editor, 'Hamilton's love of accuracy, his sense of proportion, and his previous experience at compiling topographical and scientific reports have all combined to make his *Account of Assam* a valuable contemporary document.' We learn from Mr. G. R. Kaye (*European Mss. in the India Office Library*, Vol. II, Part II, Sec. I) that extracts from Wade's *Geographical Account of Assam* were published in Martin's *History and Antiquities of Eastern India*, Vol. III, pp. 626-659.

Among the extensive Buchanan-Hamilton Manuscripts in the India Office Library, there are several Assam papers besides this descriptive *Account*, as pointed out by Dr. Bhuyan. One of these is the *History of Kamarup* printed as an appendix to the '*Kamarupa Buranji*' in 1930 (Mss. No. 175, European Manuscripts in India Office Library, Vol. II, Part II, Sec. I). This *Account of Assam* of Buchanan-Hamilton forms a very useful companion volume to the publications by the Bihar and Orissa Research Society of the Journals and Survey Reports of the Districts of Bihar, compiled by Hamilton.

The last of the publications of the Department of H.A.S., is its *Bulletin* No. 4, brought out in February 1941, in order to perpetuate the memory of Mrs. Narayani Handiqui, who and whose husband, Mr. Handiqui are held by virtue of their services towards the promotion of Assamese literature and scholarship to deserve remembrance by posterity as the 'generous and patriotic harbingers' of the University of Assam.

All the books noticed here constitute a most creditable record of the D.H.A.S., being the fruit of five years of labour and penetrating into every important field of Assamese literature.

C. S. S.

'THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF GUJARAT' (including Kathiawar).

By Hasmukh D. Sankalia, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D. London. Published by Natwarlal & Co., Bombay. Price Rs. 15, 1941.

The book under notice contains twelve chapters (pp. 1 to 267) on Geography, History, (ancient, early mediaeval and mediaeval), Architecture, Sculpture, Cults, Iconography, Epigraphy, Numismatics, Administration, Society, Religion, and Culture. It is provided with thirteen Appendices. The author himself admits that chapters on "Administration, Society and Religion are not strictly pertinent to the main body of the thesis." The chapters on Geography and History are mostly reproductions of what has appeared in the Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I part I with such changes as have been necessitated by later researches. The author shows a sort of originality in the chapters on Architecture, Sculpture, Cults and Iconography where he has described Sculptures, Stones etc. on scientific lines. Even here his treatment of the subjects has not proved to be as up-to-date and lucid as it should have been. He has compared mediaeval and later temples with those of neighbouring territories and tried to show wherein lie the local peculiarities of the Gujarati builders and what they borrowed from others. His brief pen-picture has not been sufficient to give the laymen clear idea of his hypotheses. If he had given pictures of these temples, from Gujarat and outside, side by side, that would have been a useful addition. Similarly he groups pillars under various types. Photographs of these would have been highly appreciated by the general readers. He has rightly shown that the *Sikharas* were of various types and the photographs given together would have elucidated his statements. The chapter on Numismatics is full of unpardonable blunders. On page 190 the

author tells us that he had studied the Valabhi coins in the British Museum, London. The decipherment of the Valabhi pieces has so far been unsuccessful. Even the latest attempt in the Numismatic Supplement, Vol. XLVII N. 99 (1937-38) leaves much to be worked yet. If Dr. Sankalia had given us the result of his researches in the British Museum and deciphered the legend, that would have been something. But he appears to indulge in platitudes. Curiously enough he states on p. 190 that on one side the Valabhi coins bear the figure of a Bull. This is certainly wrong. Numismatists like Cunningham have so far stated that the Valabhi coins bear on the obverse the bust of the king and on the reverse the legend round the trident. Dr. Sankalia says that he has not materially changed the original thesis. Those who compare chapter VII of this book with its advance print in the Journal of the University of Bombay, Vol. VI part 1 will hold a different view. It is found that the author has in some cases utilised works published as late as 1940 and it is also noticed that he ignores articles published much earlier. Thus on p. 40 he asserts that of Mularaja II no inscription is known. We find that in 1938, the *Buddhiprakasa*, a standing Gujarati Journal, published the Brahmanawada copper-plates of the king. In fn. 4, p. 37 he says that no inscription of Chamunda is published. The *Bharatiya Vidya* (Gujarati) Vol. I, part I published in 1939 an article by Muni Jina Vijaya on a copper plate grant of V. S. 1033 of the king. Its discovery was announced by Jinavijayaji in his address as the Chairman of the History Section of the XII Gujarati Literary Conference. From his statement on page 184, it would appear that the author has not incorporated any material without personally verifying it either *in situ* or from photographs. This criterion has not always been followed. The appendices are a very useful addition. But their value is diminished by the numerous incorrect place names and entries made therein. Before closing this review I would draw attention to two of the many incorrect statements in English that appear in the text. On p. 180 says the author 'When I inquired of the Chalukya coins at Patan' and on p. 247 'Here the reign of probabilities is wide where the sketch may stop.' Comment on these is needless.

