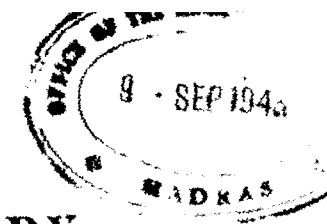


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Rājasekhara

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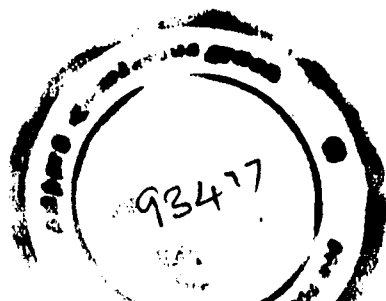
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Journal of Indian History

The State of Brahmanism in the Kusana Period

By

BALJ NATH PURI, M.A.,
Lucknow.

The term Brahmanism indicates that Socio-religious order which recognizes the supremacy of the Brahmins. As the service of the Brahmins is requisitioned for the performance of sacrificial rites in which they get handsome dakṣiṇā or gifts, this order prescribes the performance of sacrificial rites for its members. Therefore Brahmanism necessarily involves the recognition of the supremacy of the Brahmins and the performance of sacrificial rites in which their presence is needed. This order has been in existence for a long time, but it was thought by many scholars that it had a serious set back due to the rise of Śramana religions, particularly Buddhism and Jainism, and there was no Brahmanical Revival and Renovation before the advent of the Guptas to power. This suggestion was first made by R. G. Bhandarkar as early as 1900 in his paper entitled 'A peep into the Early History of Deccan.'¹ Later on R. D. Banerji also in his lectures on 'The Age of the Imperial Guptas' pointed out,² 'The Principal work of the Brahmins in the Fifth and Sixth Centuries A.D. was to reform Hinduism or the orthodox Brahmanical religion from the state of torpor into which it had fallen during the long rule of the barbarians'. He further pointed out that 'the rise of Northern Buddhism during the reign of Kaṇiṣka and the creation of a pantheon of superior and inferior deities in it had constituted that religion into a formidable rival of orthodox Hinduism'. From a perusal of these two opinions on the state of Brahmanism before the advent of the Guptas to

1. J.B.B.R.A.S. Vol. XX p. 356 ff.

2. Manindra Chandra Nandy Lectures 1930 p. 112.

power it appears that there was a vigorous Renovation and Revival of Brahmanism only at the hands of the Guptas, and secondly Brahmanical religion was disintegrated during the rule of the Kuṣāṇas who preceded the Guptas. We shall therefore discuss these two points.

As regards the first point relating to vigorous renovation and revival of Brahmanism in the Gupta period alone, sufficient light has been thrown by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar in his short paper on Brahmanical revival contributed to the volume of *Eastern and Indian studies*.³ He has pointed out that Brahmanism was revived with the advent of the Brahmin Śuṅgas to power viz. to say long long before the time of the Guptas and it has continued even till the time of the Śātkarṇis, as is evident from Nānāghāt cave inscription of that Śātkarṇi king recording the performance of Rājsūya Yajña once and Aśvamedha twice.⁴ He has also referred to a slightly earlier inscription⁵ found at Ghasundi not far from Chittorgarh crediting *Gajāyana Parāśariputra Sarvatāta* with the celebration of a similar sacrifice. The patronymic *Gajāyana* indicates the Brahmanic origin of Sarvatāta. He was supposed to be a Kāṇva ruler. In his paper Dr. Bhandarkar has also referred to the Ajodhyā inscription⁶ of Puṣyamitra the suṅga who had performed Aśvamedha sacrifice twice. Therefore it has been shown in that paper that even after the period of the Śuṅgas and up to the time of the Śātkarṇis sacrificial rites, such as Aśvamedha, continued to be performed, which just indicates that Brahmanism was not a dead religion.

The performance of Yajñas and sacrificial rites, referred to by Dr. Bhandarkar, down to the time of the Śātkarṇi king Gautamīputra, however, continued to exist in the Kuṣāṇa period as well. This is evident from a record⁷ belonging to the time of the later Kuṣāṇas and written in pure Sanskrit. It is inscribed on a Yūpa pillar which was recovered from Īśāpur, not far from Mathurā. The inscription is dated in the year 24 of Mahārajarājātirāja Devaputra Vāsiṣka. It records the setting up of the Yūpa and the performance of sacrificial rites in the session for twelve days by Droṇala, son of Rudrila a Brāhmaṇa belonging to the Bhāradvāja gotra. He was a

Chāndogya Brāhmaṇa that is to say a Sāmavedī. It is a valuable record to show the performance of Yajñas in the Kuṣāṇa period, an evidence of Brahmanical activity. This Yajña was performed for the propitiation of fires (Priyantārī Agnayah). The word Agni is here used in the plural which suggests the sacrificial fire of three kinds namely Gārhapatya Āhavanīya and Dakṣina⁸. This record should dispel the misconception that Brahmanism had a set back in the time of the Kuṣāṇa kings. We shall however refer a little later in this paper to certain other Kuṣāṇa records just to show how far Brahmanism had permeated the minds of the foreigners who were gradually absorbed in this socio-religious order. At present we have confined the discussion only to the existence and performance of sacrificial rites which is an importance feature of Brahmanism. The date of this record is discussed elsewhere.⁹ It is referred to in the Kalachuri era of 248/249 A.D. and as such the date would correspond to 248+24=272 A.D.

The setting up of the Yūpas and the performance of such sacrificial rites before the time of Vāsiṣka in another place, is brought to our notice by Prof. A. S. Altekar who found three Yūpas bearing inscriptions¹⁰ and dated in the *Kritā* era 295, which according to his contention is 295—58=237 A.D., in the Kotah state of Rājputānā. These *yūpas* appear to have been set up earlier than the one of the time of Vāsiṣka referred to above on two grounds. Firstly the inscription on the Īśāpur Yūpa is in chaste Sanskrit, evidence of its being later in time, and secondly the Īśāpur yūpa is better executed than the crude ones of Kotah. This indicates that sacrificial rites connected with Brahmanism were performed even before the time of Vāsiṣka and therefore it is highly probable that some yūpas may have been set up even in the time of Kaṇiṣka as well. There is hardly any evidence to show that the Kuṣāṇa monarchs exhibited any attitude of indifference or intolerance towards Brahmanism. It will be idle to suggest that Brahmanism had fallen into a state of disintegration since the time of Puṣyamitra, the Śuṅga, and could only be revived and renovated by the Gupta monarchs. Epigraphic evidence has therefore removed this misconception. We would now consider some positive pieces of evi-

3. Presented in honour of F. W. Thomas p. 29-30.

4. A. S. West India Vol. V p. 60.

5. E. I. Vol. XXII p. 198 ff.

6. E. I. Vol. XX p. 57.

7. Vogel Cat. M. M. No. Q 13 p. 189.

8. Devasthali; Students New Sanskrit Dictionary p. 7.

9. Indian Culture Vol VIII No. 2 & 3 p. 191.

10. E. I. Vol. XXIII p. 42 ff.

dence to show how far Brahmanism was fast permeating the minds of foreigners and the masses in the Kuṣāṇa period.

In this connection the first record¹¹ is of Uṣavadāta, the son-in-law of Nahapāna who has been proved¹² to be a contemporary and Viceroy of Wima Kadphises. Uṣavadāta was a Śaka¹³ but later on became a Hindu as his name suggests. Now this record No. 10 from the Nāsik cave, mentions that he gave sixteen villages to the gods and Brāhmins and caused one hundred Brahmins to be fed all the year round (*anuvvarshaṃ brāhmaṇa Satasahasribhoja payitrā*) and he gave eight wives to Brahmins at the religious tirth of Prabhāsā (*Prabhāsā puṇyatīrthe brāhmaṇebhyaḥ aṣṭabhāryā pradana*). The question now arises as to why such an enormous gift was given to the Brahmins? The answer to this question necessarily comes from Chapter 65 of the Śānti Parva in the Mahābhārat where there is a most interesting dialogue on the subject of treatment of the Brahmins by foreigners, when they were converted to Hinduism between Mandhātā and Indra. To cut short the entire dialogue, it prescribes the performance of sacrificial rites, reasonable presentations to the Brahmins at sacrifices, and performance of all religious rites as prescribed by the Vedas. These deeds and presentations to the Brahmins by Uṣavadāta, thus, seems to be the outcome of his absorption into Brahmanism. This is the first definite instance to show how far Brahmanism was fast permeating the minds of foreigners. It must have been in a flourishing state so as to attract them. Though there is an earlier instance¹⁴ of Heliodora, a Yavana from the court of Antialkidas accepting Bhāgavat religion, in the case of Uṣavadāta the information is more detailed and there is a definite evidence of his doing something for the Brahmins which conclusively shows that he had accepted Brahmanical faith. Besides this record there are two records of the time of the Kuṣāṇas, both relating to foreigners and their active benevolence to Brahmanism.

An inscription¹⁵ from Mathurā edited by Prof. Sten Konow records permanent deposit of a sum of 1000 *purāṇās* with two guilds by a foreigner who held the title of Vakanapati, a term which

occurs in the form *Bakanapati* in the Māt inscription to which we shall refer to just now. The deposits were made with a stipulation that out of the interest that was to accrue no less than a hundred Brahmins were to be fed and every day some provision was to be left out at the door for the hungry and thirsty. Here it is notable that the donor was a foreigner who had come to Mathurā and had created this endowment for the permanent welfare of the Brahmins. The foreign origin of the donor is inferred not only from the peculiarity of his name but also from the fact that the date of the record is not in the Indian calendar month, but in the Greek calendar month, a thing unnoticed in the Brāhmī record from Mathurā. The inscription is dated in the year 28 of the time of Huviṣka. Another point worth noting here is that the *Punya-sālū* or the alms-house where the Brahmins were to be fed is mentioned as *Prāchīnā*, which should ordinarily mean an old one and not the eastern one as translated by Prof. Sten Konow. It therefore, seems highly probable that this noble had come to Mathurā and seems to have given that big donation as a token of his acceptance of the Brahmanical faith. This is evident from the inscription which makes a stipulation that a perpetual endowment (*akṣayanīvī*) was created for the exclusive welfare of the Brahmins. This record is important and suggests the state of Brahmanism in the time of Huviṣka.

There is another Brāhmī record¹⁶ from Mathurā which needs consideration here. This is popularly known as the Māt inscription. The wording of the record suggests that it was of the grandson of Huviṣka who was himself a Bakanapati, and whose father was a *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka*, which was not an ordinary title but a title of nobility. The inscription records repairs to the Devakula of Huviṣka. The term *Devakula* need not mean 'God's house' but according to Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar¹⁷ Devakula should mean a cenotaph or temple erected over the ashes of the dead. He has illustrated these *Devālām* or *Devakulām* by pointing out a number of such Devakulas at Mandor in Rājputāna. They were all memorial monuments erected over the ashes of the kings, and were exactly like temples with this difference only that their shrines did not contain any image, as they were not intended to be used as temples. This interpretation of Dr. Bhandarkar seems plausible

11. E. I. Vol. VIII p. 78.

12. J. I. H. Vol. XX December pp. 275 ff.

13. Ref. 11 p. 86.

14. A. S. I. An. Rep. 1914-15 p. 66.

15. E. I. Vol. XXI p. 55 ff.

16. J. R. A. S. 1924 p. 397 ff. No. 3.

17. Rep. Prog. Arch. S.W.I. 1907-31.

and accordingly this Devakula of Huviṣka seems to have been constructed by his son who was a Mahādaṇḍanāyaka. From the inscription it appears that finding the Devakula in a dilapidated condition (Viśirnam da (dri) śya=viśraṇam dristvā) this Bakanpati got his (pitāmaḥ) viz. grandfather's devakula repaired, and he seems to have made a grant for the performance of *atithi pūjā* every day. This record, thus, shows that Brahmins alone were entrusted with this devakula and they were given a grant by this Bakanpati who was certainly a member of the Royal-Household. This is another instance to show how far Brahmanism was fast permeating the minds of the foreigners who found solace in this religious order. This inscription is particularly important because here it was a member of the royal household who had made a grant for the performance of *atithi* rites by the Brahmins.

There are no other Kuṣāṇa records showing the state of Brahmanism in that period. The inscriptions mentioned above, refer to acts done by the foreigners in pursuance of their possible absorption into the Brahmanical faith. Their presentations and dedications of endowments prove their absorption into the Brahmanical order. These foreigners on their conversion recognised the supremacy of the Brahmins, performed sacrificial rites in which they paid handsome donations and created endowments for the exclusive use of the Brahmins. This is a sufficient proof of the flourishing state of Brahmanism in the Kuṣāṇa period which is easily corroborated by the Brahmanical deities on the Kuṣāṇa coins, and Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava names like Śivasena, Rudradeva, Viṣṇusena, Viṣṇubhava etc., in the epigraphic records of that period. It could therefore be easily presumed that the activities of this Socio-religious order were never hampered by the Kuṣāṇa monarchs, who on the other hand contributed towards its development and progress. It seems, therefore, that the revival and renovation of the Brahmanical faith was already done by Puṣyamiṭra the sunṅa, and there was hardly any period in ancient Indian history before the time of the Guptas when it met an adverse fate. Thus the statements of both R. G. Bhandarkar and R.D.Banerji are hardly substantiated by epigraphic evidence.

The Trivikrama Avatara in Mahabalipuram

By

S. TIRUVENKATACHARI, M.A., L.T.,

(Tyāgarāyanagar)

1. Introductory

Mahābalipuram is a well-known name in India. The place has almost acquired international reputation through its lithic relics. The Rathas have attracted many a curious tourist to that otherwise useless hamlet. Once it was a centre of great activity. It was an important port of the Pallavas and it is not improbable that the Pallavas had stationed a well-organized navy at Mahābalipuram—a fact that can be easily inferred from Narasimhavarman's crossing of the sea to Ceylon to help his ally, Mānavamma. While the remains in the place afford splendid opportunities for research on all aspects of Pallava rule, however, an attempt is made in this paper to explain the importance that the Pallava emperors attached to the Trivikrama Avatara of Lord Vishnu.

2. Was there a Trivikrama Temple?

Thanks to the careful labours of the Epigraphical Department, we have a number of inscriptions copied from the Sthalasayana Perumal Temple at Mahābalipuram. Among these numbers 113 and 114 of 1932-33 are significant. They refer to the temple as Ulaguyyaninra Perumāl Temple or the temple of the God who stood for the good of the world. Here is some thing interesting. The old inscriptions refer to a standing God but the present name of the temple suggests a God in the lying posture, like the one at Srirangam. How are we to explain away the apparent contradiction? Fortunately we are in a position to supply this answer, viz., that the temple must have acquired the name of Sthalasayana temple later, the first name of the temple being Ulaguyyaninrān temple.

The God of the temple is mentioned in the inscription as Ulagalandaperumal (same as 'Trivikrama') and the Goddess as Nila-

mangai Nācchiyār. It might be that the first deity of the temple was one in a standing posture commemorating the Trivikrama Avatāra of Vishnu. The name itself suggests this explanation. At some later period another deity in a lying posture must have been substituted in the place of the original deity. After the new deity was installed the name of the temple also changed into Sthalasayana, which name continues to this day.

Then arises the question: When did this change take place? Again, we are fortunate in having an inscription belonging to the period of Srīraṅgadēvarāya of Vijayanagar. This inscription refers to the temple as Sthalasayana, thus giving a suggestion that the change must have occurred before Srīraṅga. There is another inscription in the same temple which refers to one Pullalōkāchārya (112 of 1932-33). Pullalōkāchārya might be corrected and read as Pillai Lōkāchārya. This Pillai Lōkāchārya is mentioned as the Nirvāhaka (supervisor) of the temple, tank etc. Is this Pillailokacharya the same as his name sake who is held in great veneration by the Thengalai sect of Sri Vaishnavas? If he is, then the inscription has to be assigned a fourteenth century date. Then arises this confusion: How is it possible that both the names—Ulaguyyaninra and Sthalasayana—were applied at the same period to the same temple? For the inscription mentionig *Ulaguyyaninra* which we have referred to above, belongs only to the fourteenth century. The confusion can be resolved only by seeking another Pillailōkāchārya of a later date. The paleography of the inscription mentioning Pillailōkāchārya also suggests that it could not have belonged to the fourteenth century. The Epigraphist is of opinion that the characters in which the inscription is engraved can be attributed only to the later Vijayanagar period. Then it is certain that the temple must have taken its new name definitely after the fourteenth century and before the later Vijayanagar period. It is not unlikely that Pillailōkāchārya might have been responsible for the installation of the new Sthalasayana deity. This is suggested by the fact that he is honoured in the inscription as the Superintendent of the site (sthala), the tank (tīrtha) etc., all of which were founded (?) by him.

Then we have to answer the most important question: What led to the substitution of a new deity in the place of the old one? Unfortunately we are unable to give a satisfactory answer to this question. But if tradition could be believed, there is a local tradition current in Mahābalipuram that the Shore Temple (Jalasayana),

was once threatened by the encroachment of the sea. It was feared that the temple would in due course be completely submerged in water. So a duplicate Jalasayana deity was made and installed in the then Ulaguyyaninra Perumāl temple which was at a very safe distance from the sea.

Longhurst says that the deities in the Jalasayana temple and the Sthalasayana temple are similar. This strengthens the tradition and helps us to conclude that it was the Ulaguyyaninra Perumal temple that became the Sthalasayana temple after the installation of the new deity.

