

Vol. XX, Part 1.

April, 1941

Serial No. 58



**JOURNAL
OF
INDIAN HISTORY**

(Published three times a year)



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Rājasēvāsakta

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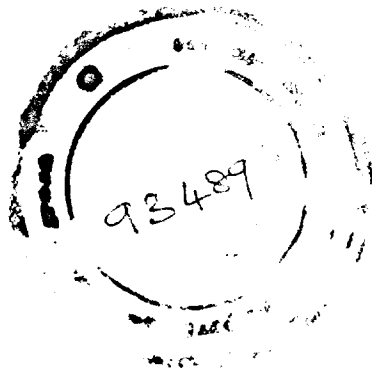
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G. S. PRESS, MADRAS.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
IDENTIFICATION OF 'INDRARATHA OF ADINAGARA' FOUND IN TIRUMALAI INSCRIPTIONS OF RAJENDRA CHOLA I—By P. Acharya, B.Sc., M.R.A.S., F.R.A.I., ..	1
THE FIRST TWO ANGLO-MYSORE WARS AND ECONOMIC DRAIN ON BENGAL—By Dr. Kalikinkar Datta, M.A., PH. D., P.R.S. ..	12
FALSE CHALLENGE AGAINST THE SENIORITY OF THE JODHPUR HOUSE—By Pandit Bisheshwar Nath Reu, Sahitya- charya. ..	22
IS THE UTTARA KANDA OF VALMIKI RAMAYANA UN- HISTORICAL?—By Sardar Rao Bahadur M. V. Kibe, M.A. ..	28
A NOTE ON THE PURANA QILA OF DELHI—By Dr. S. N. Sen ..	35
THE MOGUL FAMILY AND THE COURT IN 19TH CENTURY DELHI—By Dr. T. G. P. Spear, PH. D. ..	38
CATURMAHADVIPAS—By K. A. Nilakanta Sastri ..	61
SOME TRIBES OF ANCIENT INDIA—By Dr. Bimala Churn Law, PH. D., M.A., B.L., F.R.A.S.B. ..	65
THE GUPTA ERA—By Dharendra Nath Mookerjee ..	71
JAIN RELIGIOUS ORDERS IN THE KUSHANA PERIOD—By Baij Nath Puri ..	85
A NOTE ON THE NOMENCLATURE OF CHOLA OFFICIALDOM—By S. K. Govindasami, M.A. ..	93
GANGU BAHMANI—By Professor H. K. Sherwani, M.A. (OXON), F.R.H.S. ..	95
TIMUR SHAH'S ARMY IN 1793—By Hari Ram Gupta, M.A., PH. D. ..	100
GLIMPSES INTO DOMESTIC AND SOCIAL LIFE FROM A STORY IN THE DASAKUMARACHARITA—By Dr. Dines Chandra Sircar, M.A., PH. D. ..	105



CONTENTS (Contd.)

	PAGE
ANNALS OF OLD MADRAS: JUDGE-ADVOCATES: ADMIRALTY COURT—By K. Narasimhachari, M.A.	.. 111
LAST DAYS OF GURU GOVIND SINGH—By Ganda Singh	.. 120
MUSIC—By Sri K. D. Rukminiyamma, B.A.	.. 133

SUPPLEMENT

PESHWA MADHAV RAO I'S LAST CARNATIC EXPEDITION—By Anilchandra Banerjee, M.A.	.. 1
THE COMMERCIAL RESIDENCY OF PATNA—By Hari Ranjan Ghosal, M.A., B.L.	.. 12
PARTITION OF SIRHIND PROVINCE BY THE SIKHS, JANUARY, 1764 —By Hari Ram Gupta, M.A., PH. D.	.. 19
ADMINISTRATIVE INTERFERENCE IN THE SALTPETRE TRADE OF INDIA IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY—By Jagadish Narayan Sarkar	.. 31



Rajasevasakta

DEWAN BAHADUR DR. S. KRISHNASVAMI AIYANGAR, M.A., HONRY. PH.D.

Journal of Indian History

SPECIAL NUMBER

THE JOURNAL OF INDIAN HISTORY was started in 1921 by Professor Shafaat (now Sir Shafaat) Ahmad Khan soon after his appointment to the Chair of Mediaeval and Modern Indian History in Allahabad. Professor Khan's enthusiasm and industry alike carried it through the first two volumes, but almost at the outset of the third volume, he began to experience difficulties which grew so rapidly that he had to resolve to give up the enterprise without completing Volume III notwithstanding the very best efforts that he made to keep it going. Our present Editor-in-Chief, who became associated with the Journal from the second volume, and had made an important contribution or two to it, was given intimation of it just in the course of the publication of the third volume, of Dr. Khan's resolution to stop further publication of the journal which then was being published by the Oxford University Press. He thought that it would be a great pity at the time to drop the journal which had been brought out at so much pains, and wished, if it were possible, to save it from that early extinction. Just about that time, Dr. Narendranath Law of Calcutta had projected the publication of the Indian Historical Quarterly, while the Journal of Indian History which had had two or three years of existence already was on the eve of being stopped. Dr. Law had however gone too far forward to accede to the request to combine and carry on. Dr. Aiyangar was left to his own resources exclusively if the Journal of Indian History was to continue in existence. The Madras

University had then been transformed by the new Act into a teaching University, and Dr. Aiyangar hoped that that offered an opportunity for running the journal under the auspices of the new teaching University of Madras. The Vice-Chancellor at the time, the late Rev. Dr. E. M. Macphail, while in full sympathy with the intentions of Dr. Aiyangar, felt bound in good conscience to dissuade him from taking it upon himself to publish the journal, pointing out what great sacrifices he and some of his colleagues of the Christian College had to make to keep the Christian College Magazine going, a journal of a more popular character and naturally of a wider appeal, associated as it was with one of the biggest colleges in Madras. After a struggle of about six months, Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar ultimately decided to take upon himself the whole responsibility of conducting the journal. The veteran Editor of the *Indian Antiquary*, the late Sir Richard Temple, who was early apprised of Dr. Aiyangar's effort, considered it a very bold venture, as he actually said so in his review in the *Indian Antiquary* of the first double issue of the *Journal of Indian History*. Dr. Aiyangar who had for years been acquainted with the Madras Diocesan Press, arranged to take over the publication from the Oxford University Press, and handed it over to the Madras Diocesan Press, both from the point of view of convenience and of economy in expenditure on printing and publication. By sheer hard work and considerable effort, he was able to beat up sympathy for the work and was able to continue the publication of the journal under somewhat more encouraging auspices for the next few years. He was easily able to get the sympathy and active assistance of a number of workers, and gradually brought the journal up to a pretty high standard of a research journal, which won the appreciation of savants like the late W. H. Moreland, who wrote without hesitation that it was easily the best journal reaching him from India. While therefore, after five years of hard work,

he succeeded in securing a recognised position for the journal, the finances of the journal did not cease to be causing anxiety. By sheer persistence and exertion in the good cause, he managed to gain the sympathy of some of the Universities, such as the Madras University, the Annamalai University, the Osmania University and the Bombay University, all of which rendered some assistance by annual grants for varying periods. The journal nevertheless received appreciation from high quarters for the quality of its work, and enabled the Editor single-handed to go on with the good work. As a measure of desirable retrenchment, the printing was taken over from the Diocesan Press with their consent, and arrangements were made with Mr. G. Srinivasachari, B.A., to print it in the G. S. Press, which had then newly started lino-type printing in Madras. This was a very desirable change, as it became necessary for the Editor to retrench expenditure, having retired from his Chair at the University. This change was brought about in 1931 just over a year after his retirement. The journal has since been printed and published by the G. S. Press to whom much credit is due.

There were several occasions during these years when Dr. Aiyangar was forced to consider seriously whether it would not be worth while shutting down. After a severe struggle each time, he continued the good work, notwithstanding the great pecuniary sacrifices which it involved. The only reward for all the sacrifices was the appreciation of competent critics in regard to the character of the journal, such as those of Sir Frank Noyce of the Government of India and Sir Richard Burn, Editor of the Cambridge History of India, not to mention others who are now no more. Sir Frank Noyce expressed himself in the following terms in a recent letter to Professor Rao Saheb C. S. Srinivasacharyar: "I have the greatest admiration for the work that Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar has done to Indian History, and I am much disappointed that it has not

received an adequate recognition. I did not know that the Journal of Indian History was started by Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan, but I know that it owes its continued existence to him (Dr. S. K. Aiyangar) and that it has involved heavy pecuniary sacrifices on his part." The journal has struggled on valiantly through twenty years of existence, and has reached the twentieth volume with the number for April, the month in which the Editor completes his 70th year.

During the last few years, he had the assistance and co-operation of a few friends who have acted as Associate Editors, among whom both Rao Saheb Prof. C. S. Srinivasacharya of the Annamalai University and Mr. V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar of the Madras University have rendered him good service by active assistance.

During this long period the Editor has been the recipient of recognition all over the country for his work on the journal in addition to his work at the 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 these got to be actually published. Since his retirement about the end of 1929, his work has to be seen almost exclusively in the pages of the Journal of Indian History. He was elected in 1931, President of the Indian History Congress, Bombay, the first organisation of the kind to be called into existence. He was invited to open the Historical Exhibition in connection with the Indian History Congress inaugurated as a permanent organisation in Poona in 1935. He was elected President of the All-India Oriental Conference for its Mysore session in 1935. In concluding his speech on the occasion of the opening of the session, His Highness the Yuvaraja of Mysore said :—
"In conclusion, Ladies and Gentlemen, I should like to remind you that we in Mysore feel that we can claim a share in your learned President, who is himself a Mysorean and has spent a large part of his distinguished career in the ser-



WELCOME TO THE PRESIDENT AT THE STATION.



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vice of the State. I am sure that, while he will prove a most able controller of your deliberations, he will, if you ask him, make a no less efficient a guide to the places of beauty and historical interest which I have commended to you.....". He was associated with the Indian Historical Records Commission ever since 1923 when he had actually to conduct the session for that year in Madras. He has attended all the meetings of the Commission ever since, and was made a full member of the Commission in 1930 and continues yet to be a member. It is his work on the journal which led to his unanimous election to the Presidentship of the Lahore Session of the Indian History Congress in December 1940.

In the meanwhile, his long years of work in the field of Indian History have had highly valuable recognition from elsewhere. Several of his works have received high appreciation. His publication, *South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders*, received full appreciation in a long review in the Times Literary Supplement, and great appreciation from Professor Margoliouth in the English Historical Review. For his work *Manimekhalai in Its Historical Setting*, he was awarded the great Silver Medal by the Institut Historique et Du Heraldique De France, apart from commendatory reviews in journals and great appreciation from scholars of eminence like Professor Jacobi. He was the earliest Indian scholar invited to contribute to the Cambridge History of India. Professor F. W. Thomas in his presidential address to the Oriental Conference at Trivandrum made the following appreciative remarks on his work as a whole:—"A second retirement threatened by your late President and Permanent Honorary Secretary, Dewan Bahadur Dr. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar, will, we may hope, in the face of your unanimous protest remain in the state of *prag-abhava*. Vainly could he urge, in the presence of a senior successor, that, like Dr. Jha, he has received in the form of a large Commemoration Volume, replete with notable essays, a sort of winding-up statement. Others have survived that experience and

continued undaunted on their old lines. The plant of South Indian History and antiquities, objects of his youthful cult and life work, fostered not only by his own important and original volumes, but by the writings of his progeny of pupils and by his editorial care on behalf of the *Indian Antiquary*, the *Journal of Indian History* and the late Mr. Sewell's large chronological conspectus of *The Historical Inscriptions of Southern India*, can still not spare the tendance of the scholar who keeps it under his eye from its earliest period to the Nayaks of Madura."

The most signal appreciation of it all is the award, on the report of an expert Committee, of the Campbell Gold Medal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1938, in December 1940. What is really more is the appreciative language in which the award was made. The Hon'ble Chief Justice Sir John Beaumont, President of the Society reported that "the selection of Dewan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar was unanimous" and proceeded thus:—"The Society is proud to recognise the *valuable services he has rendered to learning in general and Indian History in particular*. In selecting him, there is no doubt, that the tradition associated with his medal has been fully maintained, and, I am sure, that all Oriental scholars will be glad to feel that a scholar of the eminence of Dr. Aiyangar has received this token of regard and appreciation of his valuable and scholarly efforts." His Excellency Sir Roger Lumley presented the medal in response, with the following words:—"Dewan Bahadur Dr. Aiyangar's contributions to a knowledge of the history and traditions of this vast sub-continent *will be a guide and an inspiration to all future explorers in those fields of difficult and laborious study*. It is in every way fitting that one who had made by his teaching and writings such a good contribution to history in South India should be honoured by this Society."

Those of us who are anyway associated with the journal are very proud indeed of these achievements, and count it

our good fortune to have the expert guidance of one who through forty-five years of his life devoted himself to the pursuit of a study of Indian culture and expounding it so effectively. We wish him health and happiness through the remaining period of his life, which, let us pray, may yet be long and fruitful in the good cause. In token of our appreciation of his life-long labours, we have great pleasure in offering these volumes, containing the more important of his writings, which appeared as separate papers in the first instance, apart from works already published by him in the shape of books. We are indebted to Dr. N. G. Sardesai, L.M.S., of the Poona Oriental Book Agency, for his co-operation, which made this presentation possible, and we take this opportunity to offer our very sincere gratitude to him.

—The Journal of Indian History Jubilee Committee.

Volume I. Part I. Pages 1-158.

Serial No. I

Journal of Indian History

Published by the Department of Modern Indian History three times yearly.

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NOVEMBER 1951

The East India Trade in the XVIII Century	Dr. Shafat Ahmad Khan	1
Sources for XVIII century British India in the British Archives	Dr. Shafat Ahmad Khan	25
Documents on the East India Trade	Dr. Shafat Ahmad Khan	37
The East India Company's War with Aurangzeb	Dr. Shafat Ahmad Khan	70
Mughal Government	Dr. Shafat Ahmad Khan	92
The Administration of Sher Shah	Dr. Shafat Ahmad Khan	128
Growth of Kaji Imperialism	Dr. Shafat Ahmad Khan	147
Reviews of Books	Dr. Shafat Ahmad Khan	178

PUBLISHERS

UNIVERSITY MICROFILMS

CHICAGO UNIVERSITY PRESS

400 NEW YORK AVE. CHICAGO, ILL. 60606, U.S.A.

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JOURNAL OF INDIAN HISTORY

PUBLISHED THREE TIMES A YEAR

Vol. XIX, Part I December, 1951 Serial No. 18

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Vol. XIX, Part I December, 1951 Serial No. 18

Vol. XIX, Part I December, 1951 Serial No. 18

Vol. XIX, Part I December, 1951 Serial No. 18

Vol. XIX, Part I December, 1951 Serial No. 18

Vol. XIX, Part I December, 1951 Serial No. 18

Vol. XIX, Part I December, 1951 Serial No. 18

Vol. XIX, Part I December, 1951 Serial No. 18

Vol. XIX, Part I December, 1951 Serial No. 18

Vol. XIX, Part I December, 1951 Serial No. 18

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Vol. XIX, Part I December, 1951 Serial No. 18

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Vol. XIX, Part I December, 1951 Serial No. 18

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Vol. XIX, Part I December, 1951 Serial No. 18

Vol. XIX, Part I December, 1951 Serial No. 18

Vol. XIX, Part I December, 1951 Serial No. 18

Vol. XIX, Part I December, 1951 Serial No. 18

Vol. XIX, Part I December, 1951 Serial No. 18

Vol. XIX, Part I December, 1951 Serial No. 18

Vol. XIX, Part I December, 1951 Serial No. 18

Vol. XIX, Part I December, 1951 Serial No. 18

Appreciations

(1) *Dewan Bahadur C. V. Visvanatha Sastriar, B.A., B.L., District Sessions Judge, (Retired) Madras.*

Dewan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Iyengar, the Editor-in-Chief of the *Journal of Indian History* completes the Biblical limit of age, i.e., three score and ten in April. The *Journal of Indian History* with which he has been connected all along, and which owes its upbringing to him is now in its twentieth year. A distinguished worker in the field of Indian History and Archaeology, who has devoted nearly 40 years of his life in this direction with the highest credit to himself and honour to his country, it is but meet that his personal friends and admirers have thought it proper to commemorate his 71st birthday in a fitting way, by bringing out a collected edition of his most important lectures.

The learned Doctor is every inch a self-made man. He has risen by dint of hard and earnest work, without any adventitious circumstances, to the position he now holds in the field of historical research. I presume I am right when I say that he graduated in Branch II-A (Physics), and that his optional language was Tamil. He took his M.A. degree in History and rose to be University Professor of History in our University. This is a great feat by itself. But his indomitable energy did not stop here. He studied the Sanskrit language with great assiduity and care, and has attained in my humble opinion, a very high degree of proficiency in it. As an instance I might refer to a recent publication by him in the Gaekwad Oriental Series of a rare Sanskrit work—*Paramasamhita* with a very learned Introduction, and a perfect translation of the text in English. His introduction to *Manimekhalai* reveals a profound knowledge of the various systems of Hindu Philosophy; and not the scrappy knowledge which most people get by reading imperfect translations of the original texts. All this shows that he is a versatile genius to whom no sphere of knowledge is too intricate to master. I claim his acquaintance for many years, and yet did not know that he was well acquainted with the ancient civilisation of such remote countries as Mexico and Peru. Only the other day I listened with delight to a radio talk given by him on this subject. With what lucidity he described these civilisations, can only be known to those who heard his talks.

As a recipient of the Sir John Campbell Gold Medal, he has brought great renown and credit to South India. He has placed the ideal of every writer of History on a very high pedestal as will be evident from the following extract from his Presidential Address at the Indian History Congress at Lahore held in December last. "We have no right whatever to make history subserve our purposes, however noble they may be in themselves; and the value of a study of history is lost completely for good and for evil by the slightest interference with the records of their actual course." This high ideal he has scrupulously carried out in all his works. Further on he said, "the function of the historian is to serve honestly the Muse of History," and there can be no two opinions on the question whether he has stood to this ideal.

That he still retains a vigorous brain, and is capable of undertaking laborious tasks, is clear from his recent works—*Seran Vanji* and *History of Tirupati*. It is to be hoped that he will live to see the fruition of the appeal made by him in his Presidential Address at Lahore for the compilation of a comprehensive History of India on scientific lines." Endowed with so much learning, and being 70 years of age he is as simple as a child, feels quite at home with all classes of persons, cracking jokes now and then, making cynical remarks, but all the time with a smile on his face. At the Cosmopolitan Club his presence is always welcomed.

We have every reason to be proud of him, and only wish that he will be spared many, many more years of active and vigorous life. "*Shatam Jiveta Sharada Savitrah*" is my humble prayer and I am sure all who know him will join with me in this invocation.

(2) *P. V. Kane, M. A., LL.M., Advocate, High Court Bombay and Vice-President, Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.*

I am glad to hear that you will shortly complete 70 years. I heartily congratulate you on this, much more so that in spite of this rather patriarchal age for a modern Indian you retain all the energy and fire of your earlier days. I am also glad that the *Journal of Indian History* is entering on its 20th year just at this time. I regret that owing to my own preoccupations with the 2nd volume of my *History of the Dharmasastra* (which it is intended to bring out before the first week of May) I cannot find time to

write anything at such short notice. I however send my humble felicitations to you on your attaining 70 years, and, on this happy occasion, that the journal which, under your fostering care for so many years, has secured a place for itself among journals dealing with ancient, mediaeval and modern India has reached the 20th year. I have been a constant reader of your journal since its beginning when it was first edited by Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan. You have taken all Indian History for your province in the journal, and I have always noted with pleasure and admiration thoughtful and learned articles it contained, contributed by yourself and other distinguished scholars whom you have brought within your fold. Individually your work for ancient and historical Indian History has been of the highest order and the Bombay Asiatic Society of which I happen to be one of the Vice-Presidents has recently shown its appreciation of your work by conferring on you its Gold Medal. I hope and pray that for many more years to come, you will carry on as industriously and fruitfully the work of research in Indian History as you have done for the last forty-five years or so, and that the *Journal of Indian History* may not only keep up its position in the years to come, but may attain a higher place among the journals dealing with Indian History.

With good wishes for your health and prosperity.

(3) *Sir Mirza Muhammad Ismail, C.I.E., "Amin-ul-Mulk", Dewan of Mysore.*

I am very glad to learn that my learned and esteemed friend, Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Iyengar, is shortly completing his seventieth year and that on this happy occasion his many friends and admirers are arranging to present him with a volume comprising his contributions to the study of Indian History.

I am also interested to know that a Special Number of the *Journal of Indian History*, of which Dr. Krishnaswamy Iyengar is the Chief Editor, is also proposed to be issued in connection with this event.

Dr. Krishnaswamy Iyengar is an old friend of mine. He is one of those for whom I have great personal regard, and for whose erudition and historical scholarship I have nothing but deep admiration and respect. His contributions to the study of Indian History have extended over many years and have been distinguish-

ed alike for their magnitude and their importance. I venture to say that he can with justice look back upon his long educational career with every feeling of pride and satisfaction.

The exceptional position he has come to occupy in the field of Indian Historical Research has recently been recognized by the award of the Campbell Gold Medal by the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, and it was certainly a well deserved tribute which His Excellency the Governor of Bombay paid to Dr. Krishnaswamy Iyengar when he said on the occasion of the presentation of the Medal that his work would serve as "a pride and an inspiration to all future explorers."

I should like to take this opportunity to felicitate, with all warmth, Dr. Krishnaswamy Iyengar on coming to celebrate the completion of "three score years and ten" of his life, and to wish him long years of health and happiness.

(4) *Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, K.C.S.I., Dewan of Travancore.*

I know what valuable work you have done in connection with the revival and maintenance of interest in South Indian History. On the occasion of your 71st birthday, let me take the opportunity to congratulate you sincerely on having, in spite of many other avocations conducted the journal until it has reached the 20th volume. You have broken new ground in the field of South Indian History, and what is more, have established the tradition of careful and conscientious work and detached outlook. I wish you many more years of fruitful activity."

(5) *Sir R. K. Shanmukham Chettiar, K.C.I.E., Dewan of Cochin.*

On the occasion of the completion of the second decade of the life of the *Journal of Indian History* I wish to send my cordial greetings to those associated with this journal, especially to Dr. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar. It will be no exaggeration to say that the credit for bringing this journal to its present academic reputation should go entirely to Dr. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar. We owe a deep debt of gratitude to Dr. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar not merely for what

he has done to establish this journal but for the great contribution that he has made to the study of history especially of South Indian History. The study of the History of South India had been neglected for a long time, and Dr. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar has practically been the pioneer in this field. Please convey my regards to him on this occasion.

(6) Dr. M. Krishnamachariar, Director, Sri Venkatesvara Institute,
Tirupati.

श्रीवेङ्कटाद्रिनिलयः कमलाकामुकः पुमान् ।
अभंगुरविभूतिर्वः तरंगयतु मंगलम् ॥

Identification of 'Indraratha of Adinagara' found in Tirumalai Inscriptions of Rajendra Chola I.

By

P. ACHARYA, B. Sc., M.R.A.S., F.R.A.I.,
State Archaeologist, Mayurbhanj State.

PARAKESARI Varman Rājendra Chola Deva ruled from 1012 to 1044 A.D., and in his Tamil *Praśasti* of the 13th year recorded first in the Tirumalai Inscriptions, mention has been made of the conquest of a number of kings and countries lying between the Godavari and the Ganges, which are not found in his inscriptions of the 9th year and so it seems that during the period from the 10th year to 12th year of his reign, i.e., from 1022 to 1024 A.D., he was engaged in the expedition to Bengal through the hilly tracts of Bastar, Sonpur and Sambalpur, Keonjhar, Mayurbhanj, Dhalbhum and Vishnupur. That this route is of ancient date is found to be true from the following description of Major Markham Kittoe who first surveyed in 1838 the Calcutta-Bombay Dak road from Midnapore to Sambalpur and of Mr. J. D. M. Beglar who made an archaeological survey as an assistant to Major-General A. Cunningham in 1874-75 and 1875-76 in the same area.

After the survey of the open country Major Kittoe writes :—

"I reached the foot of the pass called "Nitai Maungur" (Nitai Mānagaḍa) or the "Thacoorani" ghat from the hill of that name, which commands it; x x x it was here on this occasion where I observed a break in the hills to the northward of the pass, that led to the discovery of a defile by which this valley can be entered with a scarcely perceptible ascent, I further discovered that a fine road existed by which many years ago merchants used to travel, it is now blocked up with fallen trees, overgrown with high grass, there are several tanks and mango topes, one of the former called the Brinjarah's tank. Judging from the vast number of large peepul and banyan trees of great size and age that occur by the road side, together with what information I was able to collect, I think that the road must be of great antiquity¹."

1. J.Ā.S.B. (1839), p. 675.

Coming from the east, one meets with this first hill range called Similipal in Mayurbhanj and thereafter the Baitarani valley stretches from this place to the Gandhamardan range in Keonjhar State; on the west of the Gandhamardan range stretches the Brahmani valley separated by another hill range from the Mahanadi valley in the Sambalpur tract.

Mr. Beglar's report on this ancient road is quoted below :

"Some years ago a great find of gold coins containing, among others several of the Roman emperors, Constantine, Gordian, etc., in most beautiful preservation, were found near Bamanghati, x x x. The finding of these coins at Bamanghati shows that it lay on some great line of road from the sea port Tamluk to the interior, for it is more probable that they came in via Tamluk than overland from the Roman empire. A road from Tamluk to Barahat would pass through Bamanghati, Porahat, Konkelnagar, Barampur all said to be ancient places of note; further the road from Ratanpur and Rajam would also naturally pass through Bamanghati or Bamanhati and on through or near Kichong (Khiching) which last I have seen and the remains of interest in which I will notice further on²." Several copper plates belonging to the 9th and 10th centuries A.D. of the Bhanja kings of Khijjingakotta, modern Khiching, the ancient capital of the Bhanja kings of Mayurbhanj, have been discovered from the Bamanghati Sub-division of the Mayurbhanj State and the recent discoveries of Punch-marked coins there throw light on the earlier antiquity of the place.

Professor Nilakanta Sastri in his book on 'The Cholas' gives the full translation of the text of the Tirumalai inscription at pages 248-49 and the portion necessary for this paper is quoted below:—

" (He seized) x x x x x a large heap of family treasures together with many (other) treasures (which he carried away), after having captured Indraratha of the ancient race of the moon together with (his) family, in a fight which took place (at) Adinagara, (a city) whose great fame knew no decline; Oddaviṣaya which was difficult of approach on account of its dense forest defence; the good Kosalai-nadu, where brahmins assembled;³"

2. Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Vol. XIII. pp. 72-73.

3. *The Cholas*, Vol. I, 1935, pp. 248-49.

The text of the Tamil *Praśasti* of the Tirukkalar⁴ copper plate of the 18th year and the Tanjore inscription⁵ of the 19th year is essentially the same with that of the Tirumalai inscription so far as the northern India expedition of Rājendra is concerned. Four other inscriptions belonging to the 16th and 17th year have been published in nos. 464, 635, 636 and 639 of the *South Indian Inscriptions* Vol. V, but I have not been able to utilise these texts for want of the English translation.

In the Tirumalai inscription Hultzsch read the name of the king as 'Dhiratara' in 1890⁶ and he changed his reading to 'Indiradan' in 1891⁷ with the foot note stating that "this doubtful name might be the corruption of Indraratha. If the reading of the Tirumalai inscriptions should turn out to be the correct one, the king's name would be either Dhiratara or Iradaran." At that time the location of *Takkana lādam* and *Uttira lādam* was identified with southern and northern Lata or Guzrat, and following Hultzsch's suggestion of the king's name as Indraratha, Kielhorn in his *Inscriptions of Southern India* No. 733, identified him with Indraratha of the Udayapur inscription who was at war with Bhoja-deva and since then the reading of the name of the king in the Tamil text has been accepted by all as Indraratha and Professor Nilakanta Sastri writes as follows in this connection:—

"Of Indraratha of the lunar race whose defeat at Adinagar led to the surrender of the Odra (Orissa) country and the (southern) Kośala, nothing can be added to Kielhorn's suggestion that he might be the same as the opponent of Bhoja of Dhāra mentioned in Udaipur inscription.⁸"

Mr. A. C. Banerjee in his paper on "*Chola invasion of Bengal*" wrote the following which corroborates Kielhorn's suggestion:—

"Indraratha: This king has not been identified with any known member of any Orissan dynasty. In the Chola records his family... is described as belonging to the Lunar race. Very curiously, in the Udepur *Praśasti* of the Paramara king Udayāditya, mention is made of a king named Indraratha, defeated by Bhoja of the same family. The known dates of Bhoja range from V. S.

4. *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, pp. 465-69.

5. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 105-9.

6. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 99.

7. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 108.

8. *The Cholas*, Vol. I, p. 250.

1076 to 1103, that is about 1019 to 1046 A. C. Mr. D. B. Diskalkar, taking into account the popular tradition about the duration of Bhoja's reign, has concluded that his reign period probably extended from V. S. 1056 to 1111. The known dates of Rājendra Chola range from A.D. 1010 to 1042. Therefore it is possible that this Indraratha is the identical king mentioned in the Chola records.⁹

In favour of Kielhorn's identification of this doubtful name Indraratha with the opponent of Bhoja of Dhāra, it can be safely said that Mr. Venkayya's subsequent suggestion for identification of Lādam with Virāta or Berar, was misleading to many due to the geographical proximity of both the countries; but now it has been definitely settled that Tamil *Takkana lādam* stands for Dakshina Rādha, an ancient kingdom in eastern India. So the king named 'Indraratha' belonging to the ancient race of the moon, is to be searched in eastern India in the neighbourhood of Odra and Dakshina Kōśala and not in western India, and the correct identification of this king depends on the identification of 'Ādinagara' the capital of the king.

Hiralal's identification of 'Sakkargottam' with Chakrakotya¹⁰ in Bastar State and R. D. Banerjee's identification of 'Tandabutti' with Dandabhutti¹¹ in Midnapore area and 'Takkana Ladam' with Dakshina Rādha¹² in South-west Bengal, made me curious regarding the location of the city of Ādinagar in the area covered by the modern Province of Orissa and Orissa States in the Eastern States Agency and finding no place bearing that name, it struck me that the Tamil text of Yayātinagara mentioned in the copper plate grants of the Somavamśi kings of Utkala and Kōśala had been incorrectly read as Ādinagara. In November, 1939 I wrote to the Government Epigraphist for India suggesting the reading of Yayātinagara in the Tamil inscriptions of Rājendra Chola dealing with his expedition to Ganges and in reply the Assistant for South Indian Epigraphy wrote to me in his D.O. letter dated the 30th November, 1939 as follows:—

"Though in the Tirumalai inscription the reading Ādinagara is clear, in the Tirukkalar copper plate inscription of Rajendra Chola (S.I.I. Vol. III, p. 407) the text may be read as Yayāti-nagara etc. In another inscription of this king (S.I.I. Vol. V, No.)

9. J.R.A.S., 1935, p. 658.

10. E.I., Vol. IX, p. 179.

11. Memoirs of the A.S.B., Vol. V., *The Palas of Bengal*.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 71.

464) the portion concerned reads *Van-girti Ayadinagar* etc. It is not impossible that *Yaiyatinagar* and *Ayadinagar* in these two records may have been meant for *Yayatinagara*."

Up till then I had no knowledge in the existing literature on the Chola kings and in December 1939, I sought help from Professor Nilakanta Sastri at Calcutta during the 3rd. session of Indian History Congress and he was very kind to advise me to refer to his book on "The Cholas" on procuring which I found a reference to Dr. S. K. Aiyangar's paper on 'Gangai-konda Chola'¹³ in which Dr. Aiyangar wrote as follows:

"It seems to me that Indraratha was the dominating ruler of whole region and these were places of importance in his territory; and Indraratha must have belonged to the dynasty of the Somavamśis of Cuttack, a ruler who has not yet come within the ken of the epigraphist though no doubt the late Professor Kielhorn noted an Indraratha among those defeated by king Bhoja of Dhāra. His capital Sādinagar (Sādinagar of Tamil hitherto read Adinagar, Jainagar of the Muhammadan historians) is not other than Yayātinagar, believed to be the foundation of one of the early Kesari kings of Orissa. This Yayātinagar is identified with a place called Binka (Sonepur Binka of the mals) on the river Mahanadi by Pandit Hiralal.¹⁴"

Dr. Aiyangar correctly guessed the identification of the ruling family to which 'Indraratha' belonged and 'Ādinagar' with Yayātinagar the capital of the Somavamśi kings of Kōśala and Utkala but he failed to give his reason for writing "Sādinagar of Tamil hitherto read as Ādinagar" and on this ground Professor Sastri rejected his suggestion stating that Dr. Aiyangar "did not say how he got his new reading Sādinagara."

Let us see how the records of the Somavamśi kings help us in the identification of Yayātinagara and the name of the king mentioned in the Chola records. Pandit Binayak Misra has dealt with 21 inscriptions of this dynasty in his book '*Dynasties of mediaeval Orissa*' pp. 66-71 with a genealogical table. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar has also included all these 21 inscriptions in his "*Inscriptions of Northern India*" and has given also a genealogical table at pp. 403-4 under "Somakulis of Trikalanga." In Pandit Misra's list there are two Yayātis whereas in Dr. Bhandarkar's

13. Sir Asutosh Mukerji's Silver Jubilee Volumes, *Orientalia*, Part II, pp. 541-587.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 550.

list there are three Yayātis. I will discuss this point below but I am giving here the names of kings according to Dr. Bhandarkar's list with the places of residence of the kings or places of issue of the copper plates against each king for my purpose.

Names of kings according to Dr. Bhandarkar's list.	Year of the grant	No. in L.I.N.I.	Place of residence or issue of the grant
1. Mahāśiva-gupta Yayāti deva I.	(1) Samvat 3	No. 1556	Vijaya Kataka Pattana Subarnapura
2. Mahābhava gupta Janamejaya	(2) " 3	No. 1557	" Suvarnapura
	(3) " 6	No. 1558	" Muraśima
	(4) " 6	No. 1559	" "
	(5) " 8	No. 1560	" "
	(6) " 31	No. 1562	" "
	(7) " 31	No. 1563	" "
3. Mahāśiva gupta Yayatirāja deva II	(8) " 31	No. 1564	" "
	(9) " 8	No. 1565	" Vinitapura
	(10) " 9	No. 1566	" "
	(11) " 15	No. 1567	" "
	(12) " 24	No. 1568	— Yayātinagara
4. Mahābhava-gupta Bhīmartha	(13) " 28	No. 1569	— "
	(14) " 3	No. 1570	" "
5. Mahāśiva-gupta Dharmaratha	(15) " 13	No. 1561	— "
	—	—	—
6. Mahābhava gupta Nahuṣa	—	—	—
7. Mahāśiva gupta Yayāti III,	—	—	—
8. Mahābhava gupta Udyota Keśari	(16) " 4	No. 2076	— Yayātinagara
	(17) " 18	No. 1572	—
9. Abhimanyu	—	—	—
10. Somesvara	(18) " 1	No. 1744	— Suvarnapura

The inscriptions Nos. 1568 and 1569 mention that Yayātinagara was on the bank of the Mahanadi.

IDENTIFICATION OF INDRARATHA OF ADINAGARA 7

Suvarnapura of the above inscriptions has been correctly identified with modern Sonpur situated at the confluence of the Tela river with the Mahanadi. Messrs. B. C. Mazumdar¹⁵ and Hiralal¹⁶ have identified Vinitapura with modern Binika or Binka on the Mahanadi in the Sonpur State. Hiralal further suggests as follows :—

"The name Yayātinagara was apparently imposed upon Vinitapura during the reign of Yayāti otherwise known as Mahāśivagupta. It is noteworthy that prior to his time the name Yayātinagara does not occur in any inscription. In fact he himself used the older name Vinitapura in the records of the 8th and 9th years of his reign, which fact shows that till then the idea of naming the town after himself had not occurred to him. It was probably somewhere between the 15th and 24th years of his reign that the town changed its name. Since then the official name seems to have become Yayātinagara, and we have in all four inscriptions mentioning it, two of which belong to the 24th and 28th years of his own reign, and two to the 3rd and 13th years of his son's. This name apparently continued to be used as long as Vinitapura was the capital, at least in official circles, but as is well known the original name usually sticks so persistently in the popular mind that it is difficult to eradicate it. Many a monarch has endeavoured to change the names of big cities after his own, but the old name has naturally asserted the ground, and I suppose the same happened with Vinitapura, which name can now be traced in the corrupted form Binka."¹⁷ Pandit Binayak Misra suggests that "Yayātinagara should be in the Sambalpur District. Rai Bahadur Hiralal identifies this place with Binka in the Sonpur State, but there is no relic of antiquarian interest to support this identification."¹⁸

Yayātinagar finds mention in *Pavana duta* or the wind messenger composed by poet Dhoyi Kavirāja whose date according to the calculation of M. M. Chakkraverti falls "in the fourth quarter of the 12th century"¹⁹ interesting details of the ancient geography of India are furnished in the description of countries and people the wind messenger would have to

15. E.I., Vol. XI, p. 102.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 189.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 189.

18. *Dynasties of Mediaeval Orissa*, p. 75.

19. *J. & P.A.S.B.*, Vol. I, Ns., p. 45.

pass over from the hill range called Malaya in southern India. The poet then described Kalinganagari from where following the foot of the Vindhya range inhabited by the Sabara tribes, the wind messenger is directed to visit Yayātinagara (Nagarīmākhyayatām yayāteh) and then it would move on to Suhma-desā on the Ganges and then arrive at Vijayapur the capital of Suhma. Prof. Nilakanta Sastri in commenting on Bhima's conquest in eastern India (Sabha-Parva) remarks 'Suhma Radhāh'.²⁰ The route of the wind messenger from Yayātinagara to Vijayapura in Suhma (same as Radha) in south-west Bengal lay in the same direction to that of Rajendra Chola in 1022-24 A.D. Again the Muslim historians of the 13th and 14th centuries of the Christian era called Orissa as Jainagar and this shows that the name of Yayātinagara continued to be remembered long after the invasion of Rajendra Chola. Modern Binka town in Sonpur may or may not be the site of ancient Yayātinagara but it is certain that Yayātinagara was situated on the bank of the Mahanadi somewhere in the Sonpur State or the Sambalpur District which was the capital of the Somavamśi kings of Utkala and Kośala in the beginning of the 10th century A.D., when Rajendra Chola invaded the kingdom, but the knowledge of the exact site of Yayātinagara would no doubt, help us to investigate further the forgotten past of the kingdom. The geographical situation and the archaeological remains of the Sonpur town go in favour of the identification of Yayātinagara there and not at Binka according to Hiralal's argument, but it is better to wait for the discovery of the archaeological evidence.

This identification of the locality of Yayātinagara the capital of the Somavamśi kings whose genealogical list furnishes us with two kings named Bhimaratha and Dharmaratha with 'Ratha' endings in their names, helps us to conclude that the Tamil text of the inscriptions of Rajendra Chola recorded the King's name as Dharmaratha and his capital as Yayātinagara; but unfortunately these names were not correctly deciphered from the inscriptions carelessly written by the scribe who was ignorant of pronouncing Sanskrit words. Much ink has been split over the question and much ingenuity has been displayed in conjectures as to the route by which the army of Rajendra Chola reached Bengal and I hope to discuss other questions of this invasion later on in a subsequent paper.

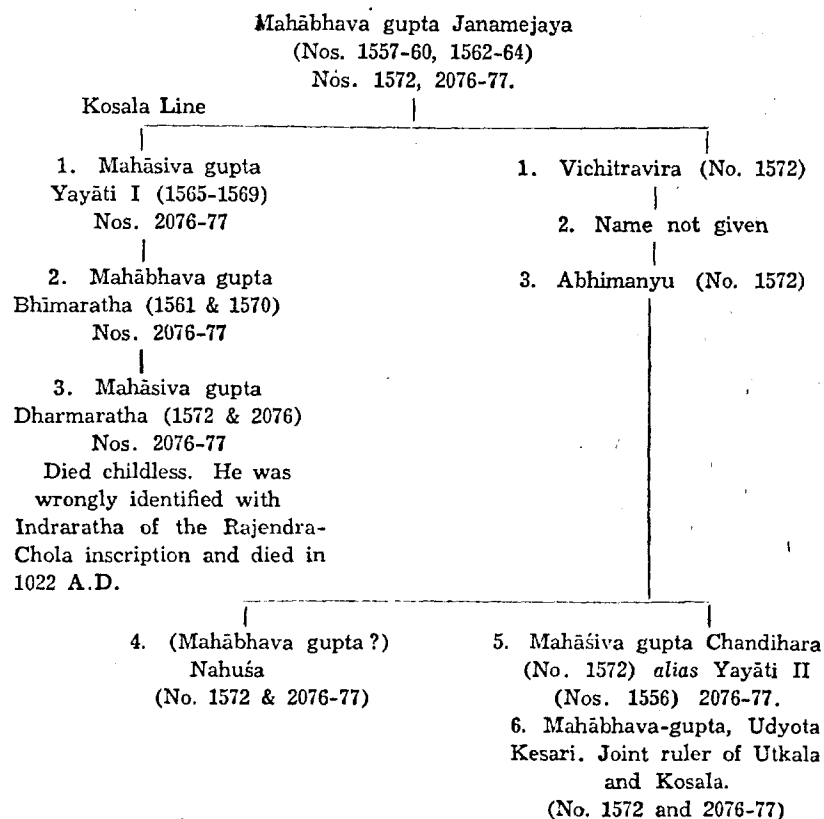
20. J. & P.A.S.B., Vol. IV, p. 284.

Now an objection may be raised as to how I have suggested that the correct reading of the king's name in the Tamil inscription is Dharmaratha and not Indraratha which is found in the Sanskrit text of the Tiruvalangadu copper plate²¹ verse 114. In reply, I can say this much, that by the time when Sanskrit verses were composed for Tiruvalangadu plates, the people forgot the name which was perhaps copied from the Tamil inscriptions in which it was written as pronounced by the scribe. When Hultzsch read it he found the name as 'Dhiratara' and he left a remark that "the doubtful name might be the corruption of Indraratha." Unfortunately I have not been able to consult with any Tamil epigraphist and so I am not very sure about the suggestion; but the readings of Hultzsch tempted me to suggest the king's name as Dharmaratha. It has been shown above that Indraratha of Udaipur inscription has nothing to do with Rajendra Chola's invasion of Bengal. If the reading of the text of Rajendra Chola's Tamil inscription will not permit us to accept the name of Dharmaratha, then there would be no harm in assuming a king named Indraratha in the family; but the genealogical list as prepared from the Narsinghpur and Ratnagiri copper plate grants and Brahmesvara inscription does not allow us to arrive at such conclusion. The Brahmesvara inscription was first published in the journal of the Asiatic Society in 1838 pp. 557-62 and as its original inscription slab is missing now, no one attempted to prepare a text from the facsimile print of it. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar has remarked that "some more kings of this dynasty seem to be mentioned in No. 1572 but this inscription requires to be carefully edited before we can utilise it for genealogical purposes."²² I have prepared a correct and revised reading of the text of this inscription from the facsimile print and in this inscription the genealogical list of the Somavamśi kings of Kośala line is given according to that of Narsinghpur copper plate and the *Praśasti* gives also the list of the Utkala line. The titles of Mahabhavagupta and Mahāśivagupta are not found in the *Praśasti* of the Brahmesvara inscription and on the other hand the text of Narsinghpur copper plate altogether omits the names of Vichitravira, Abhimanyu and Chandihara (*alias* Yayati II). This is rather strange to see such differences in one official document and in another private one belonging to the same king. The verse 9 of the Narsinghpur copper plate goes to state that Yayati II was made the king of two kingdoms Utkala and

21. S.I.I., Vol. III, Part 3, p. 400.

22. L.I.N.I., page 404.

Kośala by warrior chiefs²³ and in the verses 7 and 8 of the Brahmesvara inscription similarly narrate that Chandihara was made king by the ministers and well managed both the kingdoms. However from the study of both the inscriptions one can prepare the following genealogical list:—



Names of kings mentioned in No. 1744 cannot be reasonably connected with the above list and so it is omitted.

It seems that there is a direct reference to Rājendra Chola's invasion in the verse 6 of Brahmesvara Inscription. In the Narsinghpur Copper plate no out-side attack on the country is mentioned and this is due to perhaps the panegyrist's intentional omission of the defeat of his patron's ancestor; on the other hand the Brahmesvara inscription is not strictly an official document and as its *Praśasti* is the composition of a famous poet who perhaps

did not hesitate to record the historical events. The verse runs as follows:—

Tasmin—gate divam—aputriṇi rājamalle
Nānābhaṭair—upahate sakalepi rāṣṭre
Deśantara—stītavati pravaḷa—pravīre
Kalah kiyan—agamad—atra yathā kathanchit.

“When he the Rājamala (the best of the Rajas) departed into heaven without issue, and all his kingdom was laid waste by various warriors of other countries, sometime passed away until the arrival of the powerful hero who was residing in another kingdom in the neighbourhood.”

The above arguments leave no room for any doubt as regards the correct identification of the king Dharmaratha of lunar dynasty of Yayatinagara with ‘Indraratha’ of the ancient race of the moon of ‘Adinagara’ as mentioned in the Tamil inscriptions of Rājendra Chola.

Up till now no inscription of the Somavaṃśi kings of Utkala and Kośala or no reference to these inscriptions was found which threw light on the definite date of this dynasty and by this identification we are now in a position to ascertain the period of these kings who were famous in the history of Orissa and were known as belonging to the Keśarī dynasty of the Madlapanji (Chronicles of Jagannatha temple at Puri) tradition.

23. J.B & O.R.S., Vol. XVII, p. 21.

The First two Anglo-Mysore Wars and Economic Drain on Bengal

By

DR. KALIKINKAR DATTA, M.A., PH.D., P.R.S.

THE stupendous economic drain on the resources of Bengal was indeed a highly obnoxious feature in the economic history of the province during the eighteenth century. The gravity of the evil, during the post-Diwani period, was pointed out more than once,¹ by the English Company's Government in Calcutta. Thus the Select Committee in Calcutta observed in its letter to the Court of Directors, dated the 26th September, 1767:—"We have frequently expressed to you our apprehensions lest the annual exportation of treasure to China should produce a scarcity of money in the country. This subject becomes every day more serious, as we already feel, in a very sensible manner, the effects of the considerable drain made from the silver currency. Experience will ever yield stronger conviction than the most abstract and refined reasoning".² After enumerating several causes of the economic drain on Bengal, Mr. Verelst in his letter to the Court of Directors, dated the 26th September, 1768, remarked: "I say, the aggregate of these several exports must appear inevitably and immediately ruinous to the most flourishing state, much less to be deemed tolerable to a declining and exhausted country!"

But the "fatal policy of exporting treasure was invariably pursued"³ and it was subjected to a virulent criticism by the great English orator and statesman, Edmund Burke, in his speech on Fox's India Bill, delivered in 1783.⁴

1. Letters from the Select Committee in Calcutta to the Court of Directors, dated 31st January, 1766; 24th March, 1766; 9th December, 1766.

2. A similar opinion was again expressed by the Select Committee in its letter to the Court of Directors, dated 16th December, 1767.

3. Verelst, *A View of the Rise, Progress and Present State of the English Government in Bengal*, p. 87.

4. Quoted in *The Economic History of India under Early British Rule* by R. C. Dutt, pp. 49-50.

Besides various other factors,—such as the growing volume of the investments⁵ of the English and other European Companies without giving any corresponding benefit to the province but at its "sole expense",⁶ the export of bullion to China for the English Company's China trade, the decline of the "free trade of the natives",⁷ and the remittance of the private fortune of the English Company's servants through bills of exchange drawn on the European Companies,—the wars of the English Company in other parts of India caused a tremendous strain on Bengal's resources.

The other Presidencies in India had to be supplied with annual remittances from Bengal even to meet their ordinary expenses. The Select Committee in Bengal wrote in its letter to the Court of Directors, dated the 3rd February, 1768, that "sixteen lacks have been already forwarded to that Presidency (Madras), and the remaining eight lacks will follow in a few days." Mr. Verelst in his letters to the Court of Directors, dated the 21st September, 1768 and the 5th April, 1769, referred to "large sums" sent from Bengal to Madras and other Presidencies. We read in the Report of the

5. Cf. (a) "The large investments, which we are now enabled to send home, by means of the supplies we remit to China, and the cargoes from hence, render the revenues of this country an object of the utmost importance, not only to the Company but to the British nation. As these are the only means we can at present devise, whereby you can enjoy the full fruits of his Majesty's royal grant of the Dewanny, we shall continue to exert our utmost endeavours to extend the investment every year; and we propose continuing to supply the China market with money, until your prohibition to the contrary shall arrive, or advice from the Super-cargoes, that they have a superfluity in their hands. Inconveniences will undoubtedly attend this annual exportation of treasure; but when we reflect on the great addition already made to the current specie of the country by the gold coinage, and likewise that even should your sales fall, yet will every increase of your investment prove so much actual money remitted to your coffers, we are inclined to think this the most eligible system that can be pursued at present. We are further to consider that while foreign nations are providing their investments with money borrowed at a high premium, you are only sending home in goods the surplus of an immense revenue, which may truly be regarded as so much clear gain to the Company and to the nation." Letter from the Select Committee to the Court of Directors, 9th December, 1766.

(b) "Each of the European companies, by means of money, have greatly enlarged their investments, without adding a rupee to the riches of the province." *Ibid.*, dated 26th September, 1767.

6. Verelst's Letter to the Court of Directors, 5th April, 1769.

7. *Ibid.*

Committee of Secrecy, 1773, that such remittances, in bullion, bill, goods and stores, between May 1761, and April 1771, amounted to £2,358,298. The Ninth Report of the Select Committee 1783 writes: "Bengal sends a regular Supply in time of Peace to those Presidencies which are unequal to their own Establishment. To Bombay, the Remittance in Money, Bills, or Goods, for none of which there is a Return, amounts to One hundred and Sixty thousand Pounds a year at a medium."