In short the work, though grand in plan seems to have been brought out with insufficient care. Otherwise it would surely have been possible for any scholar to avoid all these flaws. The author seems to have likes and dislikes for some of his co-workers. This should surely not be a scholar's attitude. The seventy-eight illus-

trations accompanying the work are useful but the prints appear poor. Better and more photographs would have enhanced the utility of the work. We congratulate Dr. Sankalia for having brought out this work and wish he brings out a better and thorough edition of it in the near future.

A. S. GADRE.

A COLLEGE TEXT-BOOK OF INDIAN HISTORY, VOLUME II. INDIA FROM A.D. 1200 TO 1700. By R. Sathianathaiyer, M.A., L.T., Lecturer, The Annamalai University. Rochouse and Sons, 1941. Price Rs. 3.

The volume covers the period from the establishment of the Sultanates of Delhi in the beginning of the thirteenth century to the practical end of the Muslim period about A.D. 1700 with the crowning triumph of the Mahrattas over Aurangazeb in the War of Independence. It consists of nine chapters and runs nearly to 650 pages. Chapter I deals with the Sultanates of Delhi. Chapter II on South India (i.e., Peninsular India) includes an account of the Reddis of Kondavidu and Rajahmundry besides the Yadavas of Devagiri, the Kakatiyas of Warangal, the Hoysalas of Dvarasamudra and the Imperial Pandyas of Madura. Chapter III deals with Ma'bar or the Sultanate of Madura in addition to the Hayapati or Bhamani Sultans. Chapter IV relates to the Gajapathis of Orissa and the Rayas or Narapathis of Vijayanagar. Chapter V, the most unique feature of the book is devoted to Greater India (1200—1500). Therein the author deals with the history, political and social of Ceylon, Sumatra, Java, Bali, Borneo, Malacca, Thailand or Siam and Burma. It is a continuation of the history of Greater India in his first volume. Chapters VI, and VIII deal with the Mogul Empire (1526—1707) and chapters VII and IX give the history of South India in the 16th and 17th centuries respectively. Thus, it will be seen that more than half the book is devoted to South India—a very commendable feature. Throughout the book there are sections in each chapter relating to social life, economic conditions, culture, literature and architecture.

The author makes many interesting observations in the course of the book and takes his own stand on several disputed questions. The following few out of the many may be mentioned for illustration. He thinks with Sir W. W. Hunter that India did not fall an easy prey to the Muslim conquerors, and that the

Muslim conquest of India was 'slow, difficult and partial.' Islam took nearly five centuries after its initial effort to conquer Northern India and South India was unaffected for nearly a century more. During the eleven centuries of its sway, it attained paramountcy in India for about two centuries only, i.e., the first half of the thirteenth under the Khaljis, the second of the Sixteenth, and the whole of the seventeenth century under the Great Moghuls (pp. 2 and 3). In early Muslim India, the author mentions clerkship was a great crime and no man would give his daughter in marriage to a clerk (page 30). The author protests against the recent attempts of Messrs Gardner Brown, Iswari Prasad, Husain and others at vindicating the character and policy of Muhammad-bin-Tugluk as they cut the ground from under their feet by discrediting the contemporary and impartial testimony of Barani and Ibn Batuta. He rightly observes that such vindications 'have increased, are increasing and ought to be diminished.' (page 55). There is a tendency, he says, in some quarters to discredit the circumstantial details of the story of the infatuation of Alauddin Khalji for Padmini, Queen of Ratna Simha, the Royal King of Chitor (page 91).