Now we have yet another question to answer. The name Sthalasayana has been associated with the place from the days of Tirumangai Ālvar. The hymns that the Ālvar has sung about the place end with the expression: Talasayanattē (தலசயனத்தே). To which deity is this reference made by the Ālvar? A solution can be suggested. The Jalasayana temple (Shore Temple) must have once been the Sthalasayana temple. The present neglected God of the Jalasayana temple is the original Sthalasayana. The Jalasayana temple was in a much better condition during the Chola period than it is now. Describing this temple Mr. Gōpālan says: "The temple is originally believed to have been enclosed by seven walls. In a side chamber within the second wall lies a colossal figure of Mahavishnu on the ground with his head to the south". Mr. Gōpālan is also of opinion that "this temple with the close proximity of Siva and Vishnu answers to the description of the Ālvar's Kadalmallai Talasayanam. The Vishnu deity mentioned as Pallikondaruliya devar (பள்ளிகொண்டருளிய தேவர்) seems to be the same as the Vishnu lying in one of the chambers." If it be agreed that the present Jalasayana temple housed the original Sthalasayana then the tradition mentioned above becomes true. From the foregoing it is not unlikely that the original Sthalasayana temple became the later Jalasayana after the encroachment of the sea and the first Trivikrama temple became the later Sthalasayana temple. The only question we have left unanswered is: What happened to the Trivikrama of the Ulaguyyaninraperumal temple?

For the present, we are not in a position to give an answer.

From the foregoing it becomes certain that Mahābalipuram also had a temple of Trivikrama and the deity was the chief deity of the place. Now it is easy for us to find the origin of the tradi-

tion behind the name Mahābalipuram. Says Longhurst: "The correct name of the place is of course Mahāmallapuram and it is a pity that it was changed to Mahābalipuram in later times in order that the name of the village should coincide with the fabulous legend concerning the great Bali, the mythological founder of this once, important town according to local tradition." Now Mr. Longhurst need not feel sorry for what he considers a change in the name. If Mahāmallapuram, a name after an alias of Narasimhavarman, suits the place, Mahābalipuram, after the devotee of the principal deity (Trivikrama) suits equally well. It is not unlikely that the place was known by both the names for some time. The reason why the name Mahāmallapuram has been forgotten is to be seen in the peculiar Indian mentality which rejects things of the earth and accepts those relating to the Divine.

3. Another Trivikrama relic

While we have to regret the loss (or transfer?) of the colossal Trivikrama figure we must not fail to note another very valuable sculptural relic in Mahābalipuram perpetuating the memory of the Trivikrama Avatāra. It is in the Ādi Varāha temple. Longhurst has described it as follows: Vishnu is portrayed with eight arms and standing in his typical posture for this Avatāra with his left leg stretched heavenwards making the three famous steps (*trivikrama*) through the Universe. In his eight hands Vishnu holds the discus, conch, dagger, sword, shield and the bow while his upper right hand rests against the roof of the world so as to keep his balance on one leg and his upper left hand points at a Brahma seated on a lotus throne up in the heaven. Brahma has four arms and three faces and is shown reverently touching Vishnu's uplifted toe with one hand and the God's extended finger with the other. Facing Brahma and depicted flying through the sky, the clouds of which resemble sprouts is a very curious little human figure with a dog's or bear's head (having probably a drum in his hand). On the opposite side of the panel is another figure of a four-armed deity seated on a lotus throne. It probably represents Siva. Just below and depicted in mid-air are two flying figures with large halves. They represent Sūrya on Vishnu's right hand and Chandra on his left. Close to Chandra is a representation of a human figure depicted as falling from the sky. Perhaps this is meant to represent Bali's descent to the lower regions. The four seated figures in the foreground grouped around Vishnu's foot are apparently intended for Bali and his retinue who

are struck with amazement at the sudden transportation of the little Dwarf into the all-pervading Trivikrama.

The Vaikhānasāgama lays down certain conditions for the sculptor who wants to portray Vishnu in the Trivikrama pose. Dr. S. K. Aiyangar has given a clear summary of it in a paper he has contributed to the *Indian Antiquary*.

"If Trivikrama is sculptured with eight arms, five of them should carry the sankha, chakra, gada, sārṅga and hala. The right leg of Trivikrama must be firmly planted upon the earth; the left should be used in taking the stride of world-measure. The colour of the image should be dark as that of the rain-cloud; the image should be clothed in red-garments with all ornaments. Behind it there should be sculptured the kalpaka tree and Indra should be shown holding over Trivikrama's head an umbrella. On either side Varuna and Vayu should be made to wave chamaras and over them on the right there should be the figures of Surya and Chandra respectively. Near these again there should be seen Sanyasa, Sanaka and Sanatkumāra. Brahma should be made to take hold of the uplifted foot of the Trivikrama with one of his hands and wash it with water flowing from a kamandala held in the other hand; and the water flowing down from the washed foot of Trivikrama should be shown as being of a snow-white colour. Siva should be sculptured with the hands in the *anjali* pose and as sitting somewhere in space above the height of the navel of Trivikrama. Near the leg upon which Trivikrama stands there should be the figure of Namuchi, a rākshasa in the attitude of bowing in reverence to the great God. On the left Garuda should be shown as taking hold of Sukra the Guru of the Rākshasas with a view to belabouring him for obstructing Bali in giving the gift asked for by the Brahmanical boy Vāmana; on the right Vāmana himself should be made to stand with an umbrella in hand and ready to receive the promised grant of three feet of space. Near him and opposite to him Bali should be shown as standing, golden in hue and adorned with ornaments and carrying in his hand a golden vessel to indicate that he is ready to pour the water ceremonially in proof of his gift. Behind the emperor Bali there should be his queen. Above the head of Trivikrama the figure of Jāmbavan should be shown as sounding the drum called *bhēri* in Sanskrit, so as to exhibit the joy of the celestial beings at their coming delivery from the rule of the Asura emperor Bali." (Refer: T. A. Gōpinatha Rāo: *Hindu Iconography* pp. 164-67.)

Now by comparing the two things, viz., what is and what ought to be we find that there is agreement between the two only in some respects. The following details, which are important according to the Vaikhanasagama are not found: (i) the Kalpaka tree (ii) Indra holding an umbrella (iii) Varuna and Vāyu on either side waving chamaras (iv) Garuda chastising Sukra (v) Vāmana with the Umbrella (vi) Bali's queen.

Longhurst's identification of the various figures in the sculpture is fairly satisfactory. The falling man as symbolising Bali's fallen condition cannot be accepted as Dr. S. K. Aiyangar has drawn our attention to a reference in the Brahmānda Purāṇa that during the Trivikrama Avatāra some of the Asurās were hurled up into the air. This figure probably represents one of those ill-fated Asuras.

Again the 'little curious figure depicted flying through the sky' has not been correctly identified by Longhurst. He simply dismisses it by calling it as a human being with a dog's or bear's head. The figure has been correctly identified as that of Jambavān by Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, probably with the help of the Vaikhānasagama. It would have been well if the learned doctor had given some information regarding the part played by Jambavan in the Trivikrama Avatara.

Jambavan is a bear; the victory which the animal proclaims is the victory of a dēva over an Asura. The equation of a bear with a dēva is significant. The religious implication is that irrespective of one's birth one would be considered worthy of Divine Grace or unworthy of it according as one is virtuous or otherwise. If a statement of this bear could be our guide, this bear has seen at least five Avatāras of Vishnu (from the Vāmana Avatāra to the Krishna Avatāra). The ease with which he proclaims Trivikrama's victory at a time when even the dēvas were quaking with fear at the sight of the Great Form, is suggestive of his having become a perfect soul knowing the secrets of God's ways. He proclaimed the Lord's victory with a vengeance. He did not even care for the mountains which his body touched as he made the *pradakshina* with the famous *Bhēri* once he even hit against Mēru in his *pradakshina* and injured his leg. Unfortunately the injury that he sustained created a permanent physical disability in him. During the Ramavatara period he says addressing a gathering of monkeys:

मया महाबलैश्चैव यज्ञे विष्णुः सनातनः ।

प्रदक्षिणीकृतः पूर्वं कममाणसि विक्रमम् ॥

"Once in the Yagña of King Mahabali I went round, in *pradakshina*, the Eternal Vishnu, when He was in the Trivikrama pose." Let us take our continuation from Kamban. "Oh Mighty Warriors! Once when the Lord who transcends all knowledge measured the entire universe with one foot, I went round, in the eight directions beating my drum (and proclaimed my Lord's victory) and as I was going, I hit against Mēru and sustained an injury on my knee which has enfeebled me." This he says when a discussion takes place as to who should leap over the ocean which is 100 *yōjanas* in breadth. Jambavan confesses his inability to cross that distance in one leap saying he could do only ninety *yōjanas*. He could do many times that number but for the weak state of his leg due to its having got an injury when he made a *pradakshina* of Trivikrama.

The fact that the Pallavas attached so much of importance to the 'Trivikrama idea' could be explained thus: The Pallavas were a powerful dynasty. Their motto was something similar to the *non-sufficit orbis* of the mediaeval European emperors. Such ideas as helped them to establish a power-cult appealed to them and they made use of these ideas in their architectural and sculptural works. Whatever symbolised strength they perpetuated. The life-like lions and the elephants, and the powerful epic-warriors depicted on stones and also the dedication of a temple to the All Powerful Adivarāha, not to mention the Trivikrama temple which is the subject of this paper lead us only to such a conclusion. The assumption of such names as Mahendra, Narasimha, Rājasimha, and of such titles as Malla (wrestler) only proves clearly that the members of this dynasty wanted to earn the undying reputation of being the strongest of the rulers that ever ruled in this country.

NOTES

1. It is sometimes doubted if the shore temple is a Pallava temple. R. Gōpalan discussing this point says: "This doubt has been removed by the discovery of Grantha Pallava inscriptions on the plinths of platforms excavated near it which mention the surnames of Rājasimha and make a clear allusion that he was the ruling sovereign. It is clear that the shore temple belongs to the close of the 7th century A.D.' The editor of the inscriptions (S.I.I. Vol. I pp. 63-66) says. "The shore temple was built in the reign of Rājasimha and received the name Jalasayana in Cola times. Here the suggestion is that the name Jalasayana is of later origin.

2. There are certain enthusiasts who would trace the name Mallai to the Sangam period. Mr. M. Rāghavā Iyengar the famous

Tamil Scholar has, in an article to the Journal of Oriental Research (Vol. II, 1928 pp. 152-155) suggested after strained reasoning that the name Kadalmallai was given to the place even in the Sangam period. He takes up a passage from the Perumbānāruppāḍai (பெரும்பாணாற்றுப்படை) a work of the Sangam poet, Rudram Kannaṇār. In that passage the word Nir peyarṛu (நிர்ப்பெயற்று) occurs. The learned Pandit gives Kadal as equivalent for Nir and says that Nir Peyarṛu should be taken to mean something having the name of Nir. By this process he derives Kadanmallai. There is no need for such a strained explanation. There is no harm in connecting the name of the place with an alias of Narasimhavarman and also with Mahābali.

3. In the Peria Thirumozhi (பெரிய திருமொழி) of Thirumangai Ālvar, the name Ulaguṇyaninṛān is mentioned. Instead of translating Ulaguṇyaninṛān as 'one who was ever anxious about the welfare of the people of the world, equating நின்றான், இருந்தான் and கிடந்தான், which is not correct in our present context, it would be well to consider the term in its literal sense—(உலகுய்ய நின்றான் = One who stood for the good of the world). For, the inscriptions by using the expression 'நின்ற' refer only to the posture of the deity. In this connection it is worthwhile remembering another name பள்ளிகொண்டருளிய தேவர் which is the name of the God of the Jalasayana temple. Even as this name refers to the posture of the deity, Ulaguṇyaninṛa also refers only to the posture.

4. Regarding the Sthalasayana temple, a point is worth noting. The temple as it stands to-day looks comparatively modern. The name of the gopuram, Rāyala Gōpuram is also suggestive. From these it is not wrong to conclude that the temple might have been renovated, if not rebuilt in main portions during, the Vijayanagar period.

5. Tirumangai Ālvar refers to the God of Mahabalipuram as one who is in the company of Siva whose abode is the crematorium. This can be stated as an additional point to support our conclusion that the Jalasayana temple first housed the original talasayana of Mahabalipuram. Here is an extract from the Periya Thirumoli (6th Tirumoli—commencing நண்ணாத Second 'Ten').

பிணங்களிடு காடதனுள் நடம் மு பிஞ்ஞகேனடு
இணங்கு திருச்சக்கரத் தெம்பெருமானாக் கிடம்விசம்பில்
கணங்களி யங்கும் மல்லைக்கடன்மலைத் தலசயனம்
வணங்குமனத் தாவரை வணங்கென்றன் மடநெஞ்சே.

The reference here is only to the shore-temple where the Vishnu and the Siva images were once installed close to one another. Dr. S. K. Aiyengar suggests that the cause of the present obscure position of the uncared for Jalasayana might perhaps be seen in the real of a Saivite ruler of the Pallava dynasty who might have 'consciously thrown the Vishnu shrine into the shade'.

6. Regarding the Trivikrama Avatāra, one thing is worth noting. The Avatāra seemed to have worked up the imagination of many of the rulers of the South. This is explained by the presence of a number of temples whose principal deity is Trivikrama. There is a temple at Shiyāli called Tādālan Kōil. The God of this temple is praised as Maṇ Alanda Tādālan. மண் அளந்த தாடாளன். The Trivikrama deity in this temple is also a colossal one. This temple is worth investigation by scholars. Regarding the antiquity of the deity of this temple, it is at least as old as the days of Tirumangai Ālvar whose hymns in praise of the Tādālan are too well-known. Shiyāli is known in the hymns as காழிச் சீராம விண்ணகரம்.

(Ref. 4th Tirumoli—Third 'Ten').

7. In the concluding part of this paper a reference to a verse in Kamban's Rāmāyana has been made.

The following is the verse:

வேத மனைத்தும் தேர்தரவெட்டா வெருமெய்யன்
பூதல முற்றும் ஓடிவைத்து பொலிபோழ்தியான்
மாதிர மெட்டுஞ் சூழ்பறைவைத்தேவர மேரு
மோத விளைத்தே தாளுலைவுற்றேன் விறன் மெய்ப்பீர்.

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Fixing of two Important Dates in the History of the Jodhpur State

By

DASHARATHA SHARMA

There has been till now some uncertainty regarding the dates of the passing away of Rāo Jodhājī, from whom the state of Jodhpur takes its name, and his almost equally famous and heroic grandfather Rāo Chūndājī, the conquerer of Mandor. This short note is intended to remove this incertitude.

According to Dayāldās Sindhāyach, Munshi Deviprasād, and Colonel Powlett, Rāo Jodhājī died in V. 1547.¹ The date assigned for the event by Tod, Shyāmaldās Kavirājā, Bānkīdās, and the Jodhpur Khyāt is, on the other hand, nearly two years earlier than this, i.e., in Vaiśākha 1545 (April 1489 A.D.).² Recently, however, I have come across the *prāśasti* of a *Kalpasūtra* Ms. from Jaisalmer which helps us to regard the Jodhpur tradition as perfectly accurate in this matter.³ The 22nd, 23rd, 24th and 25th verses thereof read as follows:—

तत्पुत्रैः पित्राज्ञानुवर्तिभिः सवनयोधपुरे नगरे ।
श्रीसातलेश्वर-सुराजधान्यां कृतनिवासैः ॥ २२ ॥
चंद्रगणान्तर्वर्तिनि बृहत्पोगच्छे ।
श्रीलक्ष्मीसागरपट्टपूर्वाचले तरणोन् ॥ २३ ॥
श्रीसुमतिसाधुसूरीश्वरतपोगच्छनायकान् सद्यः ।
विज्ञाप्य बुधपादानाकार्याकारि सामग्री ॥ २४ ॥
पंचचतुःपंचकैः १५४५ प्रमिते वर्षेऽत्र वत्सराजेन ।
विहितमहे श्रीकल्पोऽनल्पश्रीसंघसाहाय्यात् ॥ २५ ॥

1. See respectively the *Bikaner Khyāt*, II, p. 5, *Rāo Bikaḥji's Life*, p. 35, and the *Gazetteer of the Bikaner State*, p. 9.

2. See respectively *Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān*, II, p. 951 *Viravinoda*, II, p. 806, *Aitihāsika bāten*, No. 974, and *Khyāt*, p. I; p. 46.

3. The manuscript is in the *Tapāgachchha Bhandār*, Jaisalmer. I am indebted for the copy of the *prāśasti* to my friend Mr. Agar-Chand Nahata.

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From these verses we learn that Jodhājī's successor Sātālji was on the throne of Jodhpur in Bhādrapada, V. 1545. So Jodhājī must have naturally died some time before this. He could not have been by any means alive up to V. 1547, the year assigned by our other set of sources.

The dates given for the death of Rāo Chūndājī by our historians are as follows:—

1. V. 1465 (*Tod-Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān*, II, p. 944.)
2. V. 1465 (*Kavirājā Shyāmaldās-Viravinoda*, II, p. 803.)
3. V. 1475 (*Dayāldās Sindhāyach-Bikāner Khyāt*)
4. V. 1480 (*Mm. B. N. Reu-Mārwar kā Itihāsa*, I, p. 65).