This was done in conformity with the orders of the Court of Directors, repeatedly insisting on the principle of mutual co-operation among the Presidencies since the outbreak of Anglo-French conflicts in India.⁸ The Company's Government in Bengal also realized the importance of mutual help, especially in times of wars with the various powers. Thus the Select Committee in Calcutta observed in its letter to the Court of Directors, dated the 26th September, 1767:—"Although we are fully of opinion the Honourable Company's interest demands our outmost attention to avoid differences with the country powers, yet the present circumstances of your affairs are such as absolutely to require that your influence should be maintained with vigour, and all encroachments repelled with spirit. The harmony subsisting among the Presidencies and the ready and mutual assistance they afford upon all occasions of necessity, will not fail to impress the minds of the natives with just sentiments of our policy and strength. For this reason chiefly we are resolved to enter cheerfully into the measures adopted on the coast, that our enemies may see our dependence is not alone on the forces maintained at either of the Presidencies, but on the armies kept up in the different parts of India which, though separated at a great distance, can so easily and expeditiously be united. Neither are we without hopes, that the unusual spectacle of black troops, pouring into his country from Bengal, may stagger the Subah's (the Nizam's) courage, and induce him to grant those conditions before, which he cannot expect after the sword is once unsheathed."

Thus on the outbreak of Anglo-Mysore hostilities in 1767 and the formation of a confederacy among Hyder Ali, the Nizam and the Marathas, the government in Calcutta, on the requisition of the Presidency at Fort St. George, sent there three battalions of sepoys, "to enable them, by a vigorous effort, to reduce the subah to terms of accommodation, or to establish such a system of policy in the Deccan, as circumstances may render necessary."⁹ They also pro-

8. Chatterjee: *Verelst's Rule in India*, pp. 192-93.

9. Letter of the Select Committee to the Court of Directors, 26th September, 1767.

mised to reinforce Madras with a 'complete brigade' if the situation there required a further supply.¹⁰ Early in October, 1767, three sloops of the Company carried to Madras two hundred Europeans "for the security of the Presidency".¹¹ Again, in the course of a few months a detachment, under Colonel Joseph Peach, went from Bengal to Masulipatam.¹²

The despatch of these troops must have caused considerable expenditure to the Bengal Government. They had further to send money and men to Madras to help that Presidency in the prosecution of war. Thus the Select Committee in Bengal informed the Court of Directors on the 16th December, 1767:—"...at their request we furnished the Presidency of Fort St. George with three lacks; and will within a few days send them a further supply of five lacks. The scarcity of silver, which already prevails, obliges us to make this remittance in gold, notwithstanding we are sensible that a very considerable loss will arise, upon account of the high value of gold mohurs". The commander of the ship Egmont, carrying the detachment under Colonel Peach to Masulipatam, was instructed to proceed to Madras "with gold to the amount of five lacks of rupees."¹³ "The demands made on us from the Presidency of Madras, for the support of war, amounts," wrote the Select Committee in another letter to the Court of Directors, dated the 24th March, 1768, "to 20 lacks of rupees. We have determined to supply them with 12 lacks from your treasury and have desired them to appropriate three lacks for that use from the sums we have remitted thither, for the service of your China investment. They will, by such means, be furnished with an immediate supply of 15 lacks of rupees, to enable them to prosecute the war against Hyder Ali; and we have promised them a further sum of five lacks, early in September, should they require it."

The Secret Department at Fort St. George still laboured "under great inconveniences from the want of money to enable them to pursue their operations with great vigour" which they deemed "essentially necessary for the reduction of Hyder Ali".¹⁴ So the Calcutta Government shipped (November, 1768) on board the Admiral Watson and the Plassey Schooner "to the amount of eight

10. *Ibid.*

11. *Ibid.*, dated 6th October, 1767.

12. *Ibid.*, dated 5th January and 3rd February, 1768.

13. *Ibid.*, dated 5th January, 1767.

14. Bengal Select Committee's Letter to Court, 21st November, 1768.

lacks of rupees for that Presidency".¹⁵ They believed that further demands would be made on them from the same quarter and intimated to the Court of Directors "the impossibility of the Council's sending any silver this season for the use of the China investment".¹⁶ As a matter of fact, early in the next year six lacks of rupees (of the late gold currency) were sent from Calcutta to the gentlemen at Madras on board the Dutton "to answer their urgent occasions."¹⁷

But in spite of Bengal assistance in the shape of men, money and other war materials, the repeated successes of Hyder Ali reduced the affairs of the Company on the Coast "to the lowest ebb of distress",¹⁸ and the Madras Presidency, "sensible of the many dangers"¹⁹ surrounding them, sent a "most pathetic accounts of their situation" to Calcutta.²⁰ They soon received an additional sum of two lacks of rupees, sent on board the Experiment, a country vessel.²¹ The Calcutta government calculated that the "safe arrival of their several late remittances" will enable the English at Madras to fight against Hyder Ali till the month of September, 1769, and assured them that in future they "may depend on being supplied with an annual sum of twenty six lacks of rupees, to commence from the month of October next, so long as it is to tend to the actual support of the war they are at present engaged in", provided they themselves were not "compelled to enter into warlike operations in defence of these provinces." They "candidly offered" their opinion to augment their supplies to thirty lacks of rupees, if the necessities at Madras increased, even by putting a stop to their investments.²²

These remittances from Bengal, besides causing scarcity of silver in that province and even adversely affecting the condition of the English Company's exchequer there, undoubtedly added to the general distress of the "sinking country."²³ The Select Committee in Calcutta entertained well-grounded apprehensions regarding their evil consequences. It wrote to the Court of Directors on the

15. *Ibid.*

16. *Ibid.*

17. *Ibid.*, 6th January, 1769.

18. Select Committee's Letter to Court, 6th April, 1769.

19. *Ibid.*

20. *Ibid.*

21. *Ibid.*

22. *Ibid.*

23. Letter from the Select Committee to the Court of Directors, 21st November, 1768.

24th March, 1768: "The great demands which have been made on this Presidency for supplies of money from every quarter, have reduced your treasury to a very low state, and alarm us for the consequences which must inevitably attend such a vast exportation from this country. We are apprehensive that the very great scarcity of silver must affect your investment for the ensuing season, as it is with the utmost difficulty we now procure sufficient for the immediate necessary advances for that purpose." In expectation of further demands being made upon them by the Secret Department at Fort St. George and in view of other necessary expenses, the Select Committee declared in its letter dated the 21st November 1768 "the impossibility of the Council's sending any silver this season for the use of the China investment."

It was soon reported to the Secret Department at Fort St. George by Mr. Brome, envoy of the Bombay government at the court of Poona, that the Peshwa Madhava Rao would march into the Carnatic to the assistance of Hyder Ali.²⁴ This could not but render the situation more critical for the English. The Select Committee in Bengal, on getting this information from Madras, wrote to the Court of Directors on the 6th January, 1769, that the apprehended alliance between Hyder and the Peshwa "would not only render the event of the war dubious, but would likewise deprive the Company of the revenues they now collect from the Carnatic, and oblige us to drain this exhausted country of still greater supplies of treasure". While sincerely assuring the Madras government of further help the Select Committee in Calcutta "could not but inform them of the very distressed state to which this country (Bengal) must inevitably be reduced, by such considerable exportation of its specie."²⁵ The Bengal government indeed felt it to be their duty to render the best possible assistance to Madras, when the vital interests of the English were at stake in course of the deadly conflict with Hyder. "To give them (Madras government) every possible assistance from hence", informed the Select

24. Madava Rao was in fact publicly negotiating at this time with Hyder with a view to drawing the tribute from Mysore without actually sending an army for that object, so that he might be more free to chastise Jaunji. Hyder, a master of diplomacy, did not fail to see through the real design of the Peshwa. The much apprehended alliance between the two did not take place. Grant Duff, *History of the Mahrattas* (Edward's Edition), Vol. I, p. 559; *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, 3rd Session*, pp. 1337 and 1498-1501.

25. Select Committee's Letter to the Court of Directors, 6th April, 1769.

Committee in Calcutta to the Court of Directors on the 6th April, 1769, "we have deemed it indispensably a duty we owe to you, our honourable employers; for being servants of the same masters, and being engaged in one general cause, we have regarded the welfare of our settlement of Fort St. George equally with our own." But in a rather disgusted attitude, it is also observed therein: "Little did we imagine, after the very large supplies which have been sent them (Madras government) this season for the support of the war, that their necessities would so increase as to compel us to curtail the investment, which the Council have given you the greatest reason to expect from this Presidency in the ensuing year. But such is the only means which can be devised for enabling us to grant them any effectual assistance". No further pecuniary assistance for the prosecution of the war was required immediately, as Hyder Ali and the English had already concluded a peace on the 4th April, 1769.²⁶

But during the Governor-Generalship of Warren Hastings, the Company was faced with a more critical situation due to the hostility of Mysore as well as the Marathas and the dubious and vacillating policy of their 'fickle ally' the Nizam. Thus the success of Hyder Ali in the Carnatic in 1780 caused considerable anxiety to the Madras Council and compelled it to write to the supreme government in Calcutta for help. The Governor-General, Warren Hastings, at once realized the gravity of the situation, as is clear from the following observation in his Minute, dated the 25th September, 1780: "This is not a time either for long deliberation at home or the formal and tedious process of negotiation abroad. The calamity which has befallen us upon the Coast, and the alarming superiority which Haider Ali Cawn has acquired in the Carnatic, the despondency of the Government of Fort St. George, the consternation and distrust which seem to have spread themselves among all those who are subject to its authority, its utter want of present means and resources, the diminution of their military strength, and its declared insufficiency for the war which it is to sustain, and above all the authentic information which we have received of a great naval and military armament prepared by the Court of France and destined beyond all doubt to co-operate with Haider Ali, demand the most instant, powerful and even hazardous exertions of this government to avert the event portended by so

26. Select Committee's letter to the Court of Directors, 21st April, 1769. The news of this peace reached the Select Committee in Calcutta after the dispatch of its letter to Court of Directors on the 6th April, 1769.

many concurrent difficulties".²⁷ It was decided, in spite of some opposition on the part of Mr. Francis,²⁸ to send immediately to Madras fifteen lacks of rupees in specie and also a large detachment of European infantry and artillery under Lieutenant-General Sir Eyre Coote, the victor of Wandiwash and now the Commander-in-chief of the Company in India and a member of the Supreme Council in Calcutta, who was marked "as the only possible instrument"²⁹ at this crisis to "stand forth and vindicate in his own person the rights and honour of the British arms".³⁰

Sir Eyre Coote reached Madras on the 5th November and the Madras Government wrote to the Calcutta Council on the 15th of that month thanking the latter for the reinforcement sent to them and for sparing them the services of Sir Eyre Coote 'at this juncture'.³¹ In his letter to the Supreme Council, dated the 10th November, 1780, Sir Eyre Coote, informed them of the extremely dangerous situation to which Madras had been exposed after Hyder's capture of Arcot. He also observed therein: "It may not be amiss to give you early information, as a guide for making the necessary provision for the future disbursements at this settlement, which, by the nearest computation I can make, will rather exceed seven lacks of rupees per mensem, every cowrie of which must come from Bengal, as I find there are no resources here from whence a single pagoda is to be expected."³² The Calcutta Council assured him in their letter dated the 14th December, 1780, that their "endeavours have continued and will continue" and that in view of the great scarcity of provisions at Madras they shall do their best to furnish that settlement with "supplies of grain from hence".³³ Rice, other kinds of grain, salt, beef and pork and a number of tents were, in fact, soon shipped for that place.³⁴ The sum of current rupees 4,23,672-10-3 in gold specie of the Pagoda standard was also soon sent there from Calcutta.³⁵ In appreciation of the favourable attitude of the Calcutta Council, Sir Eyre Coote wrote to it on the 1st March, 1781: "It affords me pleasure to re-

27. Fort William Consultations, 25th September, 1780.

28. *Ibid.*, 26th September, 1780.

29. *Ibid.*, 25th September, 1780.

30. *Ibid.*

31. *Ibid.*, 14th December, 1780.

32. *Ibid.*

33. *Ibid.*

34. *Ibid.*

35. *Ibid.*, 27th April, 1781

ceive your repeated assurances of support in money for the expenses of this army, as upon its safety and maintenance employed as it is now in contending with the most powerful and formidable enemy amongst the native powers of Hindostan, I am satisfied the very existence of the British interests in this Eastern World depends."³⁶

But it still proved to be a highly difficult task to fight with success against Hyder's powerful army, which, in the considered opinion of Sir Eyre Coote, was "the best appointed and best served, of any that has yet appeared amongst the native powers of India and in which he has got 500 Europeans".³⁷ Insufficiency of provisions and lack of magazines greatly handicapped British operations. "I am now most cruelly situated", wrote Sir Eyre Coote to the Council in Calcutta on the 16th March, 1782, "the enemy marching before me, and for want of carriage for provisions unable to follow them".³⁸ In consideration of this state of things in the south, in spite of the arrival of reinforcements from Bengal, the Council in Calcutta in its letter to the Select Committee at Fort St. George, dated the 11th March, 1782, had not only pointed out some defects in their proceedings but had also made the following significant observation: "We therefore dread the continuance of the war in its consequences upon the strength and resources of these provinces (Bengal and Bihar), which must be considered as the essential part of the British dominions, interest and property in India. The dominion of Bengal from its wealth, internal strength, and local advantages might be capable of defence against all the powers of the world, combined to attack it, if those advantages were confined to its own security, but in the past and actual application of your we feel them gradually declining from the incessant drain which is unavoidably made upon them for the defence of the Company's remote and less valuable possessions, and we have been imperceptibly led into the prosecution of a system so ruinous in its consequences, that if it should be extended beyond a certain length, it will exhaust the vital powers of this country, and expose it a certain prey to the first invader".

The Bengal government, however, promised "persevering to support" the Madras Presidency with all their resources.³⁹ Their supplies to Madras from 1st May, 1781 to 3rd October 1782,

36. *Ibid.*

37. *Ibid.*

38. *Ibid.*

39. Fort William Consultations, 3rd October, 1782.

amounted to current rupees 1,23,17,684-9-1, and previously they had sent there current rupees 35,55,072-13-4 the total being current rupees 1,58,72,757-6-5.⁴⁰ Sir Eyre Coote, while retiring from the south due to ill-health, assured the Madras Council in his letter to them dated the 25th September, 1782, that "nothing shall be left untried towards assisting you, both in money and provisions, from Bengal".⁴¹

40. *Ibid.*

41. *Ibid.*, 18th November, 1782.

False Challenge against the Seniority of the Jodhpur House

By

PANDIT BISHESHWAR NATH REU, SAHITYACHARYA,
Jodhpur.

RAO JODHAJI, the founder of Jodhpur had 20 sons:—

Nimbāji the eldest of them was wounded while fighting with Sindhal Jaisā in 152 V. S. (1464 A.D.) and died after five months in Jōdhāji's lifetime.

Jōgāji, the second son, according to old chronicles, being a lazy fellow, was discarded by his father and the nobles of Marwar. He was deprived of the throne of Marwar and was obliged to rest content with some villages in the Bilārā District. We learn from an inscription found at the village Khāriā that he died in 1570 V. S. (1513 A.D.).

Sātalji, the third son, who was born in 1492 V. S. (1435 A.D.), succeeded his father after his death in 1546 V. S. (1489 A.D.), and died in 1549 V.S. (1492 A.D.).

Sūjāji, the fourth son, who according to the chronicles, was born in 1486 V. S. (1439 A.D.), ascended the throne of Marwar, after the demise of his elder brother Sātalji.

Bikāji, the fifth son, accompanied by his uncle Kāndhalji and helped by Jāt Nikōdar and Sānkhalā Nāpā etc., went towards Jānglū and subduing Jāts, Sānkhlās and Bhātis, founded Bikānēr in or about 1542 V. S. (1485 A.D.).

In the chronicles of Marwar his birth-year is given as 1497 V. S. (1440 A.D.), while in those of Bikānēr as 1495 V. S. (1438 A.D.).

The History of Bikānēr written by Munshī Sōhan Lāl, the Additional Member of the Regency Council, Bikaner, and published in 1947 V. S. (1890 A.D.) states:—

"Bikāji the sixth and Bīdāji the twelfth son of Jōdhāji were born of the same mother. The former, who was born in 1495 V. S. (1439 A.D.), went towards the north of Marwar, in 1522 V. S.

(1465 A.D.) and there with the help of Nāpā Sānkhlā etc., established his new State.

In 1546 V. S. (1489 A.D.) his uncle Kāndhalji was killed at Hisār, while commanding the Bikānēr forces and therefore Bikāji with the help of his own father Jōdhāji avenged his death and killed Sārang Khān. While back at Drōnpur Jōdhāji asked his son Bikāji not to demand any share from Jodhpur and present the town of Lādnū to him. Bikāji agreed to it but at the same time requested his father that if indeed he considered him a worthy son he should also grant him the insignias of the Royalty brought from Kannauj. As the request was granted, but those articles were not handed over, Bikāji after the death of Jōdhāji and his successor Sātalji attacked Jodhpur and obliged his brother Sūjāji, the then ruler, to deliver those articles to him (see pp. 89-104).

This clearly shows that Bikāji was (the fifth or) the sixth son of Jōdhāji and he went towards Jānglū and there, with the help of his uncle Kāndhalji, Jāt Nikōdar, Shānkhlā Nāpā, etc., took advantage of the internal dissensions of the petty land-holders and subduing Jāts, Sānkhlās, and Bhātis established his new estate. In time when he grew stronger and his father asked him to give up the share of Marwar and present the town of Lādnū to him he, in turn, requested him (Jōdhāji) to accept his estate as an independent State and for this sort of recognition also grant him all the insignias, required for an independent ruler. This request, it seems, was made to avoid any future claim of sovereignty of the Jodhpur branch over Bikānēr as was the case with the estates of other brothers of Bikāji, namely, Dūdāji, Karamsiji, Rāyapālji, etc.

Further the Jodhpur Branch of the Rāthōr rulers enjoys undisputed seniority among all the present Rāthōr States in India and is recognized as the premier branch of the Rāthōr rulers by all the other States as well as by the Government.

In November 1912 when His Excellency the Viceroy visited Bikānēr, Mahārājā Gangā Singhji, the present ruler of the State, himself in his State banquet speech, said:—

"In this connection may I be permitted as one who is closely associated by family ties and as senior in age of the rulers of the Rāthōre States in Rājputānā, to say how indebted we are for the arrangements which your Excellency was pleased to make for the administration of the Jodhpur State during the minority of his Highness the Mahārājā".

(Report on the administration and Pioneer, 2nd December 1912).

This also proves that up till 1912 A.D. His Highness Bikānēr considered himself senior only in the age, but not in lineage or rank.

But Dr. Gauri Shankar Hira Chand Ojha has made a departure from this well established fact in his "Rājputanā-kā-Itihās", Vol. IV, without any sound basis and for the reasons best known to himself. Let us now, with due respect, examine his proofs and arguments. He writes:—

“ बीका सातल से बड़ा न रहा हो अथवा उसने पिताको वचन दियाथा इस कारणसे सातलके गद्दीपर बैठनेपर उसनेकोई हस्ताक्षेप न किया, परन्तु जब सूजाने सातलकी मृत्युपर जोधपुरकीगद्दी अपनेहाथ में करली तब तो बीकाने ससैन्य उस परचढ़ाई करदी । इस चढ़ाईका उल्लेख जोधपुर तथा बीकानेरकी ख्यातों में मिलता है । ”

“ उक्त ख्यातों आदि के अनुसार यह स्पष्ट हो जाता है कि बीका, कमसे कम सूजासे अवश्य बड़ाथा, जिस से तख्त, चमर, मुंजाई की देग आदि पूजनीय वस्तुएं उसे प्राप्त हुई ”

(जिल्द चौथी, खण्ड प्रथम, पृ. २५७-५८)

i.e. "Bikā might not have been elder than Sātal, or owing to the promise given by him to his father he did not interfere when Sātal ascended the throne. But when on his demise Sūjā usurped the throne of Jodhpur, Bikā invaded it as is evident from the chronicles of Jodhpur and Bikānēr."

According to those chronicles it becomes clear that atleast Bikā was really elder than Sūjā; hence he got the throne, the fly-flaps (an insignia of royalty), the big frying pot, etc., the things of adoration.

We are unable to understand that when Dr. Ojha himself accepts the seniority of Sātaljī and when Sūjājī was his (Sātaljī's) successor, what led him to challenge the seniority of the Jodhpur House.

According to Jodhpur chronicles and horoscopes it is quite clear that Sūjājī was older than Bikājī by one year. But if we suppose him younger than Bikājī, by one year, does Dr. Ojha mean that if a member of a senior house adopts a younger brother or his son, the senior house loses its seniority?

So far as history is concerned Jodhpur was the seat of the Government of Jōdhājī the father of Bikājī, and was succeeded by Sātaljī, the elder brother of Bikājī, and if he (Sātaljī) adopted one of the younger brothers of Bikājī (though it has not yet been proved) Bikānēr cannot claim its seniority over Jodhpur.

Moreover Dr. Ojha himself writes:—

“ इन जन्मपत्रियों में परस्पर विभिन्नता होनेके कारण कौनसीविश्वसनीय है यह कहना कठिन है । ”

“ ख्यातों आदि में प्रायः कुंवरों के नाम राणियों के नामों के साथ दिये रहते हैं, अत एव उनके आधार पर पुत्रों के छोटे-बड़े होनेका निर्णयकरना कठिन प्रतीत होता है । ”

(राजपूताने का इतिहास, जिल्द ४, खण्ड १, पृ. २५७ और २५८)

“i.e. there being differences in these horoscopes, it is very difficult to decide which of these is correct”.

“In the chronicles the names of the princes are given with the names of their mothers, hence the decision of their seniority, on the basis of this, becomes difficult”.

These are again the clear admissions that there is no basis for this challenge.

Let us now examine the verses quoted from a poem named “Karmachandravamshōtkīrtan” composed by Jayasōma, in 1650 V. S. (1593 A.D.) while residing at Lahore:—

“ नीवा सूजा सातल नामसुतत्रययुता महाराज्ञी ।

जसमादेवी नाम्नी राज्ञी जीवस्य सर्वस्वम् ॥ ११० ॥

नीवारुये संजाते दैवनि योगालुते कथाशेषे ।

जातिस्वभावदोषाज्जातामर्षा सपत्नीषु ॥ १११ ॥

विक्रमनाम सपत्नी सुतेऽसति स्वात्मजे कथां रम्यां

भावीति विभाव्यात्मनि विजने राजानमाचष्टे ॥ ११२ ॥

ततोनिजात्मजं जायामायया मोहितोऽधिपः ।

विक्रमं जांगले मोक्तुं समाह्वयेदमुक्तवान् ॥ ११३ ॥

पित्र्यं राज्यं सुतो मुंक्ते किं चित्रं तत्र नन्दन ! ।
नवं राज्यं आदत्ते स धत्ते सुतधुर्यताम् ॥ ११४ ॥

तेनदेशोस्तिदुःसाधो जांगलो जगती तले ।
त्वं साहसीति कृत्येऽस्मिन्नियुक्तोऽसि मयाधुना ॥ ११५ ॥

“वि. सं. १६५० में लाहोर में रहते समय जयसोम द्वारा रचे हुए कर्म चन्द्रवंशोत्कर्तिकाव्य में लिखा है: “—दूसरी महाराणी जसमादेवी के तीन लड़के नींबा, सूजा और सातल नामके—ये और बहराजा का जीवन सर्वस्व थी। जब दैवयोग से नींबानामके पुत्रकी कथाही बाकी रह गई (अर्थात् वह मर गया) तब जसमादेवी ने जिसेस्त्री स्वभाव से अपनी सौतों के प्रति द्वेष उत्पन्न हुआ यह होनहार ही है, ऐसा सोचकर एकांत में विक्रमनामके अपनी सौत के पुत्रकी अनुपस्थिति में राजा को अपने पुत्र के विषय की कुछ रोथक कथा कही। तब राजा ने पत्नी के कपट से मोहित होकर अपने बेटेविक्रम (बीका) को जांगल-देश में निकाल देनेकी इच्छासे अपने पासबुलाकर कहा हेपुत्र! बापके राज्य को बेटा भोगे इसमें कोई अचरज की बात नहीं, परन्तु जो नया राज्य प्राप्त करे वही बेटों में मुख्यगिना जाता है। पृथ्वीपरकठिनता से वशमें आनेवाला जांगल नामक देश है, तूसाहसी है इसलिए तूने मैंने इस काम में (अर्थात् उसे वश करने में) नियुक्त किया है।

(जिल्द ४, खण्ड १, पृ. २५५-२५६)

“i.e., Another queen Jasmādēvi had three sons—Nimbā, Sūjā, and Sātal by name, and she was the light of the king's soul. When as destined, nothing but the story of Nimbā was left (i.e. he died), then Jasmādēvi—who according to her sex weakness, became jealous of the other queens thinking this to be an act of fate, one day in the absence of Vikram, son of the other queen, narrated some interesting stories about her (own) son, when the king was alone. The king enamoured by the viles of the queen called his son Vikram (Bikā) and with the intention of driving him away in Jāngal district, said “O son! there is nothing new if a son enjoys the state of his father, but he, who acquires new state, is considered worthy of all. On the surface of this earth, the district of Jāngal is difficult to be conquered: you are brave and therefore I appoint you to carry out this task.”

—(Vol. IV, part I, pp. 255-256)

Our objections regarding it are as under:—

(1) That the poem is composed by a poet who himself belonged to Bikānēr and was also connected through Karamchand with its ruler.

(2) That the order in which the names of the three sons of the queen Jasmādēvi are given in the verse 110, betrays the ignorance of the author, as Sātal is admitted on all hands to have been elder to Sūjā, and therefore had he written the first part of the verse as “नींबा सातल सूजा” there would have been no difficulty in the metre.

(3) That the verse 112 is itself grammatically incorrect or confusing.

(4) That the translation of the verse 112 given on P. 255 of Dr. Ojha's history shows the ignorance of the translator.

(5) That the author of the poem himself in the face of the well established facts about the Seniority of Jodhpur house and Sātaljī the successor of Jōdhājī, could not dare use a single word to repudiate the fact directly, but simply tried to flatter his patron, the ruler of Bikānēr indirectly.

(6) The seniority of Sātaljī to Bikājī is already admitted by the chronicles of Jodhpur and Bikānēr as well as by Dr. Ojha himself and therefore against that well established fact the hypothesis of this poem falls to the ground in the eyes of the scholars.

Further Jodhpur was founded by Rāo Jōdhājī, the father of Bikājī, and when Bikājī was trying to establish Bikānēr, the former (Jodhpur) was a well established and larger parental state, which helped Bikājī to conquer the tract of Jāngal and prepare the ground for a new state.

Moreover even against all the well established facts given above, if we accept Dr. Ojha's supposition that Bikājī was the eldest son of Rāo Jōdhājī, it makes no difference whatsoever as we find that Rāo Chūndājī, Rāo Māldēvajī, Rājā Udaisinghijī, Rājā Gajsinghijī, etc., the rulers of the same ruling family, selected for one reason or the other their younger sons to succeed them, but the estates of the eldest sons could not deprive the Jodhpur line of its seniority.

We think we have fully discussed the facts, and if in Dr. Ojha's fifth volume there will be some fresh proofs to establish his theory, we will again try to discuss their merits.

Is the Uttara Kanda of Valmiki Ramayana Un-Historical?

By

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So much legend, owing to the many versions, not only in Sanskrit, but in several other languages of India, has gathered round the story first told with so much beauty of language and even poetic fervour, in Valmiki's Ramayana, that many scholars doubt if there is any real history in it. Much more is this doubt regarding the Uttara Kanda, which, or parts of which, are held to be interpolations. There is real ancient history in this work, not available in any other source, but even this Kanda contains facts which are being corroborated by measurements and archaeological excavations.

That the Uttara Kanda is a necessary portion of the Ramayana is evident from the fact that the history of Ravana the evil man in the work, had to be given somewhere. It is found in the Kanda. Similarly had the work been a mere lyrical composition, it would not have contained the tragical end which this Kanda describes. By relegating it to this Kanda, which is a mislanes, the rules of poetries have also been honoured. It is the dislike of the Indians to tragedies that makes them feel shy of this Kanda.

Shri Brahmachari Shri Bhagawatacharya of Baroda, in his article in vol. 17 No. 4 of the Quarterly Journal of the Nagari Pracharini Sabha of Benares, has asserted that Rama sent Seeta to the forest because of the scandals of a Washerman. But this statement, which is perhaps based on versions in other languages, has no support in the Valmiki Ramayana. In it verse 13 Sarga 43 is as follows:—

श्रुणु राजन् यथा पौराः कथयन्ति शुभाशुभम् ।
चत्वारण्यस्यामुच वनेवृषवनेषुच ॥

It clearly means that the scandal was current in public places in the city. This finds amplification in V. 20:

एवं बहु विधा वाचो वदन्ति पुर वासिनः ।
नगरेषु च सर्वेषु राजन् जनपदेषुच ॥

which shows that it had spread to the country-side also. This clearly shows that as the whole populace had been finding fault with him he had no alternative to the giving up of his wife although he had had no proof of her infidelity.

Moreover there are descriptions in this Kanda, which by their very naturalness prove their authenticity. One such is about the manner of the passing away of Laxman. In v. 15, S. 106 it is described thus:—

स गत्वा सरयूतोरमुपस्पृश्य कृताञ्जलिः ।
निगृह्य सर्वस्रोतांसी निश्वासं न मुमोच ह ॥

It means that sitting on the banks of the Sarayu river he stopped his breath and died. Shocked by this incident, Rama asking all the inhabitants to leave Ayodhya, the Capital of the State, or figuratively rendering it uninhabited, by his impending departure, he proceeded in fact to the banks of the river. Thus verses 5 and 6, Sarga 108 and verse 7, Sarga 110 contain the following:

अयोध्यां विजनां कृत्वा राघवो भरतस्तथा ।
स्वर्गस्य गमनोद्योगं कृतवन्तौ महारथौ ॥
सरयूसलिले रामः पद्भ्यां समुपचक्रमे ।

Thus he died drowning himself in the waters of the river. Had this narration not been supported by facts, it would never have been given in the case of a hero, who is worshipped as a deity especially.

In Sarga 46 of this Kanda relative distances between Ayodhya, Valmiki's abode and Mathura are described and they tally with the present distances. When Rama asked Laxman to take Seeta to the forest he reached with her in his chariot at one day's distance on the banks of the Gomati. Verse 12, Sarga 46.

सौमिभिस्तु...रथमारोप्य मैथिलोम् ।
प्रययौ शीघ्रतुरगैः... ॥

The next morning he told the driver of the chariot, to take it swiftly to the banks of the river Ganges. Verse 19-20 Sarga 46.

ततो वासमुपागम्य गोमतीतीरे आश्रमे ।
प्रभाते पुनरुत्थाय सौमिभिः सूतमब्रवीत् ॥
योजयस्व रथं शीघ्रमद्यभागीरथी जलम् ।

They reached these banks after half a day's journey. Verse 23-24 Sarga 46.

अथार्ध दिवसं गत्वा भागीरथ्या जलाशयम् ।

निरीक्ष्य लक्ष्मणो.....

These distances are in accordance with physical facts.

In another place in this Kanda this very same route is described in connection with a different incident and there also the above fact is confirmed.

Once Brahmins residing on the banks of the Yamuna (modern Jumna) came to Rama for the redress of their grievance. Verse 3 and 15, Sarga 60.

एते प्रतिहता राजन् द्वारि तिष्ठन्ति तापसाः ।

ऋषीणामुग्रतपसां यमुनातीरवासिनाम् ॥

The reception granted to them by Rama is so natural that it appears to be truthful, but the promise made by him to redress even before he had heard its nature or really its ignorance, surprised the redress-mongers and made them suspicious about the successful carrying out of the assurance. Verse 17, S. 60.

कार्यस्य गौरवं मत्वा प्रतिज्ञां नाभ्यरोचयन्

They however satisfied themselves on the two grounds, viz., (1) the promise was made to Brahmins, and (2) they had heard of Rama's valour in killing Ravana. Verse 18, S. 60 and V. 24, S. 60.

“ त्वया पुनर्ब्रह्मण गौरवादियं कृत्वा प्रतिज्ञा ”

“ ते वयं रावणं श्रुत्वा हतं सवलवाहनम् ॥

Their grievance was that there was ruling in Mathura a tyrant by name Lavana (Sarga 61). At Rama's bidding his brother Satrughna invaded his City and killed him V. 5, S. 70.

इयं मधुपुरी रम्या मधुरा देव निर्मिता ।

निवेशं प्राप्नुयात् शीघ्रं..... ॥

When he left Ayodhya he also took two days in reaching the Valmiki's abode on the Ganges. Verse 2. Sarga 65.

द्विरात्तमन्तरे शूरः रघुनन्दनः ।

वारुमोकेराश्रमं पुण्यमगच्छत् ॥

It is true that instead of an interval of a day and half as in the case of Laxman he took two days in reaching the banks of the Ganges but on this occasion Shatrughna was accompanied by a big army. Verse 2 Sarga 64.

इमानश्च सहस्राणि चत्वारि पुरुषर्षभ ।

स्थानां द्वे सहस्रे च गजानां शतमुत्तमम् ॥

This abode of Valmiki is on the banks of the Ganges, a little north of Allahabad. From there he turned west and took seven days in reaching the banks of the Yamuna, opposite Mathura. Verse 15, Sarga 66.

“ययौ पश्चान्मुखः पुनः ।

सगत्वा यमुनातीरं सप्तराभोषितः पथि ॥

But the most surprising confirmation of the facts mentioned in this Kanda is afforded by the evidence furnished by the excavations at Mohenjo Daro, Chimbo Daro and Harappa. It is now asserted that traces of an ancient civilisation buried in these places are found and probably they were of Dravidian origin. The reference in the Ramayana show it to be contemporary with the events described in it, which on some grounds cannot be said to be later than 3 or 4 thousand years before Christ and that is the period calculated for the things found by the excavations.

Bharata's maternal uncle the King of the Kaikas, a country adjacent to these places, sent word “this beautiful country of the Gandhara, full of vegetables and fruits lies on both the banks of the river Indus. It is governed by numerous people well-armed and proficient in the science of warfare, the subjects of King Shailusha Verses 10-12, Sarga 100.

अयं गन्धर्व विषयः पलमूलोपशोभितः ।

सिन्धोरुभयतः पार्श्वे देशः परमशोभनः ।

तत्र रक्षन्ति गन्धर्वाः सयुधा युद्धकोविदाः ।

शैल्यस्य मुता वीर त्रिकोट्यो वै महाबलाः ॥

The Maternal Uncle Yudhajit requested Rama through Bharata to conquer this country. Verse 12. Sarga 100.

तान् विनिर्जित्य काकुत्स्थ गन्धर्वनगरं शुभम् ।

निवेशय महाबाहो स्वपुरे सुसमाहिते ॥

The reason for approaching Rama was that it could not be subdued without the powerful aid of Rama. Verse 13. Sarga 100.

अन्यस्य न गतिस्तच्च देशः परमशोभनः ॥

Rama entrusted this task to Bharata himself, who assisted by his Maternal Uncle, speedily invaded the country with their armies and followers. Verses 2-3. Sarga 101.

त्वरमाणोभिचक्राम गन्धर्वान् कामरूपिणः ।

भरतश्च युधाजिच्च समेतौ लघुविक्रमौ ।

गन्धर्वं नगरं प्राप्तौ सवल्लौ सपदानुगौ ॥

But simultaneously the inhabitants of the invaded country were destroyed by natural courses such as storms and tangles of fate (probably earthquake). Verse 8. Sarga 101.

ते बद्धा कालपाशेन संवर्तेन विदारिताः ।

क्षणेनाभिहतास्तेन तिलः कोटयो महात्मनाम् ॥

This certainly described the burial of this civilisation now exposed by excavations.

Lastly my thesis that Ravana's Lanka was perched on the peak of mountain Amarkantak, proposed by me in my paper on the subject read before the 17th World Conference held at Oxford in 1929¹ and a supplement to it, read before the 19th session of the same conference held at Rome,² 1933, finds confirmation in this Kanda also.

In Sarga 38 of this Kanda it is described that when Bharata, who was stopping at some distance from Ayodhya, the capital, heard of the abduction of Seeta from the forest, he called the neighbouring rulers for the help of Rama. Verse. 25.

भवन्तश्च समानीता भरतेन महात्मना ॥

श्रुत्वा जनक राजस्य काननात्तनयाम् हताम् ॥

1. Indian Historical Quarterly, Calcutta, Vol. IV, No. 4 December, 1928.
2. Atti Del XIX Congresso Internaziale degli Orientalisti Roma 23-29 Sellimbri 1938 XIII pp. 361-375 and Annals of B.O.R.I., Poona, Vol. XVII, 1935-36, pp. 371-384.

Until Rama returned to the Capital they were there at Ayodhya when they were dispersed. Verse 21.

विसृज्य... भिशतं पृथिवी पतीन्

The invited kings were so disappointed that they felt that Bharata had invited them for nothing. Verse 4, Sarga 39.

भरतेन वयं पश्चात् समानीता निरर्थकम् ।

This procedure of Bharata clearly shows that Lanka was not so far away as the Southern-most point of India.

Another proof of the distance of Lanka from Ayodhya, or Chitrakuta, where Rama stayed before entering the Dandaka forest, is afforded by the following evidence. The period that elapsed between the abduction of Seeta from that forest and the conquest of Lanka, is only two years, against the popular belief of 14 years. He was exiled for 14 years. Verse 35, Sarga 18, Kanda 2.

‘ त्वमारण्यं प्रवेष्टव्यं नव वर्षाणि पंच च ’

He resided at the hermitage of Sutikshna for 10 years (3-11-28)

‘ रमतश्चानुकूल्येन ययुः संवत्सरा दश ’

From here Rama went to Panchavati and stayed there for sometime. Here was the border of Ravana's Kingdom and it was guarded by Khar-Dushan and other warriors (3-16-31) and also 3-18 and the following Sargas.

‘ कंचिद्वासं स धर्मात्मा सीतया लक्ष्मणेन च ।

अन्यास्यमानोन्यवसत्

When Seeta was taken to Lanka and confined there, she was given a recess of one year at the expiry of which Ravana threatened to forcibly rape her (3-74- V. 24-25). In this interval Rama rescued her, so between her abduction and her rescue nearly a year passed.

‘ श्रुणु मैथिलि मद्वाक्यं मासान्द्वादश भाभिनी ।

कालेनानेन नाभिर्षी... ॥

In the verses 27-29, Sarga 40 of the Uttara Kanda, description is given of how Sugriva and Vibhishana were asked to leave and

return to their Kingdoms after a month or two's stay (Verses 27 and 29, Sarga 39)

सुग्रीवः सचरामेण निरन्तर मुरोगतः
विभीषणश्च धर्मात्मा सर्वेते बाष्प विक्रवः ।
सर्वेचते बाष्पकलाः साश्रुनेना विचेतसः ।
संमूढश्च दुःखेन त्यतन्तो राघवं तदा

—(Verses 27-29 Sarga 40)

and

एव तेषां निवसतां मासः साग्री ययौ तदा ॥
एवं तेषां यथौ मासो द्वितीयः शैशिरः सुखम् ।

V. 27 S. 40

and they all went to their homes. (V. 29. Sarga 40.)

जग्मुः स्वं स्वं गृहं सर्वे ।

This also shows that their homes were not so far away as is popularly believed.

In my articles on "Inhabitants of the Country Around Lanka in Amarkantak³" and "Cultural descendents of Ravana" I have described the home-land of the Rakshasas and Vanaras.

N.B.—The Edition of Valmiki Ramayana used in this article is "Shrimad Valmiki Ramayana" published by R. Narayanaswami Aiyer, M.A., B.L., Advocate with the help of several Pandits. Printed at the Madras Law Journal Press, Mylapore.

3. A Vol. of Eastern and Indian Studies in honour of F. W. Thomas, C.I.E., pp. 144-145.

4. A presentation Volume to Prof. P. V. Kane, M.A., LL.M., (in the press).

A Note on the Purana Qila of Delhi

By

DR. S. N. SEN.

ONE of the most interesting spots in the Imperial city of Delhi is the Purana Qila. Popular belief identifies the site with Indraprastha where King Yudhisthira of the Mahabharata held his court. The legend is at least as old as the *Tarikh-i-Daudi* and the *Ain-i-Akbari* according to which Humayun and Sher Shah built a citadel over Indrapat. As Page observes, "it cannot be said with accuracy how much of the citadel is the work of Humayun and how much of it is that of Sher Shah for the difference in the architecture of the two periods is very slight." The citadel covers a wide area, the circuit of the walls alone measuring more than a mile. The massive walls, very high and thick, are further strengthened by huge bastions which were once covered by a number of *chattris*. The walls are pierced by three principal gates and four wickets or *khirkis*. The ramparts of the Purana Qila do not possess the grace or the beauty of those of Shahjahan's Red Fort but their height and solidarity cannot but impress the visitor even after the lapse of so many centuries. The gates of Shahjahan's fort have no other decorations except the lotus in different patterns, but the northern and southern gates of the Purana Qila have remarkable animal figures sculptured on white stones which deserve more than a passing notice. The northern gate of the Old Fort is called the *Talaqi Darwaza* or the forbidden gate. Mr. Page writes, "The Talaqi gate may be justly said to be one of the most striking monuments of Delhi, the chattris on its summit towering between the Delhi-Muttra Road and the citadel some 127 feet above the level of the low lying ground. It consists of a lofty arch 14' 9" in width and 56' 2" in height and containing two lesser arched openings 9' 10" and 10' 9" in width and 14' 8" and 16' in height respectively marking the lowest and the first floor levels. From back wall to front the gate measures 64 feet. The main archway, in the head of which is an aperture through which missiles or quicklime could be dropped on the heads of an attacking party, is enclosed in a frame of yellow sandstone, relieved by recessed and ornamented panels, the yellow sandstone giving place at the level of the second floor to red stone of the same variety. This floor level is also indicated by two

oriel, of the typical Hindu type, one on either side of the archway, carried on four brackets and projecting some four feet from the face of the main wall. The roofs of these oriel are supported by dwarf columns and enriched with tile ornamentation. The spandrels of the main arch are in black marble and relieved, as are the spandrels below, by bosses of red sandstone." The harmonious blending of the Hindu and Muslim styles of architecture is not the only interesting feature of this gateway. Immediately above the top of each oriel we find two panels of carved white stones representing a huge lion engaged in a deadly combat with a puny man. The western or the main gate has the customary lotus decorations only. In the South gate, also known as the Humayun gate, we find two miniature marble elephants most admirably and realistically executed instead of the fighting lions.

Without going into the current controversy it may be generally assumed that the gateways were constructed in Sher Shah's time. Both Sher Shah and Humayun were orthodox Muslims and Muslim rulers were usually averse to sculptural representations of animal figures. No other Muslim monument in Delhi has anything akin to the lions or the elephants of the Purana Qila though floral designs and geometrical decorations are quite common. The presence of such decorations on the gateways of Sher Shah's fort is, therefore, particularly significant. One is naturally inclined to enquire whether the fighting lions of the *Talaqi* Gate had something more than an ornamental purpose.

It is well-known that one of the most important incidents of the great Pathan ruler's career was a mortal combat with a *sher* which gave him the title by which he is known to posterity. Some of the modern writers translate the word *sher* as tiger. Dorn, however, in his translation of Niamatulla's *Makhzana-i-Afghana* says that the beast, killed by Sher Shah, was a lion. According to some authorities, Sher Shah fought it with a sword. Lions have become completely extinct in Northern India to-day but they were not so rare in this part of the country in Sher Shah's days. It is, therefore, not unlikely that the exploit which raised Sher Shah so much in the estimation of his master was a single handed combat with a lion and not with a tiger. Is this sculpture then reminiscent of one of the most important events in the Pathan soldier's early career? A definite answer is difficult to give but it is strange that such a sculpture should be found in one of the gateways built by Sher Shah. If Samudra Gupta left an undying proof of his musical skill on the coins bearing his effigy is it too much to believe that Sher Shah, des-

pite the definite injunction of his religion against representation of animal figures, should insert in one of the principal gateways of the newly built citadel two sculptured stones to commemorate one of the most daring deeds of which he was rightly proud? It is not suggested for a moment that the human figure in the carved stone is an actual portrait of the Pathan king, but it was probably designed as a perpetual tribute to the physical courage and skill in arms that earned the encomiums of friends and foes alike. If this surmise is correct then we are entitled to assume that Sher Shah killed the lion not with a sword but with a spear. In one of the sculptured stones the spear is still intact. In the other, the upper part of the shaft has completely disappeared. The man looks puny and small in comparison with the huge size of the raging beast which towers above his head with raised paws and gaping mouth. The man is seen to make an upwards thrust of his long spear at the throat of the lion which evidently put it out of action. The sculptor probably deliberately made the man so diminutive in order to emphasise his daring and his skill. The animal figures in the gate opposite also deserve a careful scrutiny. The elephant is an animal of auspicious omen in India and whether the sculptures on the north and the south gates of Purana Qila have any historical value or not they conclusively prove that Sher Shah was not so fanatic a Muslim as he has some times been represented to have been by some of his modern apologists. On the top of the third or the last arch of the *Talaqi* Darwaza one notices a crude representation of the sun. It is a circular figure with rays around it and a couple of eyes in the centre. Whether it has any special significance it is difficult to say, but apparently Sher Shah was a good son of India and was not averse to borrow from the indigenous architecture and sculpture of the land of his birth some of his decorative motifs.

The Mogul Family and the Court in 19th Century Delhi

By

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THE centre of Delhi life was the Exalted Fort (*Qila-i-Mualla*)¹ and the Court secluded behind its high red walls. The Fort had suffered little from the wars, for it had never undergone a serious bombardment. Only stray cannon balls had chipped the marble and red stone here and there. But the Palace had suffered severely. Nadir Shah had taken the Peacock throne and the more obvious ornament. Worse than Nadir Shah and the Persians was Suraj Mal and the Jats, who in 1764 removed the silver roof of the *Rang Mahal* and cut out quantities of precious stones. Most fierce of all, but on the whole less destructive, was Ghulam Kadir in 1788. He dug up the floors to find hidden valuables, and despoiled the Imperial Library of many of its treasures. Some of them found their way to Lucknow where the Nawab Wazir purchased them. Under the Marathas the Fort was preserved intact, but lack of funds made any thought of restoration impossible. The blindness of the monarch was doubly convenient to the Marathas, for it not only reduced his personal wants, but also prevented him from realising the ruin and decay which lay all around him. Shah Alam was spared the spectacle of decay which distressed his visitors, and confined himself to supporting as best he could his large family. Akbar Shah, with ampler funds, began some restoration work. Lady Nugent,² in 1812, reported that the Hall of Audience was well gilt. The precious stones had been replaced by mock; "all the stones are mock, but the effect is good." Rs. 500 a month was devoted to repairs and there was a gradual restoration on the old lines as far as possible. But the effort must have died away, for fifteen years later there are the same complaints of ruin and decay. Bishop Heber, a reliable and friendly witness, in 1825 described every part of the palace which he saw as "dull, desolate and forlorn." The *Shah Burj* was "dirty, lonely and wretched: the bath

and fountain dry: the inlaid pavement hid with lumber and gardeners' sweepings, and the walls stained with the dung of birds and bats."³ Mr. Elliott, the acting resident, told him that this was "the general style in which this palace was kept up and furnished."

There was a second revival at the beginning of Bahadur Shah's reign. The Agent reported in 1838, that "considerable improvements have been made of late, both with respect to the appearance and cleanliness of the Palace."⁴ But this effort too died away and the old complaints continued. The kings grew old and lost interest in the superintendence; money soaked easily into the hands through which it passed, like waters in a parched water channel; in the absence of an impulse from above, there was the inevitable apathy and neglect. In spite of this some additions took place. A pavilion overlooking the Jumna and an addition to the *Jharoka* by Akbar; a garden outside the Palace walls by Bahadur Shah; houses in European style for the Heir Apparent and other princes all show that enterprise was not quite dead even if taste was tawdry.

There is in fact, a certain conflict of evidence about the state of the Palace. General denunciations of squalor alternate with admissions of activity and descriptions of a certain sober splendour. The explanation lies in the fact that a pensionary king was living in an imperial palace. The Moguls were like Rhineland imperial knights, trying to maintain ancient splendour on an income many times too small. Metcalfe himself, while fiercely opposing any increase of the royal stipend, admitted that it would take "immense sums to repair the ruinous part of the Palace."⁵ They had in addition a horde of poor relations whose ejection from the Palace was forbidden by pride and who had at least to be kept alive. It was impossible to repair and maintain the whole of the palace; on the conditions given it was equally impossible to abandon any part of it. As a result the heart of the Palace, where the King held his court, was maintained in decent state, while the rest of the area was left to the devices of its immediate occupants. Visitors to the Palace passed through neglected outer courts before they reached the audience chamber with the result that their first impressions were always bad. Any revision of opinion to which they

1. Originally it was called the Urdu-i-mu'alla.

2. Lady Nugent. *Journal of a Residence in India*. (Nugent) I. 420-425.

3. Bishop Heber. *Journal of a Journey through India*, I 306-7, ed. 1844.

4. *Delhi Residency Records* (D.R.R.) case 1 No. 16. Letter of Agent. 3 May, 1838.

5. Bentinck papers (Bentinck) Metcalfe to Bentinck 2 January 1833.

might feel tempted in the Durbar hall itself were offset by the tawdriness of the *Khillats* and the cheapness of the presents given by the king. Very few people ever gained admittance to the *Zenana* or the houses of the leading princes, and so the rumour spread that the Palace was one vast slum. This rumour had its element of truth and was so much in accord with current prejudices that it became a dogma which even yet is hardly shaken. It is so much pleasanter to believe that people you disapprove of are really contemptible.

The Court consisted of the king and his immediate entourage, the royal princes, his sons, and their families, the nearer collaterals such as nephews and brothers, and then the great mass of distant relations. These were the *salatin*. They were the descendants of former emperors going right back to Shah Jahan. The *salatin* were a problem to Mogul and government alike. They were originally confined in the Palace to prevent the possibility of their use as tools by designing nobles. But under the British they refused to leave the Palace, partly because they would lose their royal station, and partly because they possessed no means of livelihood. Limitation of families was not a Mogul fashion and they increased largely. As each generation passed and their distance from the throne increased, the trickle of their allowances grew thinner and thinner. In 1836 795 *salatin* were listed as being in receipt of pensions.⁶ In 1848 their total number was reckoned by the Mogul himself as 2104.⁷ They exemplified nothing but the depths to which pride can reduce men. Even in 1856, only 45 out of the 130 living sons and grandsons of the living and former kings lived outside the Palace. The *salatin's* quarter was thus described by Major George Cunningham in an official paper.⁸

"The *salatin* quarter consists of an immense high wall so that nothing can overlook it. Within this are numerous mat huts in which these wretched objects live. When the gates were opened there was a rush of miserable, half-naked, starved beings who surrounded us. Some men apparently eighty years old almost in a state of nature, who from the earliest infancy had been shut up, others young men, some sons of Kings whose mothers either had died or not been in favour, . . . others young children who had the space within these

6. D. R. R. Case 1. No. 13 (enclosure).

7. Delhi Residency and Agency. (Vol. I of Punjab Government Records) Delhi Residency Records. 431. Lahore 1911.

8. India Office Records. *Home Miscellaneous Series* (I.O. Ho. Misc.), Vol. 708, p. 28.

walls to look forward to as their world The utmost allowed was a few blankets during the cold weather, distributed as if by the King, but in fact a private charity of Seton's."