The great Madhva of Udupi, the celebrated exponent of the Dvaita philosophy was a muscular saint who is said to have vanquished many wrestlers, consumed 200 *kadali* plantains after dinner, lifted the flag-staff of a temple and even a big rock. (page 122). Regarding the disputed origin of the city and empire of Vijayanagar, the author says, that there is no real evidence for regarding Harihara I and Bukka I as the ex-ministers of Warangal or as connected with the Kakatiya Royal family. Ferishta, the historian, definitely ascribes the foundation to the Hoysala Ballala III. Hampi was included in his kingdom. Bukka I and his successor waged wars against the Andhras. The author, therefore, prefers the Hoysala or the Karnata theory of Drs. S. K. Ayyangar, Saletore and Heras to the new Kakatiya or Telugu theory of Dr. N. Venkataramanayya. (page 177). As for as Vidyaranya's role in the foundations of the city, it is difficult to say whether he gave anything more than his moral support and cautions us against confounding the two Madhavas, namely, Madhava Vidyaranya, the head of the Sringeri Matha and Madhava Mantrin, a scholar-general of Bukka I (p. 176). The author rightly controverts the *obiter dictum* of Dr. V. A. Smith about the Din-Ilahi or the Divine Faith of Akbar as the 'outcome of ridiculous vanity, unrestrained autocracy and a monument of his folly and observes that it is orthodoxy with a vengeance to

condemn it with bell, book and candle without understanding the true idealism of Akbar, the Prince of Dreamers, viz., of the brotherhood of man and of the vision of spiritual union (page 303). To call Sivaji a robber and his state a robber state he says, is to misunderstand his constructive role and that of the Mahrattas in Indian History. No robber state in the history of the world has achieved what Sivaji and his people accomplished. One may as well call Elizabeth the pirate queen because she rewarded piracy with a knighthood (page 583). Francis Day, the founder of Fort St. George was a notorious drunkard and his choice of the site of the fort was partly determined by its proximity to St. Thome where lived his mistress so that their interviews might be the more frequent and uninterrupted!

The nine chapters of the book are illustrated by nine maps, some of them specially drawn by the author for the purpose. Genealogical and chronological tables at the end of the book would have been a great convenience to the reader. Section 33 of Chapter VIII on the stages and causes of the decline of the Mogul Empire may have been reserved for later treatment in Volume III where it would have been more appropriate and more fully dealt with. Abbreviations like M. K. Pandya for Maravarman Kulasekara Pandya and J. S. Pandya for Jata Varman Sundara Pandya may be avoided. On page 546, Shaji's debt to Sivaji is apparently a slip for 'Sivaji's debt to 'Shaji.' The book is surcharged with too many facts for the general reader which, to some extent detracts from the readableness of the book. Perhaps it is the 'defect of a good quality.'

In spite of these minor deficiencies, the volume bids fair to supplement, if not to supersede the existing text-books in the field such as Iswari Prasad's 'A Short History of Muslim Rule in India.' The book is a mine of historical information and evinces the critical scholarship and the long teaching experience of the author on almost every page. The printing and get up of this volume and its cheapness will, we hope, certainly make it accessible to the college students. We most heartily congratulate the author on the production of this excellent volume and on the commendable quickness with which he has followed up his first volume. We shall be eagerly looking forward to his third and last volume from 1700 to the present day.

A. V. R.

Select Contents from Periodicals

The Antiquaries Journal, Vol. XXI, No. 2, April 1941.

The Iron-age Horse-shoe. By J. W. Perkins.

Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, Vol. 24; No. 2.

The evolution of the art of printing in commemoration of the five hundredth anniversary of the invention of typography. Early navigation, its extent and importance. By E. Robertson.