Of these the date V. 1475 appears to be the most reasonable. According to Tod, Delhi was being ruled by Khizr Khān at the time of Chūndājī's death,⁴ and he had helped the Bhāṭī leader Kelhaṇa with a Muslim force in his fight against the Rāṭhōrs. The *Chhanda of Rāo Jaitsi*, our earliest and most authoritative source for the early history of Jodhpur and Bikāner,⁵ gives an account very similar to this one. According to it, the Emperor Khidr (Khizr) Khān, angered by Chūndājī's levying taxes on all sides, marched against him with a big force composed partly of Bhāṭī's and Sānkhās and slew Chūndājī near Nāgor.⁶ As Khizr Khān was on the throne of Delhi from V. 1471 to 1478, we have naturally to reject the dates V. 1465 and 1480 as either too early or too late. On the other hand, we have, for V. 1475, also a stone inscription of Rāo Chūndājī's other enemy, the Bhāṭī leader Kelhana.⁷ So there cannot possibly be any objection to V. 1475 being regarded as the probable date of Chūndājī's death.⁸

4. *Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān*, II, p. 945.

5. The date of its composition is V. 1591.

6. Verses 11-20.

7. The inscription is now in Śrī Gangā Golden Jubilee Museum, Bikaner. It is to be shortly published in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*.

8. The Badli inscription of V. 1478, if genuine, would carry the time of Chūndājī's death to V. 1478. But Dr. G. H. Ojha regards it as a forgery. The character of the language used supports, I believe, Ojha's contention.

Was Sultan Khusrau Murdered ?

BY

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Sultan Khusrau, the eldest son of Jahangir, is one of the romantic figures of Indian History. In the normal course of events he would have succeeded to the throne of his ancestors, but he was destined to live a chequered life and end it in imprisonment. His death which occurred in January, 1622 is one of the controversial problems of Mughal history. It has been maintained by some modern scholars that Shahjahan 'did to death his elder brother, Sultan Khusrau at Burhanpur, kept the fact secret for a while, and then announced to the emperor that he had died of colic.'¹ A careful examination of the contemporary evidence, however, shows that this conclusion is unwarranted and mainly based either on the works of later writers on the accounts of European travellers who 'often go hopelessly astray', as Prof. Beni Prashad truly observes, 'whenever they treat of matters beyond their immediate purview.'

Khusrau was born in August 1587 and was, therefore, a youth of 18 at the time of his father's accession. His relations with Jahangir had become unhappy at the end of Akbar's reign when an attempt was made by Man Singh and others to secure the throne for him. But the nobles would not agree to the supersession of Prince Salim, and their determined opposition crushed the hopes of Khusrau's partisans. On his accession, Jahangir, like an affectionate father, forgave the misdeeds of his son, received him at the court with the warmest possible affection and gave him a lakh of rupees for the repair of an old palace which he was allowed to occupy. Khusrau's mind, however, was so full with the "dream of sovereignty" that it was impossible for him to reconcile himself to this state of semi-confinement. His tender age and charming personality could again attract a few hundred perso

to his cause, which enabled him to risk a hazardous escape from the royal custody. On the evening of April 6, 1606, he stole out of Agra on the pretext of a visit to Akbar's tomb at Sikandarah and took the road to the Punjab.² The news of the flight was almost immediately communicated to the Emperor who issued express orders for pursuit and left the capital on the following morning. At Bhairawal he was defeated by the imperial forces and captured after a futile attempt to escape to Afghanistan. "On Thursday, Muharram 3rd, 1015, in Mirza Kamran's garden, they brought Khusrau before me," says Jahangir, "with his hands tied and chains on his legs from the left side after the manner and custom of Chingiz Khan." The Emperor ordered the prince to be kept in prison while his chief supporters were condemned to death.³

In 1607 Jahangir visited Kabul where he ordered the chains of Khusrau to be removed and allowed him the liberty of movements within the Shahr-ara garden. But neither the filial affection nor the generous treatment of the emperor stopped the young prince from plotting against the life of his father. Khusrau's principal accomplice in this plot was I'tibar Khan, the eunuch, through whom he had succeeded in securing the support of a large number of persons. The conspirators had decided to assassinate the emperor in the course of a hunting expedition on his return journey from Kabul. But the plot was discovered in time, and its ringleaders were put to death. Khusrau was also punished severely. According to some writers he was deprived of his sight and placed under a more rigorous confinement. The authorities differ as to the extent and manner in which Khusrau was blinded. Prof. Beni Prashad has accepted the version of the *Intikhab-i-Jahangirshahi* which says that "His Majesty ordered Prince Khusrau to be deprived of his sight. When the wire was put in his eyes, such pain was inflicted on him, that it is beyond all expression. The Prince, after being deprived of sight, was brought to Agra; and the paternal love again revived. The most experienced physicians were ordered to take measures to heal the eyes of the Prince, that they might become as sound as they were before." One of them succeeded in curing him and "the Prince recovered his original power

1. Beni Prasad. *History of Jahangir*, p. 336. Also see B. P. Saxe *History of Shahjahan of Delhi*, p. 34-35.

2. Many people had joined the rebel prince on his way and by the time he reached Lahore he is said to have assembled 12,000 followers under his banner.

3. *Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri*, Calcutta edition, p. 16.

of vision in one of his eyes, but the other remained a little defective in that respect, and also became smaller than its natural size."⁴ We do not know the author of the *Intikhab*, and although he appears to be a contemporary of Jahangir it would be unsafe to accept the entire details of his version especially when they are not confirmed and corroborated by other Persian contemporary authorities. The *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* and the *Iqbalnamah* of Motamad Khan are silent and say nothing about the execution of this punishment; but we can conclude from Jahangir's account of the rebellion of Qutb Khan at Patna that "something had been done to Khusrau's eyes." This obscure young man had given himself out as Prince Khusrau and declared that he had escaped from prison. "He showed those deceived ones", says Jahangir, "the parts about his eyes, where at sometime he had produced scars, of which the marks were still apparent, and told them that in prison they had fastened cups (*katoris*) on them and those were the marks."⁵ This statement of the emperor is significant for he is not giving here an edited account of an incident which would be discreditable to him; he is referring to a revolt at Patna and incidentally mentions that the impostor had personated Prince Khusrau and showed the scars round his eyes as identification marks. He condemns Qutb as an impostor, but does not reject the view that Khusrau had scars of *katoris* on his eyes. Thus we can safely presume that the Emperor as well as the people believed that in the case of Khusrau the blinding operation consisted of the application of hot bowls or *katoris* to the eyes. There is no doubt, however, that by engineering this plot against his father's life Khusrau forfeited his confidence and sympathy for good and passed the remaining years of his life in imprisonment except for a short interval when he was allowed a partial freedom of movements and ordered to pay his respects to the emperor.⁶

On the question of Khusrau's murder by his younger brother, Prince Khurram, there is considerable difference of opinion among the modern scholars of Mughal history. While Beveridge asserts

4. Elliot and Dowson. VI. pp. 448-449.

5. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*. (Rogers and Beveridge) Vol. I. p. 174.

6. *Tuzuk* (Rogers and Beveridge), Vol. I, pp. 252 and 261. Sujan Rai, the author of the *Khulasat-ut Twarikh* says that he was permitted to pay his respects to Jahangir at the recommendation of a *Sanyasi*, and on another occasion he was released for a few days at the request of Prince Parwez. Delhi edition, p. 445.

that "there is no evidence worthy of the name that Khusrau was poisoned or strangled," and Elphinstone refuses "to believe that a life not sullied by any other crime could be stained by one of so deep dye," there are others who emphatically maintain that Shahjahan "did to death his elder brother Sultan Khusrau" and that Jahangir kept quiet over it "in order to save his own conscience."⁷ Let us examine the original authorities in detail before we accept one of these views.

The first point which needs elucidation is whether Shahjahan made it a condition of accepting the command of the Deccan campaign that Khusrau should be placed under his custody. Dr. B. P. Saxena holds the view that as a precautionary measure Khurram asked Jahangir to hand over Khusrau to him and quotes Qazvini, *Iqbal-namah* and *Ma'asir-i-Jahangiri* as his authorities.

An examination of the versions given by these writers, however, does not lead us to the conclusion at which he has arrived. The author of the *Iqbalnamah* says: *Wa Khusrau ra ki dar zindani-makafat mahboos bud wa bandahai-shahi muhafizat wa muharisat-i-oo minumudand, hukm shud ki hamrah-i-Khud burda ba zabtai ki Khatiri a u farzand-i-dilband mutmain bashad muqqiyad darad*, (and Khusrau who was in the prison-house of retribution and was under the custody and care of the royal slaves was ordered to accompany him (Khurram) and he was to keep him imprisoned in the manner that satisfied his mind). Evidently this is far different from saying that Shahjahan "refused to march until his elder brother Khusrau was made over to him."⁸ Qazvini's account is more detailed and throws greater light on the problem under consideration. Prince Khurram is ordered by the Emperor to take charge of the Deccan campaign and suppress the rebels. He accepts this command with a 'bright face and a happy heart' and starts his preparations. "One day (the Prince) asked Hazrat Jannat Makani at an opportune moment in the *Jharoka-i-Am* and *Khas*" continues the distinguished historian, "as to what was in the mind of His Majesty about Khusrau." He replied, "We are satisfied with what satisfies your heart. We find our interest in what is

7. *History of Jahangir* by Beni Prasad, pp. 336-39; *History of Shahjahan* by Banarai Prasad, pp. 34 and 35; N. L. Ahmad. *Muslim University Journal*, Vol. II, No. 2, pp. 129-35; For H. Beveridge's article see *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1907. p. 598.

8. Beni Prasad. *History of Jahangir*, p. 332.

considered politic by our dutiful son." Hazrat Shah-i-Buland Iqbal, keeping in view the entire administrative system and the interests of the people said,⁹ "Although he is in the custody of Khwaja Abul Hasan and the said Khwaja is worthy of confidence, yet the servants do not have the same expectations and fears from the Amirs as they have from the princes. For this reason you should not remain contented with his affair. As the Khwaja has been ordered to accompany me, (Khusrau's) care and custody might also be entrusted to me; this will give you entire satisfaction on this matter." Hazrat Jannat Makani, considering this right suggestion to be praiseworthy, because it contained (the proposal of) securing the peace and prosperity of the people, accepted it on account of his wisdom and farsightedness and ordered him to place Khusrau in the charge of his own servants; nay, (he further ordered him) to take him on this campaign so that our heart might remain secure and satisfied."

The above passage makes the following points quite clear. That both Jahangir and Shahjahan suspected that Khusrau might again cause trouble if he was not placed in the custody of a member of the royal family, because the actual guards, as Khurram explains, had greater hopes and fears from their royal prisoners than from their custodians. Khusrau's custodian, Khwaja Abul Hasan, was to accompany Khurram to the Deccan, and there was a strong probability of Khusrau's winning over the guards in the absence of their master who was a nobleman only. Hence Shahjahan suggested that he should be left in the custody of his own servants. It is to be noted that Khurram had not even hinted that Khusrau should accompany him to the Deccan. That suggestion is made by Jahangir who considered it essential for the peace and tranquility of the country. What perhaps troubled Shahjahan most was that Khwaja Abul Hasan was to accompany him to the Deccan while Khusrau was to remain at the capital in the custody of his (Khwaja's) servants. This is clear from Jahangir's words when he orders Khurram "to place Khusrau in the charge of his own servants, nay, to take him on this campaign." That Jahangir agreed with Khurram in apprehending trouble from the movements of Khusrau is more than obvious; and this should not surprise us, for Khusrau's past conduct had been far from satisfactory.

9. Hazrat Shah-i-Buland-iqbal nazar bar niz am-i-kul wa maslahat-i-jam hoor farmooda ba arz-i-muqaddas rasaneed.....

Khafi Khar is another Persian writer who is generally quoted as an authority by modern scholars. He accuses Shahjahan for the murder of his brother and quotes the author of *Maasir-i-Jahangiri* as his authority.¹⁰ "But", as Beveridge has pointed out, "the reference to Ghairat Khan does not occur in all the manuscripts of Khafi Khan. In two of those in the British Museum, Add. 26,223 and Add. 26,226, Ghairat Khan or the *Jahangirnama* is not mentioned as the authority; and, moreover, no such statement as that attributed to Ghairat Khan appears to exist in his work."¹¹ That all the mss. of Khafi Khan do not contain the reference to Ghairat Khan shows that this is an addition made by some copyist at a later date.

The best known of the contemporary or nearly contemporary writers who has definitely implicated Shahjahan in the murder of his brother is Mohd. Swaleh Kamboh, the author of *Amal-i-Swaleh*. He begins his account by theorizing that it is proper for the kings to dispose of their brothers and relatives whose non-existence ensures public safety and that their councilors consider it politic and essential for the welfare of the public to destroy the other claimants to the throne. And, therefore, on the proposal of the true advisers of religion and State, Sultan Khusrau, who had been handed over to *Shah-i-Buland-iqbal* by Emperor Jahangir when the latter was not in his own senses on account of drunkenness, was despatched from the prison-cell to the vast world of dust by pain of strangulation on the night preceding Tuesday, 20th of Rabi-us-Sani, 1031 A.H. To avoid public scandal the dead body of the late (prince) was taken through the city of Burhanpur with great honour and respect. The notables and officers of Hazrat (Shah-i-Buland-iqbal) who accompanied it were chanting prayers (takbir and darud). He was buried on the night preceding Wednesday." He goes on to describe how "the hearts of the people of the world burnt on account of this incident"

10. *Bid. Ind. edition*, Vol. I, p. 325.

11. Mr. Beveridge says that the India Office and British Museum manuscripts of the *Maasir-i-Jahangiri* were personally examined by him, and they have the same statement which we find in the *Tuzuk* and the *Iqbalnamah*. See *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1907, p. 601. The actual words of the *Maasir-i-Jahangiri* are:—dar Khalal-i-inhal az araz-i-manhian-i-suba-i-Dakkan ba masamai, ijlaal raseed ki Sultan Khusrau dar bistum bahman mah ba arza-i-dard-i-qulanj wadiat-i-hayat supurd. (Ms. belonging to Mr. M. B. Ahmad, I.C.S., p. 242.)

and how "men and women of the city wept in sorrow at the helplessness of that oppressed (prince)." The sad news of this event, as it spread far and wide, "for a long time kept comfort away from the surface of the hearts of the people." His grave became a place of pilgrimage, and when his body was removed to Allahabad they set up a representation of a grave at every stage of the journey. These sites were regarded as holy places and people visited them on Thursdays to pass the night there.¹²

There is no doubt that Swaleh who calls himself "the humblest of the servants of the perpetual throne" deserves a high rank among the authorities of this period. He is a great admirer of Shahjahan and praises him in almost hyperbolic terms. But before accepting his version we have to take the following facts into consideration. His book was completed after Shahjahan's dethronement.¹³ Thus, if he was fortunate, on the one hand, in having works like Qazvini's *Shahjahanamah* to draw upon, he was also liable to have been influenced by a number of fictitious stories and bazaar gossips about the character and activities of his master. By this time the myth of Khusrau's having been strangled to death by the orders of Khurram must have spread throughout the length and breadth of India. Shah Jahan had lost much of his popularity along with his throne on account of his deliberate partiality for Dara; and surely this must have encouraged the people to disseminate many baseless stories about his early life. Indeed the works of European writers leave no doubt about the fact that people suspected Khurram's complicity in Khusrau's "murder". The author of *Amal-i-Swaleh* who regarded Shahjahan as the "source of the finest of human virtues" considered it proper and found it, perhaps, essential to give a justification for this "murder". A careful study of the whole passage shows that Swaleh believed the many absurd stories that were current in his time. That Khusrau who was notorious for his rebellion and disloyalty towards Jahangir should have become a saint after his death is simply inconceivable. Swaleh's statement that sites of the stages on the route by which his dead body was brought to Allahabad had be-

12. *Amal-i-Swaleh*, Calcutta edition, pp. 162-63

13. In the preface the author says that he completed the book in 1070 A.H. and gives *latifa-i-faiz-i-ilahee* as its chronogram. But he not only carries the narrative of Shahjahan's reign upto the year 1076 A.H. but mentions the death of his teacher, Inayatullah Kamboh, which occurred in 1086 A.H. (See Introduction to the Calcutta edition of *Amal-i-Swaleh*, pp. and 10)

come places of pilgrimage where people passed their nights on Thursdays, is not verified by other contemporary writers and appears to be ridiculous.

Another contemporary authority generally quoted by modern writers to support the view that Khusrau was murdered by the orders of Shahjahan is his own son, Aurangzeb, who, according to Sir J. N. Sarkar, reminds his "captive" father of having "done to death" his brothers. The learned author of the voluminous 'History of Aurangzib' has dragged his "hero" into this controversy by making a reference to one of his letters addressed to Shahjahan. It appears that the ex-Emperor had taken exception to the words which Aurangzeb had used for his brothers in a previous letter. In reply Aurangzeb admits the charge but points out that it should not be construed as impertinence of conduct. In justifying the tone of his remarks about his brothers he refers to their hostility towards him and reminds Shahjahan of the manner in which "he spoke of his own brothers, Khusrau and Parviz, who had hastened to the valley of non-existence before the days of his Khilafat and no injury or harm could be expected of them", (a 'la hazrat Khusrau wa Parwaz ra Ki pesh az ayyam-i-Khilafati-an-hazrat ba wadi-i-fana. Shitafta budand wa hech goona asebe wa muzzarate-azāha mutawaqq 'nabud ta hal chi qism yad mifarma-yand.). Dr. Sarkar translates or rather mistranslates the above passage thus: "How do you still regard the memory of (your brother), Khusrau and Parviz, whom you did to death before your accession and who had threatened no injury to you."¹⁴ The inaccuracy of the above translation is obvious; the translator makes the son accuse his father of fratricide although he never meant it. His language is clear and those who are not entirely ignorant of Persian can easily understand its meaning. His only object is to emphasize the fact that Shahjahan was criticising him for an attitude towards his brothers, which was in no way worse than his own attitude towards Khusrau and Parviz. It is unfortunate that modern writers have accepted Sarkar's misleading version without comparing it with the original letter.¹⁵

14. Sarkar's *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol. III. p. 155. The letter quoted above may be read in the *Adab-i-Alamgiri*, See, f. 292 b, Aligarh Muslim University Ms. (Abdus Salaam Section).