But one man could do little to relieve this sea of misery. Suggestions were made that a college should be established to train them for the public service. But to this it was objected that all the available posts would then be filled with disaffected people.⁹ The alternate policy of removing them from the Palace to shift for themselves was not adopted until Dalhousie decreed the removal of the whole family from the Palace on the death of Bahadur Shah. The usual makeshift was resorted to: the *salatin* were allowed but not compelled to leave the palace, and no encouragement was held out in the form of education or employment.

The nearer collaterals, the brothers and uncles of the reigning king, were also kept in confinement, but their lot was easier since they enjoyed larger pensions. Under Shah Alam and the Marathas their confinement was strict, and they were not even allowed to attend Durbars. In 1803 "they appeared to be in want even of the necessities of life. They were dressed meanly, and to our great surprise, began to make known to us all their misfortunes and the hardships they endured in their confinement (not one of them was allowed to go without the limited space pointed out, and guards were placed to see that they did not.)"¹⁰ Seton secured an improvement in their lot on the accession of Akbar Shah. They were allowed to attend the Durbar on particular occasions, were no longer confined to the *salatin* quarter, and continued to enjoy their previous allowances.¹¹ With this shadow dignity, they eked out their lives.

The sons of the reigning king formed what might be called the first class of the royal family. They had full liberty of action, enjoyed substantial allowances and had a perennial interest in intriguing against the Heir Apparent for the succession. They stood in rows on either side of the throne in Durbar, and were the only Princes who enjoyed any real life of their own. They were not all of the same standing, a distinction existing between the issue of legitimate marriages and the offspring of concubines.

9. Sleeman. *Rambles and Recollections* ed. 1893. II 178-180.

10. Pester John. *War and Sport in India, 1802-6*, p. 176. 18 September, 1803.

11. I. O. Ho. Misc. Vol. 336, p. 829. Memo on Delhi Affairs by Mr. Holford.

Of the twelve surviving sons of Bahadur Shah in 1856, for example, only two were listed as legitimate.¹² One or two made some mark on the life of the time and are worth a passing mention. The most picturesque was Mirza Jahangir, the favourite son of Akbar Shah. He was a youth of 17 when his father tried in vain to secure his nomination as Heir Apparent. He showed his spirit by gathering a following of boon companions and hired Pathans and playing the part of a Mogul 'Prince Hal.' The Resident insisted on his father restraining him, whereupon Jahangir turned his envoy out of the Palace and fired on the sepoy guard. He did not surrender until Seton marched down to the Palace at the head of British troops. He was removed under escort to Allahabad as a state prisoner. He behaved so well there that he was allowed to return and given the command of an escort of 1300 men. But his restless spirit soon caused such further trouble, that with his father's consent he was sent back to Allahabad once more. He was said to have made two attempts to poison the Heir-Apparent. Then he found solace in the bottle, and lived only too well. Sleeman knew him intimately in 1816.¹³ He was then killing himself with Hoffmann's cherry brandy.

"'This,' he would say to me, 'is really the only liquor that you Englishmen have worth drinking, and its only fault is that it makes one drunk too soon.' To prolong his pleasure, he used to limit himself to one large glass every hour, till he got dead drunk. Two or three sets of dancing women and musicians used to relieve each other in amusing him during this interval. He died, of course, soon, and the poor old Emperor was persuaded by his mother, the favourite *sultana*, that he had fallen a victim to sighing and grief at the treatment of the English. . . . He was not in confinement at Allahabad, but merely prohibited from returning to Delhi. He had a splendid dwelling, a good income, and all the honours due to his rank."

To obtain an interview with Lord Hastings in 1814, he promised to limit himself to one bottle of port wine daily. Hastings thus described him.¹⁴

"When he arrived I rose, and advancing to the door of the room, embraced him, leading him afterwards to a chair beside me. He was in Tartar dress; the robe crimson satin, the vest blue, both lined with

12. Delhi Residency Records. p. 455. Enclosure to S. Fraser's letter 11 July 1856.

13. Sleeman. *Rambles and Recollections*. Ed. V. Smith 509.

14. Private Journal of Lord Hastings. Ed. the Marchioness of Bute, I, 153-4.

fur, though the weather was overpoweringly hot. On his head he wore a high conical cap ornamented with fur and jewels. His hair was long and frizzed at the sides just enough to prevent its hanging too lanky on his shoulders."

Mirza Jahangir died in 1821 at the not surprisingly early age of 31. His tomb in Nizam-ad-din's enclosure is one of the best examples of late Mogul marble work.

Mirza Babur, the third son of Akbar, affected European manners. He built a European style house in the courtyard of the *Rang Mahal* behind the *Dewan-i-Am*, whose Corinthian columns and stucco walls horrified admirers of Shah Jahan's architecture. He wore European clothes or rather uniforms and drove about the city in a coach with six horses.¹⁵

"The youngest but one affects the manners and habits of Europeans, and is constantly betraying his absurdity by his want of reflection; for instance, when he set up an English coach, he insisted that the coachman should not sit above himself. He wears an European-cut coat, with stars on both breasts: top boots and a thick walking stick are his rage. . . . He is constantly driving about in a coach-and-six, with a horseman carrying his *Kalleaum*, or pipe, by the side of it; carriage, horses, and all, are often seen in a ditch, of which there are many both wide and deep, in the outskirts of the town."

The sons of Bahadur Shah were less noticeable. But the Princes Dara Bakht and Fakhr-ad-din, the two Heirs Apparent, were both men of culture, respected by Delhi society. Mirza Mogul achieved notoriety as the titular Commander-in-Chief of the Delhi army during the siege, and the instigator of the massacre of the Englishwomen in the Fort. Jewan Bakht, the darling son of the king's old age, was too young to make any positive mark or share the fate of Mirza Mogul. All we know of him is that he was a handsome youth, and a devotee of pigeon-shooting and kite-flying. He, alone of his sons, accompanied his father into exile at Rangoon, where his descendants are still to be found. In general, it is to be noted, that the immediate family of the kings, who enjoyed substantial allowances and some real freedom of life, preserved through successive generations a standard of intelligence and refinement. Coarse bullies like Mirza Mogul, and picturesque ne'er do wells like Mirza Jahangir, have their counterparts in every aristocracy and royal family. The wretched state of the *salatin* should not blind us to the real culture which existed round the persons of the Kings.

15. Maj. Archer. *Tours in Upper India*: (Archer) I, 383.

A closer inspection will do much to dispel the popular idea of effete effeminacy and maudlin vice which clings to the last three Mogul kings. Only one of them had any chance to show what he could do as a ruler, and though he failed, he failed not ignobly in circumstances of unexampled difficulty. Little effort has ever been made to regard them as men, and to measure their qualities instead of mocking at their obvious defects. Their position was after all an impossible one, and the gibes from which they have suffered were largely the expression by practical and superior-minded men of their distaste for what they regarded as an absurd pretence. Yet these men could not escape from their phantom royalty if they would, and it is no fair judgment to condemn them for occupying a position they could not avoid. Few Englishmen had any opportunity of judging their personal qualities, for few got any nearer to them than the presentation of a few gold coins on a handkerchief at a Durbar, and the gift in return of a tinsel court dress. Those few who did were not nearly so contemptuous as the casual travellers who relied upon local gossip. One whole side of their life—in the zenana,—was a closed book to all but one or two Englishwomen; another—their cultural life—which would have entranced Warren Hastings and his circle, was more and more disregarded by the new generation of utility officials. At the end of the period Bahadur Shah was derided for being what Warren Hastings delighted in trying to be, a poet. It was not so much, in fact, that the Moguls changed for the worse, as that the British changed their outlook. If Bahadur Shah had been an engineer or a financier, he would have been highly respected; but he was a poet, and so could expect no more consideration than the same men gave to Shelley or Byron or Keats.

The English only knew Shah Alam in his blindness and extreme old age. But he had been an active and adventurous youth. He had fled from Delhi by stealth rather than submit to the tyranny of Imad-ul-Mulk; he had conducted successive campaigns in Bengal and Bihar against the rising masters of India, and was still in the field in his sixty-fourth year, when most men in India were already considered venerable. In spite of a childhood and early youth spent in the zenana when there seemed to be no hope of his succession to the throne, he was cultivated in the manner of his time and had the power of inspiring respect and affection. Jean Law, who knew him intimately when he was on the borders of Bihar, thus described him.¹⁶

16. Jean Law. *Memoires*, 329.

"The *Shahzada* passed for one of those who have had the best education and who have most profited by it. This education consists particularly in the knowledge of religion and of the Oriental tongues, of history and the writing of one's academic exercises well. In effect, all that I could perceive decided in his favour. He is familiar with the Arabic, Persian, Turki and Hindustani languages. He loves reading and never passes a day without employing some hours in it. . . . He is of an enquiring mind, naturally gay and free in his private society, where he frequently admits his principal military officers in whom he has confidence."

When Shah Alam was blinded, Jonathan Scott wrote in real distress to Warren Hastings.¹⁷ All the later references by Englishmen who had more than a superficial knowledge show the same feeling. Shah Alam was very tenacious of royalty. He had a certain toughness of resistance even though he lacked the strength to impose his will. When, after his blinding, he learnt that his son Akbar had been made Emperor by Ghulam Kadir, he first of all refused to resume the Crown in his delight at the elevation of his favourite son. But when he did so, he insisted on all the forms and trappings so far as he was able. Shah Alam was a brave and cultured man, though a shifty diplomatist and an unsuccessful ruler.

Akbar was a man of much less mark than his father, but he possessed the dignity and culture of his race, and also their strength of constitution. If Shah Alam and Bahadur Shah would have made good constitutional kings, Akbar would have been a very worthy country gentleman. His reliance on the advice of his ladies would have done no harm, and his benevolence and domestic tastes would have found full scope. He was already elderly when he came to the throne, but he remained vigorous until the last few years of his life. Lady Nugent reported in 1813¹⁸ that he "has very good features and a very fair complexion for a native. He wears his beard very long, and it is as white as snow; his dress was rather plain, but he wore some handsome jewels." In 1827 Major Archer, an officer in Lord Combermere's train, thus described him.¹⁹

"The King appears to be upwards of sixty years old (he was actually 73): he is a remarkably healthy, strong man, exceedingly

17. *British Museum Additional Manuscripts* 29171 p. 319-20. J. Scott to W. Hastings. 20th May 1789.

18. Nugent, I, 423.

19. Archer II, 114.

good looking, and is fairer than the generality of the upper classes: a venerable white beard adds dignity to his countenance, while his dark intelligent eye impresses all in his favour, and gains him credit for benevolence and goodness of heart, which amiable qualities are verified by all those who have the honour of any intercourse with him."

One Englishwoman, through her special position in Indian society, gained admission to the royal zenana. Her description shows traces perhaps of bias, but enough is left to make a pleasing and vivid picture.²⁰

"I was conducted to the Queen's *mahul* (palace for females), where his Majesty and the Queen were awaiting my arrival. I found on my entrance the king seated in the open air in an armchair enjoying his hooka; the Queen's *musnud* was on the ground, close by the side of her venerable husband. . . . After having left my shoes at the entrance and advanced towards them, my salaams were tendered, and then the usual offering of *nuzzas*, first to the King and then to the Queen, who invited me to a seat on her carpet—an honour I knew how to appreciate from my acquaintance with the etiquette observed on such occasions.

The whole period of my visit was occupied in very interesting conversation; eager inquiries were made respecting England, the Government, the manners of the Court, the habits of the people, my own family affairs, my husband's views in travelling, and his adventures in England, my own satisfaction as regarded climate, and the people with whom I was so immediately connected by marriage;—the conversation, indeed, never flagged for an instant, for the condescending courtesy of their Majesties encouraged me to add to their entertainment, by details which seemed to interest and delight them greatly.

On taking leave his Majesty very cordially shook me by the hand, and the Queen embraced me with warmth. Both appeared, and expressed themselves, highly gifted with the visit of an English lady who could explain herself in their language without embarrassment, or the assistance of an interpreter, and who was the more interesting to them from the circumstances of being the wife of a Syaad.

I was grieved to be obliged to accept the Queen's parting present of an embroidered scarf, because I knew her means were exceedingly limited compared with the demands upon her bounty; but I could not refuse that which was intended to do me honour at the risk of wounding those feelings I so greatly respected. A small ring, of trifling value, was then placed by the Queen on my finger, as she remarked, "to remind me of the giver."

The King's countenance, dignified by age, possesses traces of extreme beauty; he is much fairer than Asiatics usually are; his

20. Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali's *Observations on the Mussulmans*. ed. 1917 290-292.

features are still fine, his hair silvery white; intelligence beams upon his brow, his conversation gentle and refined, and his condescending manners hardly to be surpassed by the most refined gentleman of Europe. I am told by those who have been long intimate with his habits in private, that he leads a life of strict piety and temperance, equal to that of a *durweish* of his faith, whom he imitates in expending his income on others without indulging in a single luxury himself.

The Queen's manners are very amiable and condescending; she is reported to be as highly gifted with intellectual endowments as I can affirm she is with genuine politeness."

The only important authority who takes a very unfavourable view of Akbar is Sleeman.²¹ He complained of his senility, and told the story of his objecting to the shadow under his nose in Jivan Ram's painting as "a great blotch." But this is hardly proof of senility; similar gaffes have been perpetrated by men whom no one could accuse of either dullness or anaemia. In any case Sleeman's information was only hearsay, and he visited Delhi at the very end of Akbar Shah's life. A better witness is Bishop Heber, whose keen observation, literary talent and broad-mindedness make his *Travels* quite the best description of India in the twenties. He describes not only the king, but the court ceremonial so clearly, that he is worth quoting in full.²²

"The 31st December was fixed for my presentation to the emperor, which was appointed for half-past eight in the morning. Lushington and a Captain Wade also chose to take the same opportunity. At eight I went, accompanied by Mr. Elliott, with nearly the same formalities as at Lucknow, except that we were on elephants instead of in palanquins, and that the procession was, perhaps less splendid, and the beggars both less numerous and far less vociferous and importunate. We were received with presented arms by the troops of the palace drawn up within the barbican, and proceeded, still on our elephants, through the noblest gateway and vestibule which I ever saw. It consists, not merely of a splendid Gothic arch in the centre of the great gate-tower,—but, after that, of a long vaulted aisle, like that of a Gothic cathedral, with a small, open, octagonal court in its centre, all of granite, and all finely carved with inscriptions from the Koran, and with flowers. This ended in a ruinous and exceedingly dirty stable-yard! where we were received by Captain Grant, as the Mogul's officer on guard, and by a number of elderly men with large gold-headed canes, the usual ensign of office here, and one of which Mr. Elliott also carried. We were now told to dismount and proceed on foot, a task which the late rain

21. Sleeman. *Rambles and Recollections*. II. 185-6. Ed. 1893.

22. Heber. *Journal*, I, 304-6. Ed. 1844.

made inconvenient to my gown and cassock, and thin shoes, and during which we were pestered with a fresh swarm of miserable beggars, the wives and children of the stable servants. After this we passed another richly-carved, but ruinous and dirty gateway, where our guides, withdrawing a canvas screen, called out, in a sort of harsh chaunt, "Lo, the ornament of the world! Lo, the asylum of the nations! King of Kings! The Emperor Acbar Shah! Just, fortunate, victorious!" We saw, in fact, a very handsome and striking court, about as big as that at All Souls, with low, but richly-ornamented buildings. Opposite to us was a beautiful open pavilion of white marble, richly carved, flanked by rose-bushes and fountains, and some tapestry and striped curtains hanging in festoons about it, within which was a crowd of people, and the poor old descendant of Tamerlane seated in the midst of them. Mr. Elliott here bowed three times very low, in which we followed his example. This ceremony was repeated twice as we advanced up the steps of the pavilion, the heralds each time repeating the same expressions about their master's greatness. We then stood in a row on the right-hand side of the throne, which is a sort of marble bedstead richly ornamented with gilding, and raised on two or three steps. Mr. Elliott then stepped forwards, and, with joined hands, in the usual Eastern way, announced, in a low voice, to the emperor, who I was. I then advanced, bowed three times again, and offered a nuzzur of fifty-one gold mohurs in an embroidered purse, laid on my handkerchief, in the way practised by the Baboos in Calcutta. This was received and laid on one side, and I remained standing for a few minutes, while the usual court questions about my health, my travels, when I left Calcutta, etc., were asked. I had thus an opportunity of seeing the old gentleman more plainly. He has a pale, thin, but handsome face, with an aquiline nose, and a long white beard. His complexion is little if at all darker than that of an European. His hands are very fair and delicate, and he had some valuable-looking rings on them. His hands and face were all I saw of him, for the morning being cold, he was so wrapped up in shawls, that he reminded me extremely of the Druid's head on a Welsh halfpenny. I then stepped back to my former place, and returned again with five more mohurs to make my offering to the heir apparent, who stood at his father's left hand, the right being occupied by the resident. Next, my two companions were introduced with nearly the same forms, except that their offerings were less, and that the emperor did not speak to them.

The emperor then beckoned to me to come forwards, and Mr. Elliott told me to take off my hat, which had till now remained on my head, on which the emperor tied a flimsy turban of brocade round my head with his own hands, for which, however, I paid four gold mohurs more. We were then directed to retire to receive the "Khelâts" (honorary dresses) which the bounty of "the Asylum of the World" had provided for us. I was accordingly taken into a small private room, adjoining the zenmanah, where I found a handsome flowered caftan edged with fur, and a pair of common-looking shawls, which my servants, who had the delight of witnessing all this fine show, put on instead of my gown, my cassock, remaining as before. In this strange dress I had

to walk back again, having my name announced by the criers (something in the same way that Lord Marmion's was) as "Bahadur, Boozoon, Dowlut-mund," etc., to the presence, where I found my two companions, who had not been honoured by a private dressing-room, but had their khelâts put on them in the gateway of the court. They were, I apprehend, still queerer figures than I was, having their hats wrapped with scarfs of flowered gauze, and a strange garment of gauze, tinsel, and faded ribands flung over their shoulders above their coats. I now again came forward and offered my third present to the emperor, being a copy of the Arabic Bible and the Hindoostanee Common Prayer, handsomely bound in blue velvet laced with gold, and wrapped up in a piece of brocade. He then motioned to me to stoop, and put a string of pearls round my neck, and two glittering but not costly ornaments in the front of my turban, for which I again offered five gold mohurs. It was, lastly, announced that a horse was waiting for my acceptance, at which fresh instance of imperial munificence the heralds again made a proclamation of largesse, and I again paid five gold mohurs. It ended by my taking my leave with three times three salams, making up, I think, the sum of about threescore, and I retired with Mr. Elliott to my dressing-room, whence I sent to her Majesty the Queen, as she is generally called, though Empress would be the ancient and more proper title, a present of five mohurs more, and the emperor's chobdars came eagerly up to know when they should attend to receive their buckshish."

To Akbar II succeeded his son Mirza Abu'l-Zafar with the title of Bahadur Shah. In the usual Mogul tradition, he was not his father's choice. Akbar had attempted to set him aside in favour of Jahangir, and had accused him of unnatural vice; Jahangir himself had at least twice tried to poison him. But Abu'l-Zafar was the eldest son, and as such recognised by the British Government.

There is no doubt that he was the best fitted of Akbar's sons to succeed. He was in fact the best, rather than the worst of the late Mogul kings. The shadow of the Mutiny has darkened his fame and turned the philosopher poet of fact into the scheming rebel of alleged history. But it should be remembered that Bahadur Shah was eighty-two years of age when the Mutiny broke out. For years travellers had been writing of his senility and feebleness. Mutinous sepoys seized the Palace and treated him so disrespectfully that he threatened to retire to the shrine of Qutab Sahib as a pir or religious devotee, and those same critics denounced him as an arch intriguer and conspirator, as one of the chief villains of the whole tragedy. These charges neutralise each other, and they are typical of a whole school of criticism of late Mogul Delhi. If the king kept up his palace, he had too much money and his allowance must be cut down; if he lived within his

income, his establishment was squalid, and should be abolished. If he maintained his dignity and the traditional etiquette, he was preposterous; if he was ready to give it up, there was no need to maintain him in the Palace. If a Prince was idle and dissolute, it was a proof of Mogul effete-ness; if he showed any signs of character, he was a danger and not to be countenanced. If the *salatin* were given employment, they would be a danger to the state; their consequent enforced idleness and penury was a proof of their turpitude. To satisfy these critics, Bahadur Shah should either have resisted the sepoys or fled from them. But no one has ever suggested how he could have done either. His own guard and some of his family had joined the mutineers. Was this octogenarian expected to rush out upon them, berserk, and to die resisting the restoration of the very authority he had always claimed for himself? Alternatively, where was he to fly to? How was this young gallant to reach a non-existent British army in the height of the hot season? Perhaps he was to ride alone in disguise like Theophilus Metcalfe, to rest by day in caves and guide himself by the stars at night, until he reached a friendly British camp. And how friendly would it have proved? Bahadur Shah must be judged on the evidence of his whole life, and not by the word of superficial travellers or of soldiers unbalanced by the strains of war, fatigue and racial passion.

Bahadur Shah appears throughout the records as a man of cultured and upright character. In 1806, when he was 32 years old, and his father was trying to pass him over in favour of Jahangir, he was described as a "very respectable character" by Seton. Twenty years later Charles Metcalfe, none too friendly a critic where the Moguls were concerned, thus wrote of him.²³

"I have always advised the Heir Apparent to submit with patience to the will of his Royal Father. I must add that his conduct is in every respect highly creditable to him. He is undoubtedly the most respectable, the most accomplished of the Princes, the most worthy of his Majesty's love, and although it is withheld from him, I have never known him to deviate from the observance of proper respect and filial duty."

The Prince lived and dressed simply. He was described about the same time as "a man of spare figure and stature, plainly apparelled."²⁴ Even simplicity did not satisfy those who were deter-

23. D. R. R. Misc. Pol. Case 1, No. 3. C. T. Metcalfe to Deputy Sec. in attendance on the Governor-General, 26 June 1827.

24. Archer II, 113.

mined that nothing Mogul, (and very little Indian) should please. The same writer complained that the plainness was "approaching to meanness", and that "his appearance was that of an indigent Moonshree or teacher of languages." These habits he retained during his reign; Emily Eden²⁵ gives us a glimpse of him sitting alone, except for a servant to keep off the flies in his garden by the Jumna banks. Another is given by Von Orlich who visited Delhi in 1843. "As we entered the halls which lead to the king's apartment we saw a rhapsodist, who was sitting before the bedchamber of the Great Mogul, and relating tales in a loud voice. A simple curtain was hung between him and the king, who was lying on a couch, and whom their tales were to lull to sleep."²⁶ In the Palace Diary of later years there are glimpses of him spending whole days reading and writing, studying the Koran, and composing verses in the Roshanara Garden.²⁷

Bahadur Shah was educated to the life of a mediatized prince, and the role fitted him perfectly. Whether he could have developed the qualities of action we shall never know, for he was denied all opportunity in his early years and the Mutiny experience came far too late. But as a philosophic prince he would have adorned any court. He would have made a dignified ruler of a minor German state under the Empire or an excellent constitutional king. Delhi in his times was an Indian Weimar, with Ghalib for its Goethe. His interests and tastes were primarily literary and aesthetic. He loved poetry and philosophy, gardens and nature in all its guises. Nearly every day of his life he went for excursions across the Jumna morning and evening; every monsoon found him established at Mahrauli, where he built himself a country palace whose main archway may still be seen. He instituted the *Solana* or *Punkah* festival which was held each August towards the end of the rains, when he or his sons headed a procession to the shrine of Qutab Sahib, the king on his elephant, and his followers waving large fans. He enjoyed gardens and laid out at least two himself, one below the Palace wall on the Jumna bank and one at Shahdara. He loved animals and had a special fondness for doves. He was religious without being fanatical, and learned without being bigoted. He was fond of visiting famous shrines

25. Emily Eden. *Up the Country*. Edtd. E. Thompson, 1930. 97.

26. L. von Orlich. *Travels in India*, II. 25.

27. Imperial Records, New Delhi. Vol. 361. Palace Intelligence Delhi 1851-4. (I.R. N.D. Palace).

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and continued the custom of making disciples or *murids*.²⁸ The disciple accepted the spiritual guidance of the king, and received a light red handkerchief as a symbol of his status. The practice had been begun by Akbar II, and was encouraged by the *pirzadaks* (or descendants of saints) of Delhi who were firm believers in the divine right of kings. But he was no bigot; he freely admitted Dr. Chiman Lal to the Palace after his conversion to Christianity (and consulted him behind the back of his faithful Hakim), and rebuked those who criticised the doctor's action.²⁹ "There was no cause for shame in what he had done", he said.

But above all Bahadur Shah was a poet and a literary patron. He was the pupil and friend of Zauq, whose rival was the famous Ghalib. He composed several volumes of lyrics, some of which attained considerable popularity. Though not quite in the same rank as Ghalib and Zauq he has his niche in the Urdu pantheon and his merit cannot be denied. It is this gift, much more than his crown, which gave him his place in the life of Delhi, and it is this even more than his political misfortunes, which has caused him to be affectionately remembered by the people.³⁰

Bahadur Shah did not suffer from the usual vice of his race, addiction to strong drink, but he shared their taste for the good things of life. The illness which nearly killed him in 1853 was brought on by a succession of indulgences while recovering from an attack of colic. In particular he suffered from that amiable weakness of Northern India, a fondness for mangoes. It was a mixture of mangoes and red pepper which brought on his first attack of colic, and more mangoes sent by the Resident, on receipt of which he improvised a couplet in their honour, which nearly killed him.

Taking him all in all, Bahadur Shah presents a pleasing if not a heroic figure. That he lacked the greater gifts of personality is obvious; that he possessed real abilities and a certain charm is equally clear. He possessed the courage of his race and showed it when he faced the twice mutinous mutineers and protected Hakim Ahsanullah Khan from their vengeance. His later misfortunes brought out a quality of stoic endurance of suffering

28. Proceedings at the Trial of Bahadur Shah, 163.

29. I. R. N. D. Palace. 13 July 1852.

30. T. G. Bailey. *History of Urdu Literature* 70-72.

which must inspire respect in the least friendly. Judged by the evidence available, by the standards of his time and in relation to the peculiar difficulties of his position, Bahadur Shah stands as a dignified, cultured, intellectual and not unsympathetic figure. He lies in Rangoon, far from the city that he loved, but his memory, alone of the Moguls since Aurangzeb, is still verdant among the people.

The later Moguls maintained the etiquette of the Court in all its rigour so far as they were able. The miniatures and ivory paintings of the time depict the solemn processions through the streets in which the court delighted on great occasions such as a religious festival or a royal wedding. The king or his representative always attended the Jama Masjid on the *Ids* or religious festivals. The King mounted on an elephant with the royal princes and chief noblemen behind, with foot and horse in front and rear, the party made a brave show with its gaily coloured trappings, its bejewelled figures and the scarlet uniforms of the soldiers. Trumpets and kettle drums went before, and the scene was enjoyed as much by the citizens as the courtiers themselves. Within the palace there were the *Durbars*. *Durbars* were held at irregular intervals and on particular occasions such as the festivals or the visit of an English potentate they were of special magnificence. The procedure was much the same as in the days of Aurangzeb, except for the smaller numbers, the reduced splendour, and the lesser note of the members. The standing rows of courtiers with bowed heads, the present giving, the bowing and formal conversations, the exits and entrances, all followed ancient custom. In their full solemnity they have been described once for all by Bernier, and for their reduced proportions Bishop Heber's account is authoritative. The princely *nazars* of former times became a few gold *mohurs*, the *khillats* or dresses of honour of fine worked muslin a tawdry tinsel, and the jewels coloured glass and beads. The processions of horses and elephants that once passed through the *Devan-i-Amm* became an occasional horse or camel, or a curiosity like a rhinoceros. The magnificent steeds with which the emperors had graced their visitors became elderly animals who were led out again and again to successive English visitors, and led back again to their well worn stables as soon as the *Durbar* was over. Looked at from the angle of the past, it was cheap and decayed enough; regarded by the eyes of Indian contemporaries, it was as fair a show as could be managed in the circumstances. It was at least better than nothing, and some solace for lost glories.

These public durbars were held in the *Dewan-i-Khas*; the larger *Dewan-i-Amm* lay deserted and rubbish strewn. Occasionally it would be cleaned on a royal order, and would then fall into neglect again. Those who had free access to the *Khas* were known as *Lal Purdaris*, from the fact that they passed through the Red Curtain which hung over the entrance of that court. They witnessed the more intimate ceremonies of the Court. The most picturesque of these was the weighing of His Majesty against seven kinds of grain, coral and gold on important occasions. The weights were then distributed to this poor. Formerly silver took the place of coral and there was an extra weighing against precious stones. These weighings had been introduced by Akbar, who borrowed them from the Hindus. They took place on his Majesty's birthday, the *Nauroz* or New Year, on the Hindu festivals of *Diwali* and *Holi*, and on the occasion of eclipses. Another was the *Gusl-i-Sehat* or bath of recovery, a ceremonial ablution which celebrated recovery from any illness. Another occasional function was the sacrifice of animals on the festival of *Bakr-id*, the Muslim celebration of Abraham's offer of Isaac to God. The late Mogul kings usually sacrificed a camel at the Idgah, but on occasion Bahadur Shah sacrificed instead in the *Dewan-i-Khas*. When remonstrated with he replied that he remembered it happening in Shah Alam's time.

There was nothing the Moguls resented so much as any attempt to encroach upon their dignity. In general the British respected their feelings on this subject, though their gradual withdrawal of *nazars* in later years produced a lasting soreness. This is illustrated by the story of the one serious attempt to disregard etiquette altogether.³¹ It filled the whole of the short lived residency of Hawkins, who succeeded Colebrooke in the autumn of 1829 and indeed was responsible for its untimely close. Hawkins came to Delhi without previous experience of Indian courts, but with a plentiful stock of prejudice and abstract knowledge. He was a good Persian scholar and had a zeal which led him to read for himself the royal *shuqas* or letters to the Residency. He was filled with the ideas of the corruptness of the previous regime and suspected the Court's implication therein. He was filled with the new ideas of superiority and stoutly believed that an Englishman should show deference to no man in India. His first duty was to

31. India Office. Public Consultations 19 March 1830. No. 6 and 7. This contains Hawkins' replies to the Mogul complaints. The following account is based on Hawkins' own version.

present a *nazar* to the king. This he regarded as humiliating and compromised with his conscience by presenting it with one hand only. Even standing before royalty irked him, so that on reaching the Queen's apartments he insisted on a chair to support his dignity. From such a start there soon developed open warfare. He refused to receive dishes of sweetmeats from the Heir Apparent, drove away in wrath gardeners who brought nosegays from the Palace, and sent back royal *shuqas* on the ground of disrespectful wording. The Court politicians were equal to the occasion and entangled him in a dispute about the meaning of Persian words and the authenticity of seals. For three months he did not visit the Palace or send his *chobdar* to enquire for the royal health. He was too "busy." In December the king visited the Qutab. While he was absent an English friend visited Hawkins. No doubt disappointed that he could not be received in audience, Hawkins one morning took him into the palace in the king's absence. With a grandson of Hafiz Rahmat Khan (of the Rohilla war fame), he rode through the gates and on through the *Naqqar Khana*, where the highest by custom must dismount, into the *Dewan-i-Amm*. With his friend he then rode through the *Lal Purdah* gateway into the court of the *Dewan-i-Khas*, disregarding the protest of the *peon* on duty. The *Khas Mahal* itself was wrapped up in *Purdahs*. Hawkins thought it an affront that the *peon* should be clothed only "in a blue cotton dress without arms"; the king thought it an affront that the Resident should not only enter the *Dewan-i-Khas* without leave, but should ride in on horseback, a thing unheard of in the whole annals of the House of Timur. Protests went direct to Calcutta and Hawkins found himself relieved first of the charge of the Palace, and then of the Residency altogether. After this, in the deft hands of Fraser and then Thomas Metcalfe, even the gradual withdrawal of British recognition of the Imperial status was smoothed by dignified deference.

No better picture of the daily life of the Palace can be given than by some extracts from a volume of the Palace diary which has survived in the records of the Foreign and Political Department of the Government of India.³² Here is a specimen week. Bahadur Shah was then about 77 years old.

Monday, 28th April 1851. Hakim Ahsanullah Khan having examined His Majesty's pulse, observed that he was very weak—and recommended that he should take no more medicine for the present. His Majesty intimated that he was of the same opinion. A petition was received

32. I.R.N.D. Palace.

from Mirza Kaus Shekoh, requesting H. M. would pardon the offence committed by Bansi Dhar, Perfumer, at which H. M. was much displeased and directed him to be put in irons. At 4 p.m. H. M. took an airing in the Qudsia Garden. Mourning *khillats* were conferred upon the sons of Maulvi Aziz-ad-din, demised.

Tuesday, 29th April. H. M. proceeded across the river on a shooting excursion. Husain Mirza Nazir reported that two children belonging to some *dhobis* in the City had been found in the *Mahal*. Bansi Dhar, Perfumer, was released on the payment of a fine of Rs. 500.

At 4 p.m. H. M. again proceeded on a shooting excursion across the river. A petition was received from Hakim Ahsanullah Khan, stating that he was prevented from attendance on H. M. from indisposition. Mahbub Ali Khan was directed to forward Rs. 200 to Kalah Sahib Pirzadah to defray the expenses of the offerings at the tomb of Maulvi Fakhr-ad-din, and also directing him to make the usual offerings at the tomb of the late Emperor Mohammad Akbar Shah.

Wednesday, 30th April. H. M. proceeded across the river on a shooting excursion. It was reported that as Ashraf Ali Khan was returning across the bridge on an elephant one of the planks gave way, and that animal's leg went thro', by which Ashraf Ali was thrown and severely bruised. A messenger was despatched to inquire regarding him. Mirza Jewan Bakht, accompanied by Mahbub Ali Khan, took leave on their departure for the Qutab to make offerings at the Tomb of Maulvi Fakhr-ad-din and the late Emperor Akbar Shah.

At 4 p.m. several *Salatins* attended with their game cocks in front of the Palace to amuse H. M. with cock-fighting.

Thursday, 1st May. H. M. proceeded across the river on a shooting excursion. Mirza Jewan Bakht returned from the Qutab accompanied by Mahbub Ali Khan and represented that they had made the annual offerings at the tomb of Maulvi Fakhr-ad-din and the late Emperor Akbar Shah. It was reported that the *zenana* people of Mirza Fakhr-ad-din residing in the Daulatabadi House in the City during the night had been robbed.

At 4 p.m., it was intimated that the royal stipend for the past month had arrived at the Palace. Mahbub Ali Khan was directed to make the usual disbursements. Several *Salatins* brought their game cocks in front of the Palace to amuse H. M. with cock-fighting.

Friday, 2nd May. H. M. proceeded across the river on a shooting excursion. The huntsmen brought some venison, a portion of which was forwarded to Ahmad Quli Khan.

At 4 p.m., Mahbub Ali Khan reported that he had disbursed salaries for the past month. In the evening H. M. again proceeded across the river on a shooting excursion. Mirza Wali Sultan and Mirza Haji, *Salatins*, complained that they had not received their allowances for the past month. Husain Mirza Nazir intimated that on the day H. M. proceeded to the home of Mirza Abbas Shekoh these two *Salatins* appeared at the assembly in a state of intoxication and conversed in a very improper manner, and that they had been guilty of the same impropriety several times in the Palace, on which account their allowances had been

withheld. H. M. indicated that until this habit was eradicated they should receive no allowance, and observed that the practice of drinking wine should be confined to those who had command over themselves, and not by those who drank to excess. A petition was received from Babu Suri Narain Singh, reporting the demise of his brother. The officers of H. M.'s Writing Office were directed to register the 15th year of H. M.'s reign.

Saturday, 3rd May. H. M. enjoyed his usual sport across the river, and on his return forward a *shuqa* to the Agent.

At 4 p.m. a petition was received from Mirza Wali Sultan and Mirza Haji begging forgiveness of their offence and the issue of their allowances. H. M. observed that it would be necessary to fine them in order to impress upon others the impropriety of indulging in spirituous liquors.

Sunday, 4th May. H. M. crossed the river and returned after some sport. The Agency *Jamadar* presented two boxes of opium (received from Patna), and the Agency *Vakil* after a private audience retired. Ahmad Quli Khan having presented himself was engaged in arranging matters connected with the alliance of Prince Mirza Jewan Bakht with the daughter of Mohammad Khan of Malagarh. A *bania* complained that he had obtained a decree in this court of Rs. 100, against one Bansi Dhar, but that the royal officials would not enforce the award by the sale of the defendant's dwelling house. Mahbub Ali Khan and Hakim Ahsanullah Khan were directed to cause immediate arrangements to be made in satisfaction of the decree.

At 4 p.m. Hakim Ahsanullah Khan presented himself, and after submitting for H. M.'s inspection certain papers, withdrew.

Here are some other entries which give some idea of the variety of the royal interests and occupations.

23rd April. At night H. M. witnessed a *nautch* and Fireworks in the courtyard of the *Dewan Khas* on the occasion of the marriage of Mirzo Kaus Shekoh.

24th April. H. M. proceeded across the river on a shooting excursion and on his return at the request of the Astronomer despatched a horse as a present to the *Khadims* of the Jama Masjid. Mirza Badr-ad-din *Salatin* was presented with a shawl as an expression of H. M.'s approval of the measures he had adopted in the arrangements of the *mahal*.

A *Durbari* of the *Lal Purdah* became a disciple of H. M.

25th April. H. M. proceeded in state to the house of Mirza Abbas Shekoh. On the road H. M.'s dependants presented the customary *nazars* opposite their respective dwellings. The Commandant of the Palace Guards accompanied H. M. to the Prince's house and then took leave. Mirza Abbas Shekoh spread carpets from the entrance at which H. M. alighted to the house, and after H. M. had passed over the servants seized upon them as their perquisites. The Prince presented 11

trays of *Pashmana*, etc., to H. M., who observed that during the time the Palace was in course of construction H. M. Shah Jahan had occupied the house they were then in, and that it was constructed of all kinds of different stones, but that they had been stolen.

26th April. In the evening H. M. officers forwarded in order that H. M. might bless the same, certain alms previous to their being distributed.

12th May. At 4 p.m. it was reported that Mirza Kalan, son of Mirza Kaus Shekoh, aged 17 years, had been carried off by an alligator while fishing in the Jumna. H. M. was much grieved.

6th May. Khulaqdad Khan Walayati in the service of H. M. presented two bottles of *Baid Mushk* and stated that he had purchased them at a cost of Rs. 40. H. M. did not approve of the article and returned the same to the Walayati, who drank off the contents of both vials, and requested H. M. would deduct the price from his pay. H. M. was much displeased at the proceeding and directed him to be discharged.

22nd August. It was reported that as two (English) gentlemen were on their way to the Qutab in a buggy, one of H. M. elephants happened to be returning to Delhi; that the horse shied at the elephant and upset the buggy in the ditch, but that the gentlemen managed to jump clear of the vehicle and received no injury. They were however, very angry. H. M. was much displeased at hearing this and observed that he had several times issued strict orders to the elephant keepers not to take their elephants near the gentlemen's vehicles, and immediately directed the *Daroga* of elephants to be written to, to send the offender to the Qutab forthwith for punishment.

30th June 1852. Sukhanand, astrologer, presented an *arzi* stating that there would be an eclipse of the moon on Thursday, and begging that the usual alms might be distributed. H. M. gave orders to bring a weighing machine, etc., on the occasion of the Eclipse.

2nd July. H. M. weighed himself against seven kinds of grain, butter, gold, coral, etc., and then distributed the result among the poor. H. M. inspected the rise of the river from Nurgarh.

4th July. H. M. was told that a European had come to inspect the Jama Masjid, and broken open the lock of the Minar door, and mounted to the roof disregarding all their remonstrances.

22nd December 1851. H. M. inspected an elephant sent by Mirza Latif Baksh. The *mahout* represented that the Prince was about to proceed to Mecca and required Rs. 500 for his elephant. H. M. offered Rs. 300 and sent a message to the Prince that he had better wait and accompany him as he was determined on proceeding to the holy shrine. (He talked of this project for two months but it was forbidden by Government).

25th December. H. M. crossed the river and after some sport returned. Zauq, the Poet, read some verses composed by himself to H. M. and in return H. M. favoured the poet with some verses of his own composition.

We may now sum up the influence of the Court upon Delhi life in general. First and most obvious, it was a centre of corruption and intrigue. With its cultured kings, its unruly and idle princes and its indigent *salatin*, the Court was like a marble pavilion built over a cesspool. The marble must not blind us to the cesspool, and the cesspool should not divert us from the marble. Anyone with a grievance to ventilate, or an interest to promote naturally found his way into the palace, whose labyrinthine ways and intricate cross currents afforded some hope to the least hopeful of causes. The court itself, Micawber like, was always hoping for something to turn up to improve their position, and welcomed any adventurer who would hold out the slenderest hope. In their confined situation, the most fantastic reports were readily believed, and the most tenuous proposals seriously considered. When the mutineers arrived in Delhi, for example, it was widely believed that the Russians had come.³³ Dissensions among the British, as in the time of Colebrooke, factions in the city, reports from Lucknow, foreign wars and rumours of an invasion from Persia or Russia, were all grist to the mill of intrigue.

After intrigue came corruption. It was as extensive and as easy to understand as the former. An indigent court, and a royal family of such dimensions were bound to provide a favourable soil, and the criss-cross of authorities, the numerous neighbouring states each with their subterranean activities, made the atmosphere that of a forcing house. Inevitably the seeds of corruption grew lusty and lank.

But this is not the whole story and it is the mistake of previous critics that they have usually stopped there. The Mogul court, so long as it lasted, was the school of manners for Hindustan. From the time of Akbar it had much the same influence upon Indian manners as the Court of Versailles upon the European. Sorely pressed as it was in the 18th century by the rough Afghans, the uncouth Marathas and the rustic Jats, its influence revived with the new tranquillity of the early 19th century. *Nawabi* Lucknow was an offshoot which maintained and spread its influence further down the country. Another was Hyderabad in the Deccan. From Bengal to the Panjab, and as far as Madura in the South, Mogul etiquette was accepted as the standard of conduct and Persian was the language of diplomats and the polite. Forms of address, the conventions of behaviour and to a large extent ceremonial dress, approximated

33. I. O. Ho. Misc. Vol. 725. Kaye Papers.

to the standards of Delhi. Even the Marathas felt its subtle and all-pervading influence, and the Jats were proud to decorate a replica of a Mogul palace at Dig with the plunder they had carried from Delhi. At a time when English cultural influence had hardly begun to spread beyond the Presidency towns, such an influence was an invaluable cement to society. The fall of the dynasty was a serious cultural loss, and inaugurated that period of piebald manners and mongrel conduct from which India suffers so acutely to-day.

Thirdly the Court under Bahadur Shah was a cultural influence of great value. With the royal patronage it became the centre of the second Delhi period of Urdu literature, whose brightest star was the great Ghalib. By its patronage it kept alive the Delhi school of painting which produced at least two painters of merit in Raja Jivan Ram and Husain Nazir. It was the natural centre of all the arts and crafts. By its influence it encouraged all these tastes in the leisured classes. Art in India has always depended upon aristocratic patronage. The end of the Court involved a break in cultural as well as political tradition, and ushered in the garish period of utility into Indian life when education came to mean a lisp of knowledge of English, and culture an Indian version of Dr. Smiles' self-help. The Court of Delhi, faded though it was, had more in it than the tinsel of *Khillats* or the honorifics of *shuqas*. It was the last refuge of a traditional culture whose tragedy it was largely to perish at the hand of political passion and misplaced alien benevolence.

Caturmahadvipas.

By

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THE usual geography of the Purāṇas represents the world as made up of seven concentric islands interspersed by an equal number of oceans of different kinds of liquids¹, and this is the legend that, among others, roused the sneering critique of Macaulay. It is well known, however, that Buddhist literature has generally conceived the world as made up of four dvīpas, and it is interesting to note that this tradition is not unknown to the Purāṇas also. In spite of attempts of modern scholarship (Pargiter, Kirfel and others) to trace the historical development of the Purāṇic texts as we have them, much in this history remains obscure, and, one has good reason to fear, must ever remain so. Clusters of ślokas relating to more or less allied topics, and sometimes bearing no relation whatever to what precedes and follows each of them, seem to have been put together pell-mell, and all we can do at present is to take up each apparent unit and examine it for what it is worth. The passage relating to the four islands making up the world occurs at the end of chapter 41 of the *Vāyu Purāṇa* and reads as follows:

Caturmahādvīpavati seyam-urvī prakīrtitā nānā-varṇa-pramāṇairhi nānā-varṇa-balaistathā	83
nānā-bhakṣyānnapānaiśca nānā-chādana-bhūṣanaiḥ prajāvikārait-vividhaiḥ citrait-adhyuṣitaiḥ saha	84
Catvāro naika-varṇādhyāḥ mahādvīpāḥ pariśrutāḥ Bhadrāśca Bharatāścaiva Kētumāśca paścimāḥ Uttarāḥ Kuravaś-caiva Kṛtapuṇya-pratiśrayāḥ	85
saiśa caturmahādvīpā nānādvīpasamākulā pṛthivī kīrtitā kṛtsnā padmākārā mayā dvijāḥ	86
tadeṣā sāntaradvīpā sa-śailavanakānanā Padmetyabhihitā kṛtsnā pṛthivī bahuvistarā	87

1. Summary account by Pargiter in Hasting's *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* (ERE) Vol. x p. 450.

sabrahmasadanam lokam sadevāsura-mānuṣam trilokam-iti vikhyātam yatsattvair vyavahāryate	88
candrādityā-vataptam yat taj-jagat parigiyate gandha-varṇa-rasopetam śabda-sparśa-guṇānvitam	89
tam lokapadmam śrutibhiḥ Padmam-ityabhidhīyate eṣa sarvapurāṇeṣu kramāḥ supariniṣcitah	90

The four mahādvīpas which are said to be distinguished by differences in colour, size, social arrangements and economic conditions, are obviously meant each to occupy one main quarter of the Earth, the four together making up the totality of the Earth, (*prthivī kṛstnā*) of the shape of a lotus, *padmākārā*—hence also called Padmā. The names of the 'islands' begin from the East (Bhadrās) and proceeds clockwise thus—South (Bharatas), West (Ketumāla) and North (Uttarakuru). Let it also be noted that the Earth, the abode of men, seems to constitute with that of the Devas above and the asuras below the larger unity of *trilokam*, though the relative positions of the abodes of the Asuras and Devas in relation to the human world is not expressly stated in this passage. We should also note that this description of the four mahādvīpas (the minor *antara-dvīpas* are numerous *nānā*) and the three worlds, particularly of the *lokapadmam*, is said to be the standard account known to all the Purāṇas.

This last statement is obviously not true if it is taken to apply to the extant texts of the Purāṇas which describe more the seven mahādvīpas together with other heptads than the four dvīpas; and yet the statement must, it seems, have been true at one time. It seems clear that we have here an earlier cosmogony which held the field before the more complicated system displaced it.

This earlier system, if we may so describe it, was preserved intact by Buddhist literature long after it was given up by the Purāṇic system. And the essentials of the Buddhist cosmogony in this regard may be gathered from the late Vallé Poussain's account of it.² And Przyluski has pointed out that 'in Buddhist descriptions of the lake Anavatapta, each region of space is definitely related to one river, one animal, one colour and one precious substance.'³ It may be noted that besides the text from the *Vāyu Purāṇa* cited above, there are some others in epic and purāṇic literature which

2. ERE, iv. pp. 132-3.

3. *Etudes d'Orientalisme*, ii pp. 490-91.

give similar accounts of the four mahādvīpas, so that the memory of the older cosmology did not die out altogether even among Brahmanical writers. Citing the *Rāmāyaṇa*, for instance, Hopkins writes: 'The oceans are four or seven (several). The original conception is that of four seas around earth, into which run four rivers from the middle mountain, and round the flanks of Meru lie the four lands Bhadrāśva, Ketumāla, Jambudvīpa (which takes the place of Bharatas of the Purāṇa), and the Northern Kurus (Hyperboreans)'.⁴ In the Bhīṣmaparva of the *Mahābhārata* again, we have the same cosmology of the mahādvīpas round Meru set out in considerable detail (chapters V and VI) in right Purāṇic style with full particulars regarding the size and life-period of men, and the appearance of women inhabiting these 'islands' and so on.

The question naturally arises when and how did the idea of the concentric series of oceans and islands come to take the place of the simpler, and in many ways more natural, view of the four 'quarters' of the world? No one can now venture to propose a confident answer to this very interesting question; but two suggestions may be put forward as indicating the probable line of development leading to the new cosmology. One is this: in all cosmological passages accessible to us besides the main or mahādvīpas, many subsidiary dvīpas, *antara dvīpas* as they are called in the passage from the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, are named and described as subdivisions of the mahādvīpas; and their names and number vary in different accounts. Expressions like *saptadvīpā vasumatī* might have first been employed to indicate this indefinite plurality of the countries making up the world, and we shall do well to note that *dvīpa* does not mean 'island' in the strict sense of the term either in the *Purāṇas* or in many other geographical writings including those of the celebrated Arab geographers who have so much to tell us about S.E. Asia from the ninth century A.D. onwards. The expression '*saptadvīpā*' might subsequently have been understood in a more definite sense that was meant originally to attach to '*sapta*,' and a theory of 'Seven' continents evolved to suit the new meaning.