Iraq, Vol. VII, Part 2.

A selection from the cuneiform historical tracts from Nineveh (1927-32). By R. Campbell Thompson.

Ordeal by Oath at Nurzi. By G. R. Driver and Sir John C. Miles.

Antiquity, December 1940.

Archaeology in the Soviet Union. By H. Field and E. Prostou.

Madras Catamarans. By J. Hornell.

History, December 1940.

Chronology, Synchronology and History. By A. F. Pollard.

The New Review, Vol. XIV, Sep. 1941.

The Hamitic Indo-Mediterranean Race. By the Rev. H. Heras, S.J., (stressing that the pre-diluvian races and post-diluvian ones can not racially be contrasted as inferior and superior, and among the latter, the Hamitic nations, now called the Indo-Mediterranean, and originating from 'Dravidian' tribes, created a wonderful civilisation).

The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. XXVII, Part II (June 1941).

Sources of Indian History from 319 A.D. till the beginnings of the Muhammadan Conquests of India. By Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri.

Nawab Munir-ud-Dowla, A Minister of Shah Alam. By S. H. Askari.

SELECT CONTENTS FROM PERIODICALS 243

A Tibetan Account of Bengal, Part II-B, about Candragupta, Cāpakya, Vindusāra and Sri-Candra. By Dr. S. C. Sarkar.

Bijapur Court Letters. By Dr. K. K. Basu.

Brahmanical Counter-Revolution. By B. N. Datta.

(Suggesting the embodiment of the spirit of this revolution in the *Māṇava-dharma Sastra*).

The Journal of the Greater India Society, Vol. VIII, No. 1, January 1941.

Recent progress in Malayan Archaeology. By K. A. N. Sastri.

Theravada Buddhism in Burma. By Dr. Nihar Ranjan Ray.

Man in India, Vol. XXI, No. 1, 1941.

The Sun as a Folk-God. By N. Chaudhuri

Hydro-Selenic Culture. By S. Srikantha Sastri.

(as opposed to Sun and Stone-Cults) (Helio-lithic cults).

Journal of the University of Bombay, Vol. X, Part 1, New Series, July 1941 (History, Economics and Sociology Section).

Sources of Maratha History. By Sir Jadunath Sarkar.

Kanhoji's Angria's Relations with the Portuguese. By G. M. Moraes.

The pre-historic periods in India. By S. N. Chakravarti.

Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute, Vol. II, Nos. 3-4, June 1941.

Monuments of the Yadava Period in the Poona District. By H. D. Sankalia.

The 'Cosmic House' in the Rig Veda. By C. S. Venkateswaran.

Studies in the Nāgārjunikonda Sculptures. By A. V. Naik.

(Dealing with the weapons of offence, weapons of defence, architecture, furniture, toys and musical instruments).

Arabic version of the Mahabharata legend. By R. G. Harshe.

(As translated into French by M. Reyanud from the original Persian, as extracted from an Arabic work of 1206 A.D.).

The Bengal Episode in Maratha History. By T. S. Shejinalkar.

(An attempt to present a correcter perspective and to show that the invaders were neither so rapacious nor so ruthless as depicted by historians).

Literary personages of Ahmadnagar. By C. H. Shaikh, Part I.

(Dealing with the literary work of the great Shah Tāhir Husaini, who spread Shi'ism in the Deccan, Zuhuri, Qummi and others).

Journal of the Madras University, Vol. XIII, No. 2 (July 1941).

Nālandā. By K. A. Nilakanta Sastri. (Stress of the influence that it exerted on Buddhist thought and religion in the "Eastern Countries.")

The Theory of Two Kopperunjingas. By S. R. Balasubrahmanyam. (Maintaining the theory of one ruler of the name to whom the three Chidambaram records refer).

Annals of Oriental Research of the University of Madras, Vol. V, Part 2 (1940-41).

Place-Name Suffixes in Tamil. By R. P. Sethu Pillai.

Turning points of Kannada Literature. By M. Mariappa Bhat.

Modern Tendencies in *Kathākālī*. By Dr. C. A. Menon.