15. For instance see Beni Prasad's *History of Jahangir*, note on p. 338.

In fact the above letter of Aurangzeb which, Prof. Sarkar has quoted to prove the guilt of Shahjahan is an indirect but strong evidence of his innocence. From the style of the letter it is evident that Aurangzeb was anxious to emphatically remind his father of his attitude towards his brothers and would have certainly mentioned his complicity in Khusrau's "murder" had there been a grain of truth in it. Shahjahan's critics may accuse his father of partiality and attribute his silence in the Tuzuk to his anxiety "to save his conscience," but they can not offer that plea in the case of his son. Aurangzeb was too outspoken in his style and too bold in his expression to suppress the truth.

Some of the modern scholars have attached an undue significance to the evidence of Europeans who happened to be in India at the time of Khusrau's death or visited it shortly after that event. They have left interesting but not always reliable accounts of what they saw with their own eyes and also of what they heard from others. But their ignorance of the conditions of life in this country and their prejudices against its people made it impossible for them to see things in their true perspective; moreover, "an attempt on their part to cater to the imagination of their readers" mars the value of their narratives considerably. It is perfectly true that "most of them were not in a position to obtain authentic information about the political affairs, hence they content themselves by reproducing rumours and current gossip."¹⁶ The evidence of these travellers and merchants, most of whom were men of mediocre ability is, therefore, to be accepted with far greater caution than has been generally exercised by many of our modern writers. Their observations need considerable sifting before they are allowed to pass as conclusive evidence of any fact, especially if they are based on hearsay. Keeping in view the facts stated above it would be unsafe to attach too much significance to the letters of the factors of various European companies or narratives of European travellers, which have been quoted to establish the guilt of Shahjahan. In this particular case the authenticity of the evidence of these foreigners is further weakened by the significant fact that none of those who definitely accuse Shahjahan was present at Burhanpur where Khusrau's death took place, and Nicholas Bangham, an English factor who was present there, does not hold him

16. Prof. B. P. Saxena, *History of Shahjahan of Delhi*, p. XX.

guilty. In his letter, dated February 5, 1622, he simply speaks of "the sudden troubles that have happened by the death of Khusrau whereof here go many reports, Khurram being, and was then, a hunting some cos. off,"¹⁷ and scrupulously avoids taking the responsibility of even suggesting that he attached any value to these reports. Of course there must have been many wild rumours about the death of a prince who had remained for a number of years one of the central figures of Mughal politics and who had always attracted the sympathy of large sections of people on account of his stormy career which was full of tragic episodes. With the lapse of time these "reports" gained a wider currency, and the enemies of Shahjahan must have spared no labour to popularize the view that he had murdered Khusrau. It is, therefore, only in letters written from other places and at later dates that we find the writers definitely charging Shahjahan for the "murder" of his brother.

Prof. N. L. Ahmad thinks that Francisco Pelsaert's "testimony is of considerable value since he was a keen observer, and had acquired a good knowledge of the language spoken in Agra." He is inclined to believe that he (Pelsaert) "was in Burhanpur or its vicinity about the time of Khusrau's death," because Sir William Foster identifies 'Signor Frinces, the Duche' who is mentioned by Nicholas Bangham in the post-script of his letter of February 5, 1622, as Pelsaert the Dutch factor.¹⁸ Pelsaert, who spent at Agra most of the time that he was in India, seems to have accepted without reservation the entire myth of Khusrau's "murder" and "martyrdom" as well as the divine sanctity attached to the spots where his dead body had rested for nights on its journey to Allahabad. That the details of his account "confirm that of Swalih in a remarkable manner," shows that both have incorporated in their works the worst possible version of the scandalous reports and rumours that had spread about Khusrau's death throughout the length and breadth of the Empire. Pelsaert wanted to scandalize the reputation of Shahjahan, while Swaleh is anxious to justify the conduct of his hero. Pelsaert wrote his account several years after the death of Khusrau, and we can have some idea of his carelessness about verifying its details by the fact that he gives 1621 in-

17. *English Factories in India, 1622-3*. (Quoted by Dr. Beni Prasad, p. 337, n).

18. *Muslim University Journal*, June 1934, p. 132.

stead of 1622 as the date of the event. Indeed, the rumour that Shahjahan had murdered his brother served his purpose for it gave him an interesting episode, however baseless it might be, for his book.¹⁹

Thus an impartial survey of the contemporary authorities and a careful scrutiny of the relevant data will establish beyond doubt that Shahjahan was not guilty of fratricide and that this charge has been levelled against him either by later writers or those who relied on bazaar gossip for their information. In fact nothing would have been more inadvisable on his part than to have had Khusrau murdered at a time when he was in his own custody, for that was sure to have created suspicions about his complicity. He knew that Khusrau was harmless as long as he was a prisoner in his hands, and there seems to be no justification for his taking the risk of incurring the displeasure of his father by murdering his elder brother and thereby giving his opponents an opportunity to spoil his reputation and diminish his influence in the country.

The suggestion that in order "to save his conscience" Jahangir mentions the report of his death without any comment is not very convincing. Jahangir was an affectionate father and would have never condoned so quietly the murder of his eldest son had there been the slightest suspicion about it.

19. Pelsaert wrote his account at least 4 years after the death of the Prince. "The Remonstrantie," says Moreland in his Introduction to 'Jahangir's India', "was written, as the text shows, in 1626, when Pelsaert's engagement was drawing to an end." (P. XII). It is astonishing to note that modern writers have failed to notice these flaws in his account and have quoted him as a trustworthy authority.

Lord Minto and the Rajput States

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Lord Minto took his seat in Calcutta on July 31, 1807, and was succeeded by Lord Moira (later the Marquis of Hastings) on October 4, 1813. He was a believer in the policy of non-intervention; but, as Roberts points out, "he found himself obliged from time to time to abandon the strictest interpretation of a *laissez faire* attitude".¹ So far as the Rajput States are concerned, however, there was no departure from the policy laid down by the authorities in England. Lord Wellesley had concluded a treaty with Jaipur in 1803, but with the revival of the policy of non-intervention under Lord Cornwallis and Sir George Barlow it was cancelled. A treaty had also been concluded with Jodhpur in 1803, but it never came into force at all since it was not ratified by Raja Man Singh.² "So that with the minor exceptions of Alwar and the two Jat principalities of Bharatpur and Dholpur, the whole block of Rajput country on the western bank of the Jumna and extending its frontiers to the Punjab, Sind, Gujarat and Malwa remained for political purposes a stretch of uncontrolled territory. This position continued until 1817, when Hastings embarked on his grand operations to tranquilise Central India and establish paramountcy 'in the country'.³

At the time when Lord Minto assumed office, Mewar, the premier State in Rajputana, was passing through a serious crisis. She had been reduced to a pitiful condition owing to the weakness of the monarchy and the selfish aggrandisement of the principal clans (specially the Chandawats and the Saktawats). The effects of internal anarchy were intensified by intervention from without. The rulers of Jaipur and Jodhpur were fighting bitterly

1. *History of British India*, p. 261.

2. See the present writer's article on "Lord Wellesley and the Rajput States" to be published in *Calcutta Review*.

3. M. S. Mehta, *Lord Hastings and the Indian States*, p. 125.

for marrying Krishnakumari, Rana Bhim Singh's beautiful daughter.⁴ The troops of Daulat Rao Sindhia, Jaswant Rao Holkar and Amir Khan, the Pindari chief, indiscriminately ravaged the Rana's territory. Surji Rao Ghatge, an ex-minister (and father-in-law) of Daulat Rao Sindhia, established great influence in the Rana's council, and in accordance with his advice the Rana applied for military assistance to the Resident of Delhi. His letters on this subject were intercepted by Sindhia, who demanded an explanation from the British Resident. Mercer assured him that the British Government would not interfere in the affairs of those States 'to which it was not bound by defensive alliance'.⁵ In 1808 Holkar's Pindaris plundered two *parganas* near Udaipur. Influential chiefs like Sangram Singh of Lawa and Padam Singh of Salumber disturbed internal peace by their bitter rivalry for power. The Rana received some assistance from Zalim Singh of Kotah and Ambaji Ingolia, but his difficulties went on increasing. In 1809 he became so helpless that he had to take a daily allowance of Rs. 500 from Sindhia's viceroy in Mewar for the maintenance of the royal family.

During the years 1807-1810 Amir Khan, the powerful Pindari leader, gradually made himself the most powerful prince in Central India. In 1807 he brought Man Singh of Jodhpur under his control. In 1809 he established his influence in Bhupal. In 1810 he took advantage of Jaswant Rao Holkar's madness and became the *de facto* ruler of the Holkar State. His first task after these successes was the realisation of tribute from Jaipur and Mewar.

In May, 1810, Amir Khan appeared in Mewar for the collection of tribute.⁶ His progress was checked for a few weeks by internal troubles within his camp,⁷ but everybody knew that it was absolutely impossible for the Rana to resist him. The Resident in Delhi became nervous. He wrote on July 8, 1810, "It is greatly to be feared that Amir Khan will at length succeed in getting possession of Udaipur and thereby putting an end to the

4. See Mr. N. B. Roy's article on this subject in *Modern Review*, April 1942.

5. Imperial Record Department, Political Consultations of the Supreme Government, January 29, 1807, No. 22, 23.

6. Letter from Mr. Mercer, Resident with Sindhia, to Lord Minto, June 20, 1810. (Imperial Record Department).

7. P.C., August 6, 1810, No. 77.

sovereignty of the most ancient and most venerated of the Rajput Chiefs. The country is so strong and so easily defended that, if once the Pathans were in possession of the strongholds and passes, it would be next to impossible to dislodge them, and in its productiveness they would find immense resources. It would, moreover, insure and facilitate to Amir Khan the conquest of Jaipur where it would appear that the greatest alarm prevails".⁸

After his arrival near Udaipur Amir Khan informed the Rana that he was prepared to recover the important fortress of Kumbhalgarh from Sindhia's general, Jaswant Rao Bhau, on condition of payment of 12 lakhs of rupees. He also suggested that a body of his own troops should be entertained by the Rana in his service.⁹ Naturally Bhim Singh refused to accept these proposals. Amir Khan then wanted an interview with the Rana, but he 'persisted in declining to admit Amir Khan into Udaipur or to visit him in a camp'.¹⁰ But Amir Khan was not the man to take a refusal. He forced his way to Udaipur and dictated his terms to the unfortunate Rana. Bhim Singh agreed to engage in his service a body of Amir Khan's troops, and to satisfy the pecuniary demands of the Pathan Chief. But Amir Khan did not want peace in Rajputana. Although both Jagat Singh and Man Singh had already decided to 'relinquish all thoughts' of marrying Krishnakumari,¹¹ Amir Khan was very anxious to revive that source of contest. He asked the Rana to celebrate his daughter's marriage with Man Singh. The Rana refused.

With regard to the final act of the tragedy our sources of information cannot be reconciled. According to Tod, Amir Khan gave the Rana a choice between two evils: "either the princess should wed Raja Maun, or by her death seal the peace of Rajwarra". The Rana preferred the death of his daughter to a marriage which he considered dishonourable.¹² Tod's story is in substantial agreement with Amir Khan's own version of the affair as given in *Amir Nama*. But Busawan Lal, the author of *Amir Nama*, clearly says that the Rana "agreed to contrive to get rid of his daughter .. provided Amir Khan pledged to wrest Khali-

8. P.C., August 6, 1810, No. 77.

9. Letters from Mr. Mercer to Lord Minto, June 20 and July 7, 1810.

10. P.C., August 6, 1810, No. 78.

11. *Annals of Mewar*, Chap. XVII.

12. *Modern Review*, April, 1942.

rao¹³ from Man Singh".¹⁴ A modern writer has unreservedly accepted this interpretation of the Rana's conduct and remarked: "The crime was not excused by any sensitive regard for family pride that marked the high-mettled Rajputs of old. It was the result of a sordid bargain".¹⁵ It is difficult to believe that the Rana was in a position to 'bargain' with Amir Khan. Tod says:— "...the Rana was made to see no choice between consigning his beloved child to the Rahtore prince, or witnessing the effects of a more extended dishonour from the vengeance of the Pathan, and the storm of his palace by his licentious adherents,—the fiat passed that Krishnakumari should die". In an official letter dated August 4, 1810, the Resident in Delhi clearly says that Amir Khan was 'responsible for the murder' and adds: "It is stated that the nobles of Udaipur, rendered desperate at the idea of the Rana's being forced by Amir Khan to sanction an alliance which would dishonour the tribe to which he belonged, held a solemn consultation in which it was determined as the only means of avoiding infamy to take off the young lady by poison, which with the concurrence of the unhappy father... was actually carried in effect".¹⁶ According to this version of the story, the decision to murder the princess was adopted by the nobles and carried into effect with the concurrence of the Rana. There can be no question, therefore, of 'a sordid bargain'. The princess, then a girl of sixteen, took the fatal cup of poison on July 21, 1810.¹⁷

Although the Rana humiliated himself so much he received no protection from Amir Khan. In August, 1811, Bapu Sindhia appeared in Udaipur and took up his residence in the city. The Rana found himself obliged to receive him with an appearance of friendship, 'in opposition, no doubt, to the real state of his feelings.' The inevitable demand for money followed. Another object of the Maratha general was the suppression of the Pindaris, for Daulat Rao Sindhia was afraid of their rising power.¹⁸ While Amir Khan and Sindhia were thus struggling for mastery in Mewar, Lord

13. A *pargana* belonging to a relative of the Rana.

14. *Modern Review*, April, 1942.

15. *Modern Review*, April, 1942.

16. P.C., August 25, 1810, No. 50.

17. Ojha, *Udaipur Rajya ka Itihasa*, p. 698. There is a reference to her death in an official letter dated August 4, 1810, written by the Resident in Delhi. (P.C., August 25, 1810, No. 50).

18. P.C., September 20, 1811, No. 11.

Minto remained a silent spectator. The result was terrible. Tod says, "Mewar was rapidly approaching dissolution, and every sign of civilization fast disappearing; fields laid waste, cities in ruins, inhabitants exiled, chieftains demoralized, the prince and his family destitute of common comforts".¹⁹

About the time of Lord Minto's assumption of office, Jagat Singh, Raja of Jaipur, was busy against Raja Man Singh of Jodhpur, who was his rival for the hand of Krishnakumari. At the bottom of this trouble lay the intrigues of Sawai Singh of Pokaran, one of the principal *Sardars* of Jodhpur. With a view to bring the administration of Jodhpur under his own control he wanted to dethrone Man Singh. A claimant to the throne was found in Dhukol Singh, the posthumous son of late Raja Bijay Singh. Sawai was a very shrewd man. Instead of putting his cards on the table he posed as a friend of Man Singh, but secretly tried to endanger Man Singh's position by bringing about a renewal of the struggle with Jaipur. He requested Jagat Singh to marry Krishnakumari as soon as possible; at the same time he "intimated to Raja Maun that he would be eternally disgraced if he allowed the Prince of Amber to carry off the betrothed." As Tod says: "The bait was greedily swallowed" by Man Singh and preparations were at once undertaken for war.²⁰ It was also swallowed by Raichand, the ambitious *Dewan* of Jaipur, who hoped that "if Man Singh could be deposed, then his influence would rule both the principalities, besides having ascendancy at Udaipur through the marriage of the Raja with the Princess".²¹ Raichand was an able man. He succeeded in enlisting the support of Sindhia, Surji Rao Ghatge (who was at this time the *de facto* ruler of Mewar), Amir Khan and Surat Singh, the Raja of Bikaner.²² A powerful group of Jodhpur *Sardars*, led by Sawai Singh, joined him.

The attitude adopted by Holkar was uncertain, as usual. At first he wanted to prevent the outbreak of war between Jaipur and Jodhpur. It was confidently believed by the British authori-

19. *Annals of Mewar*, Chap. XVII.

20. Tod, *Annals of Marwar*, Chap. XIV.

21. Prinsep, *Memoirs of...the Pathan Soldier of Fortune*, p. 312.

22. Mercer to Barlow, December 7, 1806; February 6, 1807. Prinsep, *Memoirs of...the Pathan Soldier of Fortune*, p. 312 Secret Consultations of the Supreme Government (Imperial Record Department), March 19, 1807, No. 3. P.C., January 29, 1807, No. 32.

ties that "If his endeavours (for peace) were ineffectual, he would take part with Man Singh, of whose services, in giving an asylum to his family during the late war with the British Government, he seems to entertain the most grateful sense". He sent a *valkil* to Jaipur 'to dissuade the Raja from going to war'. In reply, Jagat Singh entreated him to take no part in the contest and offered him four lakhs of rupees as the price of his neutrality. Then Holkar made what British officials described as 'a proposal of desperate nature'. In January, 1807, he sent a *valkil* to the British Resident in Delhi with the proposal that, "if the British Government would give its consent to the measure, assist him with two battalions of sepoy, and settle what his share of the conquest was to be, he would take possession of the country of Jaipur, which produced a revenue of nearly a crore of rupees".²³ The Resident was directed by the Government to express 'an unqualified rejection of this proposal in mild and amicable terms'.²⁴ This rebuff led to an unexpected change in Holkar's policy; he made terms with Jaipur. Tod says, "Raja Maun had only the gratitude of Holkar to reckon upon for aid, to whose wife and family he had given sanctuary when pursued by Lord Lake to the Attoc. But here Sowae again foiled him; and the Mahratta, then only eighteen miles from Maun, and who had promised to join him next day, made a sudden movement to the south. A bribe of £100,000 .. effected this desertion".²⁵

After some hesitation²⁶ Jagat Singh assumed the leadership of the anti-Jodhpur coalition. In January, 1807, Dhokul Singh was brought to Jaipur and publicly acknowledged as the legitimate

23. S.C., January 29, 1807, No. 13.

24. S.C., January 29, 1807, No. 16.

25. *Annals of Marwar*, Chap. XIV. A British officer reported on March 1, 1807, that Holkar "has certainly taken money from both and made fair promises to both". (S.C., March 19, 1807, No. 3). On February 24, 1807, the Resident in Delhi received reliable information to the effect that Holkar had joined Jaipur. (S.C., March 26, 1807, No. 2).