There is another possibility which, though we may count it separately for purposes of convenient exposition, may not be altogether unrelated to the foregoing. The Buddhists seem to have coupled the four continents with seven mountains and seven oceans in their cosmogony. According to them 'Meru rises from

4. *Epic Mythology*, p. 11.

the ocean, round it are seven concentric circular mountain ranges separated from each other by ring-shaped seas, and beyond them, in the vast ocean known to men are four insular continents—Jambūdvīpa S., Pūrvavideha E., Uttarakuru N., and Aparagodāna W. Jambūdvīpa, the abode of men, is of a triangular shape, and Uttarakuru, the abode of the blessed who live 1,000 years, forms a square'.⁵ The seven concentric continents appear to be a natural development from the seven concentric mountains, and once they came into existence, there was no room for the original four *mahādvīpas* in the form in which they had been originally conceived. Their names might persist in one form or another as designations of sub-continents, but the scheme had undergone a revolutionary change.

The geographical passages as we have them now in the Purāṇas present many embarrassing problems and it is no easy task to evolve any consistent scheme of the world's geography from them; the texts are often confused and irreconcilably divergent, and most of the confusion is apparently to be traced to the crossing and interlacing of at least two, if not more, radically different conceptions of world-geography.

Some Tribes of Ancient India

By

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The Culikas and Śūlikas

THE Culikas and the Śūlikas are mentioned in Mārkaṇḍeya list¹ as two different peoples, but both in the north. For Culikas, the Vāyupurāṇa reads Piḍikas² and the Matsyapurāṇa Sainikas instead.³ The Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa in another context⁴ places the Culikas in the Tortoise's tail at the westernmost part of India. For Śūlikas, the Vāyupurāṇa reads Culikas in the same context, and the Matsyapurāṇa says that they were a people through whose country flowed the river Cakshu, one of the three large rivers which rising from the mid-Himalayan region flows westward.⁵ Pargiter suggests that Cakshu may perhaps be meant for Vakshu (=Vamkshu) which is the Oxus, and says that in that case the Śūlikas would be a people on the Oxus in Turkistan.⁶ He also points to the resemblance of the name Śūlikas with that of the Śūlakaras mentioned in the same canto of the Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa.⁷

But the Śūlikas are mentioned in the Harāhā inscription of Īśānavarman Maukharī in a different context; there they are mentioned along with the Andhras and Gaudas all of whom appear to have been defeated by Īśānavarman. Dr. Raichaudhuri⁸ suggests that the Śūlikas should be identified with the Cālukyas who are mentioned in the Mahākūṭa Pillar inscription as Calikya, names so near to Culika of the Purāṇas. The Śūlikas may further be identified with the Solaki and Solaṅki of the Gujrat records. The Culikas and Śūlikas may thus be the same people.

1. lvii, 40, 41.

2. xlv, 119.

3. cxiii, 43.

4. lviii, 37.

5. cxx. 45, 46.

6. Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, p. 342 note.

7. lvii, 40.

8. PHAI, 4th edn., 509.

The Śūlikas or the Śaulikas are further mentioned in the *Brhatsamhitā*⁹ along with the *Aparāntas*, *Vanavāsīs* and the *Vidarbhās*. Elsewhere the *Brihatsamhitā* connects the same people¹⁰ with the *Gandhāras* and *Vokkāras* (occupying modern Wakhan). This suggests that a section of the people must have once been dwelling in the north or north-west, and another in the Western or *Aparānta* region. The kingdom of Śulik according to *Tārānātha* was located beyond *Togara*=*Tegara*=modern *Ter*¹¹ in the Deccan.

The Mūṣikas or Mūṣakas

The *Mahābhārata*¹² as well as the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* mention a people called the *Mūṣikas* as dwelling in the South; the same people evidently were also called *Mūṣakas* who are mentioned twice in the *Mahābhārata*.¹³ The *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* in another context refers to a people called *Mriṣikas*¹⁴ as dwelling in the south-east and still another called *Riṣikas*¹⁵ in the South. The *Mriṣikas* were apparently the same as the *Mūṣikas* or the *Musakas*. The *Riṣikas* were also a well-known people, they are referred to as dwelling in the North, in the *Mahābhārata*,¹⁶ in the *Rāmāyaṇa*¹⁷ as well as in the *Matsyapurāṇa*.¹⁸ Another section of the same people seems to have their location in the South.¹⁹ It is difficult to say whether the *Riṣikas* were the same as the *Mriṣikas* or the *Mūṣikas*=*Mūṣakas*.

Pargiter suggests²⁰ that the *Mūṣikas*=*Mūṣakas* were probably settled on the banks of the river *Musi* on which stands modern *Hyderabad*. *Dr. Raichaudhuri* suggests²¹ that it is not altogether improbable that the *Mūchipa* or *Mūvīpa* of the *Sāṅkhyāyana Śrauta Sūtra* are the same people as the *Mūṣikas*. It is also reasonable to suggest that the *Mūṣikas*=*Mūṣakas* were a southern offshoot of the *Punjab* tribe known to *Alexander's* historians as the *Mousikēnos*.²² *Patañjali* mentions a people called *Mauṣikāra*²³

9. ix, 15; xiv, 8.

10. ix, 21; xvi, 35.

11. *Ind. Ant.*, iv, 364.

12. *Bhīṣmaparva*, ix, 366.

13. *Ibid.*, ix, 366 and 371.

14. lviii, 16.

15. lviii, 27.

16. *Sabbhāparva*, xxvi, 1033-6.

17. *Kiṣkindhya Kāṇḍa*, xli, 13.

18. cxx, 53.

19. *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Kiṣkindhya Kāṇḍa*, xli, 16; *Harivamsa*, cxix, 6724-26.

20. *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa*, p. 366.

21. *PHAI*, 4th edn., p. 80.

22. *Cf. Cambridge History*, Vol. I, p. 377.

23. IV, 1, 4.

which appears to have some connection with the *Mūṣikas*. A *Musikanagara* is referred to in the *Hāthigumpha* inscription of king *Khāravela* of *Kaliṅga* who in the second year of his reign is said to have struck terror into the heart of the people of that place.²⁴

The Māhiṣakas or Māhiṣikas

The *Māhiṣakas* or *Māhiṣikas* are referred to in the *Purāṇas*²⁵ as a people of the South. They are mentioned in the same context in the *Sabbhāparva* list²⁶ of the *Mahābhārata*. Undoubtedly they are the same people as the *Māhismakas* of the *Aśwamedha parva*²⁷ of the *Mahābhārata*, and were the inhabitants of the ancient region *Māhiṣmatī* mentioned also in the *Mahābhārata*.²⁸ *Māhiṣmatī* seems to have been situated on the river *Narmadā* between the *Vindhya* and the *Rikṣa* and can safely be identified with the modern *Mandhātā* region, where there was a river called *Māhiṣiki* mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa*.²⁹ According to one passage in the *Harivamśa*,³⁰ the founder of *Māhiṣmatī* seems to have been *Mucukunda*, according to another³¹ *Māhiṣmat*. According to the *Purāṇas*,³² *Māhiṣmatī* was founded by a prince of the *Yadu* lineage. *Prof. Bhandarkar* says that *Avanti Dakshināpatha* had its capital at *Māhiṣmatī* or *Pali Māhiṣati*. The *Purāṇas* style the first dynasty of *Māhiṣmatī* as *Haihaya*,³³ whereas the *Mahagovinda Suttanta* mentions *Māhiṣati* as the capital of the *Avantis*, and refers to their king *Vessabhu*. But the *Mahābhārata* distinguishes between *Avanti* and *Māhiṣmatī*.³⁴

The Bhrigukacchas

In the *Kūrmaniveśa* section³⁵ of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* the *Bhrigukacchas* are located in the South. Evidently this is the

24. *Epigraphia Indica*, XX, 79, 87; *Barua* reads *Aśvaka* or *Risika* instead in his *Old Brāhmī Inscription*, p. 176; *Thomas* also finds no reference in the passage to any *Musika* city, *JRAS*, 1822, 83.

25. *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa*, lvii, 46; *Matsyapurāṇa*, cxiii, 47.

26. ix, 366.

27. lxxxiii, 2475.

28. *Sabbhāparva*, xxx, 1125-63.

29. *Kiṣkindhya Kāṇḍa*, xli, 16.

30. xcv, 5218 ff.

31. xxxiii, 1846-47.

32. *Matsya*, xliii, 10-29; xli, 36; *Vāyu*, 94, 26; 95, 85.

33. *Ibid.*, 43, 8-29; *Vāyu*, 94, 5-26.

34. *Mahābhārata*, II, 31. 10.

35. lviii, 22.

correct Sanskrit form of the name which we find in a corrupt form, Bhiru-kacchas, in another section of the same Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa,³⁶ whereas the Matsyapurāṇa reads Bharukacchas.³⁷ None of these names are known to the compilers of the Epics, but evidently they refer to one and same place. The country of the Bhrigukacchas are also referred to in early Buddhist literature as Bharukaccha which is undoubtedly the same as the Barygaza of the "Periplus of the Erythrean Sea" and Ptolemy's "Indika." All these names survive in the modern Broach, on the mouth of the Narmadā. In early Buddhist literature as well as in the early centuries of the Christian era, the town was reputed to be an important seat of sea-going trade and commerce.

Along with the Bhrigukacchas, the Vāyu³⁸ and the Matsyapurāṇas³⁹ mention a people called the Kacchikas. These were undoubtedly the people of what is now known as Kutch or Cutch.

The Tosalas

The Tosalas are referred to in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa along with the Karūshas, Keralas, Utkalas, Daśārṇas, Kosalas, Avantis etc. all of whom dwelt on the slopes of Vindhya mountains.

The Tosalas were inhabitants of Tosala or Tosali which Sylvain Levi points out, was the name of a country as well as of a city. The city in the days of Asoka seems to have been the seat of a provincial government with a *Mahāmātra* at the head to whom was addressed the famous Dhauli Edict, seven miles from Bhuvaneshvar in Puri. Prof. Levi further points out that the "Gauḍavyaha" refers to the janapada of Amita-Tosala in the Dakṣiṇāpatha where stands a city named Tosala which is undoubtedly identical with Tosalei of Ptolemy's "Indika." According to some mediaeval inscriptions,⁴⁰ Tosala, like Kosalā, had two divisions: Uttara Tosala and Dakṣiṇa Tosala.

The Gajāhvayas

The Gajāhvayas according to the Kūrmaniveśa section of the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa are located in the "middle of the tortoise", along with the Udambaras, etc.

36. lvii, 51.

37. cxiii, 50.

38. xlv, 131.

39. cxiii, 51.

40. *Epigraphia Indica*, ix, 286; xv, 3.

Pargiter very ingenuously guessed that the Gajāhvayas were none other than the people of Hastināpura, the capital of the Kurus. "By a play on the meaning of the word 'hastin', 'elephant', the city was also called Hastināpura, Gajapura, Gajāhvaya,⁴¹ Gajasāhvaya,⁴² Nagapura,⁴³ Nāgāhva (dict.), Nāgasāhvaya,⁴⁴ etc.

The Parṇa-savaras

The Parṇa-savaras, located in the right foot of the tortoise, in the Kūrmaniveśa section of the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa,⁴⁵ were undoubtedly a tribe of the Savaras. Presumably this particular section of the Savaras who used leaves of trees as their wearing apparel. A girdle of leaves serves as clothing of many aboriginal peoples of to-day and we have representations of such individuals in ancient Indian sculptures and paintings. The Parṇa-savaras are incidentally mentioned in the early Bengali Caryāpadas and evidently these were the people who contributed the conception of the goddess Parṇa-savarī in Vajrayāna-Buddhism.

The Kaṅkanas.

The Kaṅkanas as a tribe are referred to in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa⁴⁶ and the Harivamśa.⁴⁷ According to the latter source they were defeated and degraded by king Sagara. They must have been the people dwelling along the low strip of land between the Western Ghats and the sea called in historical times Kaṅkan or Konkan. Their mention along with the Bhrigukacchas in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa makes this identification more significant.

The Aparāntas

The Aparāntas⁴⁸ or Aparāntikas⁴⁹ were undoubtedly the people of Aparānta or the western borderland region. The Aparāntas mentioned in canto lvii referred to above are placed in the north, but the Aparāntikas of canto lviii are placed in the tortoise's tail

41. Udyoga, p. clxxvi, 6071.

42. Adi. p. cxiii, 4441 and 4460.

43. *Ibid.*, 4461-62.

44. Adi. p. cxxxi, 5146.

45. lviii, 19.

46. viii, 22.

47. xiv, 784.

48. Mār. P., lvii, 36.

49. Mār. P. lviii, 34.

which from the position of the tortoise would point to some region immediately to the north of Sindh and Sauvira. Cunningham located them in Northern Sindh and parts of Rajputana.⁵⁰ Aparānta, the country and the Aparānta people, are mentioned in many places in the Mahābhārata.⁵¹ Their country Aparānta is not only mentioned by the commentator of Kālidāsa's Raghuvamśa⁵² but in other Sanskrit treatises as well. From these references it would seem that Aparāntas and their country had a general as well as a restricted sense. In a general sense they meant the western region of India and its peoples; in fact Aparānta had often been mentioned as one of the five natural divisions of India, while in a restricted sense they denoted a people living at the western borderland. In both cases Aparānta or Aparāntas must have been a generic name and presumably included within its orbit more than one distinct tribe or people.

This will be evident from the mention of the country of the Aparāntas as one of the vassal states of Asoka, the country of the Aparāntas including no doubt the vassal states of Surāṣṭra, but also Surpāraka, Nasik etc. according to the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa.⁵³ The Aparānta country is also mentioned in the Nasik praśasti of queen Gautamī Balaśri where Gautamiputra is said to have conquered the country along with Aśwaka, Mahārāṣṭra, Mulaka, Vidarbha etc. The same territory was reconquered by Rudradāman, the Kshatrapa along with a number of others.

50. Arch. S. R., xiv, 136, 137.

51. Bhīṣma, p. ix, 355; Vana, p. ccxvii, 7885-6; Śānti, p. xlix, 1780-2.

52. IV, 58, Comm.

53. lvii, 49-52.

The Gupta Era

By

DHIRENDRA NATH MOOKERJEE.

ASTRONOMICAL verifications in support of the fact that the era introduced by the Gupta Vikramādityas is identical with the well known Vikrama era will be put forth below.

In the 'Indian Culture' Vol. I No. 3 pp. 277-79, it has already been shown from astronomical calculations that the era used by the Kuṣāna kings is identical with the Vikrama era. There remains one more dated Kharoṣṭhi inscription which Prof. Sten Konow assumed to be dated in his old Śaka era (epoch 84-83 B.C.) capable of verification but this contained the Macedonian month name. I came to know that the Macedonian calendar of Asia became purely solar in the Roman period. But as I could not find out the corresponding Christian date of the initial day of the Macedonian month I could not take up the verification in my previous article. I, therefore, wrote to Prof. P. V. Neugebauer of Berlin who very kindly informed me that 'The Julian calendar introduced in the first century A.D. (?) fixes Lous 1 to June 27' and that the previous month Panemos consisted of 31 days.

The Taxilla plate of Patika of the year 78 is dated on the fifth day of the month Panemos, on this first tithi. Now Vikrama Sam. 78 expired=A.D. 21. We know that the Macedonian calendar of Asia became purely solar in the Roman period when the Macedonian month Lous 1 was fixed to June 27. Therefore the preceding month Panemos began on the 27th May and the fifth day of Panemos of Sam 78, was the 31st of May, A.D. 21. On astronomical calculation we find that śukla pratipad (the first tithi of the bright fortnight) continued till 2h. 15m. P.M. (Ujjayini Civil Time) on May 31, A.D. 21. Thus the date in the inscription is exactly verified.

The Skarah Dheri inscription of the year 399 is dated 'In the four hundredth year less one (i.e., 399) on the 22nd day of the month Aśāḍha 's () gapade daśame.' Now Vikrama year 399 current=A.D. 341. On astronomical calculations we find that in this year the initial day of solar Vaiśākha was March 19.64 d. The months of Vaiśākha and Jyaiṣṭha total 62.35 d. Therefore the last

day of solar Jyais̥ṭha was May 20, A.D. 341 and the 22nd day of Aṣāḍha was June 11, A.D. 341. On calculations we also find that Śukla daśami continued till 12h. 23m. P.M. (U.C.T.) on this day. Thus 's () ga pade daśame' read by Prof. Sten Konow as 's (var) ga pade daśame' and translated as 'In heaven may she carry the tenth' may really be 'Śukla pakṣe daśame' i.e., the 10th tithi of the bright fortnight. I wish the attention of Prof. Sten Konow and other savants be drawn to this once more.

First, I take up the inscriptions dated in the twelve year cycle of Jupiter coupled with the concurrent date supposed to be of the Gupta era.

We should remember here that according to all the Hindu astronomers, Jupiter's years are complete, when through his mean motion he moves over one sign i.e., 30 degrees 'Br̥haspater madhyama-rāṣi-bhogāt samvatsaram sāmhitikā vadanti' (Bhāskara). They also distinctly state that the solar year exceeds in duration the Jovian year.

Now the sidereal period of Jupiter is 11.86 years, somewhat shorter than 12 solar years. Calling every thirty degrees movement of Jupiter in longitude as one Jovian year (Mahā Samvatsara) we find that there are 86 Jovian years in 85 solar years. Thus Varāha Mihira, Garga and other astronomers state that 170 (85 x 2) solar years being equivalent to 172 (86 x 2) Jovian years, two of Br̥haspati's years must be omitted in this period.

Sh. B. Dikshit in his article on 'The Twelve Year Cycle of Jupiter' in Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions pp. 161-176 states that the mean sign system is given by Āryabhata in his Ārya Siddhānta or Āryabhatīya Kālakriyāpāda—verse, 4—'the revolutions of Jupiter, multiplied by the signs (twelve), (are) the years of Jupiter, the first of which is Aśvayuja.' Brahmagupta in his Brahma Siddhānta ch. xiii, verse 42 states similarly, Dikshit admitted that 'In this system the signs are intended to be taken, and in practice are taken, according to Jupiter's mean longitude. The names of the samvatsaras of the sixty year cycle also which is, in reality the only truly astronomical system of it, and was current as is shown by many epigraphical quotations of it...are determined by Jupiter's mean place....In fact, the sixty year cycle and twelve year cycle of the mean sign system are quite identical with regard to the day of the commencement of each samvatsara and consequently with regard also to the duration, which accord-

ing to Jupiter's mean motion as given in the Surya Siddhānta is 361 days, 1 ghati, 36 palas.... It will doubtless have been noticed that I (Dikshit) have not been able to give any quotations from the first Āryabhata....or Brahmagupta in support of the heliacal rising system....Utpala quotes a verse of Garga. This verse seems to refer to the mean sign system; Varāha Mihira's rules (Brihat Samhitā, viii—22) for finding the nakṣatra of Jupiter has reference to his mean longitude; and consequently it gives the mean sign system.' The Laghu Vasiṣṭha Siddhānta also gives the same rule 'Madhya-gatyā tha-bhogena guror gaurava-vatsarah' 'Jupiter's years are complete when through his mean motion he moves over one sign.' Bhaṭṭotpala quoted by Davis in the Asiatic Researches, Vol. III. p. 217 says '....and some say the Jupiter's years are coincident with the solar years; but that cannot be true, because the solar year exceeds in duration the Brihaspati years.' Bhāskara distinctly states that according to all the authors of the Samhitās Jupiter's years are to be counted from the time he takes to complete one mean sign (i.e., 30 degrees). Bhāskara did not notice any other system for Jupiter's years which is significant.

With Fleet's epoch Sh. B. Dikshit could not get the name of the Jovian year correspond to the supposed equivalent date of the Gupta year on the mean sign system. So Dikshit went over the unequal space divisions of the nakṣatras. But even then he could not get results tallying with the inscriptions. He then assumed the Jovian year to be equivalent to the synodic period of Jupiter (399 days) which every one knows is about 34 days more than the solar year. The express statements (some contemporary) of all the Hindu astronomers are that Jupiter's years are shorter than the solar year by more than four days. The sidereal period of Jupiter being 4332.58 days (i.e., 11.86 years), Jupiter moves over one sign in $4332.58/12$ or 361.0 days. Even counting the year from one heliacal rising of Jupiter to the next, Fleet's difficulties with his epoch will be evident from the following: 'It is evident therefore, that in dealing with these records the system of equal spaces is not the correct one; and that we have to apply one or the other of the systems of unequal spaces (of the divisions of the nakṣatras).' (Gupta Inscriptions, p. 107).

Now in all astronomical treatises the origin of the names of the lunar months is given. It is stated that the month is to be named by the names of the asterisms with which the moon is in conjunction when she is full. As there are twelve months and twenty seven nakṣatras, to some months were allotted two and

to others three nakṣatras. 'Now owing to the incommensurability of the times of the revolution of the sun and moon, as also to the revolution of the moon's line of apsides, full moon is liable to occur in succession in all the asterisms, and at all points of the Zodiac; so that although at the time when the system of the names for the months originated and established itself, they were doubtless strictly applicable, they would not long continue to do so. For all these reasons, shortly after, the true lunar months were made entirely dependent for their nomenclature upon the solar months, according to the determination of the latter, as regards their commencement and duration, by the data and the methods of modern astronomical science.' Thus the system of the unequal space divisions of the nakṣatras in naming the months fell into disuse and the equal space divisions of the nakṣatras are in use at least from the time of the Vedāṅga jyotiṣa. The nomenclature of the Jovian Mahā samvatsaras followed the same order and rule of the lunar months. But to assume that the unequal space divisions of the nakṣatras were applied in determining the name of the Jovian year, to the exclusion of lunar months, is unwarranted. We know that the extent of the two or three nakṣatras which determines the name is at times about 20°, 26°, 30°, 33°, 37°, 40°, or 46° in the unequal space divisions. Thus frequently some names will be omitted, others repeated, and so on. Thus enormous complications arise in naming the Jovian years especially with the heliacal rising system. There is no authority to show that such rules were actually followed in naming the jovian years.

With these unwarranted assumptions, Fleet with the help of Dikshit could make the names of the Jovian years tally with the given Gupta dates. But with his assumed epoch when he came to the other Gupta inscriptions giving the week days or mentioning an eclipse, he was a total failure as well presently be seen.

As for the heliacal system Varāha Mihira states that when Jupiter is seen to rise or set with a certain nakṣatra then the year is said to be named after the nakṣatra as in the nomenclature of the lunar months. (Nakṣatratra sahodayam aṣṇa vā yāti surarājamantriḥ tat sanjnam vaktavyam varṣam māsa ramaṇaiva||) In the Surya Siddhānta however, it is stated (ch. XIV-17) 'In Vaiśākha etc. a conjunction in the dark half month on the fifteenth tithi (amāvāsyā) determines in like manner the years Kārtika etc. of Jupiter from his heliacal setting or rising.' (Vaiśākhaḍiṣu Kṛṣṇe ca yogaḥ pañcadaśe tithak| Kārtikāḍini varṣāṇi guror astodayat tatha"). Ranganātha in his commentary on the above verse states

that in the Samhitās it was the heliacal setting or the rising which determined the year. But, he says, nowadays the year is counted only from the heliacal rising by the astronomers. Thus it is evident that the heliacal setting system was also in use previously. As to the nakṣatra on the amāvāsyā which determines the name of Jupiter's samvatsara, Bhattotpala in his allusion to this rule takes the preceding amāvāsyā. On inquiry after laborious calculations it is found that Jupiter set heliacally on September 9, in 60 B.C. and this was the very day on which new moon and a total solar eclipse occurred. The longitude of Jupiter on this day was exactly the same as that of the star Citrā (spica) which was 175.2°. These remarkable coincidences were certainly the occasion of the ushering in of the epoch of the twelve year cycle of Jupiter as followed in the inscriptions of the Parivrajaka Mahārājās. We thus see that the current year of Jupiter's cycle of twelve years began from Āśvina (September, 60 B.C.). Hence 60-59 B.C. was current year 1 and 59-58 B.C. was current year 2 of the cycle. The Vikrama year also began from 58 B.C. (59 B.C. with the Kārttikādi system which began some six months earlier). Hence the difference in these two reckonings was only one year. The expressions like 'Ṣaṭpancāśottare-bda-śate Gupta-nṛpa-rājya-bhuktau' 'in the year so and so when the Gupta kings were ruling' shows clearly as already expressed by Dr. Fleet 'But there is nothing in the expression tending to give the era the name of the "Gupta era."' (Gupta Inscriptions, p. 95f). If the Gupta era was really meant the expression should have been written as 'Gupta-nṛpa-rājya-bhuktau ṣaṭpancāśothare-bde-śata' etc. In 59 B.C. the heliacal setting of Jupiter occurred on October 9 when Jupiter was in conjunction with the star Viśākha according to the nakṣatras of Jupiter, and Mahā, Phālguna and Mahā, Caitra according to the nakṣatras on the previous amāvāsyās.

Now to get the initial point of Āśvinī. 'It may be remembered that in the foregoing arrangements of the Brihaspati' years, Kārtika is always placed the first in the cycle of twelve; and since it is a main principle of the Hindu astronomers to commence the planetary motions which are the measures of time from the same point of the ecliptic, it may thence be informed, that there was a time when the Hindu solar year, as well as the Brihaspati cycle of twelve began with the sun's and Jupiter's arrival in or near the star Kṛttikā (Aleyone).' (Davis, Asiatic Researches, Vol. III p. 221). That this is true will be evident from the statements of Varāha Mihira and others that Jupiter's Mahā Kārtika begins from the stars presided over by Agni (fire) i.e., the Kṛttikās (the

Pleiades). Lalla as quoted by General Cunningham (Indian eras, p. 26) says 'When Jupiter is in conjunction with Maghā (Regulus) then Jupiter's Mahā Māgha begins. Now the difference in longitude between Regulus (Mahā) and Alcyone (Kṛttikā) is exactly three signs or 90 degrees. Therefore if Mahā Kārtika begins from Alcyone (Kṛttikā) then Mahā Māgha must necessarily begin from Regulus (Maghā) and Mahā Āsvayuja from a point on the ecliptic four signs or 120 degrees west of the star Regulus and this is till the first point of the constellation Aries (the initial point of Āsvinī) with all Western nations and is also shown in their star atlases. This point was also the early Hindu initial point of Āsvinī as will be evident from the positions of certain stars given by Varāha Mihira in his Pañca Siddhāntikā which were wrongly supposed to be stated in the equal space divisions of the nakṣatras by Thibaut and Mm. Sudhākara Dvivedi thereby causing the maximum difference to the extent of 8 degrees in longitude in some cases. In reality these positions are given in the unequal space divisions of the nakṣatras which gives consistent results and shows that the initial point of Āsvinī is the same as already stated that is about 120° west of the star Maghā (Regulus). All this has been shown in detail in an article. 'The Early Hindu Initial Point of Āsvinī' read before the Second Indian Cultural conference held in Calcutta in 1938, is as yet unpublished.

There are five inscriptions of Mahārāja Hastin and his son Samkṣobha assumed to be dated in Gupta year 156, 173,* 191, 199

* 'tri-ṣaṣṭyuttaro' corrected to 'tri-saṣṭyuthare' by General Cunningham who considers 'tri-ṣaṣṭi' to be a 'mistake of the engraver who has written *shasht* (sic) 'sixty' instead of *sapt* (70), which in Gupta characters might easily happen.' In the Alina plate of Śilāditya VII Dhruvabhata dated Sam 447 'Dyepthā śuddha pañcamyām,' and in the Koh plate of Samkṣobha dated 'Sam. 214 'Pauṣa māsa divase śapthe' is found in place of 'Pauṣa māsa divase ṣaṣṭke', and instances may be multiplied. As for 'Sapti' in place of 'Saptati,' inscriptional Sanskrit abounds in such incorrect forms. For example, another inscription of this very Mahārāja Hastin reads 'Ṣaṭpancāśottare' in place of 'Ṣaṭpancāśaduttare'. Dr. Fleet, however, thinks that "the mistake is more likely in the direction of the 'tri,' 'three' having been engraved instead of 'dvi,' 'two' and perhaps of the drafter of the record having also written one hundred and sixty two, instead of one hundred and sixty one." (Gupta Inscriptions, p. 102 fn.). Calculating as before we find Sam. 162=A.D. 103 in which the mean longitude of Jupiter at the commencement of the Hindu solar year was 39.7° and hence the Jovian year which then commenced was Mahā kārtika. But the previous year was Mahā Āsvayuja which continued till the commencement of the next solar year. The year 162 (Vikrama) beginning with

and 209 (current) i.e., the elapsed years 155, 172, 190, 198 and 208. Now for the same reason for which Dr. Fleet and Dikshit found the current Vikrama year 707 or current Śaka year 572 (i.e. current Gupta year 330) equivalent to A.D. 648, these Gupta or Vikrama years are respectively equivalent to A. D. 97, 114, 132, 140 and 150. But it seems to me for reasons already stated, that these records, are dated in the epoch of the 12 years Cycle of beginning from 60 B.C. As such assuming the years to be current they are equivalent to A.D. 96, 113, 131, 139 and 149 which on the elapsed reckoning are equivalent to A.D. 97, 114, 132, 140 and 150 as already found on the current Vikrama year reckoning. Astronomical calculations for the mean longitudes of Jupiter in these years at the commencement of the Hindu Solar year yield longitude 217.8, 13.4, 199.8, 82.5 and 26.1 respectively from the early Hindu initial point of Āsvinī already stated. The name of the Jovian year when Jupiter lies within 30° from the initial point of Āsvinī is called Mahā Āsvayuja, and so on. Therefore the names of the Jovian years in these years should be Mahā Vaiśākha, Mahā Āsvayuja, Mahā Caitra, Mahā Mārgaśīrṣa and Mahā Āsvayuja respectively exactly as in the inscriptions. General Cunningham also in his Indian Eras, makes the first three dates Mahā Vaiśākha, Mahā Āsvayuja and Mahā Caitra respectively exactly as in the inscriptions. For the last two dates A.D. 140 and 150 Cunningham gives Mahā Pauṣa and Mahā Kārtika, as against Mahā Mārgaśīrṣa and Mahā Āsvayuja. But we see that in his Table A.D. 139 was Mahā Kārtika, the next year A.D. 140 is shown at Mahā Pauṣa making Mahā Mārgaśīrṣa omitted that year. If this had not been done that year A.D. 140 and 150 should have shown Mahā Mārgaśīrṣa and Mahā Āsvayuja exactly as in the inscriptions.

The newly discovered fragmentary Navagrāma grant of the Mahārāja Hastin is dated Sam. 198 in the Mahā Āsvayuja Samvatsara. As the portion of the inscription containing the names of the month, tithi etc., are missing. Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, M.A. (Epig. Ind. Vol. XXI pp. 124-26) supposed the name of the missing month to be either Caitra or Vaiśākha, in as much as with Fleet's epoch, Caitra Śukla 1 commenced in A.D. 517 (=G. E. 198) on March 9 and the Mahā Āsvayuja Samvatsara on the heliacal rising system ended this year on or about April 23 (i.e., in Vaiśākha) when the Mahā Kārtika Samvatsara began. Now, current Vikrama

lunar Caitra and the name of the Jovian year Mahā Āsvayuja continuing till initial day of solar Vaiśākha the grant is correctly dated between these two dates on Caitra Śukla-dvitiyā.

Sam. 198=A.D. 139 as before, and the mean longitude of Jupiter at the commencement of the Hindu Solar year was 52.2° , i.e., the name of the Jovian year which then commenced was Mahā Kārtika. But at the commencement of the previous year Jupiter's mean longitude was 21.9° and the name of the Jovian year which then began was Mahā Āśvayuja which continued till the commencement of the next solar year. The Vikrama years beginning with lunar Caitra and the name of the Jovian year (Mahā Āśvayuja) continuing till the initial day of solar Vaiśākha the grant seems to have been dated sometime between these two dates.

I now show in a tabular form the results on the heliacal systems for the above dates. The longitudes of the different bodies are calculated from the early Hindu initial point of Āśvini already stated. It will be observed that for the heliacal rising system the epoch of 60 B.C. already found satisfied the data given in the inscriptions. (Vide page 79).

Now I take up the Eran inscription of Budhagupta of the year 165, the month of Āṣāḍha, on Thursday the 12th lunar day of the bright fortnight. Now this year being taken as the current Gupta or Vikrama year is equivalent to A.D. 107=K(-ali) Y(-uga) year 3208 elapsed= 365.25876×3208 d= 1171750.09 days. The Julian day number of the epoch of the Kali Yuga era (February 18.00, 3102 B.C. the day beginning from midnight, Ujjayini Civil Time)=588466. Therefore the Julian day number of the initial day of solar Vaiśākha in K. Y. $3208=1171750.09+588466=1760216.09$, equivalent to March 18.09, A.D. 107. The solar months of Vaiśākha and Jyaiṣṭha total 62.32 d. This brings us to 19.41 May for the initial day of solar Āṣāḍha. Now on calculations we also find that on Thursday the 20th May A.D. 107 Śukla Dvādaśī commenced at 5 h. 23 m. p.m. in the afternoon and this was the first day of solar Āṣāḍha. If, however, it be assumed that the year was elapsed then the date falls in A.D. 108. The late Dr. Fitz Edward Hall with the help of the late Bapudeva Sastri showed long ago that this date of Budhagupta can be verified by referring this to the Vikrama era and taking Sam. 165 to be elapsed he found the date correspond to Thursday, June 8, A.D. 108. On calculations we find that Śukla Dvādaśī continued on this day till 2h. 8m. p.m., thus exactly verifying the data in the inscription.

Next, I come to the Koh grant of Mahārāja Samkṣobha of the year 209, the month Caitra, the lunar day 13 of the bright fortnight, and at the end of the inscription the date given is the 29th day of solar Caitra (Caitra di 29). Now, this being the current

Inscriptional date.	Hel. setting of Jupiter.	Long. of Jupiter.	Preceding New Moon on	Name of Jupiter's year.
Sam. 156 (=A.D. 97) Mahā Vaiśākha Samvatsara	Nov. 5, A.D. 97.	229.5°	Oct. 24, A.D. 97 Sun's long., 206.0° Nakṣatra viśākha	Mahā Vaiśākha Samvatsara.
Sam. 162 (=A.D. 103) (proposed correction of Dr. Fleet). Mahā Āśvayuja Sam. Caitra māsa.	May 4, A.D. 103.	47.4°	Apr. 24, A.D. 103 Sun's long. 28.0° Nakṣatra Kṛtikā.	Mahā Kārtika Samvatsara. Therefore in Caitra (Feb.-Mar.) the year was Mahā Āśvayuja.
Sam. 173 (=A.D. 114) (Proposed correction of Gen. Cunningham). Mahā Āśvayuja Sam. Caitra māsa.	Apr. 5, A.D. 114.	16.1°	March 24, A.D. 114 Sun's long. 358.4° Nakṣatra Revatī.	Mahā Āśvayuja Samvatsara.
Sam. 191 (=A.D. 132) Mahā Caitra Samvatsara	Oct. 16, A.D. 132.	210.9°	Sept. 27, A.D. 132 Sun's long. 179° Nakṣatra Citrā.	Mahā Caitra Samvatsara.
Sam. 198 (=A.D. 139) Mahā Āśvayuja Samvatsara.	May 19, A.D. 139.	60.3°	May 15, A.D. 139 Sun's long. 48.4° Nakṣatra Rohiṇī.	Mahā Kārtika Samvatsara Therefore in Caitra or Vaiśākha Mahā Āśvayuja Samvatsara.
Sam. 199 (=A.D. 140) Mahā Mārgaśīrṣa Samvatsara.	June 20 A.D. 140.	93.2°	June 2, A.D. 140 Sun's long. 66.1° Nakṣatra Mṛgaśīras	Mahā Mārgaśīrṣa Samvatsara.
Sam. 209 (=A.D. 150) Mahā Āśvayuja Samvatsara.	Apr. 19, A.D. 150.	31.5°	Apr. 15, A.D. 150 Sun's long. 19.2° Nakṣatra Bharanī.	Mahā Āśvayuja Samvatsara

Inscriptional date.	Hel. rising of Jupiter on.	Long. of Jupiter.	Jupiter in Nakṣatra	Name of Jupiter's Year.
Sam. 156 (=A.D. 96) Mahā Vaiśākha Samvatsara.	Oct. 31, A.D. 96.	205° 2'	Viśākha	Mahā Vaiśākha Samvatsara.
(A.D. 102)	May 2, A.D. 102.	19° 2'	Bharanī	Mahā Āsvayuja Samvatsara.
Sam. 163 (=A.D. 103) Mahā Āsvayuja Samvatsara, Caitra māsa.	June 4, A.D. 103.	53° 7'	Mṛgāśīras	Mahā Mārgāśīrasa. The previous year A.D. 102 was Mahā Āsvayuja which continued till June 4, A.D. 103. Therefore in month Caitra (March) the year was Mahā Āsvayuja.
[Sam. 173 (=A.D. 113)]	Apr. 30, A.D. 113.	348° 7'	Revatī	Mahā Āsvayuja Samvatsara.
Sam. 191 (=A.D. 131). Mahā Caitra Samvatsara.	Oct. 15, A.D. 131.	187° 2'	Svāṭī	Mahā Caitra Samvatsara.
Sam. 198 (=A.D. 138). Mahā Āsvayuja Samvatsara.	May 17, A.D. 138.	33° 4'	Kṛtikā	Mahā Kārtika begins from May 17, (Jyāiṣṭha A.D. 138). Therefore in Caitra, Vaiśākha or Jyāiṣṭha the name of the year was Mahā Āsvayuja.
Sam. 199 (=A.D. 139) Mahā Mārgāśīrasa Samvatsara.	June 16, A.D. 139.	67° 3'	Ārdṛā	Mahā Mārgāśīrasa Samvatsara.
Sam. 209 (=A.D. 149). Mahā Āsvayuja Samvatsara.	Apr. 16, A.D. 149.	3° 6'	Āśvinī	Mahā Āsvayuja Samvatsara.

Vikrama year, is equivalent to A.D. 150-51. But as the month was Caitra it was A.D. 151=K. Y. 3252, elapsed. The Julian day number of the initial day of solar Vaiśākha in this year was 1776287·48 equivalent to March 18·48 days in A.D. 151. The solar month of Caitra=30·35 days. Therefore, the first day of solar Caitra was the 17th February and consequently the 29th day of Caitra was March 17, A.D. 151. Now full moon occurred on March 20·36 days (Ujjayini Civil Time) this year. Therefore, Śuklā Trayodaśī began on the 17th March and this was also the 29th day of solar Caitra, exactly as in the inscription. With Fleet's epoch the assumed date (March 19 A.D. 528) was neither the 29th day of solar Caitra nor the 27th as emended by him but was in reality the 1st day of solar Vaiśākha. Dr. Fleet assumed the lunar month to end with full moon. On calculation it is found that Phālguna Śu 15 ended on Feb. 21 A.D. 528 and Caitra Śu 13 ended on March 19 A.D. 528 and this was the 1st day of solar Vaiśākha. Hence Dr. Fleet could not consider the plain meaning of 'Caitra di 29' as the 29th day of solar Caitra. From Feb. 22, A.D. 528 (Caitra ba 1) till the 19th Mar. A.D. 528 (Caitra Śu 13) there being only 27 solar days Dr. Fleet at first wanted to mean by 'di' such solar days and thus tried to correct 'Caitra di 29' to 'Caitra di 27'. Then he gave up this idea and counting the number of solar days from the day on which Phālguna Śu 15 ended (Feb. 21, A.D. 528) up to Caitra Śu 13 (Mar. 19, A.D. 528) he got 28 solar days and hence he supposed the correct reading to be Caitra di 28 and not Caitra di 29 which he could not support under any method of calculation with his epoch of the Gupta era.' Hence Fleet's remarks in Indian Antiquary Vol. XX. p. 379 ff. 'I think that the value of the second numerical symbol must be corrected once and no matter what may be suggested at first sight by the value of similar symbols elsewhere, must be finally fixed at 8; i.e., the (civil) day 28' is really deplorable.

Now I take up the Sohaval plate of Mahārāja Sarvanātha of Uccakalpa dated in the second Āṣāḍha month (dvir-Āṣāḍha) in Samvat 191. Now G. E. or V. S. 191=A.D. 133=K. Y. 3234. The Julian day number of the first day of solar Vaiśākha in K. Y. 3234 found as before=1769712·57 equivalent to March 17·57, A.D. 133. The months of Vaiśākha, Jyāiṣṭha and Āṣāḍha total 94·00 days and the month of Śrāvaṇa=31·44 days. Therefore the 1st day of solar Āṣāḍha in this year was 19·57 June and the last day of solar Śrāvaṇa was July 21·05 d. Now there was one new moon on June 28·58 d. and another on July 19·86 d. in A.D. 133. Hence two new

moons occurring in solar Śrāvaṇa in K. Y. 3234, there was an intercalary month between natural lunar Āṣāḍha and natural lunar Śrāvaṇa which would be named *mala* or *prathama* Śrāvṇa according to one practice and *dvir-Āṣāḍha* (second Āṣāḍha) according to another ancient custom. A verse ascribed to the Brahma Siddhānta says 'Whatever lunar month is completed when the sun is standing in Aries and the (following signs), that month is to be known as Caitra etc., when there are two completions (there is) an intercalated month, (and it is) the latter (of the two). This 'verse indicates a more ancient custom, according to which the first (bright) and the second (dark) fortnights would belong to the natural month; and the third (bright) and the fourth (dark), to the intercalated month'—Fleet, Gupta Inscriptions, p. 83 fn. Thus the statement in the inscription is exactly verified.

Now, we come to the Kaira grant of Dharasena IV of Valabhi dated Sam. 330, Dvi-Mārgaśīrṣa (i.e., the second Mārgaśīrṣa month). Now for the same reason for which Dr. Fleet, assuming these inscriptions to be dated in the Valabhi era, found sam. 330 (=current Śaka year 573 or current Vikrama year 707) to be equivalent to A.D. 648, the Gupta Vikrama Sam 330=A.D. 271=K. Y. 3372 elapsed. Now the length of one solar year=365·25868 d. (Āryabhata). Therefore K. Y. 3372=3372 X 365·25868 d.=1231652·2705 d. The Julian day number of the epoch of the Kali Yuga era (18·00 Feb. 3102 B.C.)=588466. Therefore the Julian day number of the initial day of Solar Vaiśākha in K. Y. 3372=1231652·2705 d+588466 d=1820118·2705 d equivalent to 19·2705 Mar. A.D. 271. Therefore the initial day of mean solar Vaiśākha=(2·1707+19·2705, or) 21·4412 Mar., A.D. 271. Now one mean solar month=30·43822 days. Therefore the initial day of mean solar Pauṣa=(243·5058+21·4412, or) 19·9470 Nov. A.D. 271 and the initial day of mean solar Māgha=(30·4382+19·9470, or) 20·3852 Dec. A.D. 271. On calculations we also find that there was one mean new moon on 20·01 Nov. and another mean new moon on 19·54 Dec. A.D. 271. Both these mean new moons occurring in mean solar Pauṣa the month of Pauṣa was intercalary in A.D. 271 which would be named *dvi-Mārgaśīrṣa* according to one ancient custom, thus exactly verifying the data in the inscription. Calculations with the Śurya Siddhānta yield 20·77 Oct. and 20·20 Nov. A.D. 271 for the initial days of mean solar Mārgaśīrṣa and mean solar Pauṣa respectively. There was one mean new moon on 21·47 Oct. and another mean new moon on 20·01 Nov. A.D. 271. Both these mean new moons occurring in mean solar Mārgaśīrṣa the intercalary month might be called *prathama* Mārgaśīrṣa

according to another ancient custom. Thus the grant as dated in the Dvi-Mārgaśīrṣa which was the *Śuddha* (natural) lunar month.

The new Mathurā inscription of Candragupta II is dated in Sam. 61 in the first (i.e., intercalary) Āṣāḍha month. Now Sam 61=A.D. 3. In this year the first day of solar Āṣāḍha was 18·54 May and the last day of solar Āṣāḍha was June 19·18 d. There was one new moon on 20·28 May and another on 18·80 June. Both these new moons occurring in solar Āṣāḍha the month of Āṣāḍha was intercalary this year exactly as in the inscription. Palaeographically also this inscription resembles the early Kuṣana records.

That the inscriptions of the Valabhi rulers must be referred to the Vikrama era is evident from the Kāthiāwār plate of Dharasena II of Balabhi dated 'the fifteenth day of the dark half of Vaiśākha of Sam 257 on the occasion of a solar eclipse. On Fleet's hypothesis Sam. 257=A.D. 576. But there was no solar eclipse in this year or a few years before or after that date in the month of Vaiśākha. Prof. Bhandarkar also mentions this difficulty in Epig. Indica, Vol. XX. Appendix, Inscriptions of Northern India, p. 180. The above date referred to the Vikrama era. A.D. 199. In this year there was a partial solar eclipse in Vaiśākha on the 13th April. This eclipse ended on the earth generally in Ujjayini Civil Time 9h. 25m. about in the morning but owing to the effects of parallax was not visible from India. If however, Sam. 257 is elapsed then the date is equivalent to A.D. 200. In this year there was a total solar eclipse in Vaiśākha on April 1. This eclipse was visible as a partial one from India. This again shows clearly that the Gupta era is identical with the Vikrama era.

Now, I come to the Morbi grant of Jainka from Kathiāwār 'on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun in Gupta year 585 expired, the 5th solar day of the month of Phālguna.' (Vide Fleet, Gupta Inscriptions, Intro. p. 97). This is one of the most important inscriptions for the verification of the epoch of the Gupta era. Now, Vikrama year 585 expired=A.D. 528-29. But as the month was Phālguna (Jan. Feb.) it was no longer A.D. 528 but A.D. 529. A.D. 529=K. Y. 3630 elapsed. Calculating as before we find that the initial day of solar Vaiśākha in K. Y. 3630=March 21·28, A.D. 529. Now knowing that the Hindu solar months of Phālguna and Caitra=60·17 days, the last day of solar Māgha comes out to be the 20th January, A.D. 529. Therefore the 5th day of solar Phālguna was January 25, A.D. 529. Now, on looking up the astronomical tables giving the dates of the eclipses of the sun we find that in A.D.

529 there was an eclipse of the sun on the 25th of January, Greenwich Civil Time of conjunction in longitude being 23h. 3m. This eclipse was total and ended on the earth generally in G.C.T. about 1h. 50m. or in Ujjayini Civil Time about 6h. 50m. in the morning. But owing to effects of parallax this eclipse was not visible from India. These calculations may be verified from Theodor Von Oppolzer's *Canon der Finsternisse* and Prof. Dr. P. V. Neugebauer's *Astronomische chronologie* (Berlin). There are instances of grants being made on the occasion of an eclipse though the same may not be visible from a particular locality. In the *Epig. Indica* Vol. I pp. 422-423 Dr. Jacobi remarks: 'The eclipses mentioned in Indian inscriptions are not always observed eclipses but calculated ones.' Dr. Jacobi mentions as an example the Kadi copper plate grant of Calukya Mularāja of Vikrama Samvat 1043, lunar Māgha new moon, Sunday, on the occasion of a solar eclipse 'which has been rightly identified with the total solar eclipse on Sunday, January 2, A.D. 987, non-visible from India, as the conjunction in longitude occurrence about midnight in Ujjayini Civil Time.

The late Dr. Fleet with his epoch (A.D. 319) of the Gupta era and the resulting date (A.D. 905) could get no eclipse about Phālguna even within a few years. He, therefore, had to assume that the charter was perhaps dated some months before or after the eclipse an assumption quite indefensible. Palaeographically also this Morbi grant of Jainka closely resembles the Horiuzi palm leaves of about A.D. 520 and is much earlier than the Dhiniki plate of Jaikadeva of Saurāṣṭra issued from Bhūmitikā (or Bhumli) dated in Vikrama Sam. 794 (A.D. 738) which is about the time when the Jethvas made Bhumli their capital, their ancient capital being Morbi. (Bom. Gaz. Vol. I. pt. I pp. 136-37). The newly discovered Kāthiāwār plate of Dharasena II dated Sam. 257 on the occasion of a solar eclipse in Vaiśākha cannot be verified on Fleet's epoch as already noticed. With Dr. Shamasastri's epoch (A.D. 200-201) none of these eclipses can be verified even within a few years. The same is the case with Mr. M. Govind Pai's epoch of A.D. 272-73. Hence he searched for and fixed another epoch some 64 years later ranging between A.D. 333 and 337 to verify the eclipses and the inscription of Dharasena IV dated Sam. 330, *dvimārgaśirṣa*. The non-verification of these eclipses shows very clearly that none of these epochs is the correct epoch of the era introduced by the Gupta Vikramāditya. I place all these before the learned readers so that they may judge of the correctness or otherwise of these various epochs.

Jain Religious Orders in the Kushana Period

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THE importance of Mathurā as a great Jain centre is revealed by a number of Brāhmī epigraphic records belonging to the Kushāṇa period. A number of Jain religious orders were flourishing side by side without creating any spirit of antagonism. These schools popularly known as *gaṇas* were divided on the lines of teachers who were known through their respective 'kulas.' The teachers grouped into a 'kula' were branched off into *Śākhās* or branches. *Śākhās* were the lines which branched off from each teacher. Besides these there were *Sambhogas* or division. To put the whole framework of religious orders in a nutshell,¹ firstly there were *gaṇas* or different schools of thought. Among these schools, sets of teachers formed *kulas* or family and each teacher was then branched off into his *śākhā*. Before going into a detailed study of these Jain religious orders it is better to take note of some of the very important Brāhmī Jain records which throw light on the subject.

Inscription No. 1² from Mathurā records the dedication of an image of Vadahmāna (Vardhamāna) by Khuḍā (Kshudrā) who belonged to the Koṭṭiya *gaṇa*, the Bahmadāsika *kula* and the Uchenāgarī *śākhā*. The inscription is dated in the year 5 of Devaputra Kanishka.

Another inscription³ incised on the pedestal of a fourfold image (*Chaturmukhī*) consisting of four naked standing jinas records the dedication at the request of venerable Mātridina (Mātridatta) by the first wife of one Suchila who belonged to the Koṭṭiya *gaṇa*, the Thāniya *kula* the Śrigriha *Sambhoga* and the Anyya-Vērī (Ārya-vajri) *Śākhā*. The inscription is dated in the year 19.

Another inscription⁴ incised on pedestal and on sides of a small seated Jain statue records the dedication by Kumār-bhaṭi at the

1. Cf. *Kalpa Sūtra*, S.B.E., Vol. XXII, p. 288n.

2. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, No. I, p. 381.

3. *Ep. Ind.*, *ibid.*, p. 382, No. III.

4. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, No. VII, p. 386.

request of his mother Kumāra-mitrā who was the female pupil of the venerable Baladina (Baladatta) out of the Koṭṭiya gaṇa, the sthāniya kula, the Vairā Śākhā and the Śirika Saṁbhoka (Saṁbhoga).

There is an inscription⁵ incised on the base of a quadruple image of four standing naked Jains recording the gift at the request of a gaṇi whose name is mutilated, out of the Koṭṭiya gaṇa and Vachchaliya Kula. The name of the Śākhā is mutilated and the inscription is dated in the year 18.

There is yet another mutilated inscription⁶ mentioning another kula and Śākhā in the Koṭṭiya gaṇa. The kula is Pa-vaha-ka which may be identified with Prasnavāhanaka of the Kalpa Sūtra. The Śākhā mentioned in the inscription is Majhamā which may be identified with the corresponding Śākhā Madhyāmikā Pr. Majjhimilla) of the Kalpa Sūtra :

There are numerous other records of the Koṭṭiya gaṇa which mention the same kulas, Śākhās and Saṁbhogas. It is not worthwhile mentioning all those records. The following table may be drawn of this school.

Koṭṭiya Gaṇa.	
1. Brahmadāsika kula	1. Uchenāgarī Śākhā
2. Ṭhāniya kula	2. Āryyaverī (Ārya-vajrī) Śākhā
3. Sthāniya kula	3. Vairā Śākhā
4. Vachchaliya	4. Majhamā (Madhyāmikā) Śākhā.
5. Pa-vaba-ka (Prasnavāhanaka)	

The Koṭṭiya gaṇa, as we know from the Kalpasūtra⁷ was founded by Susthita and Supratibuddha surnamed Kauṭika and Kākan-daka. They belonged to the Vyāghrāpatya gotra. According to the same sūtra it was divided into Uchenāgarī, Vidyādhari, Vajrī and Madhyāmikā (Pr. Majjhimilla) Śākhās and its kulas were Brahmaliptaka, Vātsaliya (Pr. Vachchaliya) Vāniya (Pr. Vānija) and Prasnavāhanaka kulas. Now the Brahmadāsika kula

5. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, No. XIII, p. 202.

6. *Ibid.*, No. XXII, p. 205.

7. *S.B.E.*, Vol. XXII, p. 292.

of the epigraphic records may be identified with Brahmaliptaka, Vachchaliya with Vātsaliya, Pa-va-naka with Prasnavāhanaka and Ṭhāniya or Sthāniya kulas with Vāniya kula of the Kalpa-sūtra. Both appear to be the same kula though there appears to be a little difference in the Śākhās of these kulas. The Ṭhāniya kula of the epigraphic record has Āryyaveri (Ārya-vajrī) and the Sthāniya kula has Vaira-śākhā of the Kalpasūtra. The two other Śākhās Uchchanāgarī and Madhyāmikā are also to be found in the inscriptions. The names of the Śākhās associated with Vachchaliya kula is mutilated in that record where it is found. Possibly it was the Vidyā-dhārī Śākhā of the Kalpa Sūtra as the three other Śākhās are already associated with the three other kulas of the Koṭṭiya gaṇa in the Kushāna inscriptions.

The next gaṇa or school in order is Vāraṇa which is identified by Buhler⁸ with Chāraṇa gaṇa of the Kalpa Sūtra. Its existence along with a number of kulas and Śākhās in the Kushāna period is testified to by the Brāhmī records of the Jains unearthed at Mathurā. Only some important epigraphic records of the gaṇa may be considered for enumerating its different kulas and Śākhās. The following important epigraphic records which enumerate the names of kulas and Śākhās in this gaṇa may be taken into consideration.

An inscription⁹ incised on the pedestal of a Jain statue records the gift by the cherished daughter of Grahahathi at the request of Gahaprakiva pupil of the venerable Data a gaṇin in the Vāraṇa gaṇa and the Puśyamitriya (Pushyamitriya) kula, in honour of the Arhat. The inscription is dated in the year 29 of the great king —shka.

There is another inscription¹⁰ dated in the year 44 of the great king Huvishka recording a dedication at the request of the venerable Nāgaseṇa the pupil of Haginaṁdi, a preacher (Vāchaka) in the Vāraṇa gaṇa, in the Āryya-cheṭiya kula (Ārya-cheṭika) in the Haritamālakaḍhi (Haritmālagaḍhi) Śākhā.... It is dated in the year 44.

The inscription¹¹ on the base of a seated Jain records the dedication from the Vāraṇa gaṇa and from the Petivāmikā kula.

8. *The Indian Sect of the Jains*, p. 59.

9. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, No. VI, p. 385.

10. *Ibid.*, No. IX, p. 387.

11. *Ibid.*, No. XX, p. 391.

An inscription¹² discovered by Dr. Fuhrer mentions Kanyasika kula in the Vāraṇa gaṇa. The name of the Śākhā is mutilated though the first two letters 'od' are apparent.

Another kula Aya-Haṭṭiya (Ārya-Hāliya) of the Vāraṇa gaṇa is mentioned in an inscription¹³ found on the base of a seated Jina statue. The Vajanāgarī Śākhā (Vārjanagarī) and the Ārya-Śirikiya Sambhoga are also mentioned. This kula is also mentioned in an inscription¹⁴ dated in the year 4.

There is another inscription¹⁵ mentioning the dedication at the request of Sādītā, female pupil of...dhuka, a preacher in the Vāraṇa gaṇa and Nāḍika kula. The name of the Śākhā is mutilated.

The last kula of this gaṇa is mentioned in another inscription.¹⁶ The name is Ayyabhyista kula, the Śākhā is Samkāsiyā and the Sambhoga is Śirigriha (Śrīgriha). The inscription is dated in the year 50. Ayya-Jinadasi (Ārya-Jinadāsī) the female pupil of Samadi... is mentioned as the teacher. Besides these important inscriptions there are a number of other records repeating the same kulas and Śākhās in the Vāraṇa gaṇa. A perusal of the above records would show that the Vāraṇa gaṇa was divided into a number of kulas with their corresponding Śākhās or branches and Sambhogas i.e. divisions. On the basis of these records a table may be shown.

Vāraṇa Gaṇa	
1. Puśyāmitriya	
2. Ārya-cheṭiya kula	2. Haritamālakaḍhi Śākhā
3. Petivāmika kula	
4. Kaniyasika kula	4. Od...Śākhā
5. Aya-Haṭṭiya	5. Vajanāgarī Śākhā
6. Nāḍika kula	
7. Ayyabhyista	7. Samkāsiyā

Now according to the Kalpa Sūtra,¹⁷ the Chāraṇa gaṇa which is evidently identical with the Vāraṇa gaṇa was divided into four

12. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, No. XXIII, p. 392.

13. *Ibid.*, No. XXXIV, p. 397.

14. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, No. XI, p. 201.

15. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, No. XXVIII, p. 206.

16. *Ibid.*, No. XXXVI, p. 209.

17. *S.B.E.*, Vol. XXII, p. 291.

Śākhās and seven kulas. The kulas were Vātsaliya (Pr. Vakkhalijja), 2. Prītidharmika, 3. Hāridraka (Pr. Hālijja), 4. Puśyāmitrika, 5. Mālayaka (Pr. Mālijja) 6. Ārya-cheḍaya and 7. Kaṇhasaha. The four Śākhās mentioned are Samkāśika, Vajjanāgarī, Gavedhukā and Hāriyamālāgarī.

If we compare the list of kulas mentioned in the inscription with the list of Sthāviras preserved in the Kalpa Sūtra, we would find that the Puśyāmitriya can be identified with the Puśyāmitrika (Puśāmitijja), Ārya-Cheṭaya with Āryya-cheḍaya, Kaniyasika with Kaṇhasaha, Petivāmika with Prītidharmika and Aya-Haṭṭiya with Hāridraka as the Śākhās of both namely Vajanāgarī and Vajjanāgarī are identical. The only two kulas left to be identified are Ayyabhyista kula and the Nāḍika kula. The Śākhā of the Ayyabhyista kula is Samkāsiyā while the name of the śākhā associated with Nāḍika kula is mutilated. Now in the list the Kalpa Sūtra, Samkāśikā is associated with Vachchhalijja kula. It therefore seems certain to identify Ayyabhyista kula with the Vachchhalijja kula of Kalpa Sūtra. The last kula Nāḍiya may probably be identified with Malayaka Mālijja kula of the Kalpa Sūtra. These are the only two kulas left unidentified in the two lists. Therefore it may be possible to identify the Nāḍika kula of the epigraphic record¹⁸ with the Mālijja kula of the Kalpa Sūtra. A perusal of the estampage of the inscription published in the *Epigraphic Indica*¹⁹ along with that inscription reveals that between the words 'kula' and Śākhā there is the space for four letters. These four letters must mean the name of the Śākhā. Of the four Śākhās in the Chāraṇa gaṇa three Śākhās namely Samkāśikā, Vajjanāgarī and Hāriyamālāgarī are already mentioned in the inscriptions as being associated with three different kulas namely Ayyabhyista (Vachchhalijja), Ayya-Haṭṭiya (Hālijja) and Ārya-cheṭiya (Ārya-cheḍaya) kulas of the Vāraṇa gaṇa respectively, the fourth Śākhā Gavedhuka is to be associated with some kula. It cannot however, be said with certainty that this Śākhā may be associated with Mālijja kula but the probability seems to be that Nāḍika kula may be identical with Mālijja kula and the Śākhā of both the kulas was Gavedhukā.

The next gaṇa mentioned in the Kushāṇa epigraphic records is Āryya-Udekiya gaṇa. This gaṇa is mentioned in two records. An inscription²⁰ on the base of a large seated Jina statue discover-

18. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, No. XXVIII, p. 206.

19. *Ibid.*

20. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, No. XIX, p. 391.

ed by Dr. Burgess on the South East of Kaṅkāli Tila mentions Aryyodehikiya (Ārya-Uddehikiya) gaṇa, and Aryya-Nāgabhuti-kiya (Ārya-Nāgabhūtikīya) kula. The names of the Śākhā and the donor are not given. The inscription is dated in the year 7 of the great king, supreme king of kings (Rājātirājasya), the son of the gods (Devaputrasa), Shāhi Kanishka. The names of the teachers mentioned in this record are preacher Āryya Sandhika, the pupil of the gaṇin Āryya-Buddhaśiri (Ārya-Buddhaśiri).

The next record²¹ of this gaṇa or school is dated in the year 98 of king Vāsudēva. The inscription records the gift at the request of venerable Dēvadatta (Devadatta) out of the Venerable Dehikiya (gaṇa) which may be the short form of Uddehikiya gaṇa, the Pandhāsika kula, the Pētaputrikā (Paitāputrikā) Śākhā.

According to the Kalpa Sūtra,²² the Uddeha gaṇa was founded by Ārya Rohana of the Kaśyapa gotra. It was divided into four Śākhās and six kulas. The Śākhās were Udumbarikā (Pr. Udumbarijjiyā), 2. Māsapūrikā, 3. Matipatrikā and 4. Pūrṇa-Patrikā (Pr. Punnapattiyā). The six kulas were Nāgahūta, 2. Somabhūta, 3. Ullagakka (or Ardrakakkha?) 4. Hastilīpta (Pr. Hatthilijja). 5. Nāndika (Pr. Nāndijja) and Parihāsaka.

The two kulas Nāgabhutiya and Paridhāsika may be easily identified with the Nagabhuta and Parihāsaka of the Kalpa Sūtra. According to Prof. Luders²³ the form Paridhāsika shows that the Parihāsaka of the Kalpa Sūtra must be rendered in Sanskrit by Paridhāsika, and not by Parihāsaka as done in the 'Sacred book of the East.' The solitary Śākhā mentioned in the second record as Petaputrika seems to be equivalent to Sanskrit Paitāputrika. It is the same as Pūrṇapatrika of the Kalpa Sūtra.

The name of another gaṇa Veśavaḍiḍya is not apparently mentioned in the Kushāṇa records, but the name of its kula is mentioned in two epigraphic records, which may just show that this gaṇa or school also existed in the Kushāṇa period. An inscription²⁴ dated in the year 15 records the dedication at the request of venerable Vasulā, female pupil of the venerable Sangamikā the female pupil of the venerable Jayabhūti out of the (Me)hika kula.

21. Mathurā Jain Inscription of Sam. 98, I. A. 1904, p. 108, No. 23.

22. S.B.E., Vol. XXII, p. 290.

23. Epigraphical Notes I. A. 1904, p. 109.

24. Ep. Ind., I, No. II, p. 382.

The other inscription²⁵ incised on the pedestal of a small seated Jina statue records some dedication at the request of Venerable Vasulā, pupil of the Venerable Sangamikā. It is dated in the year 86. The name of the kula is considerably mutilated. Buhler²⁶ has assumed that the teachers mentioned in both the records are the same, therefore the kula of the second record must be Mehika. In this he has perhaps not considered the difference in the date of the two records. The first is dated in the year 15 while the second is dated in the year 86. There is a difference of 71 years and it would be too much to assume that the teacher and the pupil continued to live for 71 years. Any way for our purpose it is clear from the first record that there was a Mehika kula.

According to the Kalpa Sūtra,²⁷ Kāmarddhi of the Kuṇḍala gotra founded the Veśvāṭika gaṇa which was divided into four Śākhās and into four kulas. The Śākhās were, 1. Srāvastikā, 2. Rājyapālikā (Pr. Rajjapāliyā), 3. Antarañjika, (Pr. Antarijjiyā) and Kshemalīptikā (Pr. Khemalijjiya). The four kulas were 1. Gaṇika, 2. Maighika 3. Kāmarddhika and Indrapuraka. Only the Maighika kula which is identical with Mehika kula is mentioned in the Kushāṇa records.

Thus it would appear that out of all the 8 gaṇas only the names of four gaṇas are found in the epigraphic records of the Kushāṇas. Many more may have been in existence but we don't know about them. These records throw some light on the working of these Jain religious orders in the Kushāṇa period. From these records it is apparent that each gaṇa or religious saṅghā had both male as well as female members. They were known as gaṇin. The membership was confined to those who were not living as householders. They had renounced the world and were in search of enlightenment through some teachers. The teachers had male as well as female pupils. It was the duty of the pupils to see that the householders created endowments. These endowments were in the shape of erecting the statues of Vardhamāna or some other statues. Among these records, about ten record the erection of the statues of Arhat Vardhamāna, four record the erection of a four-fold image, three mention the dedication of Ayāgapata (tablet of homage) and one each mentioning the setting up of the image of Divine Santi

25. Ep. Ind., Vol. I, No. XII, p. 388.

26. The Indian Sect. of Jains, p. 60.

27. S.B.E., Vol. XXII, p. 291.

(probably Śāntināth), Pārsva (Parasnath), Sarasvatī and a Vusuya. It seems strange how a Jain could erect the statue of a Brahmanical Goddess. Possibly the goddess of learning like the goddess of wealth (Lakshmi) was worshipped by all the people irrespective of their difference in belief and religion.

The organization of the Jain religious orders was in the hands of the heads of the church known as Saṅghapṛkṛta and Saṅghapramukha.²⁸ The first title means the superiors of the Saṅgha or those who had a voice in the Saṅgha while Saṅghapramukha would mean the chief of the Saṅgha.²⁹ Possibly Saṅghapramukhāh or the chiefs of the Saṅgha were heads of different Jain religious gaṇas or orders. It is not easy to pronounce due to the paucity of evidence how the gaṇas actually worked, but they seem to have been working very smoothly and soundly. The very fact that we find sufficient records of dedications which was the result of their labour, is a sufficient proof of the sincerity of their mission for which they had renounced the world and joined the orders. The mission of each member of the Jain churches or gaṇas was not merely a theoretical advancement in his spiritual knowledge but the practical side was as much important for him as the life inside the Saṅgha. It was the duty entrusted on each member of the Saṅgha to fill up his quota of securing dedications by householders.

28. Vogel, Catalogue of the Mathurā Museum, Nos. 24 and p. 37.

29. Kālc. Sanskrit Dictionary, p. 755.

A Note on the Nomenclature of Chola Officialdom

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THE high dignitaries of the mediaeval Chola imperialism and the *sāmantas* or feudal barons had borne titles which almost in all cases ended with the suffixes *rāya*, *mārāya* and *adīrāya*. Sambhuvārāyan, Rājarājamārāyan, and Brahmādirāyan may respectively be suggested as examples. These terms meant chief, great chief and chief of chiefs. Not only did the high-placed officials and feudatories had such surnames, but they were borne even by musicians, dancers and other artistes attached to the imperial court—as for example, Sakkaimārāyan and Vādyamārāyan. Such nomenclature was legion. It is interesting to note however, that something like three hundred odd titles of those spacious days have even now survived as the distinguishing family names of the two ancient Tamil communities, Kaḷḷas¹ and Paḍayāchees. These names are regarded by those communities in the same manner that the *gōtras* of Brahmins are regarded and what is more there is no inter-marriage between families with similar surnames, in as much as they believe they are the descendants of the same eponymous ancestor. Even in Chola days these titles were becoming hereditary, though when they were conferred it must have been for personal merit or distinction.

To the student of mediaeval Chola inscriptions, these titles would appear to have no other origin but in the patronage of the Chola emperors. This is wrong. This practice and the characteristic nomenclature go back to great antiquity. The earliest reference to such dignities is to be found in that unique grammar of the Tamil language and life, *Tolkāppiyam*. In *sūtra* 63 of *Purattinai-iyal*, the following line occurs:—

“*Mārāyam peṇṇa neḍu moli-yānum*” or he who has received the title and authority of *mārāyan*. Nachchinārkkiniyar, the commentator, says that the king, having placed an army under a *mārāya*, makes his authority supreme over it. From this it is clear that these surnames carried with them in their origin at least mili-

1. Mr. N. M. Venkataswami Nattar's *Kallarsarobam*.

tary command, pure and simple. An illustrative stanza cited by the commentator indicates that the recipients of such titles had the privilege to use the signet ring of the monarch.

Another feature of the nomenclature of the Chola officials was that the whole gamut of surnames of the reigning sovereigns was prefixed to the characteristic title endings, as for example Rārājā-rāya-brahmādirāya which was the surname of Krishṇan Rāman, the Brahman Commander-in-Chief of Rājarāja I. Even this practice was not novel in the mediaeval Chola period. It was already current in the Tamil country in the 2nd century A.D. The epic *Śilappadikāram* describes the goldsmith attached to the Pāṇḍya court in the following terms:—

“Kaṇṇuḷ vinañar kaivinai murriya
Nuṇvinaik kollar nūṇruvar pinvara
Meippai pukku vilangu naḍai selavin
Kaikkōṇ kollanaik kaṇḍanan āhi
Tennavan peyaroḍu sirappaperṇa
Pon vinaik kollan ivan enap porunti”.²

Kōvalan, the hero of the *Epic of the Anklet*, on entering the streets of Madura to dispose of his wife's anklet, finds a man in a tunic and carrying a pair of scales in his hand sauntering at the head of one hundred goldsmiths, perfectly skilled in the jeweller's art, and he guesses aright that he must be the chief of the goldsmiths, “whose name is attached to the surname of the Pāṇḍya king.” The fact that Kōvalan, a native of the Chola capital, Kāvēripūmpāṭṭinam, guessed the distinction of the goldsmith shows that similar practice obtained in the Chola country too. There is therefore no doubt that the nomenclature of the mediaeval Chola officialdom was an inheritance from early Tamil tradition and not an innovation.

2. *Kolaiḱkaḱakkāḱai*, II. 106-110.

“Gangu Bahmani”

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THE name “Gangū Bahmanī,” described by Ferishta as the sobriquet of the first Bahmani Sovereign¹ has been a mystery since Major King brought Burhān-i Maāthir before the English-knowing public in the Indian Antiquary, and this mystery has thickened by the remarks of Sir Wolseley Haig in the Cambridge History of India III, 171. More than one paper on the subject have appeared, for instance, one by Moulvi ‘Abdul Wālī in J & Pro. R.A.S.B. 1909, page 463, and another by Messrs. Oturkar and Khare in the Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, 1938, page 304. Moulvi ‘Abdul Wālī's burden is that ‘Gangū’ is a corrupted form of Kaikāūs the father of Ḥusain, while Oturkar and Khare have tried to maintain Ferishta's story as correct.

The first point to be borne in mind is that Ferishta himself is not certain about the ‘Gungū Bahmanī’ story. What he does say is that “certain persons have related”² and goes on till the end of the tale. Later the king is said to have made Gungū the Brahman his Finance Minister “according to the promise he has previously made.”³ He says that there is not a word about the genealogy of the King in the Tuhfatu's-Salaṭīn, the Sirāju't-Tawāriḱh or the Bahman Nāma although they have either called him a Kaiyānī and connected him with Bahman and Isfandār. Ferishta says that he himself saw a small brochure in the library of Murtaḱa Nizāmshāh of Ahmadnagar in which the first Bahmani was said to have been the son of Kaikāūs and descended from Bahrām Gūr.⁴ Naturally so many different stories about ‘Alāu'd-dīn's genealogy must have upset Ferishta completely and, writing

1. Ferishta: *Gulshan-i Ibrahmi*, Lucknow, 1281, H. I., 273.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.*, 278.

4. *Ibid.*, 281.

as he was 250 years after 'Alāu'd-dīn's death, it is no wonder that towards the end of the description of the reign he chooses the line of least resistance and simply surmises that 'according to my most humble opinion' 'Alāu'd-dīn was called Bahmani owing to his having been in the service of Gangū the Brahman.⁵

The author of *Burhān* is equally bewildered by the number of traditions current in his time. He refers to the 'Uyūnu't-Tawārikh where as many as five stories were given. He also gives 'Alāu'd-dīn's complete genealogy right upto Bahrām Gūr and Kiumarth. In all probability the works consulted by Syed 'Alī Ṭabāṭabā were the same as those consulted by his contemporary Ferishta, although there is discrepancy in the generations intervening between 'Alāu'd-dīn and Bahrām Gūr. Ṭabāṭabā simply says that Fate took 'Alāu'd-dīn to Muḥammad Tughluq to whom he did not, however, divulge his parentage and descent.⁶

The third work in which a certain clue is given about 'Alāu'd-dīn's antecedents is Amīn Aḥmad Rāzī's *Haft Iqlīm* where the author says that "Ḥasan Kākūya" was originally a servant of Tughluq and became King with the title of 'Alāu'd-dīn.⁷ Moulvi 'Abdul Wālī thinks that Kākūya must be a variation of Kankū or Gangū, itself a way of writing Kaikāūs without the ultimate 'S'. This is added on by Messrs. Oturkar and Khare that the current title by which "Ḥasan Shāh used to be addressed is not Ḥasan bin Kaikāūs Bahmani; it is only Ḥasan Gangū (Kaikāūs) Bahmani," Bahman being according to them, the Muslim rendering of the word "Brahman."

Now taking the last point first, it is not correct that "The Sanskrit word Brahman is usually pronounced by the Muslims as Bahman." As a matter of fact a Brahman is sometimes called 'Bamman' in the Deccan, but never Bahman, and it is certainly

5. *Ibid.*, 282.

6. Syed Ali Tabataba: *Burhān-i Ma'āthir*, Hyderabad, Deccan, 1936, p. 11. The *Burhān* was compiled in 1000/1592, i.e. a few years before Ferishta completed his work in 1015/1606 now that we have at last the original *Burhān*, we are beginning to realise its great value and its reliability as compared with the later and more verbose Ferishta.

7. Amīn Aḥmad Rāzī: *Haft Iqlīm*, MSS., Aṣafiya Library, Hyderabad, Deccan, Tarikh, 465, f. 166. The work was completed in 1002/1594 and thus comes between the *Burhān* and Ferishta. Rāzī was a native of Rai and was closely related to I'timādu'd-Dowlah and his famous daughter the Empress Nūr Jahān. See Rieu. Cat. Pers. MSS., in the Brit. Mus., I, 335 b.

not a fact that the King used to be called Ḥasan Gangū Bahmanī, for it is plain from the coins of this King that the way he used to be addressed was simply 'Alāu'd-dīn Bahman Shāh.⁸ If there had been any relationship of service between the King and a Brahman called Gangū, and if the King had chosen, without much reason, to perpetuate this relationship, he would have called himself not Gangū Bahmanī but 'Ganguī Bahmanī' with the adjectival "ī" appended to both the name and the caste of his erstwhile master. Moreover Kākūyā in the *Haft Iqlīm* is written with Aliph after the first K, while Kaikāūs is written with a "Ya" after it, and there is no reason why an author of the standing of Amīn Aḥmad Rāzī should have transformed either Kaikāūs or Gangū into the mysterious Kākūya.⁹

The clue to 'Alāu'd-dīn's native country would be found in Ferishta itself, read with Futūhu's-Salāṭīn, the versified history of India by a contemporary of the King.¹⁰ Ḥasan had three other brothers, 'Alī, Aḥmad, and Muḥammad. They were all nephews of Malik Hizhbaru'd-dīn, surnamed Zafar KHān 'Alāī, a very prominent commander of 'Alāu'd-dīn KHiljī's forces,¹¹ who held the fiefs of Samānā, Panjab and Multān, and who was eventually killed fighting for his master against the transoxanian Qutluḡ KHwaja in 697-1298¹² and was succeeded as the warden of the Western marches by Ghazī Malik who later became the founder of the Tughluq Dynasty.

So much for the connection of Ḥasan with the KHiljī court, a connection which was no doubt responsible for the antagonism of the brothers 'Alī and Ḥasan to the Tughluq sway, and which lead to the proclamation of the elder brother 'Alī as King at Dhārūr in 740-1340 as Alau'd-dīn Malik Shāh.¹³ The rebellion

8. Silver Tanka in the Hyderabad Museum:—

Obverse.—A's Sulṭānu'l-A'zam 'Alāu'd-duniyā wa'd-dīn Abu'l-muzaffar Bahman Shāh a's-Sulṭān.

Reverse.—Sikandar-i ṭhānī Yamīna'l-Khilāfah Nāṣir-i Amīru'l-Mu'minīn.

Margin.—Duriba bi haḍrat-i Aḥsanābād, 757.

Also see Islamic Culture, Hyderabad, Deccan, April, 1935, p. 288.

9.

10. 'Iṣāmī: *Futūhu's-Salāṭīn*, ed. Mahdī Husain, Agra, 1938, p. 463.

'Iṣāmī began to compile the 'Futūh' on 27.9. 750/10/12. 1349 and completed it on 6.3. 751/14.5 1350.

11. Ferishta: I, 138.

12. *Ibid.*, 101, 103.

13. 'Iṣāmī, 463.

proved abortive when Malik Shāh was deported to "his ancestral home at Ghazni."¹⁴ It is related that on the death of Hasan's father at Ghor the whole family came to live with Zafar KHān 'Alāi at Multān, and after he was killed in action the four brothers treaded their way to Delhi, the scene of their uncle's rise.

It remains now to explain the significance of the mysterious Kākūya which Moulvi 'Abdul Wālī considers to be a corruption of the word Kaikāūs while Messrs. Oturkar and Khare think it to be a form of Gangū. As a matter of fact the Kākūyids were the rulers of Isfahan and Hamadān from 385/1007 to 433/1051. The dynasty took its name from Kakuya which, in the Dailamite dialect, means a maternal uncle, as its founder, Muḥammad was called Ibn-i Kākūya as he was the son of Dushmanziyar Rustam the maternal uncle of Majdu'd-dowlaḥ the Buyid.¹⁵ We have already traced the home of the first Bahmanī up to Afghanistan, and there is just possible that there was a tradition of the family being a Kākūyid which might get it from Central Asia as so many families were doing about that time. There is another interesting point. We know that the Kākūyids placed their state under the vassalage of the Ghaznavid Sultan Maḥmūd,¹⁶ and it is not a mere coincidence that the first Bahmani entitles himself in his coins as Yamīnu'l-KHilāfat, a title which comes very close to Maḥmūd's title Yamīn'd-Dowlaḥ. The courtiers must have known of this Persian origin of Hasan's ancestors and it was not entirely off the mark for them to connect him with even earlier Persian dynasty of Bahman and Isfandar.

The last point to be considered is the significance of the word Gangū. As we learn from the contemporary 'Iṣāmī, 'Alī Shāh's sobriquet was Natthū, a very ordinary nickname of male children who might have had their nose pierced through some superstition. The next boy's name was Gangū, possibly a corruption of Gungū, meaning dumb, perhaps alluding to the infantile dumbness of the child Hasan. This allusion to weakness was no doubt responsible for the fact that it does not occur in Ismail's work the Futūḥu's-Salāṭīn, which is otherwise replete with the names of Hindu and Muslim friends and foes of the new King. It is difficult to find Messrs. Oturkar and Khare's authority for saying that the King was called 'Alāu'd-dīn Hasan Gangū Bahmanī by the common

people, but one thing is absolutely certain, that in spite of so called promises to the Brahman he did not wish to call Gangū on his coins. We are aware that the rule of the Bahmanīs was marked by perfect harmony and concord between the Hindus and the Muslims, and it is possible that the certain Brahman from Delhi was appointed Minister by the King. But the name Gangū seems to have been an afterthought.

We therefore come to the following probable conclusions:—

- (1) Hasan was descended from old Persian ruling family of the Kakūyids, the patronym of which, Dushmanziyār be traced a Zoroastrian origin.
- (2) The family migrated owing probably to the political connection between the Kakūyids and the Ghazanvids.
- (3) The brothers 'Alī and Hasan were the maternal nephews of Zafar KHān 'Alāi and lived at Multān while he was Governor of Panjab and Multān.
- (4) After Zafar KHān's death in 697 the boys went to Delhi, entered the service of the Sultan and made their way to the Deccan. It is remarkable that both of them revived the title of their family patron 'Alāu'dīn KHilji, and one, the more successful called himself, and his son Zafar Khan after his uncle.
- (5) The word Bahman has absolutely no connection with the Brahmans and only reminded the King of his Zoroastrian origin, which the wise genealogists connected with Bahman and Isfandar.

14. Baranī: Tārīkh-i Firōzshāhī, As. Soc. of Bengal., 1862, p. 480.

15. Encyclopaedia of Islam, II, 667, article by Huart.

16. *Ibid.*

Timur Shah's Army in 1793

By

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In 1793, just a little before the death of Timur Shah, the son and successor of the famous Ahmad Shah Abdali, the king of Afghanistan, Mr. Edward Otto Ives, the British Resident at Lucknow, sent a secret agent, named Ghulam Sarwar, to Afghanistan to procure as authentic information as possible regarding the actual position, strength and resources of the Afghan monarch. This was done as a precautionary measure against any Durrani invasion of which there had been wide rumours with a view to defending the country of the Nawab Wazir of Oudh that served as a buffer state in those days. In this short paper I have reproduced what Ghulam Sarwar says about the army of Timur Shah. The material has been obtained from the Imperial Record Department, New Delhi. Ghulam Sarwar's account was originally written in Persian which is not available in that office. Its English translation is full of numerous misspelt names of persons and places. I have tried to correct them as far as possible.

"In reply to your question respecting the number and description of Timur Shah's army whether the army is paid in cash or by grants of land, what artillery there is at the principal and outstations, I beg leave to represent that exclusive of the standing army detached throughout the districts he has by great exertion and considerable expense raised to be with his person 24,800 horse and 26 pieces of cannon great and small and 896 camel artillery (Shahin?). Of those horse about 9,000 are well mounted including slaves, but their courage is not deserving of much commendation. The army is paid by Jagirs and the menial servants in cash. In time of war the pay of the cavalry is 60 rupees paid from the King's treasury. In the annexed account you will see a statement of the artillery etc., which I procured from the Duffer.

"Particulars of the Shah's Standing Army detached throughout the province according to the Duffer:—

	Horse.
In Multan	1,500
With Ghazi Khan	2,300
Ismail Khan	700
At Bangash, ¹ at the Attock Ghat, Jellalabad,	
Hazara Chah	4,900
Peshawar and its dependencies	3,000
Shikarpur and its dependencies	600
Kabul and Derabund etc.	7,000
Ghaneen alias Ghaznavi (Ghazni)	400
Ghorbund	300
Ghori (?)	200
Kandahar and its dependencies	2,000
Farah	200
Balkh and its dependencies	2,900
Akcha etc. (50 miles North West of Balkh)	1,000
Kashmir etc.	5,000
Fort of Bukkur (on the southern bank of the Indus)	900
Fort of Sukkur (on the northern bank of the Indus)	800
Total Horse	35,750

SLAVES.

"Abyssinians, Khurasanis, Iranis, Kirmanis, Durrans, Seistanis, Heratis, Calmucks (?), Kiynis Kuids (?) etc. amounting to 9,780.

Account of slaves composing the Risala Khas (or Risalas immediately about his person).

	Horse.
Itifat Khan (a Eunuch's) Risala	4,900
Haji Kumber Khan's etc.	2,400
Amir-ul-Mulk, Nur Muhammad Khan Babar's ²	
Risala	5,900
Jafar Khan Kabuli's etc.	3,700
Abdulla Khan Kabuli's Risala	1,800
Khawaja Sadik Khan's nephew's Risala	1,600
Yusaf Ali Khan (Eunuch's) etc.	3,000
Total	23,300 ³

1. Bangash is also the name of a tribe controlled by the Deputy Commissioner, Kohat.

2. Name of a tribe. Cf. Ethnographic Survey of Baluchistan by Denys Bray, p. 172.

3. In the original the total given is 24,800.

"If the Kingdom were on the same footing as it was in Ahmad Shah's time and if Nasir Khan Baluch, Chief of Kalat, and Mir Ali Khan of Noh Bullook, and the Chiefs of Sind and Bahawalpur and Leia (on the left bank of the Indus between Dera Ghazi Khan and Dera Ismail Khan), and other places and other Jagirdars and Zamindars with their followers were in subjection and obedient as they were to Ahmad Shah, about 60,000 horse might be assembled. Exclusive of the standing Army detached throughout the provinces at present there are innumerable refractory Jagirdars, and there is no possibility of the kingdom being regulated as it was by Ahmad Shah. The other chiefs being at variance among themselves and content with inaction rendered the reign of Timur Shah weak and the reign of Shah Zaman impotent. An account of Chiefs is annexed who though apparently attached are really dis-affected. Shahzada Mahmud Zirak⁴ (intelligent) and Shazada Feroz-ud-Din Jari (bold), sons of Timur Shah, masters of Herat with 15,000 excellent horse, who kept up a correspondence with Murad Shah Wazir of the King of Turan Abul Ghazi Khan who is blind.

"The Chief of Noh Bullook (that is to say Nine Parganahs) Mir Ali Khan, son of Haji Masum Khan, nephew of Mir Alam Khan, sovereign of Tun⁵ and Tibs with 35,000 horse paid by Jagir who used to present yearly to Timur Shah with products of his country, tobacco and saffron of Bakoo, carpets and quilts of Iran, horses and valuables of different sorts amounting to about a lakh of rupees. Bahawal Khan of Bahawalpur with a standing army of 14,000 men, 9,000 of which are foot and 5,000 horse, Muin-ul-Mulk Abdun Nabi Khan, nephew of Khuddad Khan Letee who has an army of 1,000 horse and 2,000 foot, Mir Fateh Ali Khan Talpuri, a sovereign prince and Mir Sorab and Mir Sorah (?) and Mir Bhaugut⁶ (?) who share with him the government of Sind and

4. Zirak is also a branch of the Achakzai Pathans. Cf. *Pathans* by Ridgway, p. 209.

5. Name of a district in Khurasan. Cf. *Notes on the Ethnology of Khurasan* by Ivanov, p. 147.

6. Fateh Ali Khan received British Mission under Mr. Nathan Crow in 1799. He was appointed ruler of Sind by Timur Shah in 1783. "Fateh Ali Khan taking into partnership his three brothers Ghulam Ali, Karam Ali and Murad Ali (called the 'Char Yar' or four friends) ruled at Hyderabad; Mir Sohrab, head of the Sohrabani branch ruled at Khairpur; and Tharah Khan, with his uncle and the sons of the murdered Mir Abdulla comprising the Manikani branch at Mirpur. Cf. *Gazetteer of the Province of Sind*, by Aitken, p. 118.

have an army of 11,000 horse and 19,000 foot and Nasir Khan Baluch of Kalat who has 33,000 horse.

"Account of the Artillery:

In the fort of Bukkur alias Bhukkur which is of masonry.—

On the ramparts	..	56	cannon.
On the ground	..	60	
	..	116	

In the fort of Sukkur:—

On the ramparts	..	16
On the ground	..	11
	..	27

In the masonry fort of Kabul:—

On the ramparts	..	19
On the ground	..	88
	..	107

In the fort of Kandahar:—

On the ramparts	..	29
On the ground	..	313
	..	342

In the masonry fort of Peshawar:—

On the ramparts	..	2
On the ground	..	7
	..	9

In the masonry fort of Balkh:—

On the ramparts	..	11
On the ground	..	—
	..	11

In the fort of Akcha which is a very strong place.

On the ramparts	..	4
	..	4

In the forts of Ghori (?) and Ghorband and Ghazni etc., there are no guns :—

In the fort of Herat which is of masonry.

On the ramparts	..	12
	..	12

In the masonry fort of Kashmir :—

On the ramparts	..	1
On the ground	..	6
	..	7

In the masonry fort of Attock :—

On the ramparts	..	3
On the ground	..	6
	..	9

Total (of the cannon) .. 644

In the fort of Jellalabad and Ghaul (?) etc., there are no guns.

Account of the Camel Artillery (Shahin?) :—

Fit for service	..	2,600
Unfit for service	..	3,270
	..	5,870."

Glimpses into Domestic and Social Life from A Story in the Dasakumaracharita

By

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IN the Draviḍa Country, there was a city called Kāñchi. There lived a Śreshṭhin's son named Śaktikumāra who was very rich. When he was about eighteen years old, he anxiously reflected : 'There can be no happiness for a man without a wife, or with a wife lacking requisite accomplishments and virtues. How therefore may I get an accomplished wife ?' Thus Śaktikumāra became uncertain about the satisfaction in a wife got through other people's recommendations. He then professed to be a fortune-teller (*Kārtāntika* ; cf. the *Ghaṭakas* of Bengal), tucked one *prastha* (= 128 *tolās*, according to some = about 1½ Bengali seers) of Śāli *Dhānya* (paddy) in his garments' hem, and roamed the earth. People having daughters of marriageable age exhibited them to him in order to get their stigmata interpreted. But whenever he met a *savarṇa* (belonging to his own caste) girl with good signs, Śaktikumāra would ask, "My good girl, can you properly feed me only with this *prastha* of Śāli ?" He, however, had to wander from house to house ridiculed and rejected.

In a city on the right (i.e., southern) bank of the Kāverī, in the Śibi country, Śaktikumāra one day saw a poor maiden with no ornaments, who had lost her parents and lived in a dilapidated house. Gominī, for that was the maiden's name, was presented to the merchant's son by her nurse. Our *kārtāntika* now set his eyes on her and found that she possessed all the auspicious characteristics. None of her limbs was too fat or too thin, too short or too long, rough or unclean. Her fingers were pink on the inner side, and her palms marked with such good signs as the barley-corn, fish, lotus and the pitcher. The ankle-joints were even ; feet plump and not stingy ; and the calves were tapering as the cow's tail. The knees slipped into the plumpness of the thighs almost unobserved. Gominī's lips were symmetrical, squarish, beautiful for the demarcation of the cavities of the loins

and shaped like chariot-wheels. Her naval was fine, and flat but deep. The lower part of the body (*udara*) was adorned with three plicatures, and the breasts had emergent nipples and broad bases and covered the entire chest. The creeper-like arms had hands marked with the lines promising wealth, rich harvests and many sons, glossy and soft nails resembling jewels, and straight, tapering and copper-coloured fingers. These arms again were exquisite and without the knobiness of joints, and slipped smoothly into the low region of the shoulder. Gominī's neck was slender with the curve of a conch-shell. Her lotus-like face had roundish lips with the pink colour demarcated in the middle by the whiteness of the teeth, and a broad and fine chin. The region of the cheeks was full and firm, and the creeper-like brows joining each other were curved, dark, blue and glossy. Her nose resembled a half-blown seasamum blossom, and the big gentle eyes had a wet but fickle glance flashing with three colours—pure black, white and pink. The forehead was as beautiful as the crescent moon, and the charming curls resembled sapphires. The two ears were adorned with the pending double-rings of a lotus stalk, and the locks were slightly wavy, abundant, not brownish even at the end, long, of equal length, glossy blue in colour, and fragrant.

Śaktikumāra thought, 'Such an appearance ensures virtue in the girl. My heart again attaches itself to her. Let me therefore marry her after a test. For continuous regret is the sure lot of a person who misses opportunities.' Then with an affectionate glance he said to Gominī, "My good girl, are you so clever and experienced as to be able to feed me properly only with this *prastha* of Śāli?"

Gominī signalled with her eyes to the old maid servant (i.e., the nurse) who took the *prastha* of Śāli from Śaktikumāra's hand. The maid servant next gave the merchant's son water to wash his feet and seated him in a spot, carefully washed and swept, before the house-door. Gominī first trampled the fragrant Śāli; then she dried it a little at a time by turning it repeatedly in the sun (cf. the Bengali system of *dhān neḍe dewā*). Next she put the Śāli on a hard and level spot, struck it gently with a hollow stalk (*nālī*) and extracted the kernels from the husks which were not crushed. Thereafter she said to her nurse, "Mother, the goldsmiths find a use for these husks which serve to polish ornaments. Sell these to them, and by the Kākinis (*Kākinī*=20 cowries according to some) thus earned, bring solid fire wood not too

moist nor too dry, a medium size earthen cooking pot (*sthālī*) and two earthen saucers (*śarāva*)."

When this was done, Gominī put the grains in a shallow, open and wide-bellied mortar (*ulūkhala*) made of Arjuna wood and struck them with a pestle (*mūshala*) which was long, heavy, made of khādīra wood, plated with iron at the head, smooth in the body, with a perceptible thinness in its waist. The girl's action showed the busy grace and skill of her arms, and the pestle began to rise and fall. She repeatedly made the grains hop and sink with her fingers, and then stripped them of awns (*kimśārūka*=Beng. *kūḍā*) in the winnowing fan (*śūrpa*=Beng. *kulā*). Next she rinsed the grains several times in water, and after having duly honoured the fireplace (*datta-chullipūja*) dropped them into boiled water, the measure of which was five times that of the grains. As the grains softened in body, hopped and swelled, Gominī controlled the fire, fitted a lid to the cooking pot and strained off the scum (*maṇḍa*=Beng. *māḍ*). Then she patted the boiled rice inside the pot with a ladle (*darvī*=Beng. *hātā*) and stirred it a little at a time. When the clots were well-cooked, she set the cooking pot upside down. Thereafter she sprinkled with water the faggots that were only scorched and not completely burnt, and sent the charred sticks to persons willing to purchase them. "Sell them," she said to her nurse, "and bring as much as you can in vegetables (*śāka*), Ghee (*ghṛta*), curds (*dadhi*), oil (*taila*), embelic (*āmalaka*) and tamarind (*chīñchā*), with the *kākinīs* thus earned."

That having been done, Gominī prepared two or three *upadaṁśas* (= preparation of vegetables, etc., that excites thirst or appetite; a relish condiment). The scummy broth was set in a new saucer (= *śarāva*) put in moist sand, and the maiden cooled it with the gentle breeze from a palm leaf fan. She then added sufficient salt to it and let the smoke of woodfire scent it. Next, she ground the embelic, so well as to bring out an odour sweet as that of a lotus. Now, the maiden purified herself by a bath and requested Śaktikumāra, through the nurse, to bathe. The merchant's son was then given the embelic paste and oil, and he took his bath.

Then Śaktikumāra seated himself on a plank (*phalaka*=Beng. *piḍā*) on the pavement which had been washed and swept. He fingered the two wet (i.e. washed with water) saucers that had been served on the quarter of a greenish white (slightly ripened)

plantain leaf clipped from a tree in the courtyard. Gominī then placed the rice gruel before him. Śaktikumāra drank, became fully refreshed and became highly pleased with calmness pervading his whole frame. Gominī next served him with two ladlefuls of boiled rice with a little ghee, soup (*sūpa*) and *upadamśa* (or, the *upadamśas*?). She also served him curds with *trijātaka* (i.e., *tvak*, cinnamon; *etā*, cardamom; and *patra*, Laurus Cassia), and Śaktikumāra finished the boiled rice served with those things and with *kālaśeya* (butter milk; Beng. *ghol*) and *kāñjikā* (sour gruel prepared from boiled rice putrified in water).

Śaktikumāra became satisfied only when the boiled rice served had been finished, and now asked for water. Thereafter Gominī let it spout a continuous stream on the saucer from the cylindrical arm of a new pitcher (*brīṅgāra*). The water was scented with the smoke of incense (*aguru*) and with new *pātala* flowers and full blown lotuses. The merchant's son set the saucer to his lips and drank the pure water in great gulps to his full satisfaction. His eye-lashes became tinged and granulated by the clinging drops cool as snow; his ears took delight in the tinkling sound of the stream; his cheeks tingled and thrilled at the delicious contact of the water; his nostrils expanded to the rushing gush of fragrance; his tongue became entranced by the exquisite flavour. Then Śaktikumāra stopped the maiden by a nod, and she gave him a gargle (*āchamana*) from another vessel (*haraka*). Thereafter the old woman took away the *uchchishṭa* (orts; etc.: what remains after one takes one's meals) and cleansed the pavement with greenish cow-dung (*harita-gomaya*). Śaktikumāra then wrapped himself in his wrapper (*uttariya-karpāṭa*) and dozed there for a little time. He became highly pleased with the maiden whom he now married with due ceremony and took her with him to his own home.

Afterwards, however, Śaktikumāra neglected Gominī and made a prostitute his mistress. But Gominī treated her husband's mistress as a dear friend and indefatigably served Śaktikumāra as a god. She performed all household duties alright, and won the affection of the relations (*parijana*) with her considerateness. Captivated by his wife's merits, the merchant's son subordinated all the relations to her and made her the sole mistress of his life and person. Thus Śaktikumāra now enjoyed the three *rāgas*—virtue, wealth and love. (See *Daśakumāracharita*, Calcutta, 1894, pp. 261-74; Arthur W. Ryder, *The Tai Princes* (translation), Chicago, 1927, pp. 168-73).

Those interested in the study of early Indian society will find the above story extremely interesting, as Classical Sanskrit Literature generally deals with princes and nobles and rarely sketches the daily life of a poor householder. From this story one may gather much information regarding ancient Indian social, economic and domestic life and some of them would be as follows:—

(1) Marriage at about the 18th year of age amongst the merchant class. Marriage with a *savarna* party. Brides generally selected by the guardians, but sometimes by the bridegroom himself.

(2) Position of the fortune-teller with reference to marriageable girls and their guardians.

(3) An ancient Indian's ideas regarding female beauty, and the auspicious signs and characteristics of a maiden promising to turn an excellent wife.

(4) The bust of girls was uncovered as the breasts and the navel could be observed by a stranger.

(5) Cooking an essential qualification of brides.

(6) Maidens not conversing with strangers.

(7) The process of making rice from paddy grains. *Dhēki*, popular in many parts of Bengal not mentioned.

(8) The process of cooking rice and preparing the *maṇḍa*.

(9) Utensils absolutely necessary in cooking; *sthālī*, *śarāva*, *dharvi*.

(10) Bathing and the necessities for it: *taila*, *āmalaka*.

(11) The "proper" food: boiled rice, *maṇḍa* with salt, ghee, curds with *trijātaka*, two or three *upadamśas* apparently prepared with *śāka*, *chīṇchā*, etc., *Kālaśeya*, *Kāñjikā*. Fish sweets and milk are not mentioned. *Lavaṇa* used in the preparation of *maṇḍa* was not purchased. Pepper was not in the list of purchases. A poor householder could possibly manage to get these things without going to market.

(12) The process of taking one's meals and "clearing the table."

(13) *Kākinī* was the standard small coin, and things were cheap. Husks could be sold to the goldsmiths. Charred sticks were also sold (possibly to the smiths).

The details of the story are extremely interesting, and similar other deductions are possible. India however is a vast subcontinent and her history covers many hundreds of years. The above illustration of preparing rice, of cooking food and of taking one's meals may not be true to all parts of the country and to all periods

of her history. To which part of India and to which period should we then assign the fine picture afforded by the story of Gomini?

The non-mention of *Dhēki* in connection with the unhusking of rice and the absence of fish from the menu appear to rule out Bengal. Boiled rice as principal food and the conspicuous silence regarding wheat in any form hardly suit any other part of Northern India. What however we know of modern Madras food, especially with reference to *chiñchā* which is an essentially important factor in the meals of Śāktikumāra, shows that the author of the *Daśakumāracharita* actually refers to the food of the people of the Dravidian area. It is therefore with purpose that the author describes the hero of the story as an inhabitant of Kāñchī in the Dravīdadeśa and the heroine as hailing from a place on the southern banks of the river Kāverī. The intimate knowledge of Dravidian domestic life on the part of the author makes it almost certain that he was a southerner. The tradition that Daṇḍin flourished in the Dravidian region (S. K. Aiyangar, *Some Contributions of South India to Indian Culture*, pp. 205-207) is thus supported by the *Daśakumāracharita* ascribed to him.

The age to which our picture should be assigned may be determined by the date of the *Daśakumāracharita* and of its author. Keith says, "If, for reasons which will be given later, we place the *Kāvyādarśa* definitely before Bhāmaha (c. A.D. 700), there is no reason to assert that he wrote much earlier and the chief impression conveyed by the *Daśakumāracharita* is that its geography contemplates a state of things anterior to the empire of Harshavardhana, and that its comparative simplicity suggests a date anterior to the work of Subandhu and Bāṇa" (*Hist. Sans. Lit.*, pp. 296-97). The *Daśakumāracharita* mentions the cities, Valabhī and Kalinganagara, (Calcutta ed., pp. 275, 289) and this fact is sufficient to assign its author to a period later than A.D. 500; because the history of the Maitrakas who founded Valabhī and of the Gangas who founded Kalinganagara cannot be traced to an age much earlier than that date. The author of the work generally deals with imaginary and unhistorical characters; but if we think that, since he was a southerner, his reference to Jayasimha, king of the Āndhra country (ib., p. 300) may have a grain of historicity, the *Daśakumāracharita* can be assigned to the 7th century A.D. For there was actually an Āndhra king named Jayasimha (I) who ruled in c. 633-63 A.D.

In any case the picture of domestic life we have drawn in the present paper is to be ascribed to the Dravidian land and to the 6th or 7th century A.D.