Notes on Some Ancient South Indian Political Geographical names. By Dr. V. Raghavan.

(Prehara of the Tālagunda Inscription is a river of Aparānta, *Asmaka*, contiguous to or part of Vidarbha; *Pallava* and *Tairajya Pallava* as indicating the territory ruled by the Pallavas and the Pallava kingdom comprising three (?) units; *Dramila* as applied to the whole Tamil country and to the Pallavas as the northernmost Tamil power; and *Sibi* (Chola territory).

Journal of the Sri Venkateswara Oriental Institute, Tirupati, Vol. II, Part I, Jan.-June 1941.

Central Teachings of the *Maṇimēkhalai*. By N. Aiyaswami Sastri. (An interpretation of the contents of Sec. XXX of the work in the light of Pali and Sanskrit works, so as to assess the real value of Aravaṇa's teachings).

The Vedanarayanaperumal Inscription, Anur. By Diwan Bahadur Dr. S. K. Aiyangar. (Showing that this epigraph, datable in 999 A.D. mentions that the *Mīmāṃsa* was a science of 20 chapters; and that the Chh. 17-20, known as *Brahmakanda* existed fully by 2 decades before the birth of Ramanuja who has been

charged with having foisted it on to the two accredited divisions of 12 and 4 chapters respectively; and the Vaishnava tradition has been from even before the epoch of Ramanuja to treat the whole *Mīmāṃsa* as a unitary science and that, perhaps, Sabara and Kumarila might have effected a division).

The Editor of this Journal makes the following remark about us :

"Under Dr. S. K. Aiyangar's care, "the Journal has aged 20 years and is now in the front rank of the historical journals of the world."

The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. XXVII, Part I, March 1940.

The Wall-Paintings of Ajanta. By G. Yazdani.

The Rise of the Rajputs. By B. N. Datta.

Firoz Tughluq and his Bengal Campaign (from *Sirat-i-Firozshahi*). By Dr. K. K. Basu.

Mir Jumla and the English in Madras (1655-58). By J. N. Sarkar.

The Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. XVII, No. 1, March 1941.

No. 2, June 1941.

"*Calukyas of Kalyani*. By S. L. Katre.

The Talpurs of Sind. By M. Yasin.

The North-West Frontier of the Sultanate during the Thirteenth Century. By U. N. Day.

Defence of Patna against the apprehended Pindari Incursion of 1812. By Prof. K. Mitra.

Guṇapātaka. By P. K. Gode.

The Muslim Conquest of Bengal. By N. B. Roy.

Kṛṣṇa Deva Raya's Economic Policy. By Y. Venkataramana.

Epithets of an Arhat in the *Divyāvadāna*. By Dr. E. J. Thomas.

Date of the Earliest Sanskrit Inscription of Champa. By Dr. D. C. Sarkar (holding that the *Vo-cañh* record is not earlier than the 4th Century A.D.).

The Vatsagulma copper-plate grant of King Vindyaśakti II. By Dr. D. C. Sarkar.

Date of the Kalacuri Kokkala I. By K. C. V. Jain. (held to be the contemporary of Krishna II, Rashtrakuta and Bhoja I, Pratihara and to have ruled between cir 840 and 885 A.D.).

- Studies in Early Buddhist Historiography. By Dr. U. N. Ghosale.
- Identification of Parantaka and Porus. By Dr. H. C. Seth.
- The Position of Wives other than the first in Vedic Ritual. By Dr. J. B. Chaudhuri.
- Buddhist Evidence for the Early Existence of Drama. By Dr. O. H. de A. Wijesekara.
- Two Inscriptions of Gopala III of Bengal. By Dr. N. K. Bhattasali.
- The Eight Great Chaityas and their Cult. By Dr. S. C. Bagchi.
- Notes on Schorer's Account of the Coromandel Coast. By Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari.
- King Raghava of the *Amogha Raghava Campi*. By A. G. Warier (holds that he was Vira Raghava Chakravarti of Kerala).

EDITORIAL NOTE

The inordinate delay in the issue of the Journal, due to unavoidable circumstances: his own illness, delay in proofs returning from distances and heavy work in the press is much regretted.