26. Mercer reported on November 29, 1806, "...the known imbecility of the Jaipur Court renders it improbable that the Raja will persevere in this object at the risk of a war with Raja Man Singh assisted by Holkar". (P.C., January 1, 1807, No. 32). On January 15, 1807, the Resident in Delhi wrote to the Supreme Government, "The Raja of Jaipur appears to want steadiness, which renders it difficult to form a judgment of what he may ultimately determine upon." (P.C., February 5, 1807, No. 126).

ruler of Jodhpur.²⁷ Seton, Resident in Delhi, was anxious to prevent the outbreak of hostilities, for, he thought, "an amicable accommodation between the two Rajas would in a political point of weight be beneficial to our interest, since their going to war might eventually tend to increase the power of the Marathas".²⁸ When the preparations for war were complete he informed the Supreme Government that 'the circumstance of so large a force being collected in the vicinity of our dominions could not be received with perfect indifference'.²⁹ But the policy so long pursued by the British authorities had to be given up if active efforts were to be made for bringing about 'an amicable accommodation' between Jagat Singh and Man Singh.

Man Singh prepared himself for the impending contest and marched at the head of his army to Parbatsir. (January, 1807).³⁰ While he was waiting there for the arrival of the Jaipur army, Surji Rao Ghatge, re-inforced by a body of Jaipur troops led by Jiwan Chela, attacked Jodhpur territory from the south and advanced as far as Pali. He was, however, defeated and repulsed from Jodhpur territory. For a moment Man Singh became cheerful, but the discovery of 'a treacherous communication between his Thakurs and those attached to Dhukol Singh' completely unnerved him.³¹ Four chieftains alone remained loyal to him. He was induced by his friends to 'trust to the fleetness of his steed'. "The Raja remarked, he was the first of his race who ever disgraced the name of Rahtore by showing his back to a Cuchwaha". He reached Mairta in safety, but deeming it incapable of long resistance, he continued his flight and reached Jodhpur with a slender retinue. After his departure from Parbatsir the place was plundered by Amir Khan and Balla Rao Ingolia, one of Sindhia's commanders.

While these things were happening in Rajputana, the Resident in Delhi was informed by the Rao Raja of Kota that Sindhia, Holkar and the Raja of Jaipur had entered into a secret league to attack the Company's dominions.³² Seton forwarded the Rao

27. P.C., February 5, 1807, No. 127.

28. P.C., January 29, 1807, No. 32.

29. S.C., March 19, 1807, No. 3.

30. P.C., February 12, 1807, No. 92.

31. P.C., April 23, 1807, No. 25.

32. S.C., March 26, 1807, No. 2.

Raja's letter to the Governor-General with the following observations: "It does not appear to me that the Raja of Jaipur can be so blind to his interest, nay to his safety, as wantonly to engage in a war of aggression which, whatever its result, must involve him in distress, since the aggrandisement of the Marathas would confirm his dependence, and the success of the British Government might cause the loss of his capital, and eventually that of his dominions". He added that a cordial co-operation between Sindhia and Holkar was 'hardly to be expected'.³³ The Supreme Government agreed with this conclusion and observed that 'in every point of view' the Rao Raja's report 'exceeded the limits of reasonable contemplation'.³⁴ Mercer officially expressed his 'entire disbelief of the information given, unsupported as it appears to be by either collateral evidence or probability'.³⁵ The matter ended there.

Jagat Singh left his capital in January and slowly proceeded towards Jodhpur territory.³⁶ Holkar's attitude was still uncertain.³⁷ Jagat Singh's plan was to occupy Jodhpur, to place Dhokul Singh on the Rathor throne, and then to proceed towards Udaipur for the celebration of his marriage with Krishnakumari.³⁸ The support of Holkar was probably purchased early in February.³⁹ The Resident in Delhi informed the Supreme Government in March: "It is stated that Holkar's Sardars are both amazed and discontented at his abandonment of Man Singh, and that the circumstance is likely to cause desertion in his army".⁴⁰ Towards the end of February Raichand purchased Amir Khan's support by the prompt payment of a lakh of rupees.⁴¹ The Pindaris attached to his camp at once 'received orders to proceed into the country of Jodhpur, for the purpose of laying it waste'. The Resident in

33. S.C., March 26, 1807, No. 2.

34. S.C., March 26, 1807, No. 5.

35. S.C., June 11, 1807, No. 12.

36. P.C., February 5, 1807, No. 127, 128; February 12, 1807, No. 94, 95, 96.

37. P.C., February 12, 1807, No. 96.

38. P.C., February 12, 1807, No. 97.

39. P.C., February 26, 1807, No. 26, 29.

40. P.C., March 19, 1807, No. 21. On March 28 Mercer wrote, "Holkar's conduct towards Raja Man Singh is reprobated even in this Durbar, and his influence and authority with both parties has certainly suffered by it". (P.C., April 23, 1807, No. 25).

41. P.C., March 19, 1807, No. 21.

Delhi heard a rumour to the effect that Holkar had it 'in contemplation to assist Raja Man Singh indirectly by permitting certain of his Sirdars to join that chieftain provided the Raja agreed to pay him seven lakhs of rupees, it being understood that Holkar was not to appear to countenance the conduct of his Sirdars'.⁴² Naturally the Jaipur *Durbar* delayed payment. Holkar tried 'to force a speedy conclusion of it by plundering the villages of the Jaipur territory'.⁴³

It is extremely difficult to give a consistent account of the movements of Holkar and Sindhia at this juncture. Neither of them pursued anything like a consistent policy. In February Mercer wrote to the Supreme Government, "I am fully convinced that the views of both Sindhia and Holkar are confined at present to the object of obtaining money from both parties, and that neither of them are inclined to engage in actual hostilities with the other; yet it appears difficult to surmise how this object can be prosecuted by both without the risk of an open rupture. The consequence of Holkar's retiring from an interference in the present dispute, on the receipt of a sum of money from the Jaipur Raja, would be a decided superiority of influence and authority with all the Rajput States in favour of Sindhia, who would remain the sole arbiter...".⁴⁴

We have already referred to Man Singh's flight to Jodhpur. His enemies expected that, instead of holding out in the capital, which had no means of defence, he would take shelter in Jhalor. But at the suggestion of a loyal officer Man Singh decided to defend the capital. He collected troops and 'formed a garrison of five thousand men, on whom he could depend'.⁴⁵ The *Sardars* who still stood by him took a special oath of loyalty, and this 'greatly revived the drooping spirit of the Raja'.⁴⁶

In the meanwhile the Jaipur army was advancing unopposed through Jodhpur territory. Everywhere the *Sirdars* were won over and 'the name and authority' of Dhokul Singh was established.

42. P.C., March 26, 1807, No. 37. Some troops were allowed by Holkar to join Man Singh, but they took no part in the operations. (P.C., April 23, 1807, No. 25).

43. P.C., March 26, 1807, No. 38.

44. P.C., March 26, 1807, No. 38.

45. P.C., April 9, 1807, No. 25. Tod, *Annals of Marwar*, Chap. XIV.

46. P.C., April 30, 1807, No. 28.

Naturally the local influence of Sawai Singh was found most useful. On April 1 the main body of the army, under the command of Amir Khan and Chand Singh, reached Jodhpur. On the following day the erection of batteries began.⁴⁷ Two weeks later Man Singh evacuated the town of Jodhpur and retired into the fort.⁴⁸

Then the troubles of the besieging army began. In the Jaipur camp there was 'the utmost distress for want of money and provisions of every description.' Some of those Rathor Sardars who had espoused the cause of Dhokul Singh were so much exhausted by their sufferings and disgusted with the depredations committed in their country by the invaders that they deserted Jagat Singh with their followers. Jagat Singh's troubles were increased by the arrival of a detachment of Sindhia's troops at Ajmer. It was rumoured that Sindhia wanted to set up a rival claimant to the throne of Jaipur if Jagat Singh refused to pay him a large sum of money without delay.⁴⁹ Twelve lakhs of rupees were paid to Ambaji Ingliia, and for the time being Sindhia was pacified.⁵⁰

But misfortune now obstructed Jagat Singh at every step. When his troops clamoured for pay, he requested Sawai Singh and other Rathor Chieftains to contribute to military expenses. "This appeal proved a test of their zeal". They proceeded direct to the camp of Amir Khan. "It required no powerful rhetoric to detach him from the cause (of Jaipur) and prevail upon him to advocate that of Raja Maun; nor could they have given him better counsel towards this end, than the proposal to carry the war into the enemy's country: to attack and plunder Jeypur, now left unguarded".⁵¹ As soon as Amir Khan's hostile intentions became clear, Jagat Singh directed his commander-in-chief, Sheolal, to attack him. Amir Khan fled towards Jaipur, hotly pursued by Sheolal. "Astonished at his own success, and little aware that the chase was in the direction projected by the enemy, Sheolal deemed he had accomplished his orders in driving him out of Marwar". He left his camp and repaired to the city of Jaipur 'to partake of its festivities'. Amir Khan 'availed himself of the imprudent ab-

47. P.C., April 30, 1807, No. 28.

48. P.C., May 7, 1807, No. 22.

49. P.C., June 11, 1807, No. 16.

50. P.C., September 1, 1807, No. 6A.

51. Tod, *Annals of Marwar*, Chap. XIV.

sence of his foe', inflicted a crushing defeat on Sheolal's troops, and captured their camp, guns, and equipage. (August 18, 1807). He followed up this victory by a quick march to Jaipur, and the capital of Jagat Singh was 'dismayed by the presence of the victor at her gates'.⁵²

This unexpected development at once broke up the confederacy against Man Singh. The Raja of Bikaner marched home. Jagat Singh raised the siege of the Jodhpur fort and started for Jaipur. He knew that his retreat was likely to be intercepted. So he bribed Sindhia's commanders, Bapu Sindhia, Balla Rao Ingliia, and Jean Baptiste, to escort him in safety to his capital. Even Amir Khan was bribed, so that he might not attack him on his way. In order to speed up the retreat Jagat Singh burnt his tents and equipage at every stage. At length he had to kill with his own hand his favourite elephant, which, says Tod, "wanted speed for the rapidity of his flight". In spite of these humiliating precautions Jagat Singh was defeated near the frontier of Marwar by some Rathor chieftains.⁵³ He reached Jaipur in October.⁵⁴

Amir Khan now held the destiny of Rajputana within his grip. Those Rathor chiefs who had intercepted Jagat Singh's retreat thought that it was necessary for them to secure the continuance of Amir Khan's aid, and, with the financial assistance of the Raja of Kishengarh, who belonged to the Rathor clan, two lakhs of rupees were paid.⁵⁵ Towards the close of August Amir Khan reached Mairta at the head of these Rathor Chiefs, and invited Man Singh, who was still at Jodhpur, to join him in order that with their united force they might capture Nagaur, where Sawai Singh had taken shelter with Dhokul Singh. Amir Khan's treachery towards Jagat Singh and his insatiable greed for money had filled Man Singh's mind with anxiety and distrust. He replied that owing to want of money and provisions it was not possible for him to leave Jodhpur at that time. The Resident in Delhi reported, "It is probable that the Raja thinks it safer

52. Tod, *Annals of Marwar*, Chap. XIV. (P.C., September 1, 1807, No. 6A, 14A; September 8, 1807, No. 13A. The Rani of Jaipur appealed to the Rao Raja of Kotah for help and took measures for the defence of the capital. (P.C., September 8, 1807, No. 24; September 15, 1807, No. 3, 5).

53. Tod, *Annals of Marwar*, Chap. XIV.

54. P.C., October 26, 1807, No. 21; November 16, 1807, No. 1.

55. Tod, *Annals of Marwar*, Chap. XIV.

to trust to the effects of time and to the efforts of his countrymen than to place himself in the power of one so capricious and so devoid of good faith as Amir Khan. .⁵⁶

But Man Singh found himself compelled to surrender to Amir Khan. The fortress of Nagaur, protected by a double chain of walls and garrisoned by Sindhia's battalions, was too strong to be occupied by the Jodhpur troops alone. It was absolutely necessary to occupy it, for Dhokul Singh was there. So Man Singh concluded an agreement with Amir Khan,⁵⁷ received him at Jodhpur with 'distinguished honours', and interchanged turbans with him. From Jodhpur Amir Khan marched towards Nagaur, which he had decided to occupy by a treachery unparalleled even in the history of that faithless age. His intrigues compelled Jean Baptiste and Bapu Sindhia to withdraw their protection from the fort.⁵⁸ Then he met Sawai Singh, threw out hints of Man Singh's ungrateful return for his services, and induced the Rathor Chief to conclude an agreement with him in favour of Dhokul Singh. On an appointed morning Sawai Singh visited Amir Khan's camp, attended by the Chief adherents of Dhokul Singh and about 500 followers. The tragedy may be best described in Tod's words: "A spacious tent was pitched in the centre of his camp for the reception of his guests, and cannon were loaded with grape ready to be turned against them. The visitors were received with the most distinguished courtesy; turbans were again exchanged; the dancing girls were introduced, and nothing but festivity was apparent. The Khan arose, and making an excuse to his guests for a momentary absence, retired. The dancing continued, when at the word *dugga*, pronounced by the musicians, down sunk the tent upon the unsuspecting Rajpoots, who fell an easy prey to the ferocious Pathans".⁵⁹ (March, 1808).⁶⁰

Dhokul Singh was now altogether helpless. He saved himself by a hasty flight from Nagaur. That city was plundered by Amir Khan and the spoils, including 300 pieces of cannon, were sent to his strongholds. After this terrible feat he returned to Jodhpur, and received ten lakhs in cash and two large towns yield-

56. P.C., October 26, 1807, No. 20.

57. Prinsep, *Memoirs of the Pathan Soldier of Fortune*, p. 348.

58. Mercer to Lord Minto, January 30, 1808.

59. *Annals of Marwar*, Chap. XV.

60. P.C., August 29, 1808, No. 58.

ing thirty thousand rupees per year 'as the reward of his signal infamy'. Man Singh took vengeance on all followers of Dhokul Singh, including the Raja of Bikaner,⁶¹ who surrendered after bitter fighting (May—December, 1808).⁶²

While Amir Khan was establishing his ascendancy in Marwar and driving Man Singh to insanity,⁶³ Jagat Singh was trying to bring about his long-deferred marriage with Krishnakumari. In January, 1808, a palace revolution at Jaipur brought a pro-Holkar party in power. This party was led by Ratanlal, at whose advice Jagat Singh offered to pay Holkar ten lakhs of rupees for his support.⁶⁴ But Holkar had already sunk to the position of a weak adventurer. In February, 1808, Mercer reported to the Governor-General that Holkar's army consisted merely of seven battalions of infantry.⁶⁵ Sindhia naturally resented Jagat Singh's overtures to Holkar. During the years 1808-9 his troops mercilessly ravaged Jaipur territory. In June, 1808, Rai Chand Singh, the Jaipur general, was severely defeated by Sindhia's troops.

Unable to receive any assistance from Holkar, Jagat Singh turned once again to the British Government. In August, 1808, the Resident in Delhi received a visit from Bakshi Bal Mukund, who was then on his way to Calcutta 'in the double capacity of wakil on the part of Holkar and the Raja of Jaipur'. The *wakil* suggested that a new defensive treaty might be concluded between Jaipur and the British Government. Seton told him that "the former treaty had been annulled in consequence of its not having been found to produce the expected advantages, and that it was not easy to assign a good reason for renewing an arrangement which upon trial had proved altogether useless". One of Bal Mukund's statements sounds almost as if it fell from the mouth of Lord Wellesley: "As the actual power as well as the dignity of the ancient sovereigns of India were now possessed by the British Government, the weaker States, when oppressed, had a sort of right to look up to it for protection". Seton replied that

61. Tod, *Annals of Marwar*, Chap. XV.

62. Tod, *Annals of Marwar*, Chap. XV. Close to Lord Minto, Dec. 24, 1808.

63. See below.

64. Mercer to Lord Minto, October 28, 1807; January 30, 1808; February 29, 1808.

65. Mercer to Lord Minto, February 29, 1808.

"the British Government did not pretend or wish to be considered as the arbiter of the differences between independent States". At last the *vakil* said that "upon the present occasion all that was now solicited on the part of the Raja (of Jaipur) was the mediation of the British Government to procure a fair and amicable adjustment of the difference between him and Sindhia". Seton replied that "Even the exercise of mediatorial interference would be a deviation from the system of the British Government".⁶⁶ Seton's replies were approved by the Supreme Government.⁶⁷

Towards the close for the year 1808 Jaipur became a helpless prey to the battalions of Sindhia and the Pindaris of Amir Khan. Jagat Singh was 'totally devoid of energy and destitute of good advisers'. Nothing could be expected from Holkar, whose 'occasional intellectual malady' was gradually developing into 'a confirmed derangement'. Amir Khan paid frequent visits to Holkar, with the aim of 'obtaining the military and political management of Holkar's affairs'.⁶⁸ In May, 1809, Jagat Singh concluded an agreement with Sindhia. The sum of 15 lakhs of rupees was to be paid by the Jaipur *Durbar*, and, in return, Sindhia agreed to withdraw his troops from the Jaipur territory.⁶⁹

Even after this Jagat Singh continued to pray for British assistance. In July, 1809, the Resident in Delhi reported that the *vakils* of Jaipur and Jodhpur were continually pressing him to secure a treaty of alliance from the Governor-General. Seton was favourably inclined towards this proposal, for he wrote on July 15, 1809, "I am very sensible of the political advantage of conciliating the chiefs of the Rajput States to the westward of the British possessions, more especially those situated towards the Indus. If the powerful Rajas of Jaipur, Jodhpur and Udaipur—supposing the government of the latter country to be once more organised,—and the petty chiefs of Bikaner and Jaisalmer and the ruler of Bahawalpur were cordially attached to us, a barrier might be formed against invasion...".⁷⁰ But Lord Minto was not prepared to extend the system of alliances.