Annals of Old Madras

JUDGE-ADVOCATES: ADMIRALTY COURT.

By

K. NARASIMHACHARI, M.A.

Sir John Biggs, Kt.

SIR JOHN BIGGS, Kt., Recorder of Portsmouth, was appointed in 1687 Judge-Advocate of the Court of Admiralty erected at Fort St. George under the Charter dated August 9, 1683, granted to the East India Company. By that Charter the Governor and Council were empowered to establish Courts of Judicature at such place or places as the Company might direct, to consist of one Person learned in the Civell Laws and two assistants to be appointed by the Company. This Court was mainly erected to enable the Councils at the Chief Indian Settlements to deal with interlopers and to hear Admiralty cases i.e., to hear and determine all cases of forfeiture of ships or goods trading contrary to the Charter, and also mercantile and maritime cases concerning persons coming or being in the places aforesaid and all cases of tresspasses, injuries and wrongs done or committed upon the High Seas or in any of the regions, territories, countries or places aforesaid, concerning any persons residing, being, or coming within the limits of the Company's Charter. These cases were to be adjudged and determined by the Court, according to the rules of equity and good conscience, and according to the laws and customs of merchants, by such procedure as they might direct, and, subject to any such directions as the Judges of the Court should, in their best judgment and discretion, think meet and just.

No person learned in the Civell Law was sent to Madras in pursuance of this Charter because, as stated in the Postscript to the Despatch, arrangements could not be at once made for nominating the person learned in the Civell Law. So the Agent and Governor or President of the Council, as the Governor was in those days called, was appointed to supply the place of the Judge-Advocate till one should arrive.

The Despatch reached Madras by way of Surat on April 29, 1684. Gyfford was then the Agent at Fort St. George. To his

mind the Despatch occasioned the silencing of the existing Court of Judicature established in 1678 consisting of the Governor in Council. At the same time he did not accept the office of the Judge-Advocate. He intimated to the Directors that he could not without precise directions and acquaintance "with the methods" of the intended procedure, personally supply the place of the Judge-Advocate and the difficulty was met by inaction. There were loud complaints and disturbances in the absence of any Court for administering justice. So the Court of Judicature which Gyfford thought had been silenced was revived and it was resolved that it should continue "till the Judge-Advocate..... arrive....."

In 1686 James II granted another Charter to the Company. In this Charter the provisions of the Charter of 1683 with respect to the Company's Admiralty Court were repeated with some modifications.

Even then no person "learned in the Civell Law" was sent to Madras. On July 10, 1686, the Court of Admiralty was, however, established with Mr. John Gray as Judge of the Admiralty and Messrs. John Littleton and Nathaniel Higginson as his Assistants. All three were Civil Servants and Members of Council. In the following February Mr. John Hill, a factor, was appointed "Attorney-General for the Admiralty Court."

At length a Judge-Advocate "learned in the Civell law" was appointed from England in the person of Sir John Biggs "lately Recorder of Portsmouth." The decision of Lord Chief Justice Jeffries in 1685 of the great case of Monopolies East India Company vs. Sandys (10 State Trials 371) in favour of Company as having a right of action against interlopers seems to have encouraged the company to send a Judge-Advocate to Madras. Sir John reached Madras on July 22, 1687 with his Family and was accorded a public reception.

On Thursday, July 28, 1687, according to appointment the President, Council, etc., this morning with a Guard accompanied Sir John Biggs to the Town Hall, where after reading of His Commission from the Right Hon'ble Company for the erecting of a Court of Admiralty, and being Judge-Advocate thereof, he took the Oath for the Due Administration of Justice and Discharge of his Place and made a satisfactory and Judicious Declaration of the Authority and Constitution of that Court and of the Right Hon'ble Company's Great and Good designs therein, which was also approved

and recommended by the President and Council and Proclamation made for all Persons to apply themselves to Him for Justice and a Court to be held on Friday next. Mr. Thomas Wavell and Mr. Nathaniel Higginson, former Assistants to Mr. Gray, were also appointed to his assistance, according to the tenour of the Commission. Mr. Edward Tredcroft was also sworn in Register of the Court, the keys of which with all the Books and Records belonging thereto, ordered to be delivered to his charge, after which all returned to the Fort, when after congratulating the Judge-Advocate to his Place, the President and Council delivered him one of the Right Hon'ble Company's Seales for the use of that Court, desiring his care thereof.

Oath of the Judge-Advocate

You Do Swear that You Will Well Duely and Truly and Indifferently Administer Justice, as well between Our Soveriegne Lord the KING OF GREAT BRITAIN, and the People here, as between Party and Party, as well to the Poor as Rich, according to Equity and Good Conscience and as the Nature and Circumstances of the matter and place will admit, as near as may be, according to the Good Established Lawes of England, you will not destroy nor injure any in life, nor spare any for favour, affection or influence from any whomsoever. You will not take nor suffer to bee taken for you, any bribe, whereby to pervert Justice, but shall in all things do strictly and uprightly, according to the best of your skill and power, so help you God.

The Court of Admiralty was held at the Town Hall, Fort St. George. The Town Hall was the adapted Chamber at the Choultry Gate. Its dimensions were too restricted for convenience. Very soon it came to be held in the Admiralty House in Fort St. George, which is now the Office of the Accountant-General. Because of lack of sufficient accommodation at the Fort House, many of the state functions and entertainments were held in this building from about the beginning of the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Its principal room is on the first floor, measuring 75' by 33' and is 30' high. After the construction of the Banqueting Hall at about the beginning of the nineteenth century this hall became superfluous and was allotted to the Board of Revenue.

Sir John sat third in Council, received a salary of £100 per annum and had "his personal diett att the Generall Table." This does not compare favourably with that of Dr. St. John, Doctor of Civell Law, and Judge-Advocate of the Admiralty Court at Bombay

whose "salary" was fixed at £200 a year, though it was subsequently reduced to £100 on account of the Judge's conduct. In 1675 the Judge at Bombay was given a salary of £120 a year. He was also allowed a horse or palkhi "with a Sumbreira boy" (umbrella boy) and a gown yearly at the Company's charge.

Salmon tells us "The Judge-Advocate has a salary of £100 per annum but makes as good a figure with it as a Lord Chief Justice with £ 2000 per annum in England. The Attorney-General, as he is called, has no more than £23 per annum but he must be a very dull fellow if he don't improve his fortune."

In Madras the Jurisdiction of the Court of Admiralty was not limited to Admiralty Cases proper. The Court also acted as a General Court of Judicature and even as the Supreme Court of the Settlement, Sir John presided at the Quarter Sessions as well as at an occasional Court Martial. He was an able and independent Judge. He had the assistance of the Company's servants but his was the predominating voice. He had the advantage of being personally known to Sir Josiah Child, a Director of the Company, who had made a fortune as victualler to the Navy at Portsmouth. His work and personality doubtless gained Child's confidence. From the outset the Company reposed exceptional confidence in him.

Sir John made it a Rule of Court that all Actions shall be tried or condemned within 4 Court dayes.

He also made it a Rule of Court that "For the better Security of the inhabitants and absent creditors," and equall division be made of the estates of insolvent debtors.

After October 27, 1687 Sir John not having much Law business for the time being, it was ordered that He take the Charge of 'receiving the Citty Revenues, and that the Land Customer, the Registerar and a Writer bee appointed with his assistance therein.'

Sir John was not only Judge of the Court of Admiralty but also Recorder of the Mayor's Court erected in 1688. This latter court was only adopted as a means to an end. It was intended to be an effective machine for imposition and collection of house taxes which the inhabitants refused to pay in 1686 and resorted to 'strike' methods, such as abandoning their duties, closing up their shops and hindering the passage of provisions to the Settlement. The Company sent in as a model a copy of the Charter

granted to the borough of Portsmouth "where," they, wrote "Sir John Biggs was Recorder and therefore understands well not only that constitution but the practicall way of proceeding in it."

The clauses of this Charter of the Mayor's Court dated December 30, 1687 relative to the appointment of the Recorder run thus :

"And Our further Mind and Will is and We do hereby grant and ordain for Us and Our Successors to the said Mayor, Aldermen and Burgesses and their Successors, that the said Mayor and Aldermen may elect and nominate from Time to Time one discreett Person skilfull in the Laws and Constitutions made by Us or hereafter to be made by Us for the good Government of Our Town of Fort St. George and Citty of Madras-patnam and all the inhabitants thereof, to be Recorder of the said Corporation, who is always to be an Englishman born and Our Covenant Servant at the Time and during all the Time of his being Recorder of the said Corporation and is to have Place and Session next after the Mayor for the Time being, and to be Assistant to the Mayor in trying, judgeing, and sentenceing all Causes of any considerable Value or Intricacy when he can be present from other more weighty Affairs; and he is always to have, when he can be present, Vote and Suffrage in the said Court of Aldermen as if he were actually nominated by Us or elected according to the Form aforesaid to be One of the Aldermen of the said Corporation; and he is before he enters upon the Exercise of his said Office of Recorder to take the same Oath of Allegiance to His Majesty Our Sovereign, and Fidelity to Us, and that he will truly excute the office of Recorder as other Officers aforesaid have respectively or ought to do."

* * * * *

"And we do hereby concede and appointed that Sir John Biggs, Knight, Judge of Our Supreme Court of Judicature aforesaid, shall be the First and Modern Recorder of the Corporation aforesaid, and shall and hath hereby Power to do and execute all things that belong to the Duty of Recorder."

In the procession at the time of the opening of the Mayor's Court on Saturday September 29, 1688 the Recorder is assigned a place next to the President and the Mayor. It is further stated that the President administered the dates to the Mayor and Recorder for their due performance of their Places and then the Mayor and the Recorder did the like to the Aldermen and Burgesses in their several Manner and Forms. A while after they went to a handsome Dinner and about three in the evening the

whole Coporation marched in their Several Robes with the Maces, two in number before the Mayor to the Town Hall.

The Court of Admiralty was authorized to hear appeals from the Mayor's Court.

At a consultation held on March 4, 1689 it was ordered as follows :

"There being great business depending in the Court of Admiralty, and not such punctual attendance given there as ought to be, it is agreed and ordered by Us the President and Council, that whoever of the Judge or Justices of the said Court does not appear there precisely by Nine of the Clock in the Morning on the appointed Court Dayes without an absolute necessity or great reason prevent, shall forfeit Five Pagodas for every such Default, one half whereof come to the Hon'ble Company and the other towards Court charges."

Early in 1689 nine Englishmen suspected to be Pyrats were brought from Pulicat. They were for some time under confinement "and strictly examined in the Court of Admiralty." But there was no confession on evidence against them. The Judge of the Admiralty therefore advised that "there is no other course or means left to discover their guilt but by pardoning two of them to witness the rest." So at a Consultation dated March 18, 1689 it was "agreed and ordered that according to His Majesties Charter, a Pardon be granted and that afterwards their examination be taken in the Court of Admiralty and that the rest be tryed by a Court Martiall, if there be cause found against them."

At a Consultation held in April 1689 it was ordered that at the trial of eight pyrates "Sir John Biggs doe sett President, the Governor being very buisy." On this occasion of the Pyrates two were condemned to Death and six branded with a letter 'P' at the Execution Post under the Fortpoint, and Guards were drawn up to be Spectators of the said examples.

Supervision of this trial was the last official act of Sir John Biggs for he expired a few days afterwards (21-4-1689) of a feavor¹ Lady Jane Biggs died of small-pox a year earlier (24-3-1688). Sir John left his estate by will to his "two sonnns"

1. "The Almighty" runs a letter from Fort St. George to the E. I. Co. "was yesterday pleased to take Sir John Biggs to his rest from this restless world by the malignity of a few days feavor."

who were named as Executors, and his body to be enterred with his good lady and Daughter."²

The Court of Admiralty ceased to operate with the death of the judge. It was declared extinct.

John Dolben

The Admiralty Court declared extinct with the death of its judge Sir John Biggs Kt., was revived with the appointment of John Dolben as Judge-Advocate on January 22, 1692.

In the Interim a Superior Court of Judicature was constituted in the following manner under these circumstances. 'The Inhabitants and other Merchants being greatly dissatisfied for the Want of Justice to their agrievances and complaints, there being since the death of Sir John Biggs no Court of Judicature for the final determination of Causes, the Mayor's Court by their Charter not being to exceed a final judgment of Three Pagodas; all Persons having liberty to appeal from thence to the Court of Admiralty, which occasioning great troubles to the President, from their many complaints, which himself and Council as soe qualified are not by the Charter authorized to receive or redress appeals, but that it must be done by a Court of Judicature appointed for that purpose, consisting of a Judge-Advocate and two Justices, it being therefore now absolutely necessary that a Superior Court of Judicature be erected and kept for the Good of the Government and satisfaction of the inhabitants, to the encouragement of trade and merchandize which cannot be without a free and full execution of Justice.'

In this emergency the Governor Elihu Yale functioned as Judge-Advocate pending an appointment from England. Messrs. Thomas Grey and William Hatsell, Members of Council, were his assistants on the bench. With them were to be associated two merchants, one an Armenian and the other A Hindu, to assist them in regard to native languages, laws and customs. It was therefore resolved that "Senor Gregorio Paroan, a Knowing Judicious Armenian Merchant, be also a Justice of this Court to enquire into Causes that happen from his own Nation and all other Forreigners, he being well verst in their languages and Customs; and that Allingall Pillai,

2. That daughter Jane had in 1688 married John Gray, a Civil Servant (formerly a Judge of the Admiralty Court), but had predeceased her father.

the Hon'ble Company's Merchant, a wise and able Jentue to be another Justice of this Court to appear for the Natives, as well Jentues, Moores and Mallabars; Mr. Daniel Du Bois was appointed 'Attorney Generall' for the Superior Court of Judicature (6-6-1690). Constituted in this manner the Court subsisted till 1692 when the Company sent out a Judge-Advocate (22nd January 1692) in the person of John Dolben.

This is what Mr. Fawcett has to say of this judge:

"His Commission is dated 15th February 1692 (L.B. Vol. 9, pp. 222-223). Though he is described as a Merchant and was appointed a writer (Court Book of 26th February 1692 and 2nd March 1692, Vol. 36, pp. 101-103), he probably had legal training. He was not the John Dolben, the son of the Archbishop of York, who was called to bar at the Temple and afterwards went to the West Indies (Dictionary of National Biography Vol. 15, p. 192); but he was probably a member of the same family, as Gilbert Dolben of the Inner Temple, who was the elder son of Archbishop, was one of his sureties to the Company (Court Book Vol. 36, p. 101)."

The tenure of office of Mr. John Dolben was brief. The East India Company filed a suit against Elihu Yale (late President) and others claiming Rs. 50,000 which he was alleged to have extorted from certain merchants. Yale contended that the Court, consisting of Dolben and two Assistants, who were members of Council, had no jurisdiction to try the case except by a Jury in accordance with the Laws of England. His contention was overruled on two grounds, firstly, that the Charters of 1683 and 1686 required cases to be determined by the Court itself and not by Juries, and secondly, that the latter method was 'wholly impracticable,' for want of a sufficient number of Europeans capable of discharging the duties of Jurors. The second reason was a weak one, in view of the past practice of the Court of Judicature which had tried civil, as well as criminal cases by Jury for nearly 9 years; but the first was unimpeachable. The suit was tried in January 1693. Judge Dolben had declared that the Company's claims were set aside by the Statute of Limitations; and was moreover found guilty of receiving bribes for favouring causes. Accordingly on the 14th of September 1694 it was resolved that "he is hereby dismissed from the Right Hon'ble Company's service till their Honours' pleasures be further known; and that in the meanwhile due respect be given to a person of his

quality and abilities, in consideration of which it is a trouble to us to part with him."

Not long after, the President produced an Order from the Company dated 10th April 1693 revoking the Commission given to Mr. Dolben and appointing Mr. William Fraser Judge-Advocate. Fraser was a Member of Council. Dolben subsided into private life as a Free Merchant.

The Company subsequently directed the Members of Council should serve in succession as Judge-Advocate.

Early in 1699 it was discovered that the Company had made the provision only "in the case of the death of Mr. Dolbin." It was accordingly deemed necessary to tender him the office afresh. Dolbin said that "at present he is so far engaged on a Voyage to China that he cannot, without hazard of ruining himselfe, break it of" (13th January 1699).

Mr. Styleman in consequence continued to act until he resigned the service. All the Members of Council then declined the Office in succession and it was ultimately conferred upon Mr. Thomas Marshall, the Registrar of the Court. He was elevated to the Council for supporting 'the credit of the Court' (10th July 1699).

On Marshall's return to England in 1704 it was decided that the Office of the Judge-Advocate should remain vacant. Appeals from decisions in the Admiralty Court as well as the Mayor's Court were heard by the President in Council. Admiralty Jurisdiction thereafter appears to have been exercised by the several Governors and Councils under Royal Commissions issued in conformity with the Piracy Act of 1698 and similar enactments.

Dolben seems to have finally left India in 1705. He presented the Library at Fort St. George with a good number of books.

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Last Days of Guru Govind Singh

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GURU GOVIND SINGH, the warrior-saint of the Punjab, is well known as the tenth and the last Guru of the Sikhs and as founder of the militant order of the Khalsa. But he is one of the most misunderstood great men, and no part of his life is less understood than his last days, particularly his marches towards the Deccan and his relations with Shah Alam Bahadur Shah. In this paper it is proposed to bring to light the main events leading to the first and second march to the south with a view to explaining the real motives which actuated the Guru in undertaking these long and arduous journeys.

Aurangzeb's Invitation and Guru Govind Singh's reply

After the battle of Chamkaur, 22nd December 1704, the Guru was retiring for a quieter life towards the sandy desert of Bhatinda, in the territory of the Barar Jats, when, at Dina, he received a letter from Emperor Aurangzeb inviting him to his presence in the Deccan. Detailed contents of the Emperor's letter are not traceable. The *Sakhee Book*, which gives only a summary, tells us that "Parwanas were issued to the Gooroo to the effect that 'there is only one empire and you agree with us in religious sentiments, so better come here to see us. If, you would not come, I will meet you with the army and your reputation as a devotee would be injured. You may live in my kingdom as other saints and devotees.' To this were added some haughty words as usual with the style of royal *Purwanas* and a sentence that he (Aurangzeb had the kingdom granted to him by the true God."¹

The Guru, however, told the royal messengers that he preferred to send a detailed reply to the *parwana* and would wait for a second letter from the Emperor; and if he still desired he would

gladly comply with the royal wishes.² The Guru then composed a long letter in Persian verse, called the *Zafar Nama* and entrusted it to *Bhais* Daya Singh and Dharm Singh, two of the Five-Beloved-ones, to be delivered personally to the Emperor.

Space would not admit of our reproducing the Guru's *Zafar Nama* in full or of translating it here in extenso. It is available in print. For our purpose it is sufficient to say that it is written in an admonitory form and it repeatedly tells the Emperor that he had previously been duped by the Emperor's oaths on the Quran and that he could now no longer be persuaded to rely upon them a second time. Referring, evidently, to the battles of Anandpur, Sirsa rivulet and Chamkaur, the Guru tells him that the imperialists had gone back upon their pledges and oaths and that they had fallen upon him unawares, and that the Emperor's *Bakhshis* and *Diwans* were all liars. If the Emperor were to live upto his promises the affair could be easily settled. He himself, the Guru continues, had taken to the sword as the last resort, because when all other means fail, it is lawful, he thought, to resort to it. But he was willing to enter into peace negotiations if the Emperor were to come up to the *pargana* of Kangar in the Punjab. And, he would even go down to the Deccan if the Emperor were to issue a second invitation. What the Guru wanted of Aurangzeb was honesty of purpose and truthful behaviour. "Do not wantonly spil the blood of men," wrote the Guru, "for your own blood as surely will be spilt by death... If you rely on men and gold, our eyes are fixed on God, Omnipotent; and if you pride in pelf and power, our refuge is God, Eternal."³

2. Ahmad Shah Batalia, *Zikr-i-Guruān wā Singhān wā Mazhab-i-Eshān*, 9-10.

"The Muhammadan authors assert," says Irvine on the authority of Warid, "that Guru Govind now sent in petitions to Alamgir, offering to make submission, with a promise to accept Islam." But there is nothing traceable in the mass of historical material available on Aurangzeb and Guru Govind Singh to substantiate this statement. Irvine also disbelieves Warid and says that "the story, as it stands, with these details, is not quite credible."

There are, however, some writers who only know of the Guru's *Zafar Nāmāh* and not of the Emperor's letter, inviting him to the Deccan, that preceded it. But there is internal evidence in the *Zafar Nāmāh* itself (verses, 53, 54) which points to its being a reply and not a petition or an original letter. The *Sakhi Book* and *Zikr-i-Guruān* leave no ground for conjectures and prove the *Zafar Nāmāh* to have been written in response to the Emperor's invitation.

3. According to Ahmad Shah and Kesar Singh (*Bansawali Namah*), the *Zafar Namāh* contained as many as one thousand and four hundred

1. *Sakhee Book*, trans. Sirdar Attar Singh, *Sakhee XXVIII*, p. 60-1.

Bhais Daya Singh and Dharm Singh dressed themselves as *ahdis* and set out for the Deccan. In the absence of modern means of transport and communication, it took them several months to arrive in the neighbourhood of the Emperor's camp in Ahmadnagar. Then there was another difficulty. It was of approaching the Emperor personally. Daya Singh wrote back to the Guru explaining his difficulties and seeking the Master's advice. In the meantime, however, he managed to deliver the message.⁴

On receipt of the *Zafar Namah* the Emperor dictated a letter to Wuzarit-pandh Wazir Mun'im Khan at Delhi and sent it to him with Mohammad Beg *Gurz-bardar* and Sheikh Yar Muhammad *Mansabdār*. Therein the Emperor desired the Wazir to conciliate Guru Govind Singh, invite him to Delhi and then, having conveyed the royal *farmān* to him, send him to the royal presence accompanied by a *mu'tmid* of his own and the above mentioned *Gurz-bardār* and *mansabdār*. As soon as the Guru arrived in the neighbourhood of Sirhind, the Emperor's letter continued, he (Mun'im Khan) should provide him with a guide and see him off safe beyond his own territories. Mun'im Khan was further instructed to soothe the Guru and pay him as much cash as he desired, out of his snatched property, for his travelling expenses.⁵

The Emperor dismissed the Guru's messenger Bhāi Daya Singh accompanied by his mace-bearer and the other official, and they immediately set out for the north.

verses, and traced, at some length, the history of the relations between the Sikh Gurus and the Mughal Emperors up to the time of Aurangzeb, and detailed the Guru's grievances, throwing the responsibility on the Mughal shoulders (pages 9-10). The present *Zafar Namah*, as printed in the *Dasam Granth*, has only 111 verses and deals with nothing more than the subjects enumerated in the text. It appears from the text that there is some confusion in the order of verses, and its abrupt conclusion also points to this disorder and to a suspicion that it is not complete. The Guru's original letter or its more reliable copy is unearched. The late Babu Jagannath Das, B.A., *Ratnakar* of Ayodhia wrote in the *Nagri Pracharni Patrika*, Part III, No. 2, of Shrawan 1979 B.K. (1922 A.D.), that he had obtained from Baba Sumer Singh of Patna, in about 1890, a copy of a letter of Guru Govind Singh to Emperor Aurangzeb and that it was different from the *Zafar Namah*. But that copy is now no longer known to exist, nor has it been possible to trace the one in possession of Baba Sumer Singh, whose papers on his death were scattered in untraceable places.

4. *Sainapat, Sri Gur Sabha*, 77-8. The Guru wrote in reply to Bhāi Daya Singh to have faith in Him and preserve patiently, and desired the local Sikhs to co-operate with Daya Singh (p. 78-9).

5. Inayatullah Ismi, *Akham-i-Alamgiri*, 429-30, 510.

The Guru leaves for the Deccan

The Guru also, on the other hand, left for the Deccan on the 5th of Katik 1763 B.K., October, 1706.⁶ Apparently he had not heard from the Deccan again for a long time and had no other means of information regarding the success, or otherwise, of his messenger's mission. All that he had heard from Bhāi Daya Singh was of his difficulties in approaching the Emperor and delivering the *Zafar Namah* to him. The news of Aurangzeb's failing health and continued illness were also then in the air, and his death under the weight of ninety long years was fast approaching. The Guru, therefore, it seems, thought it best to go to the Deccan himself and settle the affairs with the Emperor.

There could have been no other object of the Guru in undertaking the journey to the Deccan at this time. Several motives have in this connection been ascribed to him by his Sikh and non-Sikh biographers and, in some form or the other, they revolve round the following two central points.

Firstly, that he left for the Deccan with purely missionary intentions.

Secondly, that after the deaths of his sons, mother and a host of his Sikh followers, he felt despaired of the Punjab and the Punjabis and repaired southwards to rouse the sturdy Rajputs and valiant Marathas for the fulfillment of his mission and to find a suitable successor to continue his work.⁷

But, as we shall presently see, the course of subsequent proceedings in the life of Guru Govind Singh does not bear testimony to these conjectures.

The Guru marched to the Deccan via Bikaner and Rajputana. Passing through several places, he had arrived in the neighbourhood of Baghaur when Bhāi Daya Singh, on his way back, met the Guru and related to him his experiences in the Deccan. The Emperor's *Gurz-bardar* and the *mansabdār* had gone straight to Delhi with the royal order for Mun'im Khan while Daya Singh had returned to his Master. It was about here that the news of the death of Aurangzeb at Ahmadnagar on 28th Zilgada 1113 A.H., 20th February 1707 (O.S.) was received.⁸

6. Attar Singh, *Travels of Guru Tegh Bahadur*, Sakhi 112, p. 128-29.

7. Daulat Rai, *Guru Govind Singh*, 225-6.
Parmanand, *Tarikh-i-Punjab*.

8. *Sri Gur Sabha*, 85-6.

The Guru Returns to Delhi

As the only object which had brought the Guru so far from his country could now no longer be accomplished, he decided to return to the north. This alone is sufficient to demolish the above conjectures. If the Guru had gone thither purely for missionary purposes, there was no point in retracing his steps on the death of Aurangzeb. He should have rather gone ahead more vigorously with his work, as the worst of his religious enemies had now been removed and no cause of any great apprehension was left. And, if he had left the Punjab in despair, there could have been no better opportunity available to him than at the present moment to rouse and raise the Rajputs and the Marathas. The old Emperor was dead. The rightful heir Prince Mu'azzam (Bahadur Shah) was as yet far away on the North Western Frontier, with no army and no treasure, while Prince Azam, his younger brother, had proclaimed himself Emperor and was marching to the north to usurp the throne. But we find Guru Govind Singh far above personal animosities and revengeful politics. He seems to have no such thing in view. The only thing that he had in view, could not now, after the death of Aurangzeb, whom he proposed to meet in the Deccan, be accomplished. He, therefore, quietly marched back towards Delhi where his wives, Mata Sundri and Mata Sahib Devi, then lived.⁹

Prince Mu'azzam Seeks the Guru's Assistance

Prince Mu'azzam was at this time hurrying down to oppose his younger brother 'Azam, the usurper, who was coming up to the Imperial capital to establish himself there. Guru Govind Singh had by this time arrived at Delhi. On the advice of Bhai Nand Lal, devoted disciple of the Guru and a former Munshi of the Prince, the heir apparent wrote to the Guru and sought his assistance. It is true that Guru Govind Singh had with him no large army which could be of any substantial help to him. But, apparently, it was not for his strong army that he was appealed to for assistance. The Mughals on occasions like this, not unoften, looked up to saints and *faqirs* for blessings. Guru Govind Singh was a successor of Guru Nanak who was revered and looked up to by Sikhs, Hindus and Muslims like as a great saint—a man of God. Moreover, Bhai Nand Lal, who advised Mu'azzam on the subject, was himself a great devotee of the Guru and considered him next

9. *Sri Gur Sabha*, 89.

only to God. It was, therefore, more for his spiritual intercession that Bhai Nand Lal approached him on behalf of the Emperor.

Now again we find the Guru on a much higher plane. For a century his ancestors had been persecuted by those of Mu'azzam. Guru Arjan, his great grandfather, had been executed under the orders of Jehangir, his grand father Guru Hargobind had been imprisoned in the Fort of Gwalior by the same Emperor and was later on harassed by the forces of Shah Jahan. Mu'azzam's own father, Aurangzeb, had been responsible for the persecution of the seventh and eighth Gurus and for the execution of Guru Govind Singh's father, the Ninth Guru Tegh Bahadur. For over a decade and a half, the Guru himself had to suffer a great deal at the hands of 'Aurangzeb. His four sons had been sacrificed and his mother had died under most excruciating circumstances. A large number of his beloved disciples had been killed in the battles that had been forced upon him, and he had himself to seek refuge in exile. But true to his noble heritage, with all this bitter past, he promised to stand in defence of the right of Mu'azzam, and sent a small detachment of his Sikhs under the command of Dharm Singh to render him all possible assistance. The two brothers met each other in the battle of Jajau (18th June, 1707, N.S.) where the younger one, Azam, was killed and Mu'azzam became the Emperor of India with the title of Bahadur Shah.¹⁰

The Guru now returned to Delhi, while Bahadur Shah went to Agra.¹¹

The Guru Meets Bahadur Shah at Agra

After about a month's stay at Delhi, the Guru set out towards Agra. On his way he visited Muthra and Brindaban. At a distance of about four *kos* (about six miles) from Agra, he set up his camp in a garden. The Emperor's residence was about two *kos*

10. There is no mention in the Persian histories of the military assistance rendered by Guru Gobind Singh to Bahadur Shah in the battle of Jajau. This is, perhaps, because the number of the Sikhs was not large enough to attract the notice of the chroniclers, or perhaps because the Guru himself took no active part in the fighting. The account of the Guru's assistance in the text above is based on Santokh Singh's *Gur Pratap Suraj Granth*, popularly called *Suraj Prakash*, p. 6151-9), and Macauliffe's *Sikh Religion*, v. 230.

Jajau is situated between Agra and Dhaulpur, and the battle field was 4 miles north-east of the place. (Sarkar's Note in *Later Mughals*, p. I. 25).

11. *Sri Gur Sabha*, 91.

from this place. On hearing of the Guru's arrival, *Khan-i-Khanan* Mun'im Khan sent some of his men to wait upon him and to invite him to his place. The Guru gladly availed of this opportunity and paid a visit to *Khan-i-Khan* who received him with all the respect due to his high spiritual position. He proceeded to touch his feet and the Guru patted him on his back. The two had some friendly conversation, and he then retired to his own camp. It was the rainy season and there was a very heavy down-pour after the Guru had left *Khan-i-Khanan's* residence. It was perhaps, for this or some other reason that he did not see Bahadur Shah on that day.¹²

When Bahadur Shah came to know of the Guru's visit to *Khan-i-Khanan*, he invited him to pay him a visit also. On the 4th Jamadi-ul-Awwal, 1119 (23rd July 1707 O.S., and August 1707 N.S.), the Guru set out with a selected body of Sikhs to meet the Emperor. On arrival at the royal residence he left his body-guard there, and went in accompanied by only one Sikh. At the *Deorhi*, which led into the royal presence, he left that Sikh also and went in all alone. The Emperor was highly pleased to see the warrior-saint and to receive him at his court. He thanked him for the assistance he had rendered him in the battle of Jajau and offered to him as a mark of his gratitude a rich *Khillat*, including a jewelled scarf, a *dhukhdhukhi*, an aigrette, etc., worth sixty thousand rupees. The Guru called in the Sikh standing at the Gate of the *Deorhi* to the Shah's presence and had the dress of honour carried by him to his camp, and then returned to his residence.¹³

The Guru's Letter to His Sikhs in the Punjab

It appears that these visits of Guru Govind Singh, the first to *Khan-i-Khanan* and the second to Emperor Bahadur Shah, had some greater significance than mere courtesy visits. The negotiations, which had prompted him to move towards the Deccan to see Emperor Aurangzeb, seem to have now been started with the new Emperor Bahadur Shah and that the Guru soon expected to return to the Punjab, after their successful conclusion, and that he also had in view some military operations there for which he was issuing instructions to his Sikhs in the Punjab to join him on his arrival

12. *Sri Gur Sobha*, 92-94.

13. *Bahadur Shah Namah*. Entry dated 4th Jamadi-ul-Awwal, 1119, A.H., *Hukam Namah* of Guru Govind Singh dated 1st Katik 1764 B.K. (October 1707); Irvine, *Later Mughals*, I. 96; *Sri Gur Sobha*, p. 94-5; *Sri Gur Pratap Suraj Granth*, XIV, 6174-5.

in Kahlur. For this we have a very reliable piece of documentary evidence in the Guru's own letter dated Katik 1st, 1764 B.K. (first week of October 1707), written from the neighbourhood of Agra. Translation into English it reads as follows:—

From the 10th Guru

To the *Sangat* of Dhaul. You are my *Khalsa*. The *Guru* shall protect you. Repeat *Guru, Guru* (always remember the Great Master). With all happiness, we came to the *Petashah*. A dress of honour and a jewelled *dhukhdhukhi* worth sixty thousands was presented to us. With the *Guru's* grace, the other things are also progressing (satisfactorily). In a few days we are also coming. My instructions to the entire *Khalsa Sangat* is to remain united; when we arrive in Kahlur, the entire *Khalsa* should come to our presence fully armed. He who will come shall be happy..... *Sammatt* 1764, date Katik 1st.¹⁴

This letter of Guru Govind Singh is of great historical importance. In addition to the Guru's visit to Emperor Bahadur Shah, when a dress of honour was presented to him, it points to some *other things* also which "with the *Guru's* grace" were "also progressing". These *other things* could be nothing but friendly negotiations for the termination of a century-old hostile attitude of the Mughals towards the Sikh Gurus. And, from the attitude of the Emperor, the Guru seems to have gauged that they would soon be concluded to his satisfaction and that he would "in a few days" return to the Punjab. But, apparently, on his arrival in Kahlur, on his way home to Anandpur, he feared some opposition from some quarter, and it was, therefore, that he desired his *Khalsa* to meet him there fully armed for any military operation and he might in self-defence be called upon to undertake. Kahlur being situated in the Shivalik range of the Himalayas, and in the neighbourhood of the *Chakla* of Sirhind, the opposition could have come either from the Hindu Rajput hill-chiefs or from Wazir Khan, the Governor of Sirhind, his bitterest enemies in the country, the latter being ultimately responsible for the murderous attack upon the Guru at Nander in Hyderabad Deccan where he breathed his last. This letter conclusively repudiates the conjecture that the Guru had left for the Deccan because of his despair of his own people and in the hope of rousing the Rajputs and the

14. *The Panj Darya*, Lahore, October 1940, p. 17-22. A photographic copy of the original is available in the collection of the Sikh History Research Department, Khalsa College, Amritsar.

Marathas to achieve his mission. On the basis of this unassailable evidence it can now be safely asserted that the Guru would certainly have returned to the Punjab, had not the accidental change in circumstances, owing to the rebellion of Bahadur Shah's brother Kam Bakhsh, taken him to the Deccan in company with the Emperor with whom the negotiations referred to above were then still in progress.

*He Accompanies Bahadur Shah to Rajputana, and
Thence to Deccan*

According to the *Hadiqat-ul-Aqalim* of Murtaza Hussain Belgrami, some of the Imperial Amirs had for some time been clamouring for *Jagirs*, and salaries, and as Bahadur Shah had found very little money in the treasury at the time of his accession, he had not been able to reward the services of many of those who had assisted him in the victory of Jajau. *Khan-i-Khanan* Mun'im Khan at this stage advised the Emperor to annex the territories of the Kachhwhaya Rajputs and to distribute them amongst the clamouring and dissatisfied Amirs.¹⁵ This would serve a double purpose. These refractory Rajput enemies would be suppressed for ever and the friends and pillars of the Empire appeased. The suggestion appealed to Bahadur Shah and he left for Rajputana on the 12th November 1707. The Guru's negotiations do not seem to have concluded as yet. Therefore, he also accompanied the Emperor. But before the Emperor could fully subjugate the Kachhwhayas, news arrived from the Deccan that his younger brother Kam Bakhsh had raised the standard of rebellion and that it was assuming threatening proportions. Bahadur Shah, thereupon, postponed the expedition against the Rajputs and marched to the South in the 1st week of May 1708. The Guru also moved thither with a view to pursuing his object as and when he found a favourable opportunity to turn the Emperor to it. Here again another conjecture appears. Finding the Guru occasionally in the Imperial camp on its march to the Deccan, and not knowing the real object which took him that side, some writers, including Forster and Elphinstone, have conveniently followed their imagination that he must have been there only as a commandant like many others who were there) in the expeditionary force that was marching into the Deccan to crush the rebellion of Kam Bakhsh. Some later writers have further interpreted and mentioned it as his having entered into Mughal service. But as it is not substantiated by any contemporary or authenticated second-

15. *Hadiqat-ul-Aqalim*, 127-8.

ary evidence, it must be dismissed as an incredible conjecture. Even in the events in the Guru's life before and during his journey to the Deccan we find nothing but a clear contradiction of this wrongful and imaginary theory. At Agra we find the Guru, as the *Sri Gur Sabha* tells us, ordering the dress of honour, presented by the Emperor, to be carried away by a follower instead of putting it on, according to the court etiquette and practice, in the royal presence. This was a rare privilege allowed to men of religious eminence and not to any Imperial official or a servant of the state. Again during the march, we find him, separating from the Imperial camp at his will, and for any number of days, carrying on his missionary work. The *Tarikh-i-Bahadur Shahi* tells us that "Guru Govind, one of the grand-sons (descendants) of Nanak, had come into these districts to travel and accompanied the royal camp. He was in the habit of constantly addressing assemblies of worldly persons, religious fanatics and all sorts of people."¹⁶ This could certainly not have been allowed to a servant of the state proceeding on a military expedition against a threatening rebellion. But we have still stronger evidence against this conjecture. On the 5th of Ramzan 1120 A.H., 7th November 1707 (O.S.), a month after his death, a report was made to Emperor Bahadur Shah "as to the disposal of moveable property of Guru Govind Nanak. It was of considerable value and according to rule (applicable to Imperial officials and servants of the state) ought to be confiscated. The Emperor, with the remark that he was not in want of the goods of a *Darvesh*, ordered the whole to be relinquished to the heirs."¹⁷ Here the Emperor himself remembers the Guru as *Darvesh*, a saint, and not as an official or servant of the state. And this is sufficient to clear the above point.

At Nander in Hyderabad Deccan

Having crossed the Narbada, the Imperial camp arrived at Burhanpur on the Tapti which it crossed between the 22nd and 25th June 1708 (N.S.). From Burhanpur Bahadur Shah had despatched an urgent message to the Guru, who arrived in the camp there and accompanied it towards further south. The route taken from here was by Malkapur. The Banganga was crossed on the 24th August 1708 (N.S.), and the camp arrived at Nander early in September.¹⁸

16. Henry Elliot, *History of India as told by its own historians*, VII, 566.

17. *Bahadur Shah Namah*, Entry, 5th Ramzan, 1120, Irvine, *Later Mughals*, I; 90.

18. Irvine, *Later Mughals*, 158-59.

It was here at Nander that Guru Govind Singh transformed a Vaishnavite *Bairagi* Madho as, also called Lachhman Das, into a soldier of the Khalsa. On his way to the Deccan, the Guru had been warned by Jait Ram, a Dadupanthi *Sadhu* of Dadudwara (Narayana, Jaipur State), against visiting the hermitage of this *Bairagi* who, according to him, practised incantations on his visitors and took pleasure in ridiculing them. But the Guru was a disciple-successor of Guru Nanak (1469-1537) who not unoften travelled several hundred miles to bring a misguided soul to the right path. Guru Govind Singh disregarded the warning of Jait Ram and, on his arrival at Nander, repaired to the *Bairagi*'s monastery. Madho Das was not present there. The Guru occupied the only cot available there and laid himself on it to wait for him, while his Sikhs busied themselves in cooking meat for their meal. This exasperated the zealous and devoted vegetarian disciples of the Vaishnavite *Bairagi*. They ran to inform him about this strange visitor. The *Bairagi* was red with anger and his fury knew no bounds. In vain he called in the assistance of secret spirits, and in vain he exhausted all his yogic powers and occultism in trying to overturn the cot on which the Guru was seated. The Guru's mind was too strong for these things. All the efforts of the *Bairagi*, therefore, ended in failure. He then came nearer. He saw in him his Master and threw himself at his feet. The following dialogue is recorded in Ahmad Shah Batalia's *Zikr-i-Gurua wa Ibtida-i-Singhan wa Mazhab-i-Eshan*:—

Madho Das:—Who are you?

Guru Govind Singh:—He whom you know.

Madho Das:—What do I know?

Guru Govind Singh:—Think it over in your mind.

Madho Das (after a pause):—So you are Guru Govind Singh!

Guru Govind Singh:—Yes!

Madho Das:—What have you come here for?

Guru Govind Singh:—I have come so that I may convert you into a disciple of mine.

Madho Das:—I submit, my Lord.

I am a *Banda* (a slave) of yours.

The erstwhile proud and invincible *Bairagi* Mahant now became Guru Govind Singh's *Banda* (slave). The Guru clearly perceived what was yet vital in the youthful ascetic and he relumed it with Promethian fire. He availed himself of this psychological

moment, dressed and armed him like a Sikh and administered to him the Immortalising Draught, the *Amrita* of the *Khalsa*, and baptized him with all the rites of the *Pahul* ceremony. He was given the new name of Banda Singh, though throughout his life and afterwards he was popularly known, and recorded by historians, by his self-conferred title of *Banda*.¹⁹

The Guru's Death

On his journey to the south, the Guru was secretly pursued by two Pathans from Sirhind. The daily increasing closer relations between Emperor Bahadur Shah and Guru Govind Singh were a source of alarm to Nawab Wazir Khan of Sirhind. It was he who had been responsible for most of the sufferings of the Guru and his Sikhs in the past, and it was under his orders that two younger sons of the Guru were at first bricked up alive and were then butchered to death, and it was against his treacherous army that his other two sons died fighting at Chamkaur. So, it was he, who had the most to fear from these friendly relations now when it was popularly believed that the Guru was accompanying the Emperor to explore means to avenge the murder of his young sons.²⁰ In the beginning of his reign, Bahadur Shah, according to Bakht Mall, had granted a *farman* in favour of the Guru upon Wazir Khan for a sum of three hundred rupees per day. Wazir Khan had since then been looking for an opportunity to get rid of him. He had engaged a Pathan to take his life, but the plot had failed and the Pathan had fallen under the Guru's sword. Wazir Khan could easily play upon the revengeful feelings of the sons of this Pathan. He instigated them against the Guru and sent them to the Deccan with a view to putting an end to his life as and when they found an opportunity to do it.²¹ The *Chaturjugi* tells us that these Pathans at first went to Delhi and enquired about the whereabouts of the Guru from his wife Mata Sundri and then moved to the Deccan with their murderous design.

These Pathans were evidently known to the Guru and his Sikhs. They were not, therefore, suspected of any evil design on their visits to him. According to the *Sri Gur Sabha*,²² they had occasio-

19. For fuller details and authorities see Ganda Singh, *Banda Singh Bahadur*, 12-17.

20. Khushwaqat Rai, *Tarikh-i-Sikhan*, 44.

21. *Khalsa Namah* 17-19. The fact that the Guru's murderers belonged to Sirhind is mentioned in the *Chaturjugi* also.

22. *Sainapat*, 101-02.

nal visits to the Guru at the intervals of two or three days, but they could find no opportunity to attack him. At last, one evening, after the *Rahras* prayer, when the Guru was having a nap and his attendant happened to be drowsing, one of the Pathans slowly crept up to him and stabbed him in the left side, a little below the heart. But before he could deal another blow, the Guru despatched him with his sabre and his flying companion fell under the swords of the Sikhs.²³

When Bahadur Shah heard this news, he ordered one of his surgeons, Cole (or Call) by name, an Englishman, to attend to the Guru.²⁴ In a few days the wound was healed up and he was able to move about. But it appears to have been yet raw from inside when, one day, with the strength applied in pulling a stiff bow, the wound was reopened and the gush of blood weakened him beyond cure. He bade his last farewell, with the words *Wahiguru ji ka Khalsa, Sri Wahiguru ji ki Fateh*, immediately after midnight and breathed his last in the very early hours of *Katik Sudi 5, 1765 Bikrami, October 7, 1708 A.D.*²⁵

23. Several theories regarding the motive of the attack have been advanced by writers on the subject. According to some the Guru himself instigated the Pathans to avenge the death of their father, while according to the *Tarikh-i-Bahadur Shahi*, "certain expressions, unfit for the ears of the faithful, fell from the mouth of the Guru. The Afghan was enraged, and regardless of the Guru's dignity and importance, he gave him two or three stabs with a knife and killed him." Daulat Rai in his *Swaneh-umri Guru Govindh Singh* accuses the Emperor himself for having instigated his to murder to get rid of him. There are some writers according to whom this was the result of the exchange of hot words on the settlement of accounts regarding the purchase of horses. These theories are apparently put forward by Sikh and non-Sikh writers with different motives, but they cannot stand the test of historical scrutiny and must be dismissed as incredible.

24. Dhian Singh. *Daswen Patshah ka Antam Kautak*, 4.

25. *Sri Gur Sobha*, etc.

Music

By

Lokaśevāparāyaṇē,

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INDIAN Music whether vocal or instrumental is such a vast subject that mastery of proficiency in it can be acquired only by constant practice and whole-hearted devotion to its study by those who have got the talent or the necessary aptitude for it. Professionals devote their life-time to cultivation of this divine art and yet may not attain complete mastery or success in it. Master musicians and composers are few and far between. One can almost count them on the tips of one's fingers, as we say. Apparently therefore the demands that goddess Saraswathi makes on her disciples must be high and arduous, or her blessings are hard to win. It is a strange fact that though the presiding Divinity of Music is feminine, we do not hear of a single woman composer in South India though a few have made their mark as singers only. Yet I dare say that women votaries are not wanting in numbers. Very few so far have attained pre-eminence. It is perhaps because that musicians like poets are born and not made.

Music as we all know contributes largely to the harmony of life. If rightly cultivated music acts as one of the most potent factors which can inspire us with lofty thoughts and impel us to noble actions. I do not think there is any one among us, man or woman, who has not felt at one time or other of his or her life, the soothing, elevating and soul-stirring influence of good music. It exerts such influence because Music is divine and imperishable. Even dumb animals, nay, inarticulate nature herself, according to oriental belief, readily respond to the magic spell of music. *Siṣurvēṭṭi paṣurvēṭṭi vēṭṭi gānaraśam phaṇiḥ*. It appeals to us so strongly and powerfully because music is the expression of our deepest and noblest thoughts and feelings. It is the main channel to pour forth our love, gratitude and praises at the feet of the Lord. The simplest songs sung with feeling are the most touching.

Though it is true that the power to sing like the power to compose or draw or paint is a natural gift to be cultivated if it is present but not to be created, yet it is not the whole truth. There is that art instinct in all of us which by early attention can be roused and developed to a high degree, at least to a degree which will enable us to discriminate between what is beautiful and what is not beautiful, what is pleasing and melodious from what is discordant and jarring. To appreciate music and other kindred arts the ear, the eye, and the hand require to be trained properly and systematically. The foundation for this is of course to be laid in our schools and carried on through colleges. It is a step in the right direction that our modern universities have provided for cultural courses in music and other allied subjects, especially to women candidates. The institution of diploma courses and public examinations apart from academic studies are a great help and encouragement to boys and girls as well as to men and women to qualify themselves as music teachers, if they want to or simply to learn and cultivate their talent for pleasure and enjoyment. A music graduate may not be able to compete with a professional musician or a singer. But any day he or she is a social asset and is bound to shine in a Drawingroom or a Tea Party or may relieve the monotony of a dull evening at home or outside.

After the period of learning is over novices must seek chances of improving their knowledge and performance by listening to good music. Now-a-day the Gramophone and the Radio are doing great services in affording the much needed opportunities to bring good music within the reach of all. Music has not only become more popular but its general standard also among laymen has been appreciably raised. I believe there is great future for music as well as for other Fine-Arts. Let me conclude by quoting from Longfellow's *Evangeline*. Describing the beautiful character of the heroine the poet says, "when she had passed, It was like the ceasing of exquisite music."

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Peshwa Madhav Rao I's Last Carnatic Expedition

By

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PESHWA MADHAV RAO I (1761-1772) led four expeditions to the Carnatic :—(1) January–June, 1762; (2) October, 1763–June, 1765; (3) October, 1766–June, 1767; (4) October, 1769–June, 1772. In the present paper we shall deal with the history of the fourth expedition.

In 1769 Haidar Ali violated the agreement of 1767 by evading the Peshwa's demands for the payment of the arrears of tribute and by levying contributions upon some of the Poligars tributary to the Marathas.¹ As early as February, 1769, Nizam Ali proposed that his forces should join the Marathas and fight with Haidar for realising the amount which he had agreed to pay in 1767.² It appears that the Peshwa advanced as far as Devarayadurga within April, 1769. He decided to leave in the Carnatic a strong detachment of troops under an experienced general to deal with Haidar's aggressive activities. To his surprise, however, he found that neither Gopal Rao Patwardhan nor Trimbak Rao Pethe was willing to remain there; they feared that they would not be supported by an adequate force to cope with so formidable an enemy. Other commanders also made excuses. The rains had already set in, and the treasury of the camp was exhausted.³ So the Peshwa returned to Poona. It seems that he could not make any satisfactory arrangement for checking Haidar during the rainy season.

Haidar naturally took advantage of the Peshwa's departure to renew his aggressions. Mir Reza, his brother-in-law, who had accepted the Peshwa's service in 1767, re-joined Haidar and expelled a Maratha officer named Mahimaji from Bagepalli.⁴ Mahimaji retreated towards Kadapa, but finding that no assistance was available from the Nawab of that district, he went to Gutti. No help was available there, too; so he moved to Anantapur, the ruler

1. Grant Duff, *History of the Marathas*, Vol. II, Chap. VII.

2. *Selections from the Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. 37, Letter No. 163.