Our Exchanges

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

- The Gaekwad's Oriental Series*, Oriental Institute, Baroda.
 The Superintendent, Government Museum, Madras.
The Federated India, Madras.
 The Superintendent of Archaeology, Gwalior State, Gwalior.
 Verlag Der Asia Major, Leipzig C1, Scherlstr, 2.
 Triveni, Editor, Y. M. I. A. Buildings, 9, Armenian Street, Madras.
Journal of the Madras Geographical Association, Cathedral P. O., Madras.
Journal of the Bombay University, Senate House, Bombay.
Muslim University Journal, Muslim University, Aligarh.
 The Karnatak Historical Research Society, Dharwar.
The Punjab University Journal, Lahore.
 The U. P. Historical Society, Lucknow.
Indian Culture, The Indian Research Institute, 170 Manicktola St., Calcutta.
 Bharathi, The Bharathi Office, 7, Thambu Chetty Street, G. T., Madras.
Karnataka Sahitya Parishat, Sri Krishnarajendra Parishat Buildings, Hardinge Road, Chamarajpet, Bangalore City.
The Man in India, Ranchi.
The Journal of the Greater India Society, 21, Badurbagan Row, P.O., Amherst St., Calcutta.
Brahmavidya; The Adyar Library Bulletin, Adyar.
The Journal of the Benares Hindu University, Benares Hindu University P.O.
Ostasiatische Zeitschrift, Berlin Und Leipzig, Verlag Von Walter De Gruyter & Co.,
 Indiana, Gandhigraham, Benares City.
Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute, Poona 6.
The Poona Orientalist, 15, Shukrawar, Poona 2.
Journal of the Sri Venkateswara Oriental Institute, Tirupati.

ERRATA

Volume XX, Part 1, page 8, line 8 for "Professor Nilakantha Sastri" read "Nilakantha".

"On p. 314 of the *Journal of Indian History*, Volume XIX, part 3, Madras (December 1940) I have quoted a passage from the Descriptive Catalogue of the Jesalmir Bhandar compiled by C. D. Dalal and edited by L. B. Gandhi in 1923. The extract quoted by me from this catalogue is from the portion prepared by Mr. L. B. Gandhi and not by the late Mr. C. D. Dalal as stated by me through oversight."

P. K. GODE.

THE GUPTA ERA

(ADDENDA)

DR. K. R. NATH MOOKERJEE

Since the publication of the article entitled 'The Gupta Era' containing astronomical verifications only in the last April issue of this journal three more dated verifiable inscriptions in the Gupta era were brought to my notice which I take up now.

The Walā (Kāthiāwār) Museum Plate of Śilāditya (III) is dated 'Sam. 343 dvi-Āṣāḍha'. Now G. E. or V. S. 343=A.D. 285=K. Y. 3386. The initial day of Solar Vaiśākha in K. Y. 3386 was March 18-8987, A.D. 285. The months of Vaiśākha and Jyāṣṭha total 63-2556 days and the month of Āṣāḍha consists of 31-4753 days. Therefore the initial day of Solar Āṣāḍha in A.D. 285 was 20-25 May and the last moment of solar Āṣāḍha was 20-73 June. Now there was one new moon on May 21-82 and another on June 20-17 in A.D. 285. Both these new moons occurring in solar Āṣāḍha in K. Y. 3386 the month of Āṣāḍha was intercalary this year which might be called prathama-Āṣāḍha according to one custom. The grant was, therefore, dated in the dvi-Āṣāḍha which was the śuddha (natural) lunar month.

Another plate of the above Śilāditya III (E. I. Vol. XXII, No. 19) is dated Sam. 357 dvi-Pauṣa.