66. P.C., September 12, 1808, No. 28.

67. P.C., September 12, 1808, No. 30.

68. P.C., January 16, 1809, No. 93.

69. P.C., June 3, 1809, No. 30.

70. P.C., August 5, 1809, No. 1.

In April, 1810, Amir Khan made himself the *de facto* ruler of Holkar's territories. Jaswant Rao Holkar was now completely mad, and his ministers were unable to resist the Pindari Chief.⁷¹ That adventurer had already established his authority in Jodhpur as well as in Bhopal. He now became the most powerful man in Central India; even Daulat Rao Sindhia was overshadowed. As Holkar's deputy he demanded tribute from Mewar and Jaipur. His activities in Mewar have been described above.⁷² His *vakil* at Jaipur used 'some very strong expressions with respect to the tribute due from that State'. Once again the helpless Rajas of Jaipur and Jodhpur tried to avert disaster by mutual reconciliation. Towards the middle of the year 1810 they decided 'to relinquish all thoughts of asking in marriage' Krishnakumari and to cement their alliance with family marriages.⁷³ Even then they were anxious to secure the protection of the Company. In June, 1810, their *vakils* told the Resident in Delhi that "the countries of Jaipur and Jodhpur would never be secure from invasion until they were taken under the protection of the British Government".⁷⁴ Seton merely repeated the old reply.⁷⁵ Both Jagat Singh and Amir Khan tried to secure the direct or indirect countenance of the British Government for their respective causes, but Seton turned a deaf ear to their requests.⁷⁶

After the submission of the Rana of Mewar and the murder of Krishnakumari (July, 1810)⁷⁷ Amir Khan came to Jaipur, exacted from Jagat Singh a promise to pay 10 or 16 lakhs of rupees, and left his territory. (June, 1811). During his stay in the vicinity of Jaipur he was exposed to 'the severest insult and oppression' by his soldiers. Metcalfe, Resident in Delhi, reported to the Supreme Government, "He was sometimes deprived of his food, sometimes of his tent, and he was almost daily exposed for hours to the violent heat of the sun. It affords a very striking proof of the weakness of the Jaipur Government when an army in such a state could make it tremble for its existence." The condition of

71. P.C., July 7, 1810, No. 37.

72. See above.

73. P.C., June 21, 1810, No. 42.

74. P.C., June 21, 1810, No. 42.

75. P.C., July 7, 1810, No. 37.

76. P.C., July 7, 1810, No. 37.

77. See above.

the Jaipur army was similar. Jagat Singh continued his applications 'for a connection with the British Government'.⁷⁷

Metcalf observed: "It is impossible to live in this part of India and to see the scenes which pass before our eyes without regretting that the Rajput States are not under our protection. A confederation of the Rajput States under the protection of the Central Government must be a favourite object with every man who has any charge of political duties in this quarter . . . It would connect the Bengal and Bombay territories by a country that might then be considered for all political and military purposes our own . . . It would deprive the vagabond armies of India of their principal resource for ravage and plunder . . . The intervention of the Rajputs under our influence would prevent any co-operation between those Northern and Southern powers that we have reason to suppose ill-affected towards us." But Metcalfe was not 'insensible of the difficulties' involved in the project. He added: "Existing treaties must be set aside and the policy of Government must be deviated from before it can be contemplated, and even if circumstances should arise to warrant the undertaking, perhaps it could not be accomplished without military operations of very extensive nature, involving probably the complete establishment of British control over every part of India." ⁷⁸ But Lord Minto was not prepared to deviate from the policy of non-intervention; 'no consideration of advantage, however alluring' could tempt the British Government from 'a scrupulous adherence to the obligations of its engagements'.⁸⁰

In July, 1811, Khosali Ram Buhora⁸¹ became the chief minister of Jaipur in place of Mekh Singh. The latter was completely overawed by Amir Khan; consequently he advocated compliance with all his demands. Metcalfe reported on July 23, 1811, "... Amir Khan regards the departure of Mekh Singh from the councils at Jaipur as equivalent to the loss of a partisan, and in consequence deems it necessary to prepare to gain some of his objects on Jaipur by more formidable measures than those which he has hitherto pursued".⁸² Jagat Singh was still continuing, through several

78. S.C., July 12, 1811, No. 1.

79. S.C., July 12, 1811, No. 1.

80. S.C., July 12, 1811, No. 2.

81. See Broughton, *Letters Written in a Mahratta Camp*, Constable's edition, p. 92.

82. S.C., August 16, 1811, No. 1.

vakils who acted independently of each other, his efforts to secure British protection. One of the *vakils* suggested that the British Government should mediate a treaty between Jaipur and the Marathas, by which the Raja of Jaipur would agree to pay an annual tribute to the Marathas, and the Marathas should bind themselves not to enter Jaipur territory under any pretext. Another *vakil* suggested that Jaipur should cut up all connections with the Marathas and pay tribute to the East India Company. Another *vakil* said that "a declaration of the British Government taking Jaipur under its protection would not only be sufficient to drive away the Marathas and the Pathans, but would actually impart to Jaipur itself, without any further assistance, such a degree of strength as would enable it to do wonders against all its enemies." Metcalfe reported these suggestions to the Supreme Government because he was convinced that the destruction of Jaipur by the Marathas or the Pathans or by both was sure to affect the interests of the British Government.⁸³ He was informed that, although the Governor-General was 'far from insensible of the actual and prospective evils resulting from . . . the state of affairs in the north-western quarter of Hindustan', he was not prepared to 'enter upon the extensive and complicated field of military and political operations necessarily involved in the adoption' of the policy of intervention.⁸⁴

The able management of Khosali Ram Buhora rapidly restored order in the affairs of Jaipur. He wanted to make a definite settlement about the contribution demanded by Amir Khan and threatened the outbreak of hostilities in case the Pathan Chief refused to agree to a final arrangement. The vassals of Jaipur placed so much confidence in him that they were prepared to co-operate with his plan.⁸⁵ Amir Khan at first agreed to accept 15 lakhs, to be paid in three instalments, but later on raised his demand to 20 lakhs, to be paid in two instalments. Mekh Singh, the former minister of Jaipur, was in the Pathan camp. Khosali Ram refused to be bullied and began hostilities (August, 1811). But Jagat Singh was not prepared to tolerate a powerful minister. Towards the close of the year 1811 Khosali Ram was appointed 'at his own desire as manager of affairs in the Shekhawati country'.⁸⁶

83. S.C., August 16, 1811, No. 1.

84. S.C., August 16, 1811, No. 2.

85. P.C., September 20, 1811, No. 10.

86. P.C., December 26, 1811, No. 26.

After the dismissal of the minister Jagat Singh found it difficult to resist Amir Khan. Naturally the negotiations with Metcalfe were renewed. Jagat Singh's *vakils* offered to pay to the British Government the sums which Sindhia and Holkar extorted from him. The money might be paid in 'annual tribute or territorial cession'. Metcalfe could not openly encourage these proposals, but he wrote to the Supreme Government in January 1812, "... from the ruinous state of affairs at Jaipur and from the apparently utter impossibility of retrieving them except by our aid, there is a good reason to conclude that an advantageous treaty might now be made with the court of Jaipur ...".⁸⁷

As the Supreme Government made no response, Jaipur suffered. The country was a prey to the Pindaris. The city was continually infested with robbery. Mekh Singh was trying to recover his office with the help of the Pindaris. There was 'an appearance of the apathy of despair' in the Raja's proceedings. The prevalence of disorder in the Jaipur State could not be overlooked by the British Government. In December, 1812, Metcalfe reported that the military tribes of the Shekhawati country had repeatedly plundered the frontier of Hariana. On the other hand, some allies of the Company, like the Raja of Bharatpur, were anxious to aggrandize themselves at the cost of Jaipur, and nothing but the strong remonstrance of the Resident in Delhi restrained them. Metcalfe wrote, "The Jaipur Government bore many years of distress and devastation without being so reduced as to become an object of contempt to comparatively petty States⁸⁸ and to its own subjects. It preserved a certain deference and respect, longer perhaps than might have been expected under such circumstances, and it has been only lately that, worn out, at length, by a protracted series of miseries, it has fallen into a condition of extreme degradation ...".⁸⁹

During the years 1806-1808 Raja Man Singh of Jodhpur was engaged in a struggle with Jaipur, some details of which we have given above. By December, 1808, Man Singh had successfully re-

87. P.C., January 25, 1812, No. 31.

88. The Rao Raja of Machiri occupied some Jaipur forts and villages. Both Metcalfe and the Supreme Government took a serious view of this aggression, and compelled the Rao Raja to restore them. (S.C., June 25, 1813, No. 26, 27, 30, 31, 32; October 1, 1813, No. 99; October 8, 1813, No. 18).

89. P.C., January 15, 1813, No. 6.

moved all causes of apprehension from Jagat Singh, Sawai Singh, Dhokul Singh and their partisans. But he was no longer the master of his own dominions. As Tod says, Amir Khan was now the arbiter of Marwar. He stationed his garrisons in strong fortresses like Nagaur and Nowah. He partitioned the lands of Mairta among his followers. Man Singh found himself in an intolerable position.⁹⁰ After some years of suffering he requested Metcalfe, Resident in Delhi, to revive the treaty of 1803. Metcalfe gave a straight refusal, saying that "independently of the policy by which the British Government in India was guided, and which led it generally to avoid such alliance, there were now additional obstacles to a treaty with Jodhpur founded on certain articles of our treaties with Sindhia and Holkar". (April, 1814).⁹¹ The unfortunate Raja was then compelled to agree to pay Amir Khan 18 lakhs of rupees by instalments.⁹²

In October, 1815, Amir Khan murdered a minister and the chief priest of Man Singh⁹³ in return for seven lakhs of rupees paid by their enemies.⁹⁴ Metcalfe reported that "either the Raja or some powerful party in the Fort (of Jodhpur) must have been accessory to the murder of the ministers".⁹⁵ According to Tod, some people thought that Man Singh had consented to the murder of the minister, but when he found that the minister's death 'incidentally involved' the death of his chief priest, his reason was affected. "He shut himself up in his apartments, refused to communicate with any one, and soon omitted every duty, whether political or religious. ...".⁹⁶ The Chiefs of the State compelled him to transfer all political powers to his only son, Chuttur Singh, to be exercised by the latter as Regent. Although this arrangement was 'compulsory', Man Singh 'went through the ceremony necessary on the occasion, in public, with apparent willingness'.⁹⁷ The helpless ministers were trying in vain to maintain a balance between Amir Khan and Bapu Sindhia, both of whom were plun-

90. Tod, *Annals of Marwar*, Chap. XV.

91. P.C., April 22, 1814, No. 11.

92. P.C., October 20, 1815, No. 47.

93. P.C., November 10, 1815, No. 14.

94. Tod, *Annals of Marwar*, Chap. XV.

95. P.C., November 10, 1815, No. 16.

96. Tod, *Annals of Marwar*, Chap. XV.

97. P.C., June 14, 1817, No. 13; August 15, 1817, No. 40.

dering Jodhpur territory.⁹⁸ They did not renew overtures for an alliance with the Company, probably due to 'the systematic discouragement' with which the Resident in Delhi had received former proposals.⁹⁹

The space at our disposal does not allow us to refer to minor States like Kota, Bundi, Jaisalmer and Banswara, which repeatedly applied to the British Government for protection and invariably received the reply that the Company did not want entangling alliances. The Residents in Delhi, Seton and Metcalfe, were in favour of taking the Rajput States under protection, but they knew they could not change the determination of the higher authorities. Perhaps Lord Minto himself felt that a change of front was necessary, but he wanted to carry his superiors with him. Malcolm observes, "The government of Lord Minto had no result more important, than the impression it conveyed to the authorities at home, of the utter impracticability of perseverance in the neutral policy they had desired to pursue". Thus Lord Minto prepared the ground for the bold and comprehensive plan adopted later on by Lord Hastings.

98. S.C., June 11, 1816, No. 28; June 15, 1816, No. 10, 11; October 12, 1816, No. 16.

99. S.C., October 28, 1817, No. 26.

Nasir Jang vs. Muzaffar Jang

By

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The rivalry of Nasir Jang, the second son and successor of Nizamul Muik Asaf Jah, with Muzaffar Jang, the latter's grandson by a daughter, and men consequent enmity are circumstances of the greatest moment to the history of the Carnatic about the middle of the 18th century and to the subsequent history of India as a whole. This rivalry led to the alliance of Muzaffar Jang with Chanda Sahib and to these two together seeking the help of the French at Pondicherry. The battle of Ambūr in which the above-mentioned allies did away (Aug. 3, 1749) with the Nawab of the Carnatic, Anwaruddin, clearly showed the foreign traders in Pondicherry and Madras an effective and profitable way in which they could pursue the policy of intervention in the politics of the country, which, thanks to the number of the contending local powers and the nature of their mutual animosities, led to the enthronement in India of one of those two foreign powers. Dodwell says: "The historical importance of Pondicherry and Madras dates from the battle of Ambur".¹ What the French inaugurated with initial success the English copied with eventual success; what Dupleix dreamt of, Clive achieved.

The rivalry between the uncle and the nephew, Nasir Jang and Muzaffar Jang, was of such 'critical' character; and yet an adequate account of it with all the necessary details is not available. To what has been already known about it, I am able to add in this paper a very significant detail gained from a Sanskrit life-account of Ānandarāṅga Pillāi (A.D. 1709-1761), the Dubash of the French at Pondicherry, which I am now engaged in editing. This new information is not available in any of the Persian works used hitherto by the historians of the Nizam or in similar

1. Introduction to Vol. VI of the Private Diary of Ānandarāṅga Pillāi, Government of Madras, p. iv.

works bearing on the history of the Carnatic like the *Tūzak-i-Wālājāhi*. We are not in a position to say whether this fact was recorded by Anandaraṅga Pillai himself in his voluminous *Diary*, for at two important places in the *Diary* where we should have the description of the battle of Āmbūr (Vol. VI) and the murder of Nasir Jang (Vol. VII), pages of the *Diary* are missing. It is however unlikely that the fact was unknown to the patron Anandaraṅga Pillai and was known only to his *protege*, the poet Śrīnivāsa, who eulogised his patron in the *Anandaraṅgavijaya-campū* in 1752 A.D. In view of the considerable stay which Muzaffar Jang made at Pondicherry and the extent of his close association with the important persons at Pondicherry we can certainly place reliance on the information coming from this quarter.

In the first mention of Muzaffar Jang, the *Tūzak-i-Wālājāhi* says that Hidayat Muhiyyuddin Khan (Muzaffar Jang) was the daughter's son of Asaf Jah, that he was the jagirdar of Adoni and that in the second fight between Anwaruddin with the Mahratta Sirdar Babu Nayak, Muzaffar Jang, on the orders of Asaf Jah, helped Anwaruddin with twenty-thousand horses.² Beginning its account of the events which led to the battle of Āmbūr, the same work says nothing more than that Muzaffar Jang, the sister's son of Nasir Jang, created a disturbance in the Taluk of Adoni when Nasir Jang was near the Narmada, and that after a revolution in Chitaldrug and Bednur, he was joined by Chanda Sahib who had released himself from imprisonment by the Mahrattas at Satara, and both came upon the Carnatic.³ Even in its subsequent account of the activities of Muzaffar Jang and of the murder of Nasir Jang,⁴ this authority does not enlighten us in any manner on the conditions which led to the origin of the rivalry between Nasir Jang and Muzaffar Jang.

Though the description of the actual events of the battle of Āmbūr and the murder of Nasir Jang are missing in the *Diary* of Anandaraṅga Pillai, owing to the gap in its pages, Volumes VI and VII of the *Diary* do contain accounts of the circumstances which led to those events; but in the numerous references here to

Muzaffar Jang, there is nothing which concerns itself with the tracing of the rivalry between Nasir Jang and Muzaffar Jang.

From accounts of the history of the Nizams by Orme, Gribble, Briggs and Fraser, all that is known as the cause of this rivalry can thus be stated briefly:

Hidayat Mohideen Khan (Muzaffar Jang) was the son of the favourite daughter of Asaf Jah and that on Nasir Jang assuming power on the death of Asaf Jah, Hidayat Mohideen Khan for his part circulated the story that he had been selected by his grandfather for succession, and that he also had received the patent from Delhi for his right to the Deccan, together with the title Muzaffar Jang. (Orme).