3. S.P.D., 37; 170.

4. A Taluq in the Kolar District. (Rice, *Mysore*, Vol. II, p. 117).

of which had formerly promised assistance. In the meanwhile Mir Reza besieged Talpula. Rakhamaji Bhonsle resisted him for about a month. Haidar himself came there and his Hindu envoy persuaded Rakhamaji to visit him in his camp. Haidar treacherously arrested him and beheaded some of his attendants. Leaving a post at Talpula, Haidar and Mir Reza advanced towards Kadapa. The ruler of Anantapur became alarmed and refused to assist Mahimaji. Mahimaji proceeded to Harihar, where he received a letter from the Peshwa asking him to make preparations for resisting Haidar. This energetic officer tells us that Haidar's intention was to recover Hoskote, Ballapur, Channarayadurga, Maddagiri, Sira and the territory of Murar Rao.⁵

Murar Rao had incurred Haidar's displeasure by assisting the English in the First Anglo-Mysore War. In September, 1769, Haidar advanced against him. Gopal Rao warned Murar Rao not to see Haidar nor submit to him. Murar Rao disregarded this warning and purchased peace by promising to pay Rs. 50,000 as tribute.⁶ As Wilks says,⁷ "The deep and determined animosity of these rival adventures was veiled by an intercourse of pretended reconciliation, and confirmed by a personal interview, and an interchange of costly presents." Sometime later the Nawab of Savanur also pacified Haidar by secretly paying him a large sum. This transaction did not remain unknown to the Marathas.⁸

Although Haidar was thus encroaching upon the Maratha sphere⁹ on all sides, he was simultaneously trying to prevent by negotiations the arrival of the Peshwa in the Carnatic. Madhav Rao demanded 40 lakhs as tribute, in addition to the money realised by Haidar from Maratha vassals like the ruler of Chitradurg. He also demanded the surrender of Mir Reza and the restoration of Gurramkonda which had been given to him in 1767. In August, 1769, Appaji Ram, Haidar's envoy, offered to pay 10 lakhs immediately, to surrender Mir Reza as hostage for 16 lakhs, and to pay

5. S.P.D., 37; 172.

6. Khare, *Aitihāsik Lekha Samgraha*, Vol. III, Letters No. 814, 815, and 818.

7. *Historical Sketch of the South of India*, Vol. II, p. 131.

8. Khare, III, pp. 1379-1380. See Wilks, II, p. 132.

9. Wilks, (II, p. 129) says that Haidar's aim was to collect money for the coming campaign; he knew that the Peshwa's visit was "not relinquished but deferred."

14 lakhs next year.¹⁰ Madhav Rao refused to accept these terms, dismissed the envoy,¹¹ and continued his preparations for war.

Haidar tried to create trouble for the Peshwa by instigating Raghunath Rao and Janoji Bhonsle to revolt against him. But on this occasion he was disappointed. Raghunath was a closely guarded prisoner, and Janoji refused to fall in the trap.¹²

Gopal Rao, who had already collected troops at Miraj, advanced southward and encamped at Nalgund.¹³ The Peshwa left Poona in October¹⁴ and proceeded directly towards Seringapatam. A detachment of 10,000 troops was placed under Gopal Rao and Anand Rao Raste to watch Haidar's movements.¹⁵ It seems that the large Maratha army was made up of about 75,000 troops and 50 guns.¹⁶

Wilks says,¹⁷ "The military talents of Madoo Row were certainly of a high order; and Hyder did homage to those talents" by refusing to confront him in the open field. He followed his old plan of devastating his own territory. While he personally supervised the construction of fortifications around his camp at Oraganeni in Bednore, his son Tipu was sent to Seringapatam "to collect all the straw and wood that was possible and to burn all that could not be removed, to fill up the wells and ponds and to give notice to the people to retire from the villages into the larger towns."¹⁸

The proceedings of the Peshwa, says Wilks,¹⁹ "seemed to abandon the ordinary routine of Mahratta plunder, and to point to

10. Khare, III, pp. 1377-1378. See the discussion of the curious basis of these claims in Wilks, II, pp. 133-134. Wilks says that Haidar offered only 12 lakhs.

11. Khare, III, Letter No. 596.

12. S.P.D., 20; 237, 283, 289.

13. Khare, III, Letter No. 806, pp. 1378-1379.

14. S.P.D., 37; 174, 175.

15. S.P.D., 37; 182, 184, 185, 187.

16. Khare, III, p. 1383.

17. II, p. 132.

18. Eloi Joze Correa Peixoto, *History of Hyder Ali Khan*, Book V, Article 167. Peixoto, a Portuguese, was an officer in Haidar Ali's army from 1759 to 1771. He gives reliable accounts of his master's military operations in his book. This book was written in Portuguese, but there is an English translation by an unknown writer. My references are to this unpublished translation preserved in the British Museum.

19. II, p. 135.

the fixed conquest of the whole country. Among other arrangements he was accompanied by garrisons regularly organised, and independent of his field force, for the occupation of the principal posts." As he proceeded he occupied many posts²⁰—Budihal, Kandikere, Handikere, Chiknayakanhalli, Bhairabdurga, Nagamangala, Ballapur, Nandigarh, and others. All these successes were won in two months—January and February, 1770. The Peshwa's infantry served him well, and he personally supervised the operations in many cases.²¹

Haidar, however, remained apparently undisturbed even after the loss of so many posts.²² Towards the close of January he marched towards Seringapatam. In order to elude the Marathas his troops marched without baggage. On his way there was an engagement²³ between him and a Maratha detachment led by Gopal Rao and Anand Rao Raste. The Maratha force consisted of 15,000 horse; Haidar had 2,000 horse and 6000 foot. The Marathas had no artillery; Haidar had 16 small pieces. The Marathas were compelled to retreat, and their camp was plundered. Haidar continued his journey. On reaching Seringapatam he collected all his treasures from other forts. As Peixoto²⁴ says, "No other fort in Haidar's dominions has a neighbourhood so fit as this for the encampment of a powerful army that requires many necessities for its subsistence, particularly the three essential ones—provisions, water, forage. Provisions for 12 years are laid up here. There is no lack of water, for the Kaveri runs close by the walls and the fort is in an island."

In the meanwhile the Peshwa, so successful in his military operations, was encountering many difficulties.²⁵ There was no money. There was no fodder. There was no water. His own health was gradually giving way. He found Bangalore too strong

20. S.P.D., 37; 180, 192-199.

Khare, III, pp. 1384-1385, 1388-1392.

Peixoto, VI, 5, 6, 38, 39, 40, 41, 44.

21. Khare, III, p. 1392.

22. Peixoto, V, 174.

23. Peixoto, V, 174, 175, 183, 185-196.

S.P.D., 37; 108.

Khare, III, pp. 1393-1397.

24. VI, 46.

25. S.P.D., 37; 200, 201.

Khare, III, p. 1398.

Madras Military Consultations, Vol. 38, p. 277. (Haidar Ali's letter.)

for attack.²⁶ So in April he decided to return to Poona. His camp was naturally full of despair; every one felt that no general could fill up the vacant place and teach Haidar a lesson that he would remember.²⁷

In April the strong forts of Devarayadurga and Nidugal were captured.²⁸ Then the Peshwa started for Poona, leaving Trimbak Rao Pethe at the head of the Carnatic army²⁹ to continue the war against Haidar Ali. For the next two years Trimbak Rao kept the Maratha flag flying over Haidar Ali's territories. He was assisted by Gopal Rao and Murar Rao (who had already cut off his connections with Haidar Ali).

Peixoto³⁰ gives us a good account of the relative positions of the two powers in 1770—"The Marathas have not only the greatest force on their side, but the prayers of all the people, who everywhere without exception are robbed and harassed (by Haidar) and (are) under a weight of contribution that it is not possible for them to bear. The Nabob has a large force but not to be compared with that of the Marathas. It consists of 15,000 men with fire arms, 12,000 horse and 2000 rocket boys. He has 60,000 matchlock men, but these are necessary to guard the forts and are troops used to fight behind walls or in woods. But the Marathas can bring into the field 300,000 horse, besides their infantry, who are considerable in number. In artillery the Nabob has not, as yet, the advantage, for the Marathas have much more. The Nabob's advantage is that all his troops are better disciplined. But if he resolves to give battle in the plain or to retire into any stronghold, he is ruined."

After the departure of the Peshwa, Gopal Rao captured important places in the Kolar district, Trimbak Rao occupied Gurrampakonda, and Trimbak Suryaji wrested important stations in the Canara district.³¹ The Peshwa established a new gun factory at Poona and employed European gunners. He engaged wood-cutters in order to prevent Haidar from taking shelter in the forests

26. S.P.D., 37; 201.

Peixoto, VI, 44.

27. S.P.D., 37; 201.

28. S.P.D., 37; 203, 204, 206, 207.

29. Peixoto (VI, 81, 84) says that the Peshwa left 80,000 horse and sent another detachment of 15,000 after crossing the Krishna.

30. VI, 101.

31. S.P.D., 37; 219, 220.

Sardesai, *Marathi Riyasat*, Madhya Vivag, Part IV, p. 87.

of Bednore.³² He personally proceeded towards the Carnatic, but ill-health compelled him to return to Poona.³³

In January, 1771, Gopal Rao died.³⁴ Trimbak Rao proceeded slowly through the districts of Shimoga and Tumkur, capturing forts on his way.³⁵ Towards the close of February or early in March he appeared near Seringapatam. "Hyder, whether feeling himself relieved from the superior genius of Madoo Row, or more confident in his strength from having completed the equipments of his army, resolved to make a trial of his good fortune and military skill against Trimbuc Mama."³⁶ The result was the important battle of Moti Talab³⁷ (March 8, 1771).

Moti Talab is a large tank at Tonnur in Seringapatam taluka (about 10 miles north-west of Seringapatam City). It is formed by an embankment carried across a gap between two rocky hills, which stems the water of some mountain torrents that unite their streams there. A few miles to the north lies the town of Melukote, built on rocky hills overlooking the Moti Talab and the Kaveri valley.³⁸

When Trimbak Rao came to Hebbur, Haidar suddenly appeared with a large army at Magdi.³⁹ A distance of about 15 miles separated the two armies. Haidar's plan was to make a surprise

32. Sardesai, p. 87.

33. S.P.D., 37; 219, 223, 224.

Bengal Select Committee Proceedings, March 10, 1771.

34. S.P.D., 37; 223.

35. S.P.D., 37; 226.

Sardesai, p. 89.

Wilks, II, p. 138.

36. Wilks, II, pp. 138-139.

37. We have two authentic accounts of this battle:—(1) a letter written by Trimbak Rao himself two days after the battle (S.P.D., 37; 226). (2) an extract (written by one who took part in the battle on Haidar's side) in Orme Mss., Vol. VIII, pp. 51-54. Here the date of the battle is given erroneously as "the last of April." The description of the battle as given in the *Nishan-i-Hydari* agrees substantially with what we gather from these two sources, although the Muslim writer says that this battle took place after Madhav Rao's death.

38. Rice, *Mysore*, Vol. II, pp. 271, 274.

39. Hebbur is a large village in the Tumkur district, near the frontier of the Bangalore district. Magdi is a town in the Bangalore district, near the frontier of the Tumkur district.

Rice, *Mysore*, Vol. II, pp. 82, 181.

attack on the Marathas. One night he advanced a few miles towards Hebbur, and preparing about 2000 torches, tied them to the horns of bulls. He expected that the Marathas would mistake these bulls for his troops and follow them. But Maratha spies revealed the secret, and Haidar, baffled in his attempt, took shelter in the forest of Magdi. When Trimbak Rao continued his march towards Seringapatam, Haidar left his shelter, marched by way of Naga-mangala,⁴⁰ and came to Melukote. Here he took shelter in a forest, and for some time the Marathas tried in vain to bring him out. Their cavalry encircled the forest and cut off Haidar's supplies;⁴¹ their artillery, placed at a high elevation on the hills, constantly fired. Haidar's position became so difficult that he decided to come out. One evening he ordered fires to be lighted and began to march towards Seringapatam, placing the baggage in the front and forming the army in a single line for conveniently passing the defiles leading out of the forest.⁴²

It was about dawn when Haidar's army came out of the forest. To his dismay he saw a party of the Maratha horse encamped on his right. They had found out his secret. So he prepared for a battle in the open field, which he had so long successfully tried to avoid. "He disposed his army as follows:—baggage ordered to collect themselves in as square a body as they could; the cavalry formed about them; the infantry formed about the cavalry; in this manner a grand square was formed."⁴³ He gave orders to the cavalry that should any sepoy leave his rank, he should be cut down without any questions.

Early in the morning the whole Maratha army under the personal command of Trimbak Rao appeared in Haidar's rear. Haidar fired upon the Marathas, compelled them to halt, and continued his march. About 8 o'clock the Marathas began to divide in small parties and approached in full gallop Haidar's running troops. About 9 o'clock 4000 picked Maratha horsemen attacked Haidar's rear with great fury. Although Haidar's artillery compelled them to retreat with a heavy loss, they killed "more than

40. Mysore district.

41. Trimbak Rao had 80,000 horse, and Haidar had 6,000 horse and 14,000 infantry. (Orme Mss.).

42. Orme Mss. Grant Duff wrongly describes this as a "disorderly retreat."

43. Orme Mss.

half the front rank of the rear face."⁴⁴ At about 11 o'clock 12,000 Maratha horsemen again attacked Haidar's rear; once again they were repulsed by the artillery. Two hours later the Maratha artillery arrived. Both sides now began heavy cannonades. "The artillery of the Marathas did vast execution, as Haidar's army was so close together, but Haidar's artillery, being better served, had also its advantages."⁴⁵ By this time "Haidar had very nearly reached the skirts of a hill which he seemed all the morning to be pushing for, as he never halted except during the two attacks."⁴⁶ The Marathas clearly saw the advantage this hill would give him. They divided into three bodies, the largest of which moved slowly on to Haidar's rear, the next galloped to his right, and the third to his left. A general charge followed. Haidar's left was very weak, for the worst of the sepoys were placed there. Unable to resist the Marathas, they fled for safety up the hill. Haidar's cavalry, alarmed at the flight of the sepoys, turned their back upon the Marathas and rode over the sepoys on the right to make their escape. Haidar's rear, now attacked on both sides, could not stand.

"Thus victory declared for the Marathas, and a dreadful slaughter began, as the enemy refused to give quarter. Hyder left his horse and ran immediately to the hill⁴⁷ and fell in a party of his own horse who flew with him to his capital. The Marathas, after a slaughter of two hours, were left masters of the field with all Hyder's artillery, baggage and treasure, many principal officers⁴⁸ and fifty Europeans. In this action 30 thousand men were said to have fallen, but I think there was not above 12,000 (sic), 4 on the side of Hyder and 6 on that of the Marathas."⁴⁹ So writes one who fought on Haidar's side. Trimbak Rao claims that 45 guns, about 8,000 horses, 20 or 25 elephants, treasure and jewellery were captured.

These details, collected from unimpeachable sources, make it difficult for us to agree with Colonel Wilks⁵⁰ in holding that "this

44. Orme Mss.

45. Orme Mss.

46. Orme Mss.

47. Trimbak Rao says that Haidar fled in the guise of a monk or beggar.

48. Among them was Mir Reza.

49. Orme Mss. It is not clear how the loss was heavier to the Marathas who "refused to give quarter" and carried on "a slaughter of two hours."

50. II, p. 147.

was no battle; and that although the day was lost by Hyder, it was not won by the Mahrattas." Civilians naturally hesitate to differ on purely military matters with a historian who was himself a military officer and had excellent opportunities of forming a reasonable judgment. But he himself says that this was a battle "on which the Mahrattas ground so much of their military fame, and which is the subject of general conversation among Indians of every sect."⁵¹ An engagement which excited so much interest among "Indians of every sect" can hardly be described as "no battle." Nor is it easy to see why the Marathas, who killed 4000 soldiers, captured many officers, guns, horses and elephants, and compelled Haidar himself to run away, should not be credited with a remarkable victory.

So far as the ultimate effect of this battle is concerned, we may accept the verdict of the first historian of Mysore. The Marathas failed to secure any permanent advantage from this victory. Being "more intent on plunder than improving the successes of the day," they "suffered the unarmed fugitives to reach Seringapatam on the same night, and gave to Hyder the long interval of ten days (in which they were absorbed in the division and disposal of spoil) to collect, arm, and re-form a sufficient number of men for the defence" of Seringapatam, "which had been left absolutely without the means of resistance...."⁵² When Haidar had to some extent recovered from the shock and losses of the defeat, Trimbak Rao came to Seringapatam and besieged the fort. The operations were carried on half-heartedly, and merely gave Haidar a respite which he utilised in strengthening his broken army.⁵³

Towards the close of April Trimbak Rao changed his policy. He found that the half-hearted cannonade on the fort made no impression on Haidar. He also found it difficult to procure sufficient corn and fodder for his large army.⁵⁴ So he decided to keep a detachment of 10,000 horse at Seringapatam and to send other detachments to occupy other forts and ravage Haidar's territory.⁵⁵ During the rainy season Haidar tried, not without success, to cut off the supplies of the Marathas and to attack isolated Maratha

51. II, p. 146.

52. II, pp. 148-149.

53. Wilks, III, p. 149.

54. Bengal Select Committee Proceedings, June 4, 1771.

55. Haidar's territory was so mercilessly devastated that "not a root of green herb or a blade of grass remained in the earth." (*Nishan-i-Hydari*).

posts. The Marathas suffered much due to the want of provision and fodder.⁵⁶ Haidar's fleet, under the command of Raghoji, the rebel son of Tulaji Angria, advanced towards Vijaydurg, but precautionary measures taken by the Peshwa frustrated this attempt.⁵⁷

Towards the close of 1771 a detachment of 20,000 horse came from Poona under the command of Narayan Rao, the Peshwa's brother.⁵⁸ Both the Marathas and Haidar sent *vakils* to Pondichery with proposals for a body of troops to be furnished by the French, but the French refused to participate in their quarrel. The Madras Government wrote to the Court of Directors on February 28, 1772, "It is certain that a good body of Europeans and especially artillery, to act with the Marathas, would greatly facilitate the execution of the plan it is generally believed they have formed of subduing all Hindusthan. By their numerous and superior cavalry they can ravage and lay waste countries they invade with little opposition; but they find it difficult to reduce forts of strength; for which reason they are very desirous of obtaining the assistance of Europeans. We have lately received intelligence that Madhav Rao has it in his intention to send an agent to the court of France; the agents' name is Abdul Guffoor, an inhabitant of Constantinople who was lately at Poona."⁵⁹

Whether the Peshwa ever sent any agent to France, we do not know. His illness was increasing. In April, 1772, he asked Trimbak Rao to conclude peace by whatever means possible. His treasury was exhausted, and no more money could be spared for the Carnatic expedition.⁶⁰ Trimbak Rao was instructed to take from Haidar 25 lakhs in cash and a bond for 25 lakhs and to surrender some forts.⁶¹ Haidar was "wearied with a hopeless war-

56. S.P.D., 37; 228, 229, 230.

The *Nishan-i-Hydari* gives many details about Maratha skirmishes with Tipu Sultan and one of Haidar's commanders named Muhammad Ali. The chronology is so defective that it is difficult to determine, in the absence of corroborative Maratha evidence, how far these details are reliable.

57. S.P.D., 37; 231.

58. Bengal Select Committee Proceedings, January 10, 1772.

59. Madras Record Office document.

60. During the period of two years (after the Peshwa's departure in the summer of 1770), Trimbak Rao spent one crore and forty-nine lakhs.—S.P.D., 37; 234.

61. S.P.D., 37; 233.

fare, and mourning over the destruction of his resources;"⁶² but the news of the Peshwa's illness emboldened him.⁶³ He agreed to pay 25 lakhs in cash and 6 lakhs in jewellery, and promised to pay 19 lakhs more in three years.⁶⁴ The Marathas retained Sira, Maddagiri, Gurramkonda, Great Ballapur, Kolar and Hoskote, with their dependencies;⁶⁵ but Trimbak Rao regretted the necessity of surrendering places like Nandigarh, Little Ballapur and Devarayadurga. "These places," he wrote to the Peshwa, "were taken by you, and they will never again come to us. Haidar will now fortify these places, and play treachery in our territory which lies near these forts."⁶⁶

The Maratha army began its march to Poona in June.⁶⁷ This expedition—the longest of Madhav Rao's Carnatic expeditions—cannot be described as unsuccessful. As Wilks points out, Haidar's northern boundary was reduced within narrower limits than those which had been possessed by the Hindu princes of Mysore at the beginning of the century.⁶⁸ Still greater successes could have been won if Trimbak Rao had not failed to exploit the situation arising out of the battle of Moti Talab. The Peshwa's fatal illness and the chronic financial difficulties of the Marathas furthered Haidar's course no less than his ingenuity and his disciplined troops.

62. Wilks, II, p. 151.

63. S.P.D. 37; 233.

64. S.P.D., 37; 233. Wilks (II, p. 151) gives a different account, which is rejected by Grant Duff (Vol. II, Chap. VII).

65. Wilks, II, pp. 151-152.

66. S.P.D., 37; 233.

67. Madras letters to Court of Directors, June 20 and July 7, 1772.

68. II, p. 152.

NOTE.—For the history of the Peshwa's negotiations for assistance with the Government of Madras during this war, see the present writer's paper on "Peshwa Madhav Rao I's Relations with the English" in *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, Calcutta Session, 1939*.

The Commercial Residency of Patna

(BASED ON UNPUBLISHED RECORDS)

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DURING the mercantile days of the East India Company, there was a considerable factory at Patna, and large quantities of piece goods, opium, saltpetre and sundry other things were purchased through that factory on account of the Company's investment. In the last quarter of the eighteenth century, a commercial resident was stationed at Patna, from which the Company's factory, with its subordinate *aurungs* came to be known as the Commercial Residency of Patna.¹ The Commercial Resident of Patna served as an agent for providing the Company's investment and as head of their commercial affairs in the province of Bihar. As such his jurisdiction extended over the city of Patna and the districts of Bihar,² Shahabad, Saran and Trihut.³

The mode of providing the cloth investment at Patna did not at first materially differ from that of the other residencies. The Resident had direct dealings with the manufacturers who received advances and engaged to supply the kinds and quantity of cloths stipulated for, within a given time.⁴ But Mr. Thomason Brown,

1. There were altogether, nineteen commercial residencies in the Bengal Presidency towards the end of the eighteenth century, viz., Benares, Boalia (Rampur-Boalia), Chittagong, Cossimbazar, Dacca, Golaghar, Harial; Haripal; Jangipur, Khirpai, Kumarkhali, Lakhipur, Malda, Midnapore; Patna; Radhanagar, Rangpur, Santipur and Sonamukhi. After the acquisition by the Company of the ceded and conquered provinces, in 1801 and 1803, two more were added, viz. (i) Etawa and Calpee, (ii) Mau and Azimgarh.

2. The district of Bihar then included the present Patna and Gaya districts.

3. The District of Trihut included the present districts of Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga.

4. "Previous to the time of Mr. Brown, lately commercial agent at Patna," says Buchanan, "a gentleman whom the natives called Belver (Barbar) had entered into engagements with 2,200 of the best weavers in the

the Commercial Resident of Patna from about 1800 abolished the system of advances and established in its place that of ready money purchase. From then on the system of ready money purchase continued till the winding up of the Company's cloth factories in 1819.

Besides supplying piecegoods of different varieties,⁵ the Residency of Patna provided also a certain quantity of sugar for the purpose of investment. In the last decade of the eighteenth century, genuine efforts were made by the Company to improve the manufacture of sugar in Bihar. But the high price of the commodity consequent upon private competition and the fraudulent practices of the *pykars* made it extremely difficult for the Commercial Resident to procure a superior quality of sugar at moderate prices. As time went on, the quality of Patna sugar improved and its price also somewhat diminished. In the year 1803, the Board of Trade allotted thirty thousand sicca rupees for the Patna sugar which, however, was only one-twelfth of the sum allotted for the Benares sugar in the same year.⁶ After 1805, the Company discontinued their sugar investment not only from Patna but also from some other residencies owing to the great falling off in the demand for Bengal sugar in the foreign market.⁷

The great importance of the Patna Residency, however, rested on the large supply of saltpetre obtained from here every year. The district of Saran was noted from its saltpetre manufacture, and the Company had two saltpetre factories in that district, one at Chapra and the other at Singhia.⁸ There was also a saltpetre fac-

country round Jahanabad.... Each man on becoming bound (*Asāmi*) to the Company engaged not to work for any person; and no other advance has ever been made by the commercial residents." Buchanan, *Patna-Gaya Report*, Vol. 2, pp. 652-53.

5. Vide my article on the "Cotton Industry in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa during the early nineteenth century" in the *Journal of Indian History*, August, 1939, pp. 204-6.

6. Letter from Thomason Brown, Commercial Resident, Patna, to Board of Trade, March 28, 1803; Board of Trade (Commercial) Proceedings, April, 18, 1803.

7. About this time, the Company's sugar establishments at Santipur were abolished. The sudden shrinkage in the demand of Bengal Sugar in the European and also in the Asiatic markets was partly due to the preferential treatment of West Indian sugar in Great Britain and partly to the development of a nearer and better source of supply at the Mauritius.

8. Letter from G. Chester, Commercial Resident, Patna, to R. C. Plowden, Secretary, Board of Trade, March 10, 1819.

tory at Futwa in the Patna district.⁹ With regard to the Company's saltpetre investment, it is well worth noticing that they sold more saltpetre during peace time than in the war time.¹⁰ But during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars, a ready supply of a sufficient quantity of saltpetre from Bihar was constantly pressed for by the Court of Directors with a view to its sale in England.¹¹ It may be noted that the Commercial Resident of Patna provided no less than one hundred and fifty thousand maunds of saltpetre in 1799, at a cost of 3,28,125 sicca rupees.¹² For the purpose of procuring this investment, the Resident had to employ *Pykars* throughout the saltpetre areas and these *Pykars* were paid at the rate of one rupee and fourteen annas for one maund of saltpetre supplied.¹³ Out of this amount the manufacturers used to receive one rupee and six annas.¹⁴ But about 1813, when Mr. Legros was the Resident at Patna, the Government rate was reduced to one rupee and seven annas per maund, of which the manufacturers received only fourteen annas.¹⁵ In 1814 the saltpetre manufacturers of Bihar submitted a petition to the Board of Trade, praying for a higher rate as well as for relief from the oppression of the *pykars* but to no effect.¹⁶

In the Board of Trade's correspondence we find reference to seven subordinate cloth factories attached to the Residency of Patna. These were situated at Jahanabad, Mogra, Miabigha, Lucknah, Shahabad, Singhia, Chapra and Bankipore.¹⁷ Between the head

9. *Ibid.* For an account of the Company's saltpetre trade in Bihar in the eighteenth century, vide the *Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission*, December, 1930.

10. Colebrooke, *Remarks on the Husbandry and Internal Commerce of Bengal*, p. 113.

11. *Extract of a Commercial General Letter from Court*, dated May 7, 1800; *Ibid.*, dated June 30, 1802. In 1793 the exportation of Saltpetre by private persons was entirely prohibited. But it was again declared free at the end of the Napoleonic Wars. Vide *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Sept., 1935, p. 437. Vide also *Board of Trade (commercial) Proceedings*, July 11, 1817.

12. *Letter from Commercial Resident, Patna, to Board of Trade*, December 24, 1798.

13. *Board of Trade (Commercial) Proceedings*, April 22, 1814 and May 6, 1814.

14. *Ibid.*, dated April, 22, 1814.

15. *Ibid.* The obvious reason for this reduction of rate was the reduced demand of the article at the close of the war.

16. *Ibid.*

17. *Ibid.*, dated October 8, 1819. Buchanan, writing a few years before

factory at Patna and these out-stations there was a close and constant contact. But they were under the immediate superintendence of native *gomastas*.

The guards required for the protection of these factories as well as for the escort of goods and treasure from one place to another were at first furnished by the Indian Sebundy Corps at Patna.¹⁸ But "the very inefficient state" of the Sebundy Corps compelled the Government to order its disbandment and the establishment of a Provincial Battalion at Patna after the 1st of November, 1803.¹⁹ The strength of the several classes of guards furnished from the Provincial Battalion for the Patna Residency, in the year 1810, stood as follows²⁰:

Subadar	1
Havildars	2
Naiks	2
Sepoys	94
Total	99

Of these 27 were posted at the subordinate factories and were also employed in escorting goods to the Presidency.²¹ But shortly after, the Governor General in Council decided that the number of regular guards supplied by the Provincial Battalion be reduced and that hired *barkandazes* be employed for the escort of goods to the Presidency as well as for the protection of the Company's out-stations where possible.²² Nevertheless the Patna Provincial Batta-

this, notes that in the district of Shahabad, the Company had four cloth factories, three at Arrah, Sasaram and Dumraon for the purchase of cloth and one at Sahar for bleaching. According to him, in the district of Patna, there were three factories dependent on Patna and five subordinate to the other three. Buchanan, *Shahabad Report*, p. 411; *Patna-Gaya Report*, Vol. 2, pp. 652-53.

18. *Extract from the Proceedings of the Governor General in Council in the Military Dept.*, August 25, 1803.

19. *Ibid.* The Provincial Battalions were stationed not only at Patna but also at Benares, Dacca, Chittagong, Burdwan, Murshidabad and Purnea.

20. *Extract from the Proceedings of Vice-President in Council in the Commercial Department*, April 27, 1810.

21. *Ibid.*

22. *Extract of a letter from Secretary to Government, Commercial Department to H. Douglas, Judge and Magistrate of Patna*, dated 19th January, 1810; *Extract from the Proceedings of Vice-President in Council in the Commercial Dept.*, April 27, 1810; *Extract of a letter from Secretary, Commercial Department to H. Douglas*, May 11, 1810.

lion continued to furnish a large proportion of the guards to the several factories until the disbanding of that Corps by the Government's order of 1831.²³

The system of ready money purchase which was in vogue at Patna, as far as the cloth investment was concerned, failed to keep up the quality of the Patna fabrics. In a letter to Francis Legros, the Commercial Resident of Patna, dated 1814, the Board of Trade wrote thus: "We recently called upon you for an explanation of the causes which have led to considerably deteriorate the quality of the Patna Cloths; by far the most considerable proportion received from your factory are.....such as you shall have declined to receive into the public Investment."²⁴ Being repeatedly sound- ed on the matter, the Resident issued the most positive orders to the *gomastas* and warned them "under penalty of being removed from their employ, against furnishing any cloths in future not equal to the Company's standard."²⁵ But the warning had not its desired effect. In a letter to the Resident, dated the 31st March, 1815, the Secretary to the Board of Trade observed that the Board expressed their great concern at the continued receipt by the Resident "of such large quantities of goods as are unfit for the Company's Investment."²⁶ "I am at the same time instructed to observe," he added, that unless instant measures are adopted to correct the Evil, it will go on to the great Disparagement of your management and the disappointment of the Hon'ble the Court of Directors....."²⁷

But the Commercial Resident had not long to wait, to effect the desired improvement in the Patna cloths. By 1818, the demand for Bengal cotton piecegoods in the British market had fallen so low that the Court of Directors were compelled to discontinue the Company's cloth investment from Patna.²⁸ In the year 1813-14 the Residency of Patna had supplied no less than 61,495 pieces of cloths at a cost of 2,47,456 sicca rupees.²⁹ But in 1818 the total number of piecegoods received at the sadar godown at Patna from

23. Letter from Deputy Secretary, Judicial Department, to Judges of the Provincial Court of Appeal for Patna, August 30, 1831.

24. Board of Trade (Commercial) Proceedings, April 15, 1814.

25. *Ibid.*, March 31, 1815.

26. *Ibid.*

27. *Ibid.*

28. After 1817 the cloth factories of Dacca were also abolished. Vide my article "On the Cotton in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa in the Journal of Ind. Hist. August, 1939, pp. 195-214."

29. Board of Trade (Commercial) Proceedings, March 11, 1814.

the several *muffasil aurungs* hardly exceeded half that number.³⁰ In 1819 the cloth factories under this residency were abolished.³¹ And in a letter to the Board of Trade, dated the 19th March, 1819, Mr. Chester, the Commercial Resident of Patna, proposed the following alterations in the establishment of guards at the several factories to which effect was given by the Governor General in Council:³²

Factory.	Existing Guards.		Proposed alterations.	
Sadar Factory	Subadar	.. 1	Subadar	.. 1
	Havildar	.. 1	Havildar	.. 1
	Naik	.. 1	Naik	.. 1
	Sepoys	.. 44	Sepoys	.. 44
	Total	.. 47	Total	.. 47
Chapra Saltpetre Factory	Sepoys	.. 4	Havildar	.. 1
			Sepoys	.. 4
			Total	.. 5
Mow Saltpetre Factory	Sepoys	.. 4	Havildar	.. 1
			Sepoys	.. 4
			Total	.. 5
Futwa Saltpetre Factory	None		Havildar	.. 1
			Sepoys	.. 4
			Total	.. 5
Singhia Saltpetre Factory	Havildar	.. 1	Havildar	.. 1
	Sepoys	.. 6	Sepoys	.. 6
	Total	.. 7	Total	.. 7

The cloth *aurungas* of Jahanabad, Chapra, Miabigha and Lucknah being abolished, the total number of guards at the Residency of Patna was reduced from 77 to 69.³³

30. *Ibid.*, October 8, 1819.

31. Extract from the Proceedings of Governor General in Council in the Commercial Dept., April 16, 1819.

32. Letter from G. Chester, Commercai Resident, Patna, to Secretary, Board of Trade, March 19, 1819.

33. *Ibid.*

The fate of the Company's factory buildings at Patna during the subsequent period deserves some notice in this connection. Early in 1819 a portion of the factory ground was sold to one Mr. Craigie at a price of Rs. 150 per bigha.³⁴ In course of the same year further allotments were disposed of to Mr. Tippet, the Judge and Magistrate of Patna, Mr. Fleming and Mr. Kennedy at the same valuation.³⁵ In 1828, Major Tickell, the Company's Superintending Engineer for the Lower Provinces, proposed to Government that the several commercial buildings at Patna, being no longer required for commercial purposes, might be used for any other purpose to which they could be applied.³⁶ It is interesting to note that taking advantage of their non-user, neighbouring people began to encroach upon the factory ground and even upon the factory premises.³⁷ Early in 1830, Mr. Templer, the Judge and Magistrate of Patna, occupied the Residency House at Bankipore without any authority either from Government or the Board of Trade to which objection was taken by the Commercial Resident, and Mr. Templer was asked to vacate the house.³⁸ Nevertheless a portion of the commercial buildings was allowed to be used as *cutchery* for the Judge and Magistrate and his subordinate officers.³⁹

The Commercial Residency of Patna ceased to exist after 1835 because the Company had to wind up their commercial concerns in India in accordance with the Charter Act of 1833. During the last few years of its existence, the office of the Commercial Resident of Patna was vested in the Opium Agent, Bihar, in addition to his own duties.⁴⁰

34. Letter from H. Mundy, Commercial Resident, Patna, to Secretary, Board of Trade, May 29, 1824.

35. *Ibid.*

36. Extract of an Inspection Report from Major Tickell to Secretary, Military Board, dated August 23, 1828.

37. Letter from C. Baley, Commercial Resident, Patna, to C. W. Smith, Magistrate of Patna, dated October 15, 1825.

38. Letter from the Acting Resident, Patna, to J. W. Templar, dated February 9, 1830; Letter from Secretary, Judicial Department to J. W. Templer, April 13, 1830.

39. *Ibid.*

40. Letter from Commissioner, Patna Division to Judge of Patna, April 9, 1834. It may be mentioned in passing that by the abolition of the Commercial Residency, Patna did not wholly lose its commercial importance, for it continued to be the foremost centre of the Government's opium manufacture in India till the end of the nineteenth century.

Partition of Sirhind Province by the Sikhs, January, 1764

By

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1. Introduction

AHMAD SHAH ABDALI had been very much annoyed by the Sikhs who created disturbances in the Punjab, and did not allow his officers to enjoy a peaceful possession of the country. He thought that he had struck a hard blow at their power on the 5th February, 1762, by inflicting upon them a crushing defeat and massacring large numbers¹ of them in the battle of Kup (6 miles north of Malerkotla). With a view to terrorise them and their supporters further, he carried to Lahore 50 cart loads of Sikh heads, besides a large number of captives. On his way at Amritsar he destroyed the sacred buildings of the Sikhs, and polluted and disfigured the holy tank by throwing cows' blood and entrails on all sides.² At Lahore he erected huge towers with the Sikh heads, and "caused the walls of the principal mosques which had been polluted by the Sicques, to be washed with their blood, that

1. The Sikh losses in this battle are variously estimated—: Miskin, present in the battle, 243 (25,000); Khazan-i-Amira, 114 (29,000); Siyar, iii. 74 (20,000); Tarikh-i-Muzaffari, 122a (22,000); Husain Shahi, 83 (30,000); Forster, i. 319 (25,000); Malcolm, 98 (upwards of 20,000); Tarikh-i-Ahmad, 17 (30,000); Tarikh-i-Ali, 146 (20,000); Ahmad Shah of Batala, 885 (17,000); Prinsep, 24 (25 to 30,000); McGregor, i. 132 (17,000); Cunningham, 109 (12 to 25,000); Hugel, 271 (20 to 30,000); Ganesh Das, 200 (30,000); Ali-ud-din; 124a (30,000); Ratan Singh, 457, as told by the people (50,000) and as he heard from his father and uncle, present in the battle (30,000); Gyan Singh, 827 (13,000); Shamsir Khalsa, 112 (10 to 12,000); Karam Singh, 221 (15 to 20,000); Sarkar, ii. 486 (10,000). A Marathi letter written from Shamli 20 days after the battle reproduced in Rajwade, vi. 465, says that five to seven thousand Sikhs were slain.

2. Nur-ud-din, 57a; Forester, i. 320; Malcolm, 98; Khushwaqt Rai, 95; Ratan Singh, 442; Ahmad Shah, 888; Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghanan, 172; Buti Shah, 15a; Ratan Chand, 33; Ganesh Das, 200-201; Gulzar-i-Shahi, i. 155; Gyan Singh, 828-29.

the contamination might be removed, and the ignominy offered to the religion of Mahomet, expiated."³

Ahmad Shah left Lahore for Afghanistan on the 12th December 1762⁴ leaving Zain Khan in charge of Sirhind province, Ghamand Chand in the hilly tract between the Beas and the Sutlej, Saadat Yar Khan in the Jullundur Doab, Murad Khan in the Upper Bari Doab, Raja Kabuli Mal in Lahore and Jahan Khan between the Ravi and the Indus.⁵ "Soon after the march of Ahmad Shah, the Sicques were seen descending from their various holds on the Punjab, which they rapidly laid waste and after several desultory actions, in which the Afghans were defeated, they besieged, and what seems extraordinary, they took the city of Lahore; where wildly indulging the enmity that had never ceased to inflame them against these severe scourges of their nation, they committed violent outrages. The mosques that had been ever rebuilt or restored to use by the Mahometans, were demolished with every mark of contempt and indignation; and the Afghans, in chains, washed the foundations with the blood of hogs. They were also compelled to excavate the reservoir at Amrutsir, which in the preceding year they had filled up. The Sicques, however, keenly actuated by resentment, set a bound to the impulse of revenge; and though the Afghan massacre and persecution must have been deeply imprinted on their minds, they did not, it is said, destroy one prisoner in cold blood".⁶

The Sikhs then sacked Kasur, a stronghold of Afghans (May, 1763), pillaged the Jullundur Doab (June), and spent the four months of the rainy season (July-October) in regaining their old possessions and consolidating their authority. By the middle of November, they routed Jahan Khan, Abdali's commander-in-chief, at Wazirabad on the Chenab.⁷ Next, they besieged Maler-

3. Forster, i. 320; cf. Khazan-i-Amira, 114; Tarikh-i-Muzaffri, 122a, Khushwaqt Rai, 95.

4. Delhi Chronicle, 194; Forster, i. 320.

5. Bakhtmal, 99; Sohan Lal, i. 159; Khushwaqt Rai, 95.

6. Forster, i. 321. ("When the exalted Shah returned, that progressive sect came out from forests and mountains and busied themselves in plundering the property of the Muslims, converted their mosques and monasteries into stables for their horses, and stopped the Islamic practices as azan etc. in the Muslim villages, and subjected them to great persecution." Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghanan, 173.)

7. Delhi Chronicle, 198. (The news of Jahan Khan's defeat arrived at Delhi on the 11th December, 1763).

PARTITION OF SIRHIND PROVINCE BY THE SIKHS 21

Kotla (December), killed the Afghan Chief Bhikhan Khan and ruined the town.⁸

On the 14th January, 1764, they attacked Sirhind. Zain Khan was slain, and a vast tract of plain country, 220 miles long and 160 miles wide, extending from the Sirmoor hills and the Jumna in the east to the boundary of Bahawalpur State in the west, and from the river Sutlej in the north to Hariana and Rohtak in the south, worth about 60 lakhs of rupees annually, fell into the hands of the Sikhs. The Sikh chiefs dispersed in various directions, and according to their strength seized on what fell in the way of each. They would demand from the headman of the village either some money or some sugar-cane molasses or loaves of bread in token of submission, and on leaving some of these tokens with one or more of their followers in each village, they would hurry on to the next. "Tradition still describes how the Sikhs dispersed as soon as the battle was won, and how, riding day and night, each horseman would throw his belt and scabbard, his articles of dress and accoutrement, until he was almost naked, into successive villages to mark them as his".⁹

2. The Sikh Land Tenures.

When the Sikh Chiefs acquired territories, it became their first duty to partition out the lands, cities, towns and villages among their followers who looked upon themselves as having conquered the country in common. The subordinate sardars, even of the smallest contingents of horse, who had fought under the standard of a particular Misl, demanded their proper share according to their contribution made to the acquisition. The chief who had no other compensation to offer for their services, not even pay, had no other course left to him, but to grant them a share in the acquired lands. A sufficient portion was first of all reserved for the chief, while the rest was divided off into equal portions for the subordinate chiefs. Each of these shares was further parcelled to their inferior leaders according to the degree of their services rendered or the number of horse commanded by them. They were again subdivided till the lowest rung of the ladder

8. Bakhtmal, 99-100; Goshai Punjab, 80; Browne, ii. 24; Sohan Lal, i. 160-61.

9. Miskin, 263; Chahar Gulzar Shujai, 499b, 531b; Browne, ii. 24; Bakhtmal, 100; Sohan Lal, i. 161; Ratan Singh, 499-506; Ali-ud-din, 126, 179b; Gyan Singh, 841-52; Cunningham, 110.

was reached. Each of them took his portion as a co-sharer and held it to all intents and purposes in absolute independence. Each of such shares possessed by the associates of every Misl of less rank than that of a Sardar, down to the individual horseman who equipped and mounted himself was called Patti and the system was known as Pattidari. A co-sharer was not considered legitimate to dispose of his tenure to a stranger and in an emergency he was only allowed to mortgage; but he had the right to settle by will at his death which of his male relation should possess it. The only condition of his tenure in relation to the Sardar of the Misl was the reciprocal aid for mutual protection and defence.

There were also other kinds of tenures which arose out of different circumstances under which the chiefs found themselves placed. One was Misdari which was granted as a free reward to petty chiefs or bodies of small strength who had joined a Misl without any condition of dependence. The allotment of lands called Misdari was therefore held under no condition, and a Misdar was at perfect liberty to transfer himself with his lands to any other Sikh chief in case of any dissatisfaction.

The Jagirdari tenure was as a rule granted to relations and other well deserving soldiers. In lieu of a Jagir the holders were liable to render personal services at any time required by the master and they had to supply a fixed number of horse, equipped and mounted at their own expense, according to the value of the grant. They were also revocable at the sweet will of the donor.

The tenure of a tabadari was granted to a retainer who was completely subservient to the donor. These lands, of course, were the rewards of his services, but they could be forfeited for an act of rebellion or disobedience or at the displeasure of the master for any other cause.

Besides, there were religious and charitable grants made as free-holds by way of endowments for gurdwaras, temples, and for charitable distribution.¹⁰

3. Distribution of Territories.

The following Sikh chiefs seized the territories noted against their names after the fall of Sirhind in January 1764.

10. Cf. Prinsep, 33-36; H. M. Lawrence's Settlement Report of Thanesar District, 1843, p. 12; Jullundur District Settlement Report, 1892, pp. 29-30.

PARTITION OF SIRHIND PROVINCE BY THE SIKHS 23

1. *Bhat Buddha Singh*.—Bhai Buddha Singh, a noted Sikh chief of Jhambowal, was granted by the unanimous vote of the whole Sikh body (Sarbat Khalsa), the town of Sirhind including its neighbourhood. But this town was very much coveted by Alha Singh, because it was in the close neighbourhood of his capital (Patiala) and the possession of the old, famous town was sure to enhance his prestige. Consequently, he opened negotiations with Buddha Singh through Gurbakhsh Singh a nephew of Nawab Kapur Singh, and persuaded him to make over his newly acquired possessions in exchange for Adampur and seven other productive villages. Alha Singh also paid Rs. 25,000 to the Sikhs for *karah parshad*¹¹ (consecrated food). Buddha Singh seized twenty-eight villages more in the Abohar ilaka where his family is still represented.¹²

2. *Nodh Singh Nishanwala*.—Chunya Singh was a Jat of Ajnala in Amritsar district. He had four sons, Indar Sain, Chandar Sain, Bhim Sain and Mast Singh. Sardar Indar Sain married by "Chadarandazi" a beautiful woman named Mai Dharmon who gave birth to a son named Nodh Singh. This Nodh Singh was present at the battle of Sirhind in which he was wounded by a bullet. As he could not move farther he seized Kheri, the richest parganah of Ludhiana district, in the close vicinity of Sirhind which was worth Rs. 25,000 a year. He built a small fort at this place and resided there.¹³

3. *Dharam Singh*.—Dharam Singh was a cousin of the celebrated Tara Singh Ghaiba. He captured a cluster of villages and founded Dharamsinghwala in the centre where he eventually settled down. His family still resides at this place.¹⁴

4. *Sudha Singh Bajwa*.—Sudha Singh Bajwa seized Machhiwara and the eastern portions of the Utalan parganah.¹⁵

11. It was on the 12th February, 1764, after one month of the conquest of Sirhind that Alha Singh laid the foundation of a strong fortress in his capital at Patiala, in order to make it as great and beautiful as Sirhind. (Karam Singh, 228.)

12. Ali-ud-Din, 126a; Ratan Singh, 506; Sarup Lal's Tarikh-i-Sikhian, 3-4; Dastur-ul-'amal, 249-50, 253; Goshai Punjab, 45; Chiefs and Families of Note, 280-82.

13. Goshai Punjab, 24-26.

14. Chiefs and Families of Note, 280-82.

15. Ludhiana Settlement Report, 1878, p. 27 and Ludhiana Gazetteer, 1888, p. 24.

5. *Rai Singh*.—Rai Singh, a Kang Jat of Amritsar, secured sixteen villages to the south-west of Khanna in Samralah tahsil of Ludhiana district. His descendants still hold Jagir at Dhirumazra and Jhabumazra.¹⁶

6. *Rai Singh Karorasinghia*.—This Rai Singh was the son of the celebrated Mahtab Singh who had boldly killed Massa Ranghar, the Governor of Amritsar. He was a member of the Karorasinghia Misl and had impressed his leader Sham Singh so much that the latter married his daughter to him. He seized a group of several villages in Samralah tahsil where his descendants still reside at Bhari and Kotla Badla. Ratan Singh, our valuable writer of *Panth Parkash*, was his son.¹⁷

7. *Sujan Singh Dallewalia*.—Sujan Singh, Man Singh and Dan Singh were the sons of Amrik Singh, a Badecha Jat, of the village Dhianpur in Amritsar district, who, later on, had settled at Kang. They were the members of the Dallewalia Misl and had seized the parganahs of Dharmkot, Mari and Tihara to the South of the Sutlej. The descendants of Sujan Singh and Dan Singh still hold Jagirs at Shahkot and those of Man Singh at Dhondowal.¹⁸

8. *Kaur Singh Dallewalia*.—Kaur Singh and Dharam Singh Jats of Kang were the cousins of Tara Singh Ghaiba of the Dallewalia Misl. Kaur Singh occupied a number of villages round about Kang while Lohian fell to the share of his brother. Kaur Singh's family is still represented at Kang.¹⁹

9. *Jassa Singh Ahluwalia*.—Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, the chief leader of the Dal Khalsa and the founder of Kapurthala State who also commanded his own contingent of 10,000 horse captured the territories of Jagraon, Bharog, Fatahgarh and Naraingarh worth two lakhs a year.²⁰ Mirza Singh of Sultanwind, a village near Amritsar, was a servant to Sardar Jassa Singh and his two uncles Dasaundha Singh and Hakumat Singh were horsemen (*bārgies*). Jassa Singh left Hakumat Singh as his thanadar in Bharog, (103 villages), Mirza Singh in Fatahgarh and Dasaundha Singh in Naraingarh.²¹

16. Chiefs and Families of Note, 257; Ludhiana Gazetteer, 1888-89, p. 109.

17. Chiefs and Families of Note, 262-63.

18. Ibid, 304-305.

19. Ibid, 306-307.

20. Ali-ud-Din, 126b; *Dastur-ul-'amal*, 45-46; Raj Khalsa, 375.

21. Punjab Government Records, Selections from Notebook kept by Captain G. Birch, 1818-1821, vol. ix, No. 17, p. 129.

10. *Saunda Singh Dallewalia*.—Saunda Singh, a Jat of Narowal near Amritsar, was a member of the Dallewalia Misl and acquired the estate of Khanna in Ludhiana district, worth Rs. 30,000.²²

11. *Dasaundha Singh Nishanwala*.—Dasaundha Singh was a Gil Jat, son of Chaudhari Sahib Rai of village Mansur in the Ferozepur district. He was the chief leader of the Nishanwala Misl and commanded 12,000 horse. He took possession of the ilakas of Singhanwala, Sahniwal, Sarai Lashkari Khan, Doraha, Sonti, Amloh, Zira, Ludhar and Ambala and made the last named place his headquarters. On his death he was succeeded by his younger brother Sangat Singh.²³

12. *Jai Singh Nishanwala*.—Jai Singh, a Gurm Jat of village Karanke Dhirke near Atari, was a member of the Nishanwala Misl. He seized twenty-seven villages in the parganah of Lidhran and seven in Kharar yielding about Rs. 60,000 per annum.²⁴

13. *Nahar Singh and Surjan Singh*.—Nahar Singh and Surjan Singh Sodhis acquired the ilaka of Anandpur and Makhawal worth three lakhs a year.²⁵

14. *Hari Singh Dallewalia*.—Hari Singh, a Birk Jat of Kaleki near Kasur, was a noted member of the Dallewalia Misl. He seized the territories of Ropar, Sialba, Awankot, Siswan and Korali. He also captured the fort of Khizarabad built by Chaudhari Tek Chand.²⁶

15. *Khushal Singh Singhpuria*.—Khushal Singh Singhpuria the nephew of the famous Nawab Kapur Singh of Faizulapur, the founder of the Singhpuria Misl, had succeeded to the leadership of the confederacy in 1753 on the death of the Nawab. He already owned a territory worth three lakhs a year and at this

22. Tarikh-i-Sikhan, Sarup Lal, 147; Jullundur Settlement Report, 1892, p. 37.

23. Raj Khalsa, 50-51; Tarikh-i-Sikhan, Sarup Lal, 51; Ganesh Das, 206; Buti Shah, 266b-67a and 274b-275a.

24. Rajas of the Punjab, 45; Ludhiana Gazetteer, 1888-89, p. 108; Chiefs and Families of Note, 251.

25. Tarikh-i-Sikhan, Sarup Lal, 150.

26. Khushwaqt Rai, 187; Ali-ud-Din, 126a; Sarup Lal, 32-35; *Dastur-ul-'amal*, 96; Jullundur Settlement Report, 1892, 37-38. (This Hari Singh had run away with Rajan, the widowed sister-in-law of Chuhamal, the Phagwara Chaudhari, an adventure till recently the subject of popular song. Buti Shah, 250b).

time he occupied the parganahs of Chhat, Banur, Manauli, Ghanauli, Bharatgarh, Kandaulah, Bunga, Bhareli and Chune Machhli fetching him another one lakh and a half annually.²⁷

16. Jai Singh, Ram Singh, Sardha Singh, Sahib Singh, Bakht Singh, Kanwar Singh and Mathan Singh of village Kang and members of the Dallewalia Misl took possession of the parganah of Kahmanon, consisting of fifty-five villages. These seven chiefs commanded a contingent of 126 soldiers and dividing the parganah into three parts, set themselves up as independent chiefs.²⁸

17. *Karm Singh Shahid*.—Karm Singh was a Sindhu Jat of village Mahraka, 12 kos westward of Lahore. He took possession of a number of villages in the parganahs of Shahzadpur and Kesri in Ambala district yielding about a lakh a year. He also seized a territory about Rania, Damdama Sahib, Khariband Jarauli. His family is still represented at Shahzadpur.²⁹ Quite adjacent to Shahzadpur is the territory of Majri which was occupied by Surat Singh Akali of Anandpur.³⁰

18. *Desu Singh Dallewalia*.—Desu Singh of Alawalpur near Taran Taran, seven kos south of Amritsar, a member of the Dallewalia Misl, secured the parganah of Mustafabad in Jagadhari tahsil and of Dera and Tandwala in the Ambala Tahsil.³¹ He also captured Arnauli, Sindhuwal, Bangar, Amlu and Kular-kharyal.³²

19. *Rai Singh Bhangi*.—Lakhmir was a Jat of the village Chonk which is situated about 28 miles southward of Amritsar.