Now as stated already the Kārttikādi system which was in vogue in the Valabhi territory beginning some six months earlier than the Caitrādi system G. E. or V. S. 357 (Kārttikādi) began from September A.D. 298. Calculating as before the initial day of solar Vaiśākha in A.D. 298 was 19-2625 March. Therefore the initial day of mean solar Vaiśākha was (19-2625 + 2-17, or) 21-4325 March in A.D. 298. Therefore the initial day of mean solar Māgha in Sam. 357 (=K. Y. 3389) was (21-4325 Mar. + 273-9440 or) 20-37 December A. D. 298 and the last day of mean solar Māgha was (20-3765 December + 20-4382 d, or) 19-8147 January A.D. 299. Now there was one mean New Moon on 20-50 December, A.D. 298 and another mean New Moon on 19-60 January

A.D. 299. Both these mean New Moons falling in mean solar Māgha, the month of Māgha was intercalary this year which might be called dvi-Pauṣa according to one custom, thus exactly verifying the data in the inscription.

The Madasara, now Barton Museum (Bhavanagar) plates of Śilādityā IV is dated Sam. 387, dvi-Pauṣa. Now calculating as the previous one G. E. or V. S. 387=A.D. 328-29. The initial day of solar Vaiśākha in A.D. 328 (=K. Y. 3429) was 17·9460 Mar. (Brahma Siddhāntā). Therefore the initial day of mean solar Vaiśākha in A.D. 328 was (17·946 Mar. + 2·173 d, or) 20·119 March. Therefore the initial day of mean solar Pauṣa was (20·119 Mar. + 243·5058 d. or) 18·625 Nov. and the last day of solar Pauṣa was (18·625 Nov. + 30·438 d, or) 19·063 Dec. A.D. 328. Now there was one mean New Moon on Nov. 18·80 and another mean New Moon on Dec. 18·33 in A.D. 328. Both these mean New Moons falling in mean solar Pauṣa the month of Pauṣa was intercalary this year which might be called prathama-Pauṣa, according to one custom. Thus the grant was dated in the second or dvi-Pauṣa which was the śuddha (natural) lunar month.

CORRIGENDA

- For 'Aśvanī' in several places read 'Aśvinī'.
- p. 73, l. 10 for 'Madhya-gatyā tha bhogena' read 'Madhya-gatyā bha-bhogena'.
- p. 74, l. 36 for 'Nakṣatrlā sahodayam asen vā' read 'Nakṣatreṇa saho-dayam astam vā'.
- p. 74, l. 38 for 'māsa rameṇaiva' read 'māsa krameṇaiva'.
- p. 74, l. 44 for 'pacadase tithak' read 'pacadaśe tithau'.
- p. 75, l. 27 for 'ṣaṭpancāsothare bde śata' read 'Ṣaṭpancāśottare bda-śata'.
- p. 75, l. 37 for 'informed' read 'inferred'.
- p. 76, l. 4 for 'Mahā' read 'Maghā'.
- p. 76, l. 22-23 for 'in an article. The Early.....in 1938, is as yet un-published' read 'in an article entitled 'The Early....in 1938, as yet unpublished'.
- p. 76, l. 26 for 'tri ṣaṣṭyuttaro....tri saptyuthare' read 'tri ṣaṣṭyuttaretri saptyuttare'.
- p. 76, l. 30 for 'Dyepthā śuddha pancamyām and in the' read 'Dyepthā śuddha pancamyām is written in place of Jyeṣṭhā śud-dha pancamyām and in the'.
- p. 76, l. 31 for 'Ṣaṣṭke' read 'Ṣaṣṭhe'.
- p. 77, l. 7 for '12 years cycle of' read '12 years cycle of Jupiter'.
- p. 77, l. 14 for '217·8, 13·4,' read '217·8, 13·4,
- p. 81, l. 29 for 'corrected once, and no matter' read 'corrected once more, and no matter'.
- p. 81, l. 39 for 'Therefore the 1st day of solar' read 'Therefore the last day of solar'.
- p. 81, l. 42 for '28·58 d' read '20·58 d'.
- p. 84, l. 8 for 'Astronamisse' read 'Astronomische'.
- p. 84, l. 14 for 'Calukya' read 'Caulukya'.
- p. 84, l. 18 for 'occurrence' read 'occurred'.
- p. 84, l. 26 for 'Bhumitika' read 'Bhumilika'.

To face page 36—Vol. XX, part. 1.