"Nasir Jang's pretensions were, however, opposed by his nephew Muzaffar Jang, a favourite grandson of Nizamul Mulk, who then held the Subedari of Bijapur, and in support of his claims formed a coalition with Chanda Sahib and the French Government at Pondicherry." (Briggs).⁵

Fraser⁶ practically reproduces the passage of Briggs. He also refers to Hidayat Mohideen Khan having been the son of the favourite daughter of Asaf Jah. Nasir Jang was by the side of Asaf Jah at the time of the latter's death; the eldest son was at Delhi; Nasir Jang, to prove his claim, circulated the rumour that his eldest brother at Delhi had relinquished his right in his (Nasir Jang's) favour. Coming to know of this, Hidayat Mohideen Khan also sent round the information that "a testamentary arrangement had been made in his favour by Asaf Jah".^{6a}

A chance of getting the Deccan for oneself is no doubt sufficient to produce the rivalry between Nasir Jang and Muzaffar Jang; and a person like Chanda Sahib, on his return from Satara, could very well be understood to have exploited the situation and encouraged young Muzaffar Jang to set himself up against his uncle. But neither mere ambition nor the chance of achieving it appear to have been the sole causes which gave rise to the rivalry. As a matter of fact, this rivalry was a consequence of the nature of their previous relationship which it is now necessary for us to glean.

2. *Tūzak-i-Wālājāhi*, English translation by Dr. S. M. H. Nainar, University of Madras, I, p. 113.

3. *Ibid*, pp. 135-7.

4. *Ibid*, see further up to Part II, p. 67.

5. Briggs, the Nizam. 2 Vols. 1861; Vol. I, p. 54.

6. Captain Hastings Fraser, the Nizam, 1865.

6a. *Ibid*, pp. 26-7.

The only glimpse into the early life of Hidayat Mohideen Khan we have is in the account of Briggs. On his return to Deccan in 1741, Nizamul Mulk found his son Nasir Jang hostile to him. Nasir was once brought round through negotiation and he even retired as a fakir; but a friend of his, Fatyab Khan, instigated him to rise against his father. When Asaf Jah had camped near Aurangabad, Fatyab Khan took by surprise the fort of Molheir which was in the hands of Mutawassil Khan. Who was this chief of the fort of Molheir? He was the son-in-law of Asaf Jah, the husband of the daughter who has been described by the writers referred to above as the favourite daughter of Asaf Jah; he was the father of Hidayat Mohideen Khan, the later enemy of Nasir Jang.⁷

After taking the fort of Molheir from Mutuwassil Khan, Fatyab Khan persuaded Nasir to meet his father in battle. In the battle which followed, when Nasir came, "his brother-in-law, Mutuwassil Khan, approaching him, drew an arrow to the head which must have transfixed him, had not his son, Hidayat Mohideen Khan, who sat on the same elephant, stayed his hand and saved his uncle's life."⁸ It is this saviour who later became the enemy and cause of the murder of his uncle.

Materials available hitherto do not take us beyond this. The action of Nasir Jang's friend in taking the fort of Molheir must naturally have enraged Mutuwassil Khan and the attempt of Mutuwassil Khan to pierce Nasir Jang with an arrow in the latter's battle with his father must in turn have made Nasir Jang nurse a grudge against his sister's husband. It is more likely that,

7. Briggs (I. p. 53) says that Asaf Jah had two daughters, Padshah Begum and Mohseena Begum. Anandaraṅga Pillai's Diary speaks of Hidayat Mohideen Khan's mother staying at Pondicherry, but as her name is not given there, we do not know which of the two above-mentioned daughters of Asaf Jah was Hidayat Mohideen Khan's mother. Anandaraṅga Pillai's Diary, VII, p. 315, mentions a younger brother of Hidayat Mohideen Khan who was with Nasir Jang and whom the latter sent to Hidayat Mohideen Khan in prison at Arcot.

8. Briggs, I. p. 54. See also Col. Mark Wilks, History of Mysore I, p. 166 fn. Dr. Yusuf Husain Khan (Osmania University) does not add anything on this subject, in his book on Asaf Jah I (1936). He mentions (p. 150) that while in Malwa, Asaf Jah appointed Mutawassil Khan Fawjdar of Godhra; and in this connection says that Mutuwassil Khan was "the brother-in-law of Nizamul Mulk" but see his own work, p. 241.

instead of feeling grateful to his nephew for his intervention, Nasir Jang was ruminating upon the incident with humiliation. Added to this was the circumstance, if it was really so, that Asaf Jah, who had good reasons to dislike Nasir Jang, had shown some affection for his grandson. As the time and other particulars relating to the assignment of the Bijapur-Adoni subedari by Asaf Jah to Hidayat Mohideen Khan are not known and as the sources are equally silent on the further activities of Mutawassil Khan, we may not go beyond this in our surmise.

But, at this stage, the Sanskrit poem, *Anandaraṅgacampū* of Śrīnivāsa, comes to our aid to fill in the picture with an important detail. The poem begins the account of the political activities in the middle of Chapter six with a description of Hidayat Mohideen Khan (Muzaffar Jang) and his getting the authority of the Padushah of Delhi for seizing the Deccan from the son of Asaf Jah, Nasir Jang. In this context, Nasir Jang is described as the brother of Hidayat Mohideen Khan's mother and the murderer of Hidayat Mohideen Khan's father.

“ — आनन्दाङ्गातनयं त्वज्जननी सहोदरमपि निस्सनेहरुणतया ।
त्वत्पितृहन्तारं मच्छासनावमन्तारं नासरकासरं निरस्य — ॥ ”

“ — having put down the son of Asaf Jah, Nasir Jang, — who though your⁹ mother's brother, became the heartless murderer of your father.”

Unfortunately, the poem does not narrate the whole incident; but it has certainly added to our understanding of the feud between Nasir Jang and Muzaffar Jang by revealing to us for the first time that Nasir Jang murdered his brother-in-law, Mutawassil Khan. The act is only to be expected from Nasir Jang who bore his brother-in-law a grudge; and its perpetration naturally exasperated young Hidayat Mohideen Khan (Muzaffar Jang) and needed only some other favourable developments for producing the rivalry and enmity which culminated in the murder of Nasir Jang.

9. 'Your' here refers to Hidayat Mohideen Khan.



Editorial

OBITUARY.

We regret very much to record the passing away of the following since the issue of the last number of the Journal; among these the name of Mrs. Rhys David's deserves the first mention. She has been one of the most prominent scholars in the field of Buddhist studies, in collaboration with her husband, the late Prof. Rhys David's. Mrs. Rhys David's and her work are alike too well known to require mention here. She passed away on the 26th June last year.

Two other Scholars have passed away since then, each interested in Oriental Research in his own particular way. Dr. Har Dutt Sharma and Dr. N. G. Sardesai. Dr. Sardesai's interest in Oriental Research took the form of a publisher of Oriental works and the starting of the Sanskrit Quarterly, the Poona Orientalist. It was through his exertions that the services of late Dr. Sharma were secured for the journal, which is now going on to the 8th year of work. Another Mahratta scholar of Poona also passed away in the course of the year in the person of MM. Vasudeva Sastri Abhayankar of Poona. He was a very well known Sanskrit scholar and published important works through the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute and other publishing agencies of Poona.

We regret indeed the passing away of Prof. S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri on the 9th of December 1942. Having been our colleague at the Madras University, he evinced considerable interest in the work of this journal. He started publishing systematically works on Indian philosophy, particularly of the Sankara School of Vedanta, and exhibited great possibilities of encyclopaedic learning. Death came to him early and took him away at 49.

The All-India Edition of the Mahabharata.

The passing away of Dr. V. S. Sukthankar deprived the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute of the invaluable services of the critical scholar who had devoted himself heart and soul to the work of the Mahabharata, an all-India critical edition of which was undertaken by the Institute in the year 1919. He was entrusted with the work ever since it was actually inaugurated. The passing away of such a scholar deprives the Institute of the most important among the working scholars of that learned body. We are glad to learn from a note issued by the Institute that arrangements

have been made to carry on the work without break. We are indeed pleased to find this important duty has been assigned to Dr. S. K. Belvalkar (retired professor, Indian Education Service Bombay). Dr. Belvalkar has been associated with the Mahabharata work all along, and no better choice could have been made for maintaining the critical tradition of the important work. We wish Dr. Belvalkar life and health to carry this great work to its completion.

JOURNAL OF ANDHRA HISTORY AND CULTURE.

We are very pleased indeed to receive the first number of this periodical "Journal of Andhra History and Culture". Though the present is hardly the time to start a new journal, there could be no question that a journal of this character supplies a very much felt want. The Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society and the Andhra Parishad Patrika do serve the purpose of providing the requisite medium for historical research in Andhra country. There is yet room for a journal of the scope indicated by the title of this. It is very creditable that Dr. M. Rama Rao's earnest efforts in this direction should have so far succeeded. We wish the venture all success. The work of a handful of scholars who have devoted themselves to the study of Telugu literature primarily, has succeeded in drawing attention to the valuable material still lying to be worked out to expound the distinct character of Andhra History and Culture. We certainly hope that this venture of Dr. Rama Rao would serve the purpose efficiently. It would be well if Dr. Rama Rao can secure the co-operation of all scholars interested in Andhra Culture and make this journal the forum for research in Andhra History and accessory studies including literature. We wish him all success.

We welcome the publication of the first number of *The University of Ceylon Review* (April 1943) under the editorship of Professor G. P. Malalasekera. The University comprises at present Faculties of Oriental Studies, Arts, Science and Medicine, and it has taken over from the Government of Ceylon, the publication of the Ceylon Journal of Science which will be its main means of contact with the scientific world. This Review aims at building up similar contact with scholars in literary subjects and to publish the fruits of research by the members of the University in these fields. This number has articles from Sri Andrew Caldecott, G.C.M.G., Governor of Ceylon, Mr. W. Ivor Jennings, Vice-Chancellor and several professors and scholars on various topics of literary, political, philological and antiquarian interest. It is, we hope, the for-bear of a long series of learned issues of fruitful research.

C.S.S.

Reviews

BULLETIN OF THE MADRAS GOVERNMENT MUSEUM. Edited by the Superintendent.—*Amaravati Sculptures in the Madras Government Museum*. By C. Sivaramamurti, M.A., Curator, Archaeological Section, Madras Museum. New Series—General Section, Madras Museum. Vol. IV. (Printed by the Superintendent, Government Press, Madras, 1942). Pp. xviii plus 376 and Plates lxxv. Price Rs. 14-8-0.

Amaravati, situated on the southern bank of the Krishna river in the Guntur district, was a glorious city in the first centuries of the Christian era, though it is now chiefly remembered for the remnants of sculptures and other relics existing of the magnificent Buddhist stupa that once was its great glory. Dr. Gravely, who has written the foreword to this fine production, has stressed the author's treatment of iconography and symbolism of the sculptures of Amaravati and of his relating them effectively to the background of Ancient Indian culture. The talented author begins with a historical survey of the discovery of the Amaravati Stupa and with an account of the antiquity of the place. It rose to great glory as the eastern seat of the Śātavāhana monarchs, when the Kshaharatas attacked their western possessions and even afterwards. It is to be remembered that though Dhanakataka (the original name of Amaravati) is not now remembered as the Śātavāhana capital, the neighbourhood still preserves the memory of Śātavāhana rule therein. Inscriptions and legend have enhanced the value of this stupa at Amaravati and the magnificent rail round it. Thus Tāranātha notes the rail as having been erected by Nāgarjuna, who was, according to one legend, the minister of Hala, the royal author of the *Gāthā Sapthasati*, and died at the monastery of Sri Parvata. "The munificence of the Śātavāhana kings, as also the great missionary influence of Nāgarjuna and his followers among the people of their time, explain the large number of stupas in the Krishna valley of which the noblest and the most venerated was the one at Amaravati. Here merchants, townfolk, villagers, *aveśanis*, perfumers, leather workers, all sorts of men vied with one another and with the monks and nuns in contributing carved slabs for the stupa," (p. 7.)

The Andhakas, comprehending the Caityaka and other Mahāsāṅghika schools of Buddhists flourished in the Amaravati area; and the Mahacaitya at Dhanyakataka attracted pilgrims from everywhere, and still remained a seat of learning and piety when Hiuen Tsang visited the country in the 7th century. A twelfth century inscription mentions Amaravati as having within itself side by side the temple of Amareśvara and a very lofty Buddha Caitya, well decorated with various sculptures.

The Śātavāhanas are outlined as patrons of art; and the origin and development of the stupa (or Caitya) are discoursed in a clear manner. The stupa is of three kinds, Śārīraka, raised over relics, Uddēśika built as commemorative monuments, and Pāribhōgika erected over articles used by Buddha. The account of the development of the stupa and its component parts, and the different discernible periods in the sculptural growth at Amaravati are given in an admirably comprehensive and accurate manner, which constitutes a very good survey of the art, iconography and symbolism of the great monument, and which is followed by a very fascinating picture of the culture and civilisation of the epoch treated. Thus each period of the four sculptural periods of Amaravati is interpreted by means of the details of sculpture. In the earliest period, the sculptures are fragmentary and marked by a certain amount of stiffness and absence of flexions. In the next period the sculptures show a definite step forward. The fingers become more graceful and natural and the faces more lively. Now for the first time the Buddha is shown in human form (Cir. 100 A.D.). In the third period (Cir. 150 A.D.) the great rail was constructed and its art is regarded as the most splendid "in all India and for all time" and it embodies the high water-mark of Śātavāhana art. In the last period (Cir. 200 to 250 A.D.) appear features that are absent in earlier sculptures. Some of the sculptures of this last period are carved on the original early casing slabs.

Mr. Sivaramamurti has given in tabular form the most distinctive characteristics of these four periods of Amaravati sculptures and of other early Indian sculptural periods down to the 8th century A.D.

The art of Amaravati, particularly in the sculptural field, is interpreted to have been national rather than provincial; and the sculptors produced an undying art that constituted a great link that is discernible between Amaravati, Bharhut Kanheri and Nasik. It may not be superfluous to point out in this review the stress laid by the author on the element of common heredity in

the examples of the work of the painter and the sculptor in such distant and widely separated places as Amaravati and Jaggayyapetta, Bharhut and Sanchi, Ajanta and Bagh, and, beyond the seas, at Borabudur in Java. Amaravati art (or as it is called more narrowly Andhra or Satavahana art), cannot in this sense be interpreted as in any way being specially southern or Dravidian. The art traditions of India were descended and evolved in their entirety from the Mauryan age to Sunga and Andhra, from them to Kushana and Gupta-Vakataka, and thence on to Chalukyan and Vishnukundin and from the Pallavas to places across the Bay of Bengal. Even in the most minute details, as Mr. Sivaramamurti tells us, in pose and in ornament, the sculptures of remotest places are linked together by common taste and tradition. Especially, the reader's attention is drawn in the course of his treatment to the essential delicacy of feminine form that is embodied in the Amaravati friezes and panels. Every item of toilet, both of the female and of the youth, is, besides being delicate, shown to be wholly Indian. Nor does Amaravati lack in the depiction of charming aspects and moods of nature—of course limited by necessary conventions—which are however free from the conventionalised form of any degenerate art. Animal forms are found reproduced in a naïve and natural manner. Varieties of life like the poor hut, the king's palace and the monk's abode, suggestive lines and looks, particularly traceable in the figure of the Buddha, in the Temptation Scene, *motifs* that are pregnant with meaning—these have been well brought out.

The art traditions of Amaravati became more fully developed in Pallava sculpture and they determined also the style of sculptures in far away Java and neighbouring islands. The Amaravati figures come in midway between the Bharhut school and the Pallava. They display alike most beautifully, the variety of symbolic representation of the Buddha and of his *lakshanas* and accompaniments: *Nagas*, *nagarajas* and *naginis* represented as human beings with snake-hoods, as half-snakes and as complete snakes, *garudas* which are represented in two principal modes, animal and anthropomorphic, *kinnnaras*, depicted as described in Buddhist literature, *gandharvas* shown as divine minstrels, dwarf *yakshas*, *Lakshmi* represented as being seated on a lotus and attended by elephants which are however turned away from her, *Sakka* or *Indra* found profusely ornamented, *Vajrapani* and *Mara* whose attack is graphically portrayed, *Sthavara* or the earth goddess, mythological animals of which the most prominent is the *makara*, born of the combination of the crocodile and the fish, and true animals

shown in the most natural way—these are some of the aspects of sculptural details studied in the book. Another fruit of the study is embodied in the section on glimpses of life in the Satavahana period, from which we learn of prevailing ornaments, coiffure, girdles, clothing materials, the attire of monks, arms and other military accessories, foot-soldiers, horses and elephants, ramparts and gateways, thrones and other seats, foot-rests, boxes, vehicles and vessels including lamps and musical instruments and dance poses, all of which yield plenty of information about contemporary social life and culture.

Next follows a catalogue of identified sculptures showing their chronological places and arranged according to the scenes they represent. The line-sketches of figures and the photographic reproductions of plates are both rich and stimulating. There are however a few small slips like the presenting of the Brhatkatha as a poem; and Kalidasa is definitely assigned to the Sunga age; but these are very minor points. The work is a standing monument of the author's constructive scholarship and a most scholarly study of one of our greatest art treasures. The sumptuous get-up of the volume in these hard days reflects credit on the Madras Government and its appreciation of an art work in the stress of war.