27. Raj Khalsa, 48; Sarup Lal, 7, 409; Ali-ud-Din, 126b. (In his neighbourhood, Gharib Das, a Hindu chief, seized a group of 84 villages in the parganahs of Manimajra and Mullanpur which were held by his father Ganga Ram as a revenue officer. Manimajra became the capital of the new principality which he further extended by the capture of the fort of Pinjor situated in a lovely garden at the foot of the Siwalik hills. Pinjor later on served as an encamping ground of the Governors-General of India on their way to Simla and back from 1827 till the construction of the Kalka-Simla Railway. Dastur-ul-'amal, 302; Ambala Gazetteer, p. 78).

28. Buti Shah, 258b.

29. Rajas of the Punjab, 44; Sarup Lal, 71; Chiefs and Families of Note, 229.

30. Khushwaqt Rai, 185; Buti Shah, 194.

31. Chiefs and Families of Note, 223; Sarup Lal, 41-42; Buti Shah, 263b-264a.

32. Gyan Singh, 852.

He had four sons, Bagh Singh, Baz Singh, Rai Singh and Parja Singh. At the time of one of the invasions of Ahmad Shah Durrani Parja Singh was taken captive and was converted to Islam. He came back home after a long time but remained a Musalman. The remaining three brothers took pahal from the Bhangi chief, joined the band commanded by Jhanda Singh and started on a career of plunder and rapine.

At this time the three brothers joined with Nanu Singh, a Jat of Jhawalmandan near Amritsar and seized Buriya, Jagadhari, Damla and the neighbouring territory consisting of 204 villages in all.³³

20. *Gurbakhsh Singh Karorasinghia*.—Gurbakhsh Singh, a Sindhu Jat of village Kalsia in Tahsil Kasur of Lahore district, was a prominent member of the Karorasinghia Misl. He appropriated to himself the parganahs of Basi, Chhachhrauli and Charak in Ambala district.³⁴ His family is still represented at Chhachhrauli. Karm Singh, another resident of village Kalsia took possession of Bilaspur parganah in Jagadhari tahsil. Dyal Singh and Nodh Singh from the same village seized the parganahs of Kot and Dharamkot respectively.³⁵

21. *Diwan Singh Dallewalia*.—Diwan Singh Landah, a Kalal of Basi near Amritsar, a member of the Dallewalia Misl, took possession of the parganah Sikandarrah, Saran, Akalgarh and Brara in the Ambala District.³⁶

22. *Mehar Singh Nirmala*.—Mehar Singh of Sindhu Got of the Nishanwala Misl seized the parganah of Shahabad and Ismailabad in Karnal district situated on the Grand Trunk Road, 16 miles south of Ambala.³⁷

33. Khushwaqt Rai, 186; Chiefs and Families of Note, 215, 227-28; Rajas of the Punjab, 46; Ali-ud-Din, 126b; Buti Shah, 217a; Sarup Lal, 65-66. They built a fort near Buriya, which they named Dyalgarh and made it their headquarters. (Chiefs and Families of note, 227). Jagadhari had been utterly destroyed by Nadir Shah, but it was rebuilt by Rai Singh who encouraged the commercial and manufacturing classes to settle there. Ambala Gazetteer, 69).

34. Goshai Punjab, 29-30; Imperial Gazetteer of India, 1908, Punjab, ii. 366; Chiefs and Families of Note, 83.

35. Goshai Punjab, 29.

36. Buti Shah, 262b-263a; Sarup Lal, 39; Jullundur Settlement Report, 1892, p. 37.

37. Ali-ud-Din, 126a; Buti Shah, 272b, 274a; Khushwaqt Rai, 185; Chiefs and Families of Note, 216; Sarup Lal, 58, 147.

23. *Gurbakhsh Singh Shahid*.—Gurbakhsh Singh of village Gangubaha in Taran Taran Tahsil of Amritsar district was one of the leaders of the Shahid Misl. He occupied a number of villages in the bet tract of the Markanda river and set up his head-quarters at Tangaur where his family is still represented.³⁸

24. *Nodh Singh Karorasinghia*.—Nodh Singh a resident of Kalsia village was a leader of consequence of the Karorasinghia Misl who maintained a contingent of 200 horsemen and occupied the parganah of Leda where his family is still represented.³⁹

25. *Sahib Singh and Gurdit Singh Dallewalia*.—Sahib Singh and Gurdit Singh, the two brothers, Sansi Jats of the neighbourhood of Amritsar, members of the Dallewalia Misl, seized Ladwa, Indri, Babain and Shamgarh territories in the close vicinity of Karnal, consisting of 117 villages.⁴⁰

26. *Mit Singh Dallewalia*.—Bhai Mit Singh of Sirhali near Patti together with his two nephews Bhanga Singh and Bhag Singh belonged to the Dallewalia Misl.⁴¹ They seized upon the territories of Pihua and the suburbs of Thanesar and built a strong fort at Kahod where they established their headquarters.⁴²

27. *Baghel Singh Karorasinghia*.—Baghel Singh seized Khurdin, Kinori, Jamaitgarh and Chhalondi (his headquarters) yielding three lakhs annually.⁴³

28. *Acquisitions of the Phulkian Rajas*.—Alha Singh seized the territories of Pail, Basi, Latbara and Isru.⁴⁴ Hamir Singh of Nabha captured the parganahs of Baharso, Amloh, Wirro and Bhagsu.⁴⁵ Man Singh took possession of Malod,⁴⁶ while Gajput⁴⁷ Singh acquired Safaidun, Panipat, Karnal, Rohtak and Bazidpur.⁴⁸

38. Chiefs and Families of Note, 217-19.

39. Goshai Punjab, 29; Chiefs and Families of Note, 225-26.

40. Buti Shah, 254b-255a; Khushwaqt Rai, 184; Ali-ud-Din, 126a; Karnal Gazetteer, 33. (Later on this principality comprised of 178 villages, yielding 2½ lakhs annually. Calcutta Review, Vol. ii. October-December, 1844, 198).

41. Mit Singh was a personal attendant (Garwabardar) to Tara Singh Ghaiba, carrying a drinking vessel and water for him.

42. Ali-ud-Din, 126a; Rajas of the Punjab, 56; Chiefs and Families of Note, 183; Goshai Punjab, 24-26; Buti Shah, 252b-253a; Jullundur Settlement Report, 1892, p. 37.

43. Raj Khalsa, 33. ("The possessions of the Rajas of Ladwa and the Sardars of Thanesar were originally a part of the Subah of Delhi. The present talukas of Narwana and Jind were parganahs in the Sarkar of Hissar. Safidon was a parganah in the Sarkar of Delhi. Indri was in the Sarkar

29. *Jiwan Mal*.—Jiwan Mal was a Sodhi Khatri, seventh in descent from the fourth Guru Ram Das. He came in the tahsil Muktsar of Ferozepur district and took into his possession a large area generally lying waste and established a number of villages. The ilaka was named by him Guru Har Sahai after the name of his eldest son. His descendants still retain Jagir in this territory.⁴⁹

30. *Sawan Singh*.—Sawan Singh was a cousin of the famous Dasaundha Singh and Sangat Singh of the Nishanwala Misl. He appropriated to himself several villages around Sonti where he settled down. His family is still represented at Mansurwal in Ferozepur district.⁵⁰

31. *Gujar Singh Bhangi*.—Gujar Singh Bhangi with his brother Nusbaha Singh and his two nephews Gurbakhsh Singh and Mastan Singh took possession of Ferozepur, while Jai Singh Gharria with another band from the same quarters seized Khai, Wan and Bajidpur in the neighbourhood of Ferozepur and made them over to their subordinates. The Ferozepur territory then contained thirty seven villages.⁵¹

32. *Tara Singh Ghaiba*.—Tara Singh Ghaiba, a prominent leader of the Dallewalia Misl, extended his conquests as far as Ramuwala and Mari in the Moga tahsil at both of which places he built forts.

4. Non-Sikh Possessions

Mixed up among these Sikh estates lay some Muhammadan and Rajput territories, the owners of which saved themselves by coalescing with the powerful Sikh leaders of their neighbourhood and paying them tribute.⁵² Rai Kalha III of Raikot retained most

of Saharanpur, which extended to Jumna, which in former days ran under the present western high bank of the canal. Thanesar and Shahabad were royal parganahs in the Sarkar of Sirhind, as were Samana and Sunam." Karnal Gazetteer, 40).

44. Gyan Singh, 852.

45. Ibid, 852, Raj Khalsa, 466.

46. Gyan Singh, 852.

47. Khushwaqt Rai, 175.

48. Gyan Singh, 852; Karnal Gazetteer, 33; Imperial Gazetteer of India, Punjab, i. 316.

49. Chiefs and Families of Note, 273-74.

50. Chiefs and Families of Note, 286.

51. Ferozepur Gazetteer, 16.

52. Cf. Ratan Singh, 509.

of the Ludhiana and Jagraon tahsils and also a large portion of the Ferozepur district.⁵³ The Afghan colonies of Kunjpura consisting of 53 villages worth half a lakh a year, Malerkotla containing 96 villages yielding one lakh annually,⁵⁴ Mamdot and Kotla Nihang (near Ropar), also maintained their independence.⁵⁵

Administrative Interference in the Saltpetre Trade of India in the Seventeenth Century*

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STUDENTS of Mughal history are familiar with numerous instances of complaints of foreign merchants against frequent administrative interference in their trade in different articles, of which saltpetre was an important one. But no systematic and critical study of the nature and the extent of this interference in saltpetre trade has yet been attempted. Mr. Moreland has, of course, pointed out that "the trade was subject to frequent interference on the part of the authorities" and observed that such "official interference" was one of the difficulties "attending the trade".¹ But we must distinguish between administrative *control* of the industry and trade for *state purposes*² on the one hand, and *interference* therein on the other, varying according to the influence of personal equation or decline in administration and consequent disorders. Prohibition, if based on a sound and conscious policy, is good and beneficial to the state and the country, but irrational prohibition, guided by nothing but motives of private illicit gains can never be justified. The latter indicates a low level of administrative and social morality and sets up a chronic tendency to corruption and to evasion of authority, from the high to the low, and the indigenous to the foreigner. Yet, such being the case in the history of India at that time, wherever we turn—from Agra to the Carnatic, or from Bengal to Gujrat,—the tale is everywhere the same.

A critical study of contemporary English factory correspondence, as given in Sir William Foster's monumental series, 'The English Factories in India', continued by Sir Charles Fawcett, and of the accounts of the foreign merchants, agents and travellers, helps

53. Ludhiana, Gazetteer, 1888-89, p. 112; Imperial Gazetteer of India, Punjab, i. p. 426.

54. Calcutta Review, Vol. ii. October-December, 1844, p. 200.

55. Sarup Lal, 129, 134, 135, 136; Ali-ud-Din, 126a.

*Read at the Second Indian History Congress at Allahabad, 1938.

1. Moreland, *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, p. 122.

2. This subject has been dealt with by me in a paper on "The Organisation of the Saltpetre Industry of India in the Seventeenth Century." I.H.Q. December, 1938.

us to know how and to what extent administrative interference reacted adversely on Indian saltpetre trade of the period.

In the first place, we notice everywhere the tendency on the part of the provincial governors and the officials to interfere in the saltpetre trade, occasionally under the pretence of imperial orders, but often on their own initiative—either by local extortion or by detention of saltpetre caravans or *cafilas* or boats. This evil was aggravated by the system of farming out saltpetre, which prevailed in Gujrat and Bijapur, in the middle of the seventeenth century. Owing either to practical abeyance or decline of imperial authority, the unrestrained subordinate officers became very exacting. What Job Charnock wrote of Patna in 1679 was true also of other parts of India. He observed: "Here is no order or Government. Every petty officer makes a pray of us and abuseing us at pleasure to screw what they can out of us."³ The English factors remarked significantly, "The Governor's underlings were as bad as he."⁴

Secondly, administrative changes like new appointments and transfers of officials, etc, affected the course of saltpetre trade. The privileges granted by one governor might be cancelled by his successor. Thus one had to begin afresh with a new man, and the resultant evils in delay and expense were aggravated by other circumstances. Here we must distinguish between ease-loving and backboneless governors like Murad and Shuja, under whom the prospects of the English Company might brighten up, and strong and otherwise efficient men like Aurangzeb, Shaista Khan, or Mir Jumla, under whom the Company had to suffer numerous vexations.

Thirdly, to cope with the corruption of the high officials (e.g. the Governor) and to secure a royal *farman* for the release of their detained goods, the English had to spend money at the imperial court. This they considered to be the lesser of the two evils. The Surat factors pertinently remarked (March 28, 1654): ".....they daily expect from Agra a royal *farman* ordering the release not only of the Ahmadabad saltpetre but also that stopped at Patna by the Governor there. Though such a *farman* means an outlay at Court, it is better to spend money thus than to bribe the local officials, who are never satisfied."⁵

3. Master II, 272-6. For widespread disobedience of Aurangzeb's orders, see Muntakhabul Lubab, E. & D., VII.

4. Foster, *English Factories*, 1646-50, p. 150.

5. Foster, *English Factories*, 1651-54, pp. 251-2.

Lastly, there was even no certainty that the royal mandate would be always obeyed. When in 1646 Aurangzeb as Governor of Gujrat forbade the transport of saltpetre, the English factors at Swally Marine (March 30) did not expect its speedy release. As the Emperor was far off at Lahore, and the Court was usually dilatory, it was impossible to get a timely redress. Even if a royal warrant was given, the English factors thought it very doubtful whether it would be obeyed.⁶

Gujrat in the middle of the seventeenth century was the scene of numerous administrative scandals. In the first place, it illustrated the evils of farming saltpetre. With Aurangzeb's transfer from Gujrat (1646), the English factors began immediately to prepare their caravan (*cafila*) and procure the licence for transport of saltpetre. It had then been farmed out to Mir Musa, and through his 'extraordinary friendship', and the Bakhshi's help, George Tash, the chief of the Ahmadabad factory, was introduced to, and courteously received, by the new Governor, Shaista Khan (December 1, 1646). As he was busy crushing an insurrection of the rebellious bandits, the 'kolis', Mir Musa induced the English to believe that he had the authority to grant them the *dastak* or licence. As a matter of fact, however, his *dastak* proved useless. The English Company's carts were detained. The usual duty of 1½%, remitted to the seller by Aurangzeb, was demanded from the English, who regarded it as unjust. Moreover, there was the 'cart custome' or the cart-fee of Rs. 2 a cart to be paid to the Governor. The English factors realised that the chief reason for the detention of saltpetre was to get something for "the king's custome rented by an exacting villain". But the irony of the situation was that since effective redress of these difficulties and exactions from the governor would involve time and indefinitely hold up the caravan, the English factors, in order to release the saltpetre carts without the "governor's leave" were forced to "part with" Rs. 125 "to feed the hungry maw of the same exacting villain."⁷ As they apprehended that they would incur the Governor's just displeasure, George Tash proposed to go to him, with the Bakhshi, in order to "procure freedom", both in their "saltpetre and cart custome", as formerly granted to the English by previous governors and beg pardon for what had already happened.⁸

6. *Ibid.*, 1646-50, p. 34, pp. 78-9. Sarkar, *Aurangzeb*, V, 324.

7. FEF 1646-50, pp. 57-9.

8. *Ibid.*

In the second place, there arose the question of freedom from transit duties. The proposed journey of George Tash to the Governor was dropped, owing to delay caused by Mir Musa, and the rebellion of the *Kolis* making the highways insecure. So George Tash wrote to the Bakhshi, requesting him to intercede to the Governor on behalf of the English for securing the necessary permits. The Governor, considering the previous immunities enjoyed by the English granted them the permits, but they were asked to produce the original royal *Farman* for their exemption from road duties. So the Ahmadabad factors requested the Surat authorities to send it, together with some suitable presents for the Governor. By December 17, 1646, sixtyfive bales of saltpetre were released and despatched. But the vague and ambiguous expression of the imperial *farman* that the English could take no more than what was necessary for their "occasions and none for their merchandise", bred "new scruples in these people". So the English factors dared not contract for more saltpetre untill the matter was definitely settled, which they expected to have to their satisfaction, as the new Governor, Shaista Khan, was favourably disposed towards them; and they expedited the refining of saltpetre, so that 208 bales were shipped by January 1647.⁹

As it became imperative to attend the Governor's darbar, the English factors at Ahmadabad, with the help of Mir Musa, offered a present of red and green broad-cloth, a mirror, and a set of barber's instruments to the Governor, who graciously accepted them and gave assurances of his goodwill. After several interviews, the chief factor, George Tash, succeeded in clearing away all obstructions to the saltpetre business of the English. The Governor granted a *parwana* freeing the English from all transit duties, and authorised them to send "a man of quallity" (i.e. an honest man) to recover all dues already paid. Tash also informed the Governor that a sum of Rs. 135¹⁰ had been "unjustly extracted" from the English at "their first saltpetre's dismissal" i.e., on the occasion of first dismissal of saltpetre. But as this money had "fallen into his owne purse...the motion for restitution was not soe well relished by him." He promised to enquire into the matter and dismissed the factors with a gift of "two hammerins (hammams) or shawls" to Tash. The English factors gave a present to the Bakhshi also for his help, and demanded some broadcloth from Surat to "repay Mir

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 63, 78-9.

10. Elsewhere the amount has been written as Rs. 125.

Musa with some 'overplus' as acknowledgment of his many favours" (February 28, 1647). Ultimately Shaista Khan gave the English permission to export saltpetre from Ahmadabad (March 31, 1647).¹¹ Here is a clear case of disregard of a royal *farman* by the provincial Governor, Shaista Khan, the saltpetre farmer, and the Bakhshi.

But, about the middle of 1647, the Governor seized half of the saltpetre of the English. George Tash gave him a letter, addressed by the Surat factors, with a view to get better treatment. But he regarded it as a forged one, and ordered that the English might weigh what was their own (i.e., they might have saltpetre worth the amount Rs. 1,500, which they had already disbursed at Malpur and no more), "uttering with great passion that it was insufferable we (the English) should buy out all the goods in the country and that his occasion for saltpetre was more urgent than ours" (the English). Apparently it seems that the Governor realised the exploitation of the country, or that he was acting under imperial orders for necessities of the Central Asiatic campaign, or that he himself required gun powder for some local war. But these explanations are not sufficient. For the Governor had publicly given them permission to buy 5000 mds. and had recently satisfied himself with a bribe of Rs. 280. However, when the English factors renewed their efforts with the help of "some of his favourities", he promised a more favourable treatment. These details would show that the stoppage of the Company's saltpetre by the Governor was not due to the pursuit of a conscious policy of controlling its trade but to his motives of personal gain. The Dutch also were in somewhat worse predicament, and the English factors believed that their (Dutch) saltpetre would be taken away. The English expected that one of the effects of this apprehended embargo on Dutch saltpetre and consequent cessation of Dutch demand for it would be a fall in its price.¹²

• Early in January, 1653, two hundred bales of saltpetre were detained at Ahmadabad by the new Governor.¹³ Towards the end of the year, "pretending orders from the king," he refused to allow the export of saltpetre from Ahmadabad and also stopped all coming from Agra.¹⁴ A promise of a *farman* for its release remained un-

11. FEF 1646-50, 108-9; 114.

12. *Ibid.*, 150.

13. *Ibid.*, 1651-54, 151.

14. *Ibid.*, 215.

fulfilled till January 1654. The Surat factors came to realise that the saltpetre at Ahmadabad could not be released without offering a heavy bribe to the Governor. But they refused to give it for three reasons viz. ; (i) there was little chance of shipping to England that year, (ii) the Governor, Shaista Khan (1652-54) was to be replaced by Prince Murad Bakhsh, and (iii) they daily expected a royal *farman*, ordering release of saltpetre detained at Ahmadabad and Patna as well.¹⁵ Even up to May 12, 1654, this expected *farman* was not obtained, though the matter of release had been "on hand over twelve months".¹⁶ Before the impending transfer of Shaista Khan, the President and Council at Surat began negotiations for the release of saltpetre, detained at Ahmadabad. They reduced the price of the tapestry received by the *Smyrna Merchant* (for the use of the Governor) by more than £100, and the Governor allowed them to bring the saltpetre to Surat just before the rains. The Company, however, deferred the purchase of additional quantity till the coming of Murad Bakhsh, who permitted them to buy what they wanted. So they contracted for a quantity of saltpetre, but when part of it was received and being refined, the king's Diwan sent an order prohibiting them from buying or transporting any saltpetre from Gujrat. This embargo could not be removed, in spite of occasional promises of removal, and so the Company tried to secure the required amount from the Deccan.¹⁷

The Agra region was also not free from official interference. On December 12, 1648, Richard Davidge at Biana wrote to Surat that as he had been offered only half the value in compensation for the saltpetre forcibly taken by the "king's ministers", he had delayed accepting it in order to extort better terms. However, he perceived that "this accurtious (accursed) king suffers any vyalence (violence) to be used by his officers if it redounds in the least to his benefit." He wished that the Company's position was so developed that the English "might become the object of their fear, as it is now the subject of their violence and mallice." (malice).¹⁸

Interference of the Bijapur state officers similarly caused troubles for the English Company's saltpetre trade. In 1646, Jusnner Ckawne (? Jan Nisar Khan), the treasurer of the Bijapur

king, wanted "to procure some new unreasonable duties", besides the usual customs at the port of Rajapur. So he had recently farmed out the saltpetre trade to Mustafa Khan, who imposed "extraordinary taxes" on it, and stopped at Rajapur the saltpetre, obtained by the English from Raybag. The English Company's factors at Rajapur wanted the Company's broker, Benidas, to come from Raybag as early as possible, but he was ill, and the Company's vessel, the *Dolphin* had to return from Rajapur, without saltpetre, after waiting for about a month (November 15—December 13, 1646.)¹⁹ Later on (by March 31, 1647), the saltpetre detained at Raybag released, on giving a bribe of 500 pagodas to Mustafa Khan.²⁰

There is a pointed reference to misgovernment in Bijapur and its adverse influence on the course of trade in a letter of the Raybag factors to Kolhapur, dated October 27, 1659. "It seems strange to us that there should be four governors in one towne and more strange that one should contradict the other: but it is there as it is here—no government, but everyone doth what is good in his owne eyes, and might takes place of right. For its not long since (when wee kept but four or five peons) wee were affronted in the bazar by the Governours and another merchant in towne souldyers, which overpowerings us wee were forced to submit; but now having 25 horssmen sent us from our good friend Rustam Jemah (Rustam Zaman) wee will make the Governour and the other merchant, Demosa by name, with all the rest, come and give us satisfaction, or elce wee will force it; for if wee should putt upp this affront at first, we should have worss put uppon us afterwards."²¹

Early in 1653 the Governor of Bihar refused to release saltpetre for export from Patna.²² The letter of a Balasore factor named Waldegrave dated Balasore, January 4, 1654, refers to the forcible detention of saltpetre at Patna in that year. Similar interferences were also made at Hughli in spite of "costly *firmaens* and *neshans*". The Dutch too suffered and their factory at Pipili was burnt.²³ At the end of 1654 a quantity of saltpetre was detained at

15. *Ibid.*, 251-2, n.

16. *Ibid.*, 279.

17. *Ibid.*, 299-300.

18. *Ibid.*, 1646-50, 225.

19. *Ibid.*, 53-54, 78-79.

20. *Ibid.*, 114.

21. *Ibid.*, 1655-60, 239-40.

22. FEF 1651-45. 279. The Bihar Governor (1649-56) was Sadulla Khan, acting through his deputy, N. Raye, Early Annals of the English in Behar Appendix.

23. Foster, *op. cit.*, 271.

Rajmahal "for custome" and it was not expected to reach Hughli till after the rains. In order to secure its release, and for future negotiations the Balasore factors thought it essential to provide "some considerable and valuable present...for the Prince and other great men yearly, especially as the Dutch give largely."²⁴ Again soon after Aurangzeb's accession (July 1658), Mir Jumla, the imperial general, became the Nawab of Bengal (1659-63), in place of Shah Shuja, and he stopped all English boats laden with saltpetre, coming down the Ganges from Patna, at Rajmahal.²⁵

Mir Jumla was succeeded by a temporary acting viceroy and then came Shaista Khan as Aurangzeb's viceroy of Bengal. Shaista Khan "forms a prominent figure in connection with the early commercial enterprises of the English E.I.C."²⁶ The period of his governorship from 1664-88 A.D.²⁷ practically synchronises with that of Job Charnock's chiefship of the Patna factory (1664-80). It appears from a study of English factory correspondence that Shaista Khan's regime caused numerous hindrances and interferences to the English company's trade in Bengal.²⁸ The English factors even apprehended evil results from the transference of Balasore and Pipli to Bengal, as this would certainly extend the field of such interference.²⁹ In 1664, the clearing of saltpetre from government interference by Mr. Powell cost the Company nearly Rs. 3,000.³⁰ From a letter of the Bengal factors to Madras dated April 24, 1665, it appears that Charnock did not till then meet with any "stop" or hindrance in the saltpetre investment at Patna, where a quantity of saltpetre had been collected, though he complained much for want of funds and fine cloth for present with which to placate the new Governor of Patna, Iaskar Khan.³¹ But very soon the English factors in Bengal began to complain (Sept. 1, 1665; April 12, 1666; April 20, 1666; October 20, 1668) against the abuses affronts and stops which Shaista Khan's government caused on the

24. *Ibid.*, 303-4.

25. Wilson, *Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, I. 34.

26. *Ibid.*, 93. *Riyaz-us-Salatin*, Eng. Tr., 227; Sarkar, *Aurangzeb*, V, 332.

27. Except 1677-80. Sarkar, *Aurangzeb*, V, 366-69.

28. It must be admitted that the trade of foreign companies improved much in Shaista Khan's time, in spite of such interferences. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, 368.

29. FEF 1655-67, 258-59.

30. *Ibid.*, 138-40.

31. *Ibid.*, 134-5.

English. Of course it must be admitted that, to some extent, the English-E.I.C.'s outlook was unjustifiable, in so far as they claimed exemption from customs, in lieu of a fixed sum of Rs. 3,000 which Shah Shuja had allowed them in 1656. For it was his personal affair, and successive governors were not bound by it. Moreover, the trade of Bengal had multiplied and Shaista Khari could reasonably demand customs from the English.³² But this is also true that the Company was subjected to occasional vexatious interferences, which evaporated only with handsome presents offered to the Nawab and his subordinates. The Company received "sundry abuses from his governors" (officers), and feared a general "stop" to their business, especially in the seizure of saltpetre and molesting of saltpetre investments as in 1664. So the Bengal factors considered the urgent necessity of procuring remedies for these abuses and stops.³³

These remedies were "money", "presents" and "influence". Thus in their letter to Surat dated April 12, 1666, they pressed the urgency of quickly sending them a large sum of money, and significantly pointed out that money was the "most effectual orator" and that it was an instrument of gaining privileges and a remedy for the insufferable abuses the Company received. The Dutch, the English factors represented, were very prompt in making large annual payments to the Governor. Without money the Company's trade in Bengal in different articles might be destroyed.³⁴ English factory correspondence of this period is replete with allegations of covetousness against Shaista Khan and since no redress from him was possible without a present to him and his chief servants, the Bengal factors (letter of September 1, 1665) sent presents, worth Rs. 2,000 and more, to the Nawab through Pratt. The history of Pratt's career clearly illustrates the power of "influence" in economic history of the period. He has been given an appointment³⁵ in Dacca by Agent Trevisa but he was subsequently discharged by Blake, the chief of the Bengal establishment, on account of neglecting the Company's affairs. However as there was no better person to "manage the Company's complaints" at court, and as he was very helpful to the Nawab, who was "much distasted", he was "entertained" from June and given his former allowances, and he

32. Sarkar, *Aurangzeb*, V, 321-2.

33. Foster, *op. cit.*, 138-40.

34. FEF 1665-67, 257-8; 1668-69, 165-67.

35. Tavernier found Pratt as chief of the English in Dacca early in 1666. Ball I, 131.

also promised to "manage" faithfully and carefully what the Bengal factors would recommend. Pratt informed Blake that the Nawab was "well content with" the presents and had promised that the English "should not be molested" and also gave his *perwana* on all governors (officers). This the Bengal factors considered to be very advantageous and sufficient to carry on the business of that year, because the saltpetre boats came to Hugli without any stop.³⁶

The Bengal factors proposed another remedy (letter of April 12, 1666). They observed that since "injustice" was Shaista Khan's "general exercise", the only way to counteract the financial strain on the Company caused by heavy payments (to "unjust nabob" and "bad governors, who have paid for a licence to oppresse, having bought their places of him") would be to engage in large scale operations, so that the "greatnesse of the expense might be buried in the vastnesse of the investment. For these people cannot be brought proportionably to open their mouthes to the smallnesse of our trade, but stand hungerily gaping, ready to devour it at once, not by morsells."³⁷

The letter of Blake and Bridge at Balasore to Surat, dated October 20, 1668 is significant. They considered the attested copy of Aurangzeb's *farman* (June 26, 1667), procured by the Surat authorities, prescribing 2% *ad valorem* duty,³⁸ to be very favourable to the Company's business in Western India, regarding payment of customs and exemption from abuses. But at the same time, they proposed to keep it concealed and to show it to the officers of the Bengal government only when Shaista Khan would demand customs at a higher rate. They, however, expected that he would not do so, "considering our long enjoyed privileges to the contrary, given by the Prince (Shah Shuja) and since confirmed by several Nabobs." These details seem to imply (i) that the foreign companies customarily enjoyed privileges, granted by provincial governors, but not confirmed by the Emperor; and (ii) that the foreign companies could use royal *farmans* as convenience dictated to them and thus deprive the provincial governments of legitimate revenue; Thus we infer that the economic interests of the country were frittered away by governors acting on their own initiative; and that the Mughal central government, by being unable to keep

36. Foster, *op. cit.*, 138-40.

37. *Ibid.*, 257-9; 1668-9, 165-7.

38. Sarkar, *Aurangzeb*, V, 320 and ff.

effective control over the tariff policy of its provincial governors, was guilty of a serious negligence of duty, alike from the administrative and the fiscal points of view.

This fact of the Company's enjoying privileges, not duly confirmed, was utilised by Shaista Khan as a lever and as a "pretence" for extortion (visits, presents etc.) The Balasore factors complained to the Surat authorities that Shaista Khan secretly empowered his officers in all places where the Company had business to molest it. They stated that a small parcel of saltpetre from Patna met "great stops in all place under his government, and that his officers openly declared that articles of transport must pay in future the custome of Gentues" (5% prescribed for Hindus in the imperial order of April 10, 1665), unless Shaista Khan's new *farman* was produced, the previous one taken at his coming, having become invalid. Therefore the Bengal factors wanted the Surat factors to procure from the Emperor a confirmation of their long-enjoyed traditional privileges.³⁹

Further illustrations of the influence of the local governors and their subordinates, when uncontrolled by their superiors,⁴⁰ on the affairs of the English factory at Patna in the sixties and seventies of the seventeenth century are supplied by a connected study of the following extracts:—

(i) The Council at the Bay wrote to Fort St. George (December 12, 1669), explaining the request made before for permission to rebuild the house at Singee. "The Factory house we desired your Licence to build without Pattana was instead of that built since Mr. Blake Chiefe att Singee and levelled by the Rains. Pattana itselfe is not a place to manage the Peter trade in, yet that being the Residence of the Nabob that governs the Country, the Chiefe must sometimes repair thither, . . . and alwayes keepe a vikeel to sollicite the Companies business. If the factory be without the cittie, nigh the place where the peter is made, the Convenience will be very great in encreasing the investments and securing the peetermen from selling what we have bought of them to others, and the charge lessee then to reside att Pattana; for by building of a new house there will not arrise a double charge of maintaining two factoreyes, but the expenses of the old one mitigated."⁴¹

39. FEF 1668-9, 165-67.

40. Wilson, *op. cit.*, I 93.

41. FEF 1668-69, 312-3; Bowrey, 224 n.

(ii) The letter of Walter Clavell at Hughli to Matthew Gray, the Deputy President at Surat (January 19, 1673) contains "a long rehearsal of the troubles and interferences" with the saltpetre trade, caused by the conduct of a supine and bookish Nawab Ibrahim Khan of Patna (1672). Till his coming business went very well on in Singee and thereabouts where we make our petre Investments; but since that time he being a bookish Nimmauzee, his officers have taken advantage of their master's supineness in his other affaires and have almost ruined Pattana.⁴²

(iii) "The Accompt (account) of Pattana" by John Marshall, dated Balasore, December 10, 1676, notes: "The Hon'ble Company have no factory here but what hire, nor doth the Chiefe usually reside there, by reason the Nabob's Pallace is in the Citty and his servants and officers are constantly craveing one thing or another, which if not given, though they have what they desire, yett they are not satisfied therewith, but create trouble and if given what they desire, will be very chargeable." Marshall who had served at Patna for two years under Job Charnock, complained of the highhandedness of the Nawab that he used to forcibly exact from the petermen any amount of saltpetre he liked (possibly either for ammunition or cooling purposes) and that in case of delayed or smaller supply, he used to break open the Nanagur store house and collect the desired quantity.⁴³

The saltpetre trade of the English at Patna suffered heavily due to these. Their factory there had to be closed for sometime. When Streynsham Master came about July 1676, the English had no factory of their own at Patna but they lived in hired houses.⁴⁴ Marshall in December 1676 explained the reasons for the absence of factory at Patna. Meanwhile the Council at the Bay (of Bengal), realising "Pattana itself was not a place to manage the peter trade in" had applied to Fort St. George for licence (December 12, 1669)

42. Hedges' *Diary*, II, 45 n. This shows that Ibrahim Khan was of a religious turn of mind and did not care much about administrative and economic affairs. Shaista Khan was Governor of Bengal at this time and Ibrahim was probably in charge of Bihar administration. He became Subahdar of Kashmir, Lahore, Bihar and Bengal "in quick succession," the date of his Bengal viceroyalty being 1689-96 (*Riyaz*, 229; Stewart's *Bengal*, 366-80, Sarkar, *Aurangzeb*, V, 369). His conduct of Bengal viceroy seems to be just the opposite of what is described here.

43. Khan, John Marshall in India; also quoted in Master, II, 89-90. I, 53, Bowrey 224.

44. Wilson, *op. cit.*, I, 53, n. 2.

to build a factory house "without (outside) Pattana." Here they were influenced by the example of the comparative security of the saltpetre trade of the Dutch, whose factory was about four miles west of the city of Sher Shah.

But a factory house had to be built outside Patna even without the licence from Madras, as the Singee factory under Blake's chiefship had been levelled by the rains. Such a factory outside Patna would be advantageous from several points of view: (i) it would be comparatively free from the local officials' exactions, (ii) but not too far from the seat of the Nawab's government, (iii) it would be near saltpetre ground and check fraudulent undersale of saltpetre to others, especially to the Dutch, and (iv) it would be safe from the floods which disturbed Singee.⁴⁵ The site of this new English factory is probably now occupied by the Government Printing Press at Gulzarbagh, about one mile to the west of the Pachhim Darwaza, the western gate of the city of Sher. It is probably to this factory that Bowrey referred when he wrote, "The English East India Company have a factory in Pattana, adjoineinge to the Citty, where we have all (or the most part) of hte saltpetre sent yearly for England."⁴⁶

The letter of Job Charnock, the Chief of the Patna factory, dated Patna, October 13, 1679, to Streynsham Master at Hughli clearly illustrates the nature of administrative interference in the shape of the detention of saltpetre boats by the Nawab's officials, the influence of administrative changes and the corruption of officers and other evils.⁴⁷

The then Nawab of Bihar⁴⁸ at first demanded Rs. 500 as *pesh-kash* to allow the English to open their warehouse and to grant a *dastak* for their saltpetre boats. But subsequently he fell off from his promise, and demanded what "other governors" had taken from the English before. The Nawab's new demand, intimated through the *Jamadar* and then *darogha*, was higher than Rs. 500, besides spices, Japan voiders (baskets) etc.⁴⁹ Even after the payment of

45. Master I, 52-55. Marshall in *ibid.*, II, 89-90.

46. Bowrey, 223-4.

47. During 1677-80, the Governors of Bengal were Fidai Khan entitled Azam Khan Kokah, a grasping tyrant (less than a year) and Prince Muhammad Azam (one year). Sarkar, *Aurangzeb*, V, 368.

48. Either Ibrahim Khan, or Saif Khan (Stewart, *History of Bengal*, 350).

49. Master, II, 272-6.

these, the promise was not fulfilled as a new Diwan came, and the Khalsa affairs were wholly in the Diwan's hands. This "caused great dissensions between them, besides great troubles and stops to all merchants, for from the time of his first arrival, no goods whatever had any passage by land or water for want of bills."⁵⁰ This Diwan, to whom the matter of detention of saltpetre boats was referred, became much concerned, agreed to advise the King, and dispatch the boats, after taking an account of the saltpetre and a bond (*mochelka*) from the English. So the Company's *vakil* endeavoured to secure the *dastak* but in vain. The Diwan called for the papers and found fault with the copy of the *farman*—that "it was for all goods....to Surat, and not to Bengal ports"; the *Husb ul hukm* (by order) was "written on such thin flawy paper" that the name "Suba Behar" had become very indistinct. So the Diwan suspected it to be a forged document. The *vakil* pleaded in vain. After some days the Diwan ordered through his *peshdast* or assistant that the English must for the present pay customs but that later on they should procure from Delhi a written exemption from customs in future. The assistant was induced, by promises of money and goods, to intercede on behalf of the English. Similarly the Patna factors induced Mamud Ali (Mahmud Ali), the Diwan's mansabdar and sealkeeper, to move on their behalf.

The Diwan promised that he would open the warehouse and expedite the despatch of the boats on three conditions: (i) the English to give a *mochelka* (bond) to secure from Delhi a written exemption from customs in two months (ii) the saltpetre goods to be written down; (iii) the customs be fixed at 5% and deposited. Later on the Diwan relaxed his demands and asked the *peshdast* to give a *dastak* even without the customs, if the first two conditions were fulfilled. The *peshdast* suggested the alternative of following the Dutch practice of certifying from Hughli in four months' time the arrival of the exact amount of saltpetre. The English quickly agreed to it, in view of the difficulty of procuring a *farman* from Delhi in so short a time in these troublesome times." This agreement was certified by the Kazi's department,⁵¹ after long

50. *Ibid.* It is a clear case of rivalry between the Bihar Nawab and his Diwan, which adversely affected the economic life of the country, besides its political results.

51. This throws a new light on the function of the Kazi's department—that it had to certify the documents of foreign traders and illustrates the dilatory nature of the department ("soe troublesome and full of delaies are those mullavas") Master II, *op. cit.*

delay. The tour programme of the Diwan caused further delay and he returned the *mochelka*, having the kazi's *chhap* (seal), saying that "the papers of the English were not current," and that owing to his differences with the Nawab he could not give his *parwana* without imperial sanction.

Hence the Company's *vakil* pressed on the Diwan's mansabdar Mahmud Ali, who secured the Kachhari *darogha*. Meya Hya (Miyan Hayat), to expedite the matter as the Company was suffering great loss by the detention of the boats. It was now arranged with the latter, on promises of "money and goods", worth Rs. 200, that the English would give a bond to procure exemption from Delhi in four months. The *darogha* brought the bond on October 10, which was sealed in the kazi's court on the 12th. Charnock thus expected that with the help of the sealed bond, the *dastak* would be bought, and that after all these troubles, the boats of the English would go down to Bengal.

Thus a change in the staff of the government necessitated fresh petitions, and numerous negotiations before a promise of a *parwana* permitting the saltpetre boats to sail could be obtained. The Company's *vakil*, the Diwan, and his assistant, the Diwan's mansabdar, and the sealkeeper, the Kazi and the court inspector were all associated in this attempt of the English to secure the necessary *dastaks*. Bribes had to be given to all these officers, except—it must be admitted to his credit—the Diwan, a man of scrupulous integrity, refusing to accept present from any person whatsoever.

During this long delay caused by corrupt officials, executive or judicial, high or low, by the dilatoriness of the general offices of the nawab or the diwan, of the judicial department, and even by private differences between the Nawab and the Diwan, the boatmen grew discontented, and complained to the Nawab that the English owed them demurrage to the value of Rs. 5,500. The matter was referred to the *Adalat*, where the Kazi and the *Chupdars* had to be heavily bribed, and the English promised the kazi about Rs. 600 for security against affronts and unjust demands in the future.⁵²

Hence Charnock, the Chief of the Patna factory, wrote to Streynsham Master at Hughli, that there was little encouragement of trade at Patna owing to constant "stops", "insufferable troubles," "daily affronts," "large expense" and after all "uncertainty of anything". But Master was not satisfied with Charnock's

52. Master II, 272-6.

explanations, and censured him for not agreeing to the extortionate demands of the nawab, or, as he expressed it, "hazarding so great a concern of the Company for so little a matter as 1000 or 1,500 Rs." ⁵³

The illness of the King's Diwan at Bihar prevented the clearing of the saltpetre boats. The Patna factors however, expected his *dastak* "to clear them suddenly" (letter of October 17, 1679, received by Master on 30th). All available *bhars* or lighters were ready to carry the saltpetre aboard the ships; but even on November 3 no news came. On the 13th Master at Cassimbazar complained to Joseph Hynmers, Deputy Governor etc., Council at Fort St. George, Madraspatnam, of the non-arrival of the Patna boats, apprehending damages, caused by the delay, especially to 1000 tons of saltpetre bought and laden (at Hugli ? or coming from Patna?). ⁵⁴ On November 14, 1679, Master got letters from Charnock dated November 5, that clearance orders had been received with a present of Rs. 700 to the Nawab and Rs. 200 to the *Mirbahri* (Lord of Admiralty, harbour master). ⁵⁵ Meanwhile, the English were making endeavours to secure exemption from customs in Mughal territory and Charnock also informed Master that on October 30, he had heard from the *Vakil* at Delhi that the King had refused to accept Rs. 22,000 for a farman freeing the English from custom throughout the dominions, "saying he could not grant it for 22 lakhs." The Company's *vakil*, however was hopeful, as the Diwan or Vizier, Asad Khan, had held out chances of securing the same farman for Rs. 20,000 only, throughout the empire, except at Surat, without giving anything to the King. Nevertheless, the King, being informed how the English paid their customs at Surat, demanded that both the English and the Dutch should pay $\frac{1}{2}\%$, which had been remitted for service done during Shivaji's first sack of Surat ⁵⁶ and turned out all the writers for letting it pass free so long. ⁵⁷ On November 21 (night), Master got letters from Charnock dated 11th, stating that: (i) the Wazir, Asad Khan had made another petition to the King on behalf of the English, for a customs-free farman, and hoped to get it for Rs. 20,000; (ii) the Nawab at Patna, for a

53. *Ibid.*, I, 108-11; II, 274, 275.

54. *Ibid.*, Introduction, 108-111; II, 279, 291.

55. This shows that Patna had a *Mirbahri* and was a harbour in the 17th century.

56. January, 1664. Bruce, *Annals*, II, 145; says that in return for their help the English were allowed an abatement of 1% on the rate of customs payable to the Mogul. Master II, 291-2 n. See Sarkar, *Aurangzeb*, V, 319.

57. Master, *op. cit.*

peshkash of Rs. 700, had ordered the opening of the warehouse, and a *dastak* for the saltpetre boats, and so the boats would arrive in 2 or 3 days. ⁵⁸ (iii) On 22nd morning, a man was sent to Rajmahal with a letter to the English *vakil* and fine clothes, scarlet, broad-cloth, 3 sword blades, 1 small cedar looking glass, 1 knife handle tipt and twisted with silver, do wrought ivory haft, penknives ordinary, as presents to the Governor and others there to expedite the despatch of the boats. ⁵⁹

The delay in the arrival of the long-expected boats, which did not reach even Rajmahal by November 23, 1679, was getting serious. The problem; as Master observed in his letter from Cassimbazar to Vincent at Hughli on that date, was what to do if the boats did not arrive before the departure of the ships to Europe ⁶⁰—whether to await the arrival of the boats or to purchase as much saltpetre as was available and possible at Hughli. Master considered this question and thus sought the opinion of Vincent: "Should you goe about to buy up the petre in Hughli, which, though you should yield into the utmost of their demands, would take up more time than can possibly be spared for the ships to save their passage home, and we may reasonably hope that the Pattana Petre must be downe in as short time as you can buy up at Hugly.... If we doe not hear from him (Charnock) in a day or two more, we shall write you againe, and in the meantime you may be contriving how to compass in buying up all the Petre in Hugly upon a day at once, if we should conclude soe to doe, and give us your opinion herein with all speed." ⁶¹ Vincent was further asked on November 30, to lade his purchase "upon freighted vessells and send it aboard the ships with all expedition possible," as nothing had been heard from Patna, or about the boats, for a long time. The need to get the saltpetre down to the ships at Balasore was all the more urgent, since Shaista Khan's son and deputy was nearing Rajmahal, and it was apprehended that this "change of government" might entail some hindrance to the despatch of the Company's goods. The appointment of new Governors was, as a rule, a signal for fresh extortions, and it was deemed wise to get the "piece-goods safely board, and send them down, in the charge of 'able pilots' to Balasor Road." ⁶²

The saltpetre boats left Patna on November 19, 1679, but they stopped at two other places, and the boatmen returned back to

58. *Ibid.*, 297.

59. *Ibid.*, 298-99.

60. *Ibid.*, I, 115-116.

61. *Ibid.*, II, 308-9.

62. *Ibid.*, I, 115-6.

Patna. Later on all went again except "the two chief of them" who deserved, according to Charnock, "exemplar punishment."⁶³ The warehouse was not opened.⁶⁴ As the boats carrying saltpetre did not arrive at Cassimbazar, Master sent orders on December 1, 1679, to buy up saltpetre in Hughli for the *Success* and *George* (the *Golden Fleece* having already 150 tons on board). About 8000 rls. were bought up at Hughli, which, in the opinion of Master, should suffice as ballast for all ships, and were proposed to be sent down to the ships.⁶⁵ Master thus wrote in his private Memorandum: "By my being in the Bay this year 1679, the Company's ships were dispatched for England, which otherwise they could not have been for want of saltpetre, which not coming from Pattana, was at the utmost time brought up at Hughli, and the goods from all the Factorys were much belated, but furthered by my presence."⁶⁶

Towards the end of 1682, we read of another interference in the saltpetre trade of the English. A thousand tons of saltpetre arrived from Bengal from Patna but were stopped... the Governor demanding customs (Rs. 50,000), threatening to sell the saltpetre and "pay himself or to surprize the ffactory."⁶⁷

This treatment meted out to the English in their saltpetre trade was quite different from that shown to the Dutch, as will be apparent from the following entry in Hedges' Diary, November 1684. "Mr. Derrick Johnson, a Dutch man, formerly employed as skipper for the English in severall voyages, tolld me that... the Directore was long since advised their Petre Boats were disallowed from Pattana and on their way to Hugly,—the Great Mogul had ordered Shaste Chan, Nabob of Decca, not to permit any ship to be put upon the Hollander's negotiations, for they were very profitable at sea, and might be provoked to stop their Pilgrims or Haggis going to Mecca, who he desired might goe and returne with greatest accommodation."⁶⁸ This shows that (i) the general view that the naval supremacy of the Dutch passed to the English immediately after the Dutch wars in the mid 17th century is not accurate, and that even towards the end of the century, the Dutch were "very potent at sea." (ii) Aurangzeb's order to the Dacca Nawab not to interfere with the Dutch trade had a religious motive—safety of the pilgrims to Mecca.

63. *Ibid.*, II, 322-3 n.

64. *Ibid.*

65. *Ibid.*, II, 323-4, I, 115-6.

66. Master Papers No. 10, in *Ibid.*, I, 115-6.

67. Hedges, II, 50, n. 1.

68. *Ibid.*, 164.