C.S.S.

MADRAS UNIVERSITY ISLAMIC SERIES—No. 6. General Editor. S. Muhammad Husayn Nainar, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D. The knowledge of India possessed by Arab Geographers down to the 14th century A.D. with special reference to Southern India. By S. M. Husayn Nainar, (Pp. 241. Price Rs. 6-4-0.)

Dr. L. D. Barnett who writes the foreword to this monograph (thesis presented to the University of London for the degree of Ph.D.) deems it to be a careful collection of all the references to India and Indian affairs which have been made by early Arab geographers in a thoroughly critical manner. In his introduction, Dr. Nainar gives a useful note of the principal Greek, Latin and Chinese authorities on Ancient Indian Geography and opines that the knowledge of India possessed by the Arabs from the pre-Christian era down to the 6th century A.D. constitutes a subject that can be usefully worked up. Arab evidences become particularly valuable from the 7th century and continue to be so till the 14th. The Arab conception of India is examined and the data supplied by Arab writers are analysed under four broad groups, viz., geography,

ethnology, kings and kingdoms; and the writers themselves are ranged into five groups. Al Birūnī (973-1048) forms a unit by himself by virtue of his pre-eminence, independence of thought and deep interest in Indian science and culture. The last group is made up of the peculiarly valuable Ibn Battuta after whom the study of Arabic sources by themselves is not very beneficial. The observations of Dr. Nainar are mainly concerned with the knowledge of the country south of the Narmada river displayed by the Arab writers, but treat in many places of Sind and Hindustan also. His critical note on Abu Zayd's work and on that of Sulaiman is extremely interesting. He concludes that the writers of the period from about the 9th century A.D. to the middle of the 10th century were not very strong in their knowledge of geography, though their information on ethnology affords most interesting reading and forms the basis of critical observations.

The writers of the next group speak mostly of Sind and give to Hind only a subordinate place and that under the chapter on Sind. Al Birūnī has only a sketch of South India and the Southern Sea and has no information to offer on the people and culture of South India. Writers of the fourth group down to the time of Abul Fidā do not give very much of additional information on India. After the latter there come travellers who have given personal accounts of their experiences and of whom Ibn Battuta is the greatest. In the chapter on Geography the list of places in South India is elaborately noted and annotated. The notes on such places as Biyyardawal, Karura, Kanja, Ma'bar Port, the big Ma'bar and Malabar are very instructive. In the list of doubtful places we find Samandur; and for every conclusion elaborate data culled from different sources are given in support.

The second chapter supplies us with ethnological information much of which refers to Peninsular India and Ceylon; our author urges that a modern student possessing a knowledge of Hindu culture will discover germs of many truths. A peculiar custom is for a number of followers of the king to burn themselves to the last man when the king dies or is slain, and this relates probably as indicated by the note on page 107 to the big sacrifice instituted by one of the Perumal rulers and later continued by their successors. Information is given about the existence of Sanyasis and Bayragis and about the worship of deities like the Mahakal.

The third chapter on the kings and kingdoms like the Balharas, the Cheras, the Cholas and the Pandyas, should be extremely useful to the student of history. The Balharas and their relations with the Arabs and the Muslims are elaborately treated. Kings

and kingdoms doubtful of identification include Qumar, a kingdom near about Cape Comorin.

In the last chapter is given information on the products of South India and the main centres of trade therein, viz. Kawlām, Sandan, Saymur and Subara on the West Coast and Kanja and Madura on the Eastern Coast, i.e., the important trade centres deduced from the Arab accounts were more or less identical with those frequented by Greek and Roman merchants of earlier times.

The book is a good quarry of information, particularly for the student of Mediæval South Indian History.

C.S.S.

CALIPHATE AND KINGSHIP IN MEDIAEVAL PERSIA. By Dr. Amir Hasan Siddiqi, Aligarh University—Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf, Lahore—1942—pp. XI & 184. Rs. 4.

The Caliphate was for long the pivot in the history of the political theory of Islam, though the Caliph ceased, by the end of the ninth century A.D., to be the administrative head of expanding Islam and only continued to serve as the symbol of the unity and brotherhood of Islam. Dr. Hasan Siddiqi surveys the relations between the Caliphs and the independent dynasties of Persia down to 1258 A.D., and supplements his survey with a discussion of contemporary political theory. The Shi'a movement and the ascendancy of the Turks were the two main features of the third century of Islam; and the theory of the Caliphate, as exposed by Māwardī, representing the juridical view of the pre-Buwayhid period of jurists is recommended for acceptance and urged for analytical study. The Tāhirids were staunch supporters of the Abbassid Caliphate, but the Saffarids first occupied an anomalous position and then set the way for curtailing the temporal power of the Caliphs. The Sāmānids were always champions of orthodoxy and were duly rewarded for their loyalty. When the Buwayhids captured Baghdad, the Caliphs were deprived of a number of their prerogatives, though allowed to retain their *de jure* sovereignty. The Buwayhid Amirs even proceeded to do away with the formal ceremony of election of the Caliph and to depose him at will. Certain of their acts offended the Sunnis very much. This altered the attitude of the Sunni rulers, like the Samanids who were the political rivals of the Buwayhids, towards the puppet Caliphs.

Māhmud of Ghazna who overthrew the Sāmānids (1000 A.D.) helped the cause of the Caliphate a great deal and raised its prestige; but maintained a compromising attitude as regards open religious submission to the Caliph. From the standpoint of Māwardī the

Ghaznavids were better Amirs under the Caliph than the Buwayhids, though more overbearing than the early Sāmānids.

The Saljūqs displaced both the Ghaznavids and the Buwayhids, recognised the institution of the Caliphate and secured for their Sultanate full legal sanction which was not possible for the preceding dynasties. They would not have taken over the government of Baghdad if the Caliphs had been aspiring enough. They inaugurated a new era in the history of the institution of the Caliphate. They were energetic in the suppression of heresy and respected the prerogatives of the Caliph. Now the term, *Sultan*, assumed a new significance, as meaning the sole possessor of the temporal power of the Caliph. The Sunni Sultanate could and did fulfil the entire duties set forth for the Caliph himself; and the great Nizām al-Mulk formulated the theory of the Sultanate in his celebrated *Siyāsat-nāmah*. This theory bears a superficial resemblance to the pre-Islamic theory of Persian kingship by divine right; but, in reality it is a justification for the Sultanate in its own right; without any external agency being responsible for it. Much the same view is held by Imam Ghazzali. The duality of Caliph and Sultan worked smoothly for a time, but soon resulted in instability in Baghdad and inefficiency in stemming the Crusades. The Caliphs retained a small independent state for themselves and also their religious authority.

When the Khwārazm Shahs rose to power in Persia, the final step was effected in the evolution of the Sultanate which now freed itself from the necessity of investiture by the Caliph. We learn from Dr. Siddiqi that the Caliphate continued to enjoy public veneration as a religious institution and some measure of success in its claims against the Khwārazm Shahs. But their end at the hands of the Mongols was approaching and the Caliphate came to a violent end likewise. Thus one phase of the Muslim State, the duality of Caliph and Sultan, has been described in the book dealing with an involved subject that formed a thesis for the degree of Doctorate in Islamic Institutions in the University of London. We greatly appreciate the clear tracing of the various stages in the development of the Sultanate in Persia.

C. S. S.

HISTORY OF EARLY MUSLIM POLITICAL THOUGHT AND ADMINISTRATION. By Professor H. K. Sherwani, M.A. (Oxon.)—1942, Sh. Muhammad Asharaf—Lahore—pp. VIII & 290. Rs. 6.

This collection of studies is based on papers contributed by the author to learned journals etc., duly revised and remodelled

into organic continuity. It begins with an estimate of four remarkable political thinkers of the East, Confucius, Mencius, Kautilya and Ibn Khaldūn who forestalled many ideas of later European authors, particularly in the art of government. In the next chapter on the Qur'anic State, the political argument is shown to be based on the historic method explaining general precepts from the history of Arabia and the neighbouring lands. Stress is laid on Universal Law and the doctrine of justice as well as on efficient and inexpensive government, toleration and internationalism.

Prof. Sherwani cautions his reader that early Muslim thought was purely oriental in essence, with its multitude of illustrations from Persian, Arabic and Indian sources, in spite of its having been inspired by the translations of Greek authors into Syriac and Arabic. Ibn Abi'r-Rabi (Cir. 830 A.D.) who was the earliest writer on politics of Islam, was dominated by ethical considerations and upheld the idea of complete equality of all races and religions. He stands midway between the concepts of State omnipotence and of individualism, and though he advises state officials to study history he generally ignores history in his enunciation of the principles of successful statehood.

Fārābi (870-950 A.D.) was the author of five works on politics of which *The Model City* may be deemed to embody his mature thought and the *Siyāsat* to enunciate his whole political theory. He anticipates Hobbes in the idea of a compact for the mutual renunciation of rights and insists on the non-artificiality of the state at the same time. His ideas on sovereignty and on individualism are refreshingly vigorous and independent of Greek classical ideas. Imperialism and colonisation also come within his scheme of political ideas which cover practically all that is connoted by Political Theory at the present day.

The writers of the 10th and 11th centuries are next surveyed with a preliminary note on the political condition of the Islamic state in that age. Contemporary thought was marked by conflict and contact between two schools of ideology, one leading to the revival of pure Arabism, represented by Māwardi (d. 1058) and the other leading to a certain amount of alienism and to Persian and Aryan traditions, and being embodied, typically, in the *Kābūs Nāmah* of Kaikā'ūs (d. 1082). Māwardi was greatly influenced by the Islamic theory of the state and ignored the foreign elements that had crept in. Kaikā'ūs freely illustrates his theories from the history of Islam, from contemporary facts and from the history of non-Muslim peoples. A third writer of the age, Nizām-u'l Mulk Tūsī, follows the historical method in a broad sense and all the three

demonstrate the conflict between the Arabian and the non-Arabian cultures going on at the time.

A later writer, Ghazzālī (d. 1111), stresses personal human experience in preference to even intellectual perception and propounds ideas about the social nature of man, the doctrine of sovereignty the organic nature of the state and law that are very modern. His doctrine of justice enumerates ten rules for the conduct of government that are worth noting. Prof. Sherwani rates Ghazzālī as higher than his three great predecessors, in dignity and grace, in analytical and comparative argument and in a perfect and non-personal attitude.

Mahmūd Gāwān (D. 1481), the great Bahmani Wazir, of whom our author has given a full-dress biography, is the last of the thinkers and writers dealt with in the book. In the last chapter the chief headings of political theory like the origin and the form of the state, sovereignty and state interference are traced, as evolved in the writings of the personalities treated above; and these, given only as illustrations of the rich crop of Muslim political thought, will justify Indian teachers of political theory in demanding a place for Muslim, Chinese and Hindu political thought in the scheme of the study of politics which, at present, is bent almost wholly in the direction of European thought and tradition. Our author has done, by his studies in the history and range of Muslim political thinkers, a real service towards the elevation of oriental political theory to a plane of equality with that of the west.

Select Contents from Periodicals

Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society—New Series, Vol. 18, 1942.

H. D. Velankar—Family hymns in the Family—Maṇḍalas.

A. D. Pusalker—Yajñaphalam. A newly discovered drama by Bhāsa (discussing the problem of the authorship).

Shaikh Chand Husain—*The Majmū 'a-i-Rāz* of Mir Muhammad Sālih Kashfī (edited with introduction and English translation) and of interest to students of Persian Sufism.

A. P. Karmarkar—The *Puruṣa-Sūkta* (Ṛg Veda X, 90) and the mystic glorification of the human victim.

The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. XXVIII, part 4, Dec., 1942.

A. C. Perumalil, S. J.—The India of the Early Greeks and Romans (326 B.C.—641 A.D.).

N. M. Chaudhuri—The Indian Cowherd God.

B. B. Majumdar—Bhanitās in Vidyapati's *padas*.

The Rev. G. Gausdal—The Khut system of the Santals.

B. Bhattacharyya A Note on Royal Epistles.

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P. C. Rath—History of the Chauhans from the *Jayachandrikā* of Prahallad Dubey

M. M. Nagar—Two Garuda images in the Mathura Museum.

The Indian Historical Quarterly—Vol. XVIII, No. 4.

S. K. De—The Vedic and the Epic Kṛṣṇa (the links which would connect or identify them beyond all doubt are unfortunately missing).

U. N. Ghosal—The Dynastic Chronicles of Kashmir—II, Modern Period.

R. P. Chaudhuri—The Philology of the Pali language.

M. Ghosh—The date of Subandhu (fixed between 375 and 450 A.C.).

ANCIENT INDIA AND SOUTH INDIAN HISTORY AND CULTURE BY
 DIWAN BAHADUR DR. S. KRISHNASWAMI AYYANGAR, M.A.,
 PH.D. VOL. I. ANCIENT INDIA, PP. 844, VOL. II, SOUTH INDIAN
 HISTORY AND CULTURE PP. 911 ORIENTAL BOOK AGENCY,
 POONA, RS. 10 EACH VOLUME, 1941.

The first of these two volumes of the learned author's papers, constitutes a revised edition of the work published by him, under the caption, *Ancient India*, more than thirty years ago, to which a number of chapters have been added in order to bring the treatment chronologically up to 1300 A.D. The second volume deals more particularly with phases of the history of South India from about 1300 A.D. onwards.

In the compass of 25 chapters, the first volume presents a bird's-eye-view of the history of India down to circa 700 A.D., the folk movement of the Satvatas gradually into the South, glimpses of the Mauryan penetration into the Tamil land, a possible Tamil equivalent of Asoka's *aggikhamda*. The Hun problem in Indian history, a study of the Vakatakas, some problems of Gupta history, the Gurjara empire, then follows Kalingadesa with a note on the main styles of Hindu architecture. The volume closes with a paper on the essentials required for historical research in our land, among which particular stress is laid on co-operation among the workers. Beginning from Chapter XV comes South Indian History; its growth through the ages of the Pallavas, the Cholas and the Hoysalas and the imperial Pandyas of the 13th century. This volume ends with a learned paper on Indian expansion beyond the seas and the maritime enterprise of South Indians, which was most notable till the times of Marco Polo and Wassaf. The second volume takes us on swimming through the history of the glorious Vijayanagara empire and its achievement of conserving the best fruits of Hindu civilisation, the history of the early Wodeyars of Seringapatam-Mysore who are the real present-day guardians of the Hoysala and Vijayanagara heritage, the declining days of the Hindu empire of the Rayas in the seventeenth century; and then we come on to the age of Shahji and Shivaji in their expansion into South Indian and to Akkanna and Madanna, the powerful Hindu ministers of Golconda in its last days concluding with the well-known legendary hero Raja Desing of Gingee. While these historical chapters constitute the first part of the volume, we get in the succeeding part a number of valuable papers dealing with cultural subjects of great interest like the Sangham Age, Tamil literary celebrities, including Perundevanar, saints like Nammalvar, and Trumanga Buddhism in Kanchi, Mylapore and its earliest nucleus, *Pancharatna* in classical Tamil literature, the full extent of *Mimamsa-Sastram*, the Agnikula and a few notes of administrative and iconographic interest. All these papers are of great cultural significance and historical importance, and help, as has been justly claimed, to a correct understanding of the history of India in general and of South India in particular. The volumes are analogous in interest to the *Collected Papers of Prof. Maitland* and Froude's *Short Studies on Great Subjects*, to give only two analogues.

The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Bangalore,—
Vol. XXXIII, parts 2, 3 and 4.

- B. G. Tamaskar—The Dharangaon Factory and Sivaji.
K. C. Vaidyanathan—The Date of the Chola conquest of the
Bana country.
S. Srikantaiya—Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa.
C. Kunhan Raja—Education in the Vedic Age.
P. Shama Rao—Symbolism in the Indian Art.
N. K. Venkatesam Pantulu—The Story of the Asuras.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal—Letters Vol. VIII,
1942, No. 2.

- Gergan and Asbol—A Thousand Tibetan proverbs and wise
sayings with short explanations of obscure phrases.
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mana Sena Deva (Additions and corrections).

Epigraphia Indica—(Vol. XXVI), part V. (January, 1942).

- A. S. Altekar—Six Saindhava copperplate grants from Ghumli
(dated K. S. 513-596).
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- S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri—Beauty.
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murder of Nasir Jang and an interesting entry on Dupleix-
Fattehabad).

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- Sir Andrew Caldecott—Adat Perpatih in Negri Sembilan (in
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in Sinhalese literature.

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- M. Rama Rao—The Ananda Gotra Kings.
M. Venkatarangayya—A History of Andhra.
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- S. C. Goswami—Land grant to the Temple of Umananda at
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- R. S. Panchamukhi—Jainism in Karnataka and Bhat-
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P. M. Stewart—Colonel Wellesley and *Memoirs in Karnataka*.

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B. A. Saletore—Queen Balla Mahadevi (of the Alupas).

G. M. Moraes.—The Maratha—Portuguese War of 1683-84.

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H. T. Lambrick—(1) Charles Masson's detention in Quetta; (2) The Mirs and the Indus tolls; and (3) The Sind Battles 1843.

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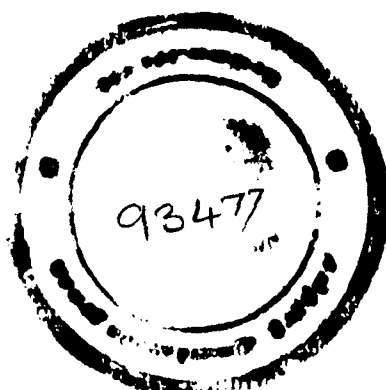
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